



Examining the Role of Community Based Tourism as a Local Economic Development tool: The Case of the Inanda Heritage Route.

Siyethemba Silungile Ncube

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own original work .Any work done by other persons has been properly acknowledged in the text. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university

Signature:

Date:

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Supervisor: Dr Rosemary Awuor-Hayangah

Signature.....

Date.....

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Dedications

This work is dedicated to my family more especially to my nephew Lindokuhle Mbuso Ncube and my nieces Thobeka Ncube and Sinokuhle Ngidi. With this work, I want to say to them, “Hard work pays good rewards at the end”. I give you a challenge to climb an even higher success ladder and always know that education is the key to a future you dream of. To my late sister Sinenhlanhla Ncube; ‘You will forever dwell in my dreams, we miss you’

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the role of Community Based Tourism as a Local Economic Development tool. It sought to establish the impact of Local Economic Development (LED) strategies employed by the Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu Area Based Management program (INK ABM) in alleviating poverty in Inanda Township through their living Heritage Site. It attempts to establish whether Community Based Tourism has had an impact on the economic empowerment of communities residing within the Inanda Heritage Route. Poverty Social and Impact Assessment was used in the assessment. The study revealed that LED strategies have had a significant impact in improving infrastructure and service delivery at Inanda Township, however Local Economic Development strategies have had marginal impact in improving the income, assets indicators, human capabilities, market share and employment creation for the local residents of Inanda. Moreover the study revealed that there is a strong positive correlation between education levels and the lack of success of entrepreneurs. A major finding is that LED strategies along the Inanda Heritage Route do not target all the segments of the poor in a meaningful way. As such the study suggests a new LED agenda in Inanda Township which is: holistic, targets all the segments of the poor, encourages skills development and consists of various investment packages which would ensure that poverty in its multidimensionality is addressed meaningfully.

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Appendix 1: 1 Household Questionnaire

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Acronyms

CBT Community Based Tourism

LED Local Economic Development

IHR Inanda Heritage Route

NGOs Non-Government Organisations.

CBOs Community-Based Organisations.

LCs Local Communities.

PA Poverty Alleviation

INK Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu

ABM Area Based Management

Chapter One: Introduction and Statement of Problem

1.1 Background

Tourism has become one of the largest and fastest growing industries in South Africa (Garth: 2004). It contributes significantly to the social and economic development of both the country and its people. Internationals travelling to South Africa have surged since the end of apartheid (see figure 1). In 1994, the year of South Africa's first democratic only 3.9-million foreign visitors arrived in the country and by 2004, international arrivals had more than doubled to 6.7-million and in 2007 a total of 9.07-million foreigners visited South Africa - an 8.3% increase over 2006, as the country broke its annual tourist arrivals record for the third year running (Statistics South Africa: 2011).

Figure 1: International tourist arrivals (in millions)

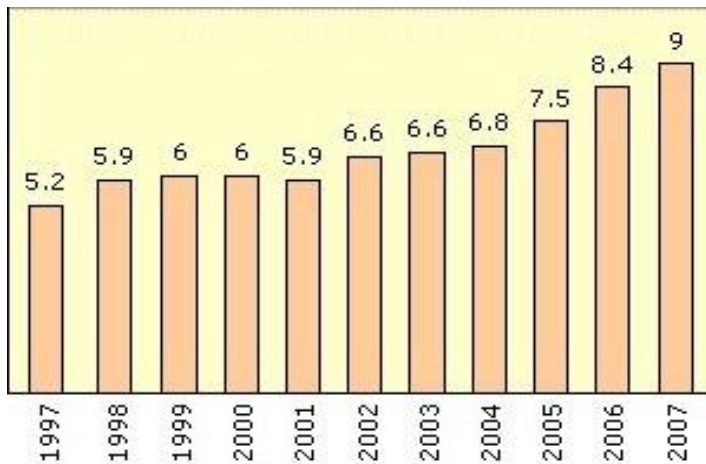


Figure 1 Source: Department of Tourism: 2007

The impact brought by the growth of the tourism industry is intended to trickle to all areas of South Africa (Mametja, 2006). The South African government has developed several initiatives to promote tourism as one of the top five economic contributors to sustain development, and as an engine of growth for local communities and the historically disadvantaged (DEAT: 1996). A key feature of South Africa's Tourism Growth and Development Strategy is the diversification of the

sector through new product development. This imperative means developing new Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise (SMME) in historically disadvantaged areas (DEAT: 1996).

The *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* (1996), states that Community Based Tourism (CBT) is a key tool for creating a sustainable tourism industry. Sustainable tourism in South Africa is aimed at integrating all the diversity (rural and urban areas) and the uniqueness of the country. The focus on tourism attractions is generally located in townships, peri-urban and rural areas. Community Based Tourism (CBT) therefore allows spatially disadvantaged communities to share the benefits of tourism development and growth, promoting a more balanced and sustainable form of development (DEAT, 1996). (*White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal: 2008*).

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (*DEAT*) *Poverty Relief Programme* was established for alleviating poverty amongst South Africa's poorest communities (Markowitz, 2001). It is aimed at enabling local communities to have and enjoy a better life through increased socio-economic benefits and improved the use of natural resources within local community areas (Gilfillan, 2001). Local governments have thus been on the fore front of promoting townships, peri urban areas and rural areas as tourist destinations outside the 'traditional' tourist destination including museums, art galleries, beaches and restaurants, in order to empower communities outside these urban centers (Garth, 2004). The rationale of promoting CBT in townships, peri urban areas and rural areas, is for tourists to experience the unique culture, heritage, history and authentic community life in these areas. The Inanda Heritage Route is an example of such a community based venture, aimed at promoting culture and heritage and offering a unique local experience to tourists (www.ethekwini.gov.za). The Inanda Heritage Route epitomizes and captures the cultural and historical heritage of KwaZulu- Natal and South Africa all in one. The route is also home to the Ohlange Institute (www.ethekwini.gov.za).

1.2 Motivation for the Study

The growth and development of tourism has stimulated research in many aspects of tourism, including the South African Tourism which is mandated to market South Africa internationally as a preferred tourism destination, and the Trade and Industry Chamber which has generated

funds for research into industrial development growth and equity business tourism sector study (Thornton, 2006). There has been a phenomenal growth in the tourism sector, as an economic contributing industry which brings about many perceptions such as; ‘the increase in the tourism sector will contribute to a large amount of employment opportunities’ (Rogerson, et al 2011).

The motivation for undertaking this research is attributed to a number of questions and concerns that relate to the high levels of poverty and the stagnant economic growth within South Africa’s Townships. Evidence to the stagnant economic growth within South Africa is confirmed by; Adata (2011) who elaborates that in South Africa, there are many small towns that are in economic decline and unable to provide sustainable services for people living in the surrounding rural areas. Features of such towns as identified by Adata typically include:

- i. Stagnant or declining economic or industrial activity
- ii. High levels of unemployment
- iii. A structure that reflects the impact of apartheid planning, with marginalised township areas on the outskirts of the town- (Which is evident in the township of Inanda)
- iv. Basic infrastructure that is not maintained properly
- v. Road layout and transport linkages that predispose the towns to act as conduits for goods and services rather than as regional service points.

The challenges of small towns, it is argued, must be addressed in order to facilitate rural development and improve the quality of life of people in the surrounding villages and township Adata (2011).

The motivation for this study is to investigate and understand whether Community Based Tourism (CBT) in the context of current development strategies can be used as a Local Economic Development (LED) model to help alleviate poverty in townships such as Inanda which are still experiencing slow economic progression. The stagnant economic progression in Inanda Township is evident through the township renewal INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) case study (2005) where Inanda Township is amongst one of the largest concentrations of low-income households in South Africa. Almost 77 per cent of households earn less than R1 600 per

month, only 27 per cent of residents are employed and about 43 per cent of the people do not have formal houses (eThekweni Municipality : 2011).

The motivation also lies in understanding the extent to which CBT can successfully stimulate LED and can economically empower and alleviate poverty for communities residing along the Inanda Heritage Route which comprises of settlements of historical, political and cultural values, and these include:

- i. The Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement
- ii. The Shembe Settlement of Ekuphakameni
- iii. Ohlange Institute
- iv. Inanda Seminary
- v. Shembe Settlement of Ebuhleni
- vi. Inanda Dam

1.3 Research Problem

The Poverty Relief Programme of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism sought to alleviate poverty in South Africa's poorest communities through the creation of long-term sustainable work opportunities (DEAT, 1996). It also aimed at increasing tourism potentials by creating new facilities, infrastructure and in assisting local communities to produce and deliver better quality tourism services through CBT. However despite this, to date there appears to be a limited improvement in the lives and livelihoods of local communities as the intended beneficiaries of local economic CBT initiatives adopted to reverse the negative imprints of apartheid (DEAT, 1996). Thus, while CBT as a strategy for LED should have had vast impact in the improvement of the lives and livelihoods of the intended beneficiaries, it appears not to have succeeded to do so, as amongst Inanda's problems include: a youthful population with high unemployment, low levels of education, inadequate and poorly maintained infrastructure, high levels of poverty, crime, inadequate criminal justice capacity, poor transport systems

environmental degradation and institutional capacity constrains (eThekweni Municipality : 2011). Thus the city of Durban through its Economic Development has chosen to implement the urban renewal program by establishing the Inanda Ntuzuma and KwaMashu Area Based Management unit (INK ABM) which implements programs in line to addressing poverty in Inanda. Against this background, using the case study of the Inanda Heritage Route in eThekweni, this study aims at examining the role of Community Based Tourism as an instrument for Local Economic Development (LED).

1.4 Objectives and Research Questions:

1.4.1 Research Objectives

The broad objective of this research is to find out if Community Based Tourism can be used as a Local Economic Development tool to alleviate poverty.

- i. To establish the levels of poverty in Inanda, in order to understand the impact that Community Based Tourism can have in this township to alleviate poverty.
- ii. To determine whether Community Based Tourism has had an impact on the economic empowerment of communities residing within the Inanda Heritage Route.
- iii. To establish the level of participation by the communities in economic activities along the Inanda Heritage Route.

1.4.2 Research Questions

The broad question to be asked is to what extent has Community Based Tourism provided Local Economic Development?

- i. What are the institutional structures which help in the management of the tourist facilities and what is their relationship with the local communities?
- ii. What are the major tourist attractions along the Inanda Heritage Route?

- iii. What role does the community play in running, maintaining and operating the tourist attractions?
- iv. To what extent has tourist expenditure impacted on poverty reduction along the Inanda Heritage Route?

1.5 Research Methodology

Research methodology is defined by (Babbie et al., 2003) as scientific methods that are used in a research project. There are a number of methods that can be used in the collection of data. The main method used in this study is qualitative method. The research methodology describes the method that was used in conducting this research. Qualitative technique stresses the socially constructed nature of reality; it focuses on the intimate relationship between what is studied, the researcher and the situational constraints that shape the inquiry. According to Goodson et al, (2004) qualitative technique will allow a researcher to interact with respondents so that s/he can be able to obtain historical process and social reality in an in-depth way so that at the end of the research, the findings can be valid, reliable and detailed (Goodson et al, 2004). This technique is often regarded as providing rich data about real life people and situations (De Vous, 2002). That is why Thornton, (2006) argues that qualitative techniques are used to describe people's representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world. It empowers the disadvantaged population groups by giving them a chance to voice their opinions, perceptions and thoughts (Cohen, 1989).

1.6. Sources of Data

1.6.1 Secondary Data:

Secondary data was collected from the eThekweni Municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP 2010/11), and eThekweni Municipality Economic Development Unit which aims to promote meaningful Local Economic Empowerment throughout the city. The Killie Campbell Africana Library was also used and it made for great reference, as it is well known for its comprehensive collection of historical books, manuscripts and photographs on eThekweni. The secondary sources consisted of documents, reports, policies produced by a range of institutions and organisations

including the government material sourced to provide a variety of perspectives and geographical contexts.

1.6.2 Primary Data Sources

The main sources of data for this study included municipal officials who are in the Planning and Development career path, international and domestic tourists who visit the Inanda Heritage Route, beneficiaries of the heritage route, community leaders, tourist guides and a sample size. The sampling Procedure is described below.

1.6.2.1 Sampling procedure

Purposive sampling was used to select the interviewees to provide primary data for the case study of the Inanda Heritage Route. This enabled individuals with the most information on the history of the Inanda Heritage Route and Inanda as a township to be interviewed in the research. Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews (*See Table: 1*) with eThekweni Municipality Officials, Tour Operators, Ward Councilors and with sixteen (16) key respondents from different organisations, who were selected as key respondents due to their managerial and leadership role and also having very vital knowledge to the history and development of the Inada Heritage Route. A sample of fifty (50) households was selected and questionnaires were administered to them as they were residing along the heritage route, thus giving the researcher assumptions that, as they reside along the heritage route, they should have vital information with regards to Community Based Tourism occurring from the Inanda Heritage Route.

Table: 1 Respondent and Organisations

Category of Respondents by Size	Organisation	Issues Raised
INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) Area Based Management	eThekwini Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General views of the Inanda Heritage Route (IHR). -Plans that the municipality has for the IHR -What economic development has the eThekwini Municipality completed in partnership with the IHR -Local Economic Development Issues
Four (4) Tour Operators	Woza ENanda Tourists Junction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tourist Facilities -Major tourist attractions in Inanda -Tourist Expenditure in IHR
Grandson of the Dube Family	Local Community	-History of Inanda
Manager and Staff of KwaMuhle Museum	eThekwini Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -History of the Violence in Inanda -Political Background and significance of Inanda
Ward Councilors	Council for eThekwini Municipality	-Development

		- Future initiatives for Inanda
Community Leaders	Local Community Leaders of different sections in Inanda	-Participation of community members in Tourism and Local economic Development activities
Fifty (50) Households residing along the Inada Heritage Route	Local Community of Inanda Township	- Community Based Tourism involvement occurring from the Inanda Heritage Route.

1.6.3 Data Collection

1.6.3.1 Instruments and Techniques used in Data Collection

This research adopted techniques within the realm of non-probability sampling: “non-probability samples are common when individuals are interviewed at source, as in visitor attractions, sporting events and so on” (Finn et al, 2000: 112). In this case the source is the Inanda Heritage Route Project.

a) Questionnaires

In constructing the questionnaires the researcher was guided by Cohen, (1989: 106) and Bernard, (2011:55) who both emphasised that: “An ideal questionnaire possesses the same properties as a good law. The questionnaires were clear, unambiguous and uniformly workable. Their design was minimized to potential errors from respondents and coders, and since people's participation was voluntary, these questionnaires helped in engaging their interest, encouraging their co-operation, and eliciting answers as close as possible to the truth. The researcher in her questionnaires tried to avoid ambiguity (**See appendix 1**). The questionnaires consisted of sixteen (16) structured and open-ended questions. The questions were straightforward. The respondents were also assured of confidentiality by not asking them to write their names on the questionnaire.

b) Interviewing

In addition to the formal questionnaires, six (6) additional interviews were also conducted. An interview is “A data collection encounter in which one person (and interviewer) ask questions of another (a respondent)” (Babbie et al., 2003: 643). It is “a mainstay of field research used both by participant observers and by researchers who make no pretense of being a part of what is being studied” (Babbie, 1999: 260). Interviews were divided into three main categories, namely: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. Despite the fact that the structured interviews are associated with the survey style of research where a standard interview schedule is designed to answer a series of specific questions on a face-to-face basis” (Finn et al, 2000: 73) in this case they were less rigidly constructed than questionnaires, but nevertheless they followed a set pattern in asking questions or bringing topics up for discussion. Semi-structured interviews on the other hand were very specific to questions but nonetheless allowed more probing to seek clarification and elaboration. Finally, there were the unstructured or in-depth interviews. However, “the name ‘unstructured’ is a misnomer as no interview can have a total lack of structure” (Finn et al, 2000: 75). The comparison of this with the two previous types of interviews is that the “in depth interviews provided enough freedom for respondents to steer the conversation, for example, to bring in all sorts of tangential matters, which, for them, had a bearing on the main subject. This research adopted the methodology of the in-depth interview. Two groups of interviews were conducted. The first sets of interviews were undertaken with the help of a translator. A tape recorder was also used to record the interviews. Consent of the interviewees was first sought and only used once consent was granted. A total of thirty three (33) local residents involved in the tourism project under study or, working in a situation linked with the tourism sector were also interviewed. The thirty three (33) local residents interviewed were selected with reference as to how long have they been involved with tourism related projects.

This first group of interviews could be defined as a ‘brief’ life-history type. “Life and work histories are a distinct methodology in the sense that they are concerned with a particular branch of activity and in this case, all historical aspects of an individual life” (Ladkin, 2004:236). Moreover, through the life, work and history method, it is possible for “the chronology between individual lives and social and institutional structure to be examined” (Ladkin, 1999: 38). The aim has thus been to enlarge the perspective and to understand the possible changes in life experience brought

about as a consequence of community tourism development. It is important to also note that the interviews were also partly looking for evidence or information on historical data-evolution within households (*A domestic unit consisting of the members of a family who live together along with nonrelatives such as servants over a time-span of 10 years (1994–2004)*). The interviews were held in a very informal manner and location, and each was timed to last about 30-40 minutes. A total of fifty (50) local community members, were asked to explain their expectations from the Inanda Heritage Route and their experiences

c) Pilot-Study

A pilot study was undertaken by the researcher aiming at testing and evaluating the effectiveness of the questionnaires. The pilot test used a group of sixteen (16) respondents who were part of the intended test population but were not necessarily part of the sample. This pilot study attempted to determine whether the questionnaire items possess the desired qualities of measurement and discriminability. The researcher's pilot study at Inanda went well by talking randomly to community members residing within and along the Inanda Heritage Route. The reason for this was to make sure that the community was well represented especially because Inanda is extensive and subdivided into smaller townships (villages). The pilot group was also asked to make comments about the questionnaires. The researcher discovered that some of the participants misinterpreted the term 'Local Economic Development'. They thought that it referred to governmental support and grants only. To clarify this, the researcher defined the term as defined before interviewing the respondents.

d) Administration of the Questionnaire

During the piloting phase the researcher noted a number of residents were illiterate and because of this, it became apparent that the researcher had to administer the collection of the data herself and with the help of the translator. The researcher personally administered, delivered and collected the questionnaires from tourism organizations responsible for promoting and developing tourism within the township of Inanda such as Woza Enanda Tours and eThekweni Municipality and Durban Tourism and the INK ABM. Permission to undertake the study and interviews was also sought during the pilot phase, the researcher made appointments through the Durban Tourism and the Tourist Junction offices.

1.6.4 Ethical Issues

In doing research, especially when investigating people, there are generally a number of ethical issues of which the researcher must be aware if s/he intends to conduct the research properly at the same time as showing respect for the lives of people under consideration. This was especially true with the subjects of this study considering the previous history of the area in the context of South Africa's past history. Consequently, the researcher put forward mechanisms to avoid, as much as possible, any kind of ethical difficulty. Since the locality of the case study is in a former apartheid area of South Africa, the specific position of the researcher, as a black female was taken into account. The researchers' general background was deeply blending in with members of the local community belonging to previously disadvantaged communities and who had experience to apartheid and the pre-democratic era.

From the ethical perspective, with respect to the local community, the researcher implemented two strategies to try to overcome the problem of unequal power relations potentially perceived by members interviewed. It is evident that, nevertheless, whether felt or not, the unequal power relation did indeed exist and unequal power relations could be aggravated if the researcher behaved in a manner that emphasised and amplified the already existent inequality caused by economy, education and social class and bias towards females within patriarchal systems. The strategies are described below.

- i. The first strategy adopted was informal - the researcher started from the first days of 'undercover' participation on the Inanda Heritage Route to develop a friendship with community members. This friendship developed particularly well with two tourist guides and their families from Phoenix Settlement and the Dube village.
- ii. Secondly, to avoid the perception and, or perpetuation of the above mentioned 'informal' unequal power relation, it was important to behave respectfully and conform to the local culture. This meant that the researcher had to behave in a way that did not produce a sense of 'inferiority' in the subject under study. A *classic example* was avoiding speaking English all the time but speaking in isiZulu as much as possible.

iii. Finally, before the researcher began any kind of “open” investigative activities, she proceeded to meet the headman (village authority) to ask permission and explained the research issues. Another strategy to avoid ethical problems utilized was considered formal, meaning making use of formal procedures. Thus meaning that as voluntary participation, no harm was to come the participants and anonymity and confidentiality was guaranteed.

1.6.5 Limitation of the Study

As in any kind of research, the present investigation encountered a series of problems that led to possible study limitations. The problems encountered can be divided into the personal and those related to the investigation as a whole.

Amongst the first category of problems are the various limitations that the researcher has had to contend with during fieldwork. The first limitation would fall under the category of transport, in that the researcher did not have a car for stress-free travelling, therefore travelling between the tourist nodes was conducted on foot and public transportation. As a consequence, the material that could be physically carried (for example, the piles of questionnaires) was limited. However on a positive note the researcher was able to learn on general views towards the community, tourist attractions by listening to general discussions held by the public transport passengers. In some instances the researcher would also informally chat with the persons sitting next to her.

Secondly the majority of the local people were interviewed usually in the evening after a full workday and this was not ideal and as a result some of them were fatigued. Sometimes, people literally appeared uninterested although they nevertheless remained and made the effort to conclude the questionnaire. The answers were usually coherent but virtually always extremely short but the researcher was however able to gather adequate information.

1.7 Structure of Dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter outlines the research problem, provides motivation for the study, and describes the research approach adopted.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter gives the theoretical perspective within which the research is contextualized. It also highlights previous and current debates with regard to the Local Economic Development (LED), Poverty Alleviation, Community Based Tourism and Community Participation. These debates shall be explored and analysed at international level and local level. This chapter also highlights the trends with regard to the LED poverty alleviation initiatives, the success and failure of LED as a poverty alleviation tool and the challenges and opportunities.

Chapter 3: Community Tourism and Local Economic Development

In this chapter attention is given respectively to the management of local economic development and the management of tourism development, while also looking at the attitudes and perceptions towards the role of Local Economic Development (LED) in the South African context and in its townships. This chapter starts by examining the role of LED in a Neo-Liberal context and explores the validity and legitimacy of Local Economic Development in rural areas.

Chapter 4: Study Area

This chapter provides historical background and the location of the study area. It further outlines the rationale for choosing the Inanda Township as the case study.

Chapter 5: Research Results and Discussion

This chapter presents results of the study. It analyses the levels of poverty in Inanda before the Local Economic Development (LED) and Community Based Tourism projects were introduced. It generally compares current situations to previous situations before South Africa was a democratic country. The levels of poverty and development are highlighted using poverty measures which are both qualitative and quantitative. It also gives conclusions drawn from data and implications of the findings to CBT.

Chapter 6: Summary of findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter provides a summary of the research, findings, recommendations and suggestions for further research. It also identifies the causal relationship with regards to the success or failure of Local Economic Development (LED) strategies to reduce poverty along the Inanda Heritage Route.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The chapter seeks to give a literature review perspective within which the research problem and research questions are to be investigated. It will also highlight previous and current debates with regard to the Local Economic Development (LED), Poverty Alleviation (PA), Community Based Tourism (CBT) and Community Participation (CP). These debates shall be explored at both international and local level. This chapter also highlights the trends with regard to the LED poverty alleviation initiatives, the success and failures of LED as a poverty alleviation tool and the challenges and opportunities it may unleash.

Forecast of high tourism growth in developing nations, where primarily poverty exists, have led to considerable interests in tourism, particularly in Community Based Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation (Neto, 2003). Generally tourism is often regarded as a solution without an attendant recognition but like any other industrial activity, tourism is also highly politically influenced (Brent, 2004). Furthermore, Brent noted that in the past few years there has been an upsurge of interest from governments and development organizations in the tourism based approach, towards poverty alleviation. More specifically, poverty alleviation has been established as a major priority within the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and this is evident by the launching of the concept of Sustainable Tourism as an effective tool for eliminating poverty (Mbuli, 2008). In contrast, the implications of tourism for poverty alleviation have been largely neglected by the tourism academy community. Evidently relevant research to this date is fragmented, limited in scope and it lacks a consistence methodological development (Brent, 2004).

According to the Ashley (2005), tourism as a tool for development was first debatable in the 1970's and academic approaches to the tourism phenomena have included what might be described as a development stream which was focusing on less developed countries and regions. During the 1980s and 1990s, tourism studies broadened across a wide range of academic interests and disciplines. There was a general move to a more observed 'knowledge base' orientation and, amongst these disciplines, the development planners shifted to a wider and more

holistic planning process. Simplistic models of modernization and underdevelopment were rejected for a more comprehensive globalization framework while also environmental perspectives joined the economic, social and cultural analysis, and the top-down development was rejected in favor of the bottom-up development and community participation was also an introduced concept (Harrison, 2001:461).

2.2 Working Definitions

This section gives an overview of terminology and meaning assigned to the main concepts that are part of this study. Definitions and meanings below are to be understood within the realms of the Community Based Tourism and Local Economic Development Framework.

a) Definition of Local Economic Development (LED)

Local Economic Development is a process through which local governments or Community-based groups manage their existing resources and stimulate economic activity within the local context. LED is therefore about creating local wealth through utilising local resources and potentials in the development process, (Nel, 1999:41).

In 2010 South Africa celebrated sixteen years of democracy and it was fourteen years since the government endorsed Local Economic Development (LED) as part of its strategy to transform institutions and society (Adataia, 2011). The blue print for LED is applicable to all spheres of government, national, provincial, and municipalities. However, it seems that uncertainty exists as to what LED is all about. To add to the lack of clarity, LED objectives duplicate national government objectives for the economy, which fall within the specific functional areas of national government departments (Breitenbach: 2010). LED has been defined by many scholars, however Meyer-Stammer defines LED as “a process in which partnerships between local government, the private sector and the community is established to manage and have access to local resources that can be used to stimulate the economy of a well-defined territory” (Meyer-Stammer 2005: 10). According to Meyer-Stammer, in its earlier incarnations, the goal of LED was generally restricted to growing the economic and tax base of a location. More recently, in

the context of the Millennium Development Goals, a distinction has been made between economic growth as the “immediate goal” and poverty eradication as the “overall goal” of LED. It is a territorial planning tool which uses local resources and it has been used by local authorities to contain national and global pressures. LED can be in the form of Community Economic Development, Locality Development Planning and Enterprise Development (Helmsing 2001). Another derivative of LED and CBT is development from the inside to the outside and its goal is development and empowerment of both the individual and the community (McLaughlin et al, 1994).

b) Local Economic Development Initiatives

Local Economic Development Initiatives are applied to economic and social development strategies that seek to address site-specific needs through locally appropriate solutions, (Nel, 1999). Within certain contexts, this author argues LED initiatives are taken to be the same as LED projects. LED initiatives are also argued to be those projects that are aimed at encouraging local participation and consensus building in determining economic and social welfare initiatives for the specific communities within which they shall be implemented, (World bank, 2002). For the purposes of this study, LED initiatives will be used in parallel to the term LED projects, as both terms are based on the same concept and aspire towards meeting the same objectives.

c) Community Based Tourism

Community Based tourism is tourism in which local residents (often rural, poor and economically marginalised) invite tourists to visit their communities with the provision of overnight accommodation. The residents earn income as land managers, entrepreneurs, service and produce providers, and employees. At least part of the tourist income is set aside for projects which provide benefits to the community as a whole. Tourists will spend time near areas that are rich in culture and biodiversity, and, at the same time, will get to know the locals at the grassroots level (Tembo, 2010:26).

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2006), a community implies individuals with some kind of collective responsibility to make decisions by representative bodies. Community Based Tourism (CBT) is a form of tourism in which a

significant number of local people has substantial control over, and involvement in its tourism development and management. The major proportion of the benefits remains within the local economy. Also the members of the community, even those who are not indirectly involved in tourism enterprises, gain some form of benefit (UNWTO, 2006).

Community participation provides a sense of belonging and identity, where the community as a whole shares a commitment of common goals and a willingness to take and share the responsibility for oneself and others. The main objective for community participation is to build individual skills and community solidarity using a concrete project such as the development of a tourism destination in rural areas (Thwala, 2004).

d) **Poverty**

There is a consensus in the literature that poverty remains one of the most pressing economic and social issues in South Africa, which explains why the South African government has, as one of its goals, to halve poverty by the year 2015 (Mohr 2010). The debate on what constitutes poverty and how many poor people are there in South Africa is an ongoing one (Mohr 2010:165-166).

According to the United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report (2003), different countries have different definitions of poverty; nonetheless the basic and world recognised characteristics of poverty are ‘hunger, malnutrition, poor health, lack of access to water and sanitation, lack of participation in education, lack of marketable skills, insecurity and vulnerability’. There are many families who can be said to be in poverty as they do not have access to adequate sanitation, safe drinking water, health services and school places and their villages are often isolated, lacking proper roads, and electricity or telephone connections. (UNDP: 2003). Scheyvens (2002) argues that current discourses surrounding tourism as a poverty alleviation tool which emerged out of the writings of United Kingdom (UK) researchers in the late 1990s, have suggested that tourism can effectively work as a tool to alleviate poverty. This proposition is appealing given the fact that tourism is a significant and growing economic sector in many countries which are suffering from high levels of poverty (Scheyvens, 2002). Consequently the idea of utilising different forms of tourism such as Pro-Poor Tourism, Eco-Tourism and Community Based Tourism to eliminate poverty have been embraced by many donors, governments, non-governmental organizations, conservation organizations and other

tourism bodies, including the World Tourism Organization (WTO). There is consensus in the literature that poverty remains one of the most pressing economic and social issues in South Africa, which explains why the South African government has as one of its goals to halve poverty by the year 2015. The debate on what constitutes poverty and how many poor people exist in South Africa is an on-going research (Mohr 2010:165-167).

Based on the World Bank, World Development Report (1989/1990), since the early eighties, world poverty was on the global policy agenda and it was a main focus in many development debates. The objective since then with regards to the global policy agenda has always focused on how to eradicate human deprivation in the contexts of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and also how to ensure the civil, political, economic, and social status of societies while also linking the cultural rights for humankind as a whole (World Bank, 1990).

e) Poverty Alleviation

Poverty reduction (or poverty alleviation) is defined by Pott (2003) any process which seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries. Poverty reduction programs may be aimed at economic or non-economic poverty. Some of the popular methods used are education, economic development, and income redistribution. Poverty reduction efforts may also be aimed at removing social and legal barriers to income growth among the poor. The alleviation of poverty is outlined by the UNDP (2003) as any process which seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries. It is also important to differentiate between poverty alleviation and eradication. Alleviation aims at reducing poverty levels or to make it bearable whilst, poverty eradication implies total removal of poverty in that specified targeted area. This research focuses on poverty alleviation and not on poverty eradication.

After the apartheid era in 1994, the new system of the government in South Africa initiated a strategy to implement poverty alleviation programmes. These poverty alleviating programmes (PAP) included social security, social insurance and social assistance programmes (Khumalo, 2003). Social security is defined as government actions which are aimed at decreasing the economic uncertainties of individuals by ensuring them a minimum living level (van der Merwe, 2000). Thus all statutory and non-statutory allowances by government, aim to help the individual

to maintain the living standards or to ensure that at least certain minimum levels can be reached. These allowances, also known as social security measures, are classified under social insurance, social assistance and categorical transfers and they are part of poverty alleviation programmes (van der Merwe, 2000).

Social insurance consists of programmes that insure employees in the formal sector, in the form of unemployment insurance and pensions, amongst others. These programmes are usually financed through employee and employer contributions and are governed by statutes and regulations. Social assistance may be in the form of social grants such as “the old age grant, the disability grant, the grant for war veterans, the foster care grant, the child support grant, the state maintenance grant, the grant-in-aid for the caring of the aged and disabled and the social relief fund” (van der Merwe, 2000: 59). Social assistance programmes target the most vulnerable and impact directly on government expenditure, unlike social insurance where both the employer and employee make contributions. According to South Africa’s National Treasury (2010), “the old-age pension is payable to men over the age of 65 and women over the age of 60 until death. Disability grants are payable to all physically and mentally challenged persons between the ages of 18 years and 60 to 65 when they start receiving the old-age pension. The foster care grant is payable to those who are temporarily responsible for children who are not their own” (South African National Treasury, 2010).

f) **Townships**

In South Africa, the term township and location usually refers to the (often underdeveloped) urban living areas that, from the late 19th century until the end of Apartheid, were reserved for non-whites (black Africans, Coloureds and Indians) and also townships were usually built on the periphery of towns and cities (Evans, 1988). The term township also has a distinct legal meaning, in South Africa's system of land title that carries no racial connotations (Evans, 1988). According to the 2001 South African Census a ‘township’ is referred to as an urban residential area created for black migrant labour, usually beyond the town or city limits.

2.3. Poverty in South Africa

What is evident in the literature is that poverty is unevenly distributed amongst South Africa's nine provinces. Adelzadeh (Principal author) of the (2003) Human Development Report investigated and found that, with the exception of Gauteng Province and the Western Cape Province, over half the population in all other provinces lives in poverty. This reported that the highest poverty rates are experienced in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, North West and KwaZulu Natal provinces (See figure 2) (Adelzadeh, 2003).

Figure: 2. Poverty Distribution in South Africa

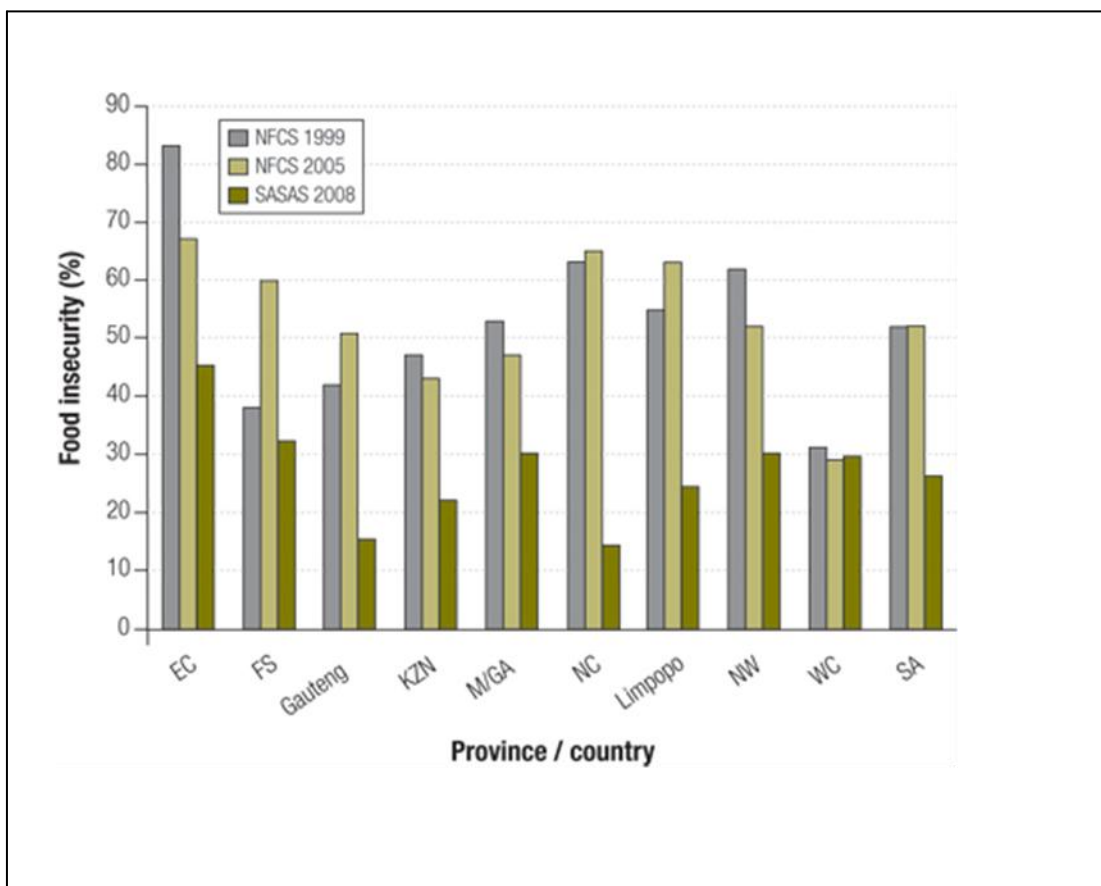


Figure: 2 Source: Adelzadeh, *Human Development Report, 2003*.

What is also evident from the literature is that poverty in South Africa has very strong racial dimensions. As May (1998) would argue that, although poverty is not confined to one racial or cultural group but it is mostly evident that poverty is highly concentrated among the 'blacks' society. There are many explanations which seek to identify the causes of such extreme poverty in South Africa, but the most plausible explanation is the fact that South Africa was subjected to four decades of apartheid legislation which was built on the earlier policies of colonisation (May, 1998). The effects of apartheid were so deeply entrenched in South Africa, that even the unique political transformation of the first democratic election of 1994 could not immediately reverse the negative imprints of apartheid. 'The African National Congress (ANC) led government inherited a country that was characterised by vast inequalities in terms of the quality of education, healthcare and basic infrastructure, such as safe drinking water, sanitation and housing (Hunter et al, 2003:12). In addition to the high levels of inequalities, South Africa was already contaminated by a widespread of poverty and to date there is a general consensus amongst researchers and relevant literature that poverty is still common in South Africa (May, 1998).

2.4. Distribution of Poverty in South Africa

In addition to the apartheid legacy, there are many other contributing factors, which add to the wide range of poverty in South Africa. Most of these contributing factors can be measured through indicators such as unemployment rates, lack of access to income and limited access to services. Measures of poverty within this context can also be measured in financial terms (individual assessment) and through livelihood impacts assessment, at community level, (Ashley et al, 2001). As the 2009 South African elections came to a close in April, it was clear that poverty alleviation remains one of the most important concerns for the country. In the pursuit to understand the distribution of poverty in South Africa, Statistics South Africa (2001 and 2012) was consulted in order to present a broad analysis of South Africa's poverty situation. Statistics South Africa (2012) released two poverty reports on Tuesday, 27 November 2012 based on findings from the Living Conditions Survey (LCS) 2008/2009. These surveys were conducted between September 2008 and August 2009 with the aim of providing data that would contribute to a better understanding of poverty in South Africa and to provide data for monitoring levels of poverty over time.

The research conducted by the University Of Stellenbosch's Department of Economics 2005 analysed the data of two surveys conducted by Statistics South Africa (Stat SA). The categories of the surveys were as follows:

- i. The Income and Expenditure Survey of Households (IES) 2005-2006 and
- ii. The General Household Survey 2006.

The report shows that there are several distinct aspects to poverty in South Africa. The analysis indicates that 47.1% of South Africa's population consumed less than the "lower-bound" poverty line proposed by Stats S.A in 2007, which means 47.1% of the population did not have R322 (in 2000 prices for essential food and non- food items (Aliber, 2009).

With reference to Stats S.A. (2007) (see figure 2.1) the poverty rates of South Africa's nine provinces differ significantly, as do those of the urban and rural areas of the country. In 2005/06 the poverty rates ranged from 24.9% in Gauteng and 28.8% in the Western Cape to 57.6% in the Eastern Cape and 64.6% in Limpopo. The three provinces with the highest poverty rates are KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and Limpopo and these provinces are also relatively populous. During the time of IES2005, these provinces housed 47.4% of the South African population. It should come as no surprise then that fully 60.1% of poor individuals lived in these three provinces (Armstrong et al; 2008). It is also well known that South Africa's apartheid past imparted a strong and stubborn racial character to the country's poverty level and distributions of income and wealth. In 2005 research indicates that more than a decade after democratisation, the incidence of poverty among black and colored individuals remained dramatically higher than that amongst the white racial group (Stats SA, 2005-2006).

Figure: 2.1 Poverty Rate in some South African Provinces

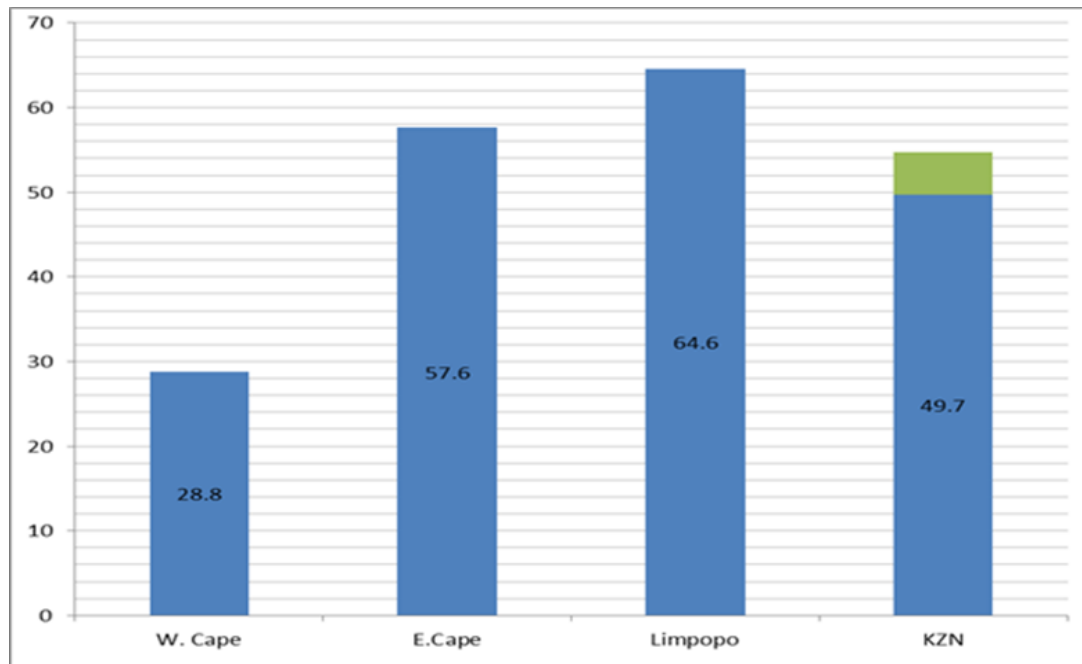


Figure: 2.1 Source: Stats SA, 2005-2006.

2.5. Poverty Alleviation

Poverty reduction (or poverty alleviation) is outlined by the UNDP as any process which seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries. It is also important to differentiate between poverty alleviation and poverty eradication. Alleviation aims at reducing the poverty levels within a community whilst also creating a bearable and livable environment. On the other hand eradication of poverty implies to the total removal of poverty in that specified targeted study (van der Merwe, 2000). This research focuses on the alleviation of poverty and not on the eradication of poverty in the case study of Inanda Township.

In Copenhagen, at the World Social Summit in 1995, the eradication of world poverty was formulated as the most important goal of development assistance, and as a result of this summit many goals were established, including the goal to halve the number of the extremely poor by the year 2015 (Dietz, 1999). Over the past decade governments have been seen to be increasingly

constrained in terms of the actions that they are able to take which is intended to promote growth or to regulate the ways in which the benefits of growth are distributed. An inherent belief behind this approach has been that the benefits of growth would reach the poor through a trickle-down effect. All that was needed for such a successful development was the freeing up of markets and the removal of state controls and obviously other intervention. Increasingly these views are being challenged from both the perspectives of neo-classical economics and political economy. In many instances, the poor have not benefited from market-oriented macroeconomic policy reforms because of the underlying institutional context which has remained the same (Khumalo, 2003).

Views tend to converge on several sources of market failure that might call for some form of state intervention. It is also argued that the state also has a crucial and central role to play in the development of non-tradable goods such as infrastructure and public administration. Furthermore, there have also been widespread agreements on the importance of the state in the provision of social safety nets such as employment guarantees and other public works programmes such as food distribution and other types of nutrition programmes and micro-enterprise credit. Additions to this list should strengthen the abilities of poor people to fight poverty (May, 1998).

2.6. Poverty Alleviation Programmes

In the South African context with regards to poverty alleviation, new systems have been introduced after the apartheid era in 1994, and the government initialized a strategy to implement poverty alleviation programmes. These Poverty Alleviating Programmes (PAP) included social security, social insurance and social assistance programmes (Khumalo, 2003). Social security is defined as government actions aimed at decreasing the economic uncertainties of individuals by ensuring them a minimum living level (van der Merwe, 2000). Thus all statutory and non-statutory allowances by government, aim to help the individual to maintain the living standards and or to ensure that at least certain minimum levels can be reached. These allowances, also known as social security measures, are classified under social insurance, social assistance and

categorical transfers, (van der Merwe, 2000) and they are part of poverty alleviation programmes.

Social insurance consists of programmes that insure employees in the formal sector in the form of unemployment insurance and pensions, amongst others. These programmes are usually financed through employee and employer contributions and governed by statute and regulation. Social assistance may be in the form of social grants such as the old age grant, the disability grant, the grant for war veterans, the foster care grant, the child support grant, the state maintenance grant, the grant-in-aid for the career of the aged and disabled and the social relief fund (van der Merwe, 2000). Social assistance programmes target the most vulnerable and impact directly on government expenditure unlike social insurance where both the employer and employee make contributions. With reference to the South Africa's National Treasury (2010), "the old-age pension is payable to men over the age of 65 and women over the age of 60 until death. Disability grants are payable to all severely physically and mentally challenged persons between the ages of 18 years and 60 to 65 when they start receiving the old-age pension. The foster care grant is payable to those who are temporarily charged with the care of children who are not their own. The state maintenance grant was payable to woman with small children as a child allowance" (Charalambous, 2009: 1).

Apart from the social security programmes which are currently the major instruments for alleviating poverty, both national and provincial departments have been implementing a broad range of interventions to address poverty. Another poverty alleviation strategy from the government has been the Land Restitution Programme. Prior to the elections in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) stated in the Reconstruction and Development Programme Report (1994) that land reform was to redress the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land. Its aim was to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers, to eliminate overcrowding and to supply residential and productive land to the poorest section of the rural population (Kepe, 1999). This programme (Land Restitution Programme) deals with claims lodged in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994, under which a person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 (the date of the Natives Land Act), as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practice, is entitled to lodge a claim for restitution of that

property or comparable redress. This programme therefore tackles the injustices of apartheid most directly (Kepe, 1999).

In the first five years (1994-1999) of the programme, emphasis was placed on land redistribution to the poor. In order to qualify for the settlement and land acquisition grant, applicants (i.e. households) had to receive an income of less than R1500 per month. In 1999, the Quality of Life report concluded that the programme had succeeded in embracing the rural poor and placing productive assets in their hands. Productive agricultural as well as non-agricultural activities were also taking place. Beneficiaries had now better access to services than the rural population as a whole. However, poverty levels remained high. On the basis of the programme, Deininger and May (2000) concluded that the programme was contributing to both equity and efficiency and fostering sustainable growth (Deininger et al, 2000).

2.7. Local Economic Development in South Africa

South Africa has been a democracy for eighteen years now and it has been sixteen years since government endorsed Local Economic Development (LED) as part of its strategy to transform institutions and society. The blue print for LED is applicable on all spheres of government, from provincial government's right down to municipalities. It seems that uncertainty exists as to what LED is all about. To add to the lack of clarity, LED objectives duplicate national government objectives for the economy, which fall within the specific functional areas of national government departments (Breitenbach: 2010).

LED has been defined by many scholars but with specific reference to Meyer-Stammer (2005), he takes the initiative to define LED as “a process in which partnerships between local government, the private sector and the community is established to manage local, and access external, resources that can be used to stimulate the economy of a well-defined territory. In its earlier incarnations, the goal of LED was generally restricted to growing the economic and tax base of a location. More recently, in the context of the Millennium Development Goals, a distinction has been made between economic growth as the “immediate goal” and poverty

eradication as the “overall goal” of LED” (Meyer-Stammer 2005: 10). LED is a territorial planning tool which uses local resources; it has been used by local authorities to contain national and global pressures. Local Economic Development can be in the form of community economic development, locality development planning and enterprise development (Helmsing 2001). Community economic development is development from the inside to the outside; its goal is development and empowerment of both the individual and the community (McLaughlin et al, 1994).

2.8. Organizing a Local Economic Development Strategy (LED)

The development of LED strategies must be an integrated developmental part of a community where focus is emphasized on strategic planning because effective strategic planning ensures that priority issues are addressed early and also issues of limited resources are well targeted. The World Bank reports on Working for a World Free of Poverty (2009), outlines five steps that should be taken for a successful outcome of organizing planning and implementing a LED strategy. These are summarised below:

i. Stage One: Organizing the Effort

A community begins the Local Economic Development (LED) strategy planning process by identifying the people, public institutions, businesses, community organizations and other groups with interests in the local economy. This is often led by the local government, usually the mayor or chief executive. The skills and resources that each of these stakeholders bring to the strategy process provide a critical foundation for success. The identification of these individuals and organizations assumes some basic knowledge of the workings of the city economy. A resource audit is a necessary input to the strategy, and should include the identification of financial, human and other capital resources that can contribute to the LED strategy. Working groups and steering committees can be established to ensure that both formal and informal structures are in place to support strategy development and implementation. Other issues that need to be tackled

in the early stages include establishing LED staff teams and appropriate political processes. (Haughton et al, 2009:54).

ii. **Stage Two: Conducting the Local Economy Assessment**

Each community has a unique set of local attributes that can advance or hinder local economic development. These include its economic structure, its human resource capacity to carry out economic development, and how conducive the local government investment climate is to economic and business activity. The aim of the local economy assessment is to identify the community's strengths and weaknesses including its human resource capacity, local government's 'friendliness' to all types of business activities from corporate to informal, and the opportunities and threats facing the local economy. The goal of the assessment is to create an economic profile of the community that highlights the basis of its comparative and competitive advantage in relation to neighbouring communities and other regional, national or international competitors. (Haughton et al, 2009:54).

iii. **Stage Three: Developing the LED Strategy**

As part of the LED strategy, a shared economic vision for the community and its LED goals, objectives, programs, projects and action plans will have to be developed. This process aims to ensure that all major stakeholder groups are given the opportunity to define what is to be achieved, how it is to be achieved, and who will be responsible and the timeframes associated with the implementation of the LED strategy. Most importantly, the LED strategy and action plans must be finely assessed against the staff resource capacity to carry them out, as well as the budgetary constraints. Ultimately, the strategy's action plans should be incorporated into the work and budgetary program of the local authority, and appropriate elements taken on by other stakeholders (business associations, utilities, educational institutions, etc.). The aim is to leverage strengths, overcome weaknesses, exploit opportunities and deal with threats. (Haughton et al, 2009:5).

iv. **Stage Four: Implementing the LED Strategy**

Strategy implementation is driven by the LED action plans. Ongoing monitoring should be provided through the formal structures identified and created in step one and evaluation of specific project outcomes should ensure that the strategy continues to lead to the achievement of the LED vision, goals and objectives. In undertaking strategy implementation, it is important to identify and establish the appropriate institutions to carry out the plans. (Haughton et al, 2009:55).

v. **Stage Five: Reviewing the LED Strategy**

Good monitoring and evaluation techniques help to quantify outcomes, justify expenditures, determine enhancements and adjustments, and develops good practices. This information also feeds into the review of the complete LED strategy. The LED strategy should then be reviewed at least annually to ensure that it remains relevant. It may be that conditions have changed or that the initial assessment was incorrect to the local conditions. The LED strategy should therefore evolve continuously in order to respond to the ever changing competitive environment (Haughton et al, 2009:55).

2.9. Community Based Tourism

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) 2006 alludes that a community implies individuals with some kind of collective responsibility to make decisions by representative bodies. Community-Based Tourism (CBT) can be defined as a form of tourism in which a significant number of local people have substantial control over, and involvement in its tourism development and management. The major proportions of the benefits are intended to remain within the local economy. Also the members of the community, even those who are not indirectly involved in tourism enterprises, gain some form of benefit (UNWTO, 2006).

Comprehensive reviews of the historical development of community participation have been provided by a number of researchers in development studies and relevant organizations such as the World Bank, which defines community participation in the tourism development process as ‘Community participation provides a sense of belonging and identity, where the community as a whole share a commitment of common goals and a willingness to take and share the

responsibility for oneself and others (Thwala, 2004). The main objective for community participation is to build individual skills and community solidarity using a concrete project such as the development of a tourism destination in rural areas' (Thwala, 2004:58). Community participation as an end and means has been examined from political, sociological, environmental, geographical, management, economic and tourism development perspectives. Thus, scientists from many disciplines have contributed to the evolution and understanding of the concept of community participation. As a result, the meaning and scope of community empowerment have varied according to the goals of the users and the socio-political, cultural and economic conditions in which it is used. Therefore, it may be correct to state that community participation is not a simple matter of faith but a complex issue involving different ideological beliefs, political forces, administrative arrangements and varying perceptions of what is possible (Midgley et al, 1986).

Community participation as a tourism development strategy has been accepted and supported by many scholars of tourism. However, the review of the tourism literature suggests that different phrases have been used interchangeably to explain the participatory development strategy. Tosun et al (2000) give a clear indication that community participation is considered as a tool to design tourism development in such a way that the intended beneficiaries (local people) are encouraged to take tourism development matters into their own hands by means of mobilizing their own resources, defining their felt needs, and making their own decisions about how to use tourism for meeting their own needs. In other words, community participation as a tourism development strategy is based on community resources, the community needs and their own decisions. To a large extent, in the context of a participatory development approach; host communities themselves determine tourism policies. Hence, members of host communities are the main actors of development (Tosun et al, 2000).

- i. What this simply implies is that the host communities themselves can accommodate and best understand what concerns people in the local tourist destinations the most, issues such as;

- ii. Do they have the motivation and are they ready to participate in tourism?
- iii. Do people at the local level have the necessary skills and training to provide meaningful input?
- iv. How will community participation be carried out under the wide spread political and economic instability?
- v. What and who will guarantee enthusiasm for local participation?

It is difficult to deny limitations of community participation in the conventional tourism development process, but it should be accepted that host communities would learn the politics of tourism development by participating in local institutions and associations that make decisions on tourism projects and other local developmental issues (Tosun, 2000).

Tosun (2000: 616-617) argues that the infrastructures of community participation are the legacies of western ideology and more so the influences of community development programs in developing countries; which, indeed, provides a source of inclination for community participation as a modern concept in housing, transportation, education, health amongst others. Naturally, accumulations of participatory experiences in social, political and economic life have become the modern sources of inclination for community participation in the tourism development process. Therefore in order to ensure that the local communities benefits from community developments such as the Inanda Heritage Route; proper planning and implementation of projects must be taken into consideration. A way to assess the current status of a community with regard to community participation requires the hierarchy of participation, power redistribution, and bonding and linking social capital focuses on internal and vertical participation levels within the community. Importantly, the internal participation level affects the external relationships and vice versa: if there is too much focus in one direction, the other element diminishes to the point of insignificance.

2.10. Goals of Community Based Tourism

It is very important to note that there are important goals that Community Based Tourism (CBT) always seeks to achieve. CBT encourages an understanding of impacts of tourism on the natural, cultural and human environment. With reference to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2007) the main objectives for CBT and for any community for tourism to be a success the following objectives must be fulfilled; (Baumgarten, 2007)

- i. Community Based Tourism aims to ensure a fair distribution of benefits and costs.
- ii. Community Based Tourism aims to generate local employment, both directly in the tourism sector and in various support and resource management sectors.
- iii. Community Based Tourism aims to stimulate the improvement to local transportation, communication and other basic community infrastructures.

Baumgarten (2007) further emphasises that developers, investors and relevant stakeholders must ensure that CBT benefits the host community. Researchers such as Marschall (2011) also agrees that communities of Inanda Township have a number of expectations that need to be met by CBT development and the promotion and marketing of this historically rich attraction. However, all these expectations can only be met if CBT development is practiced in a manner that meets the goals of CBT development. For example, Tosun, (2000) and Marschall (2011) both allude to the possibility that the Inanda local community expects the creation of jobs through the development program, alleviation of crime and poverty, better standards of living, and a better infrastructural transformation Marschall (2011) and if this is met, the community of Inanda will be a developed community. It is by this reason that CBT in many countries is regarded as a vehicle for development.

2.11. Theoretical Framework

Honey (1999: 93) underlines that “tourism development is not isolated from, but rather an aspect of the development process. So the tourism debate has to be situated within the development

debate itself.” The following section briefly discusses the conventional three main development theories, written which the study is contextualised. These are listed below:

- i. **Modernisation**
- ii. **Dependency**
- iii. **Neo-liberalism**

The alternative approaches are investigated in the specific context of Community-Based Tourism (CBT) and will be related to dependency and neo-liberal theories. Aspects of regionalism are also explored.

Modernisation

Interest in tourism as a useful economic sector in developing countries began in the post-World War II era. At the time, the development debate within policy-making institutions was based on the principles of the so-called growth theory. This theory was popular from the late 1940s to the 1950s “after which it was gradually absorbed into the broader framework of Modernisation Theory” (Brohman, 1997: 11). Nevertheless “growth theory was closer to USA New Deal or European social democratic programs than to the laissez-faire tradition associated with neo-classical economics” (Brohman, 1997: 12). Growth theory was strongly influenced by Keynesian economics (Brohman, 1997: 11).

The origins of Modernisation Theory can be analysed under three different headings: political, economic and sociological. These elements are linked to form the structure of the theory. Political modernisation theory has its roots in the Cold War period. According to Preston (1996) in Potter et al., 1999: 52), modernisation was “heavily influenced by the desire of the USA to combat the influence of the USSR in the Third World.” Economically its origin can be traced back to classical economics in the form of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Alfred Marshall’s *Principles of Economics* (1890). The *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* in 1956 (Rostow, 1960) is probably one of the best known examples of

economic modernisation literature. The phrase “Non-Communist” is strongly reminiscent of the Cold War era and its advocacy of anti-communist beliefs (Potter et al., 1999: 51). Rostow’s book presents a unilinear model of economic development, which it is claimed would work in any society, and would resemble the historical experience of the Western world. Rostow claims (1960 cited in Todaro, 2000: 79): “It is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimension, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the precondition for the take-off into self-sustaining growth, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption.” Modernisation as a social theory has its roots in the works of nineteenth-century classical sociologists Emil Durkheim and Max Weber. Durkheim in his 1893 *The Division of Labour in Society* (1964) explains the division between traditional and modern society, arguing for a dual perspective. Weber, in his 1904 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958) focuses on the social characteristics of Protestantism to explain the rise of capitalist society (Brohman, 1997: 17).

In general modernisation theory argues for the following:

- i. A dual society, that is, great economic differences between classes and persons;
- ii. Pressure on developing countries to follow the same development stages as Western countries; and
- iii. The role of innovators and diffusers of a new (Western) social and economic policy, a role delegated to elite groups within the developing country.

According to Scheyvens (2002: 23), “Modernisation Theory was based on the assumption of a dualism between the ‘undeveloped’ TW [Third World] and the ‘developed’ Western World, with the latter supposedly occupying superior status to which the former should aspire.” To reach this “superior status”, according to the Modernisation Theory, a sufficient “input of capital, technology and knowledge were needed from the Western world countries to kick-start development in the TW” (Rostow, 1960 cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 23). Once kick-started, the so-called ‘trickle-down’ effect alone would be enough “to improve the lives of the majority of the country population” (Scheyvens, 2002: 23). The following criticisms according to Holden (2005) have been made of modernisation theory:

- i. It is not inevitable that things improve over time; unilinearity does not work in all contexts;
- ii. The model is closely related to western conditions and culture; and
- iii. It focuses more on economic growth than all-round development.

Moreover, according to Binns (2002: 79) there was also growing concern that economic growth, which had been the main preoccupation of Lewis, Hirschman, Myrdal and Rostow did not necessarily eliminate poverty and that the so-called 'trickle-down' effects of growth generally failed to benefit the poor either in spatial or social terms and 'growth without development' was the result. Modernisation Theory as it related to tourism in the 1950s and 1960s tended to be descriptive and uncritical. "A 'soft' tourism industry was identified as an important tool for economic development" (Scheyvens, 2002: 23). According to Holden (2005: 119) during the 1960s tourism was essentially equated as economic development as a part of the modernisation process. The stress was on the ability of the tourism sector to provide employment, due to its growth potential, as well as to facilitate the transfer of knowledge from the west to developing countries, (Clancy 1999). Modernisation led tourism development beliefs were depending on the need of transfer of Western value to developing countries (Holden, 2005). According to Scheyvens (2002: 22) "Academic interest in tourism was dominated by economists convinced that the growth of tourism in the Third World was a 'good thing' integral to the modernisation of Third World economies and cultures through the spread of Western-style development." It was thought that tourism development was positively correlated to an increase in foreign exchange earnings and employment and that the tourism industry created large multiplier effects (Telfer, 2002). This uncritical view concerning the role of tourism in development under the umbrella of modernisation theory influenced many governments, who "pursued tourism development with a passion and by the 1970s tourism had become the major economic sector in a number of small TW countries" (Scheyvens, 2002: 23).

Dependency Theory

During the 1970s Modernisation Theory suffered increasing attacks from the Dependency Theory School. Potter et al., (1999: 63) pointed out that Dependency Theory "became a global force in the 1970s." At the same time, the meaning of development was also changing, from

being associated almost exclusively with economic growth to a more holistic interpretation. Dependency Theory originates from the work of the Latin American Structuralists under the direction of R. Prebisch in the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), which was established in 1947 in Chile (Clarke, 2002: 92). The term structuralism was used “because they focused on the unseen structures which may be held to mould and shape society” (Potter et al., 1999: 63).

Within the structuralist framework there is the convergence of three main elements (marginality, internal colonialism, dependency), all of which are interrelated and which represent the same general position that argues that less developed countries are structurally disadvantaged. It is important to underline that this Dependency Theory was not the product of Western thought, but as Potter et al. (1999: 62) explains, it “had its origin in the writings of Latin American and Caribbean radical scholars.” The theory was an “indigenisation of development thinking” (Potter et al., 1999). Generally, the assumption is that “developing countries are beset by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and caught up in a dependence relationship with rich countries” (Todaro, 2000: 91). Despite its indigenous (for the most part) outgrowth, probably one of the best known and more radical advocates of Dependency Theory was A.G. Frank, a German-born and Chicago-trained economist. Frank’s thesis was “devastatingly simple” (Potter et al., 1999: 63). Frank used P. Baran’s influential work *The Political Economy of Growth*, in which he explained among other issues the role of the elite groups in determining underdevelopment (Conway et al, 2002: 97), and the work of ECLA. Frank’s “re-writing” of structuralism led him to the conclusion that “economic development and underdevelopment were the opposite faces of the same coin. Both were the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of the world capitalist system” (Clarke, 2002: 94). Moreover Frank argued that the stronger the link between a rich country and a poor country, the more constraints on the poorer country’s development. Frank’s hypothesis is that:

... in contrast to the development of the world metropolis which is no one’s satellite, the development of the national and other subordinate metropolises is limited by their satellite status [...] the satellites experience their greatest economic development and especially their most classically capitalist industrial development if and when their ties to their metropolis are weakest. (Frank, 1988: 114).

ECLA members, Frank and other thinkers within the Dependency approaches were mostly concerned with Latin American countries. S. Amin and W. Rodney applied the notion of Dependency to African countries. While their research were continent- or country-specific, I. Wallerstein propounded a World Systems Theory which applies the idea of dependency at a “larger global scale, which is useful to understanding the global commercial capitalist relation more completely” (Conwey and Heynen, 2002: 110). Like Modernisation Theory, Dependency Theory has received its share of criticism, of which the following criticisms (from Hettne, 1995: 99) have had most impact:

- i. The assumption was being made that all kinds of dependency were the same or similar;
- ii. Problems existed which the theory could not solve; and
- iii. The theory lacked impact in the real world.

During the 1970s, Modernisation Theory fell out of favour in debates concerning tourism in less developed countries, and, at least at the theoretical level, Dependency Theory gained in popularity (Telfer, 2002). Starting from the 1970s, the study of tourism in less developed countries, especially international tourism, began to be more critical of the impact of tourism on the growth of developing economies (Telfer, 2002). In 1973, Bryden’s study of the relations between tourism and development on the Commonwealth Caribbean Islands revealed many problems. To understand this shift and the new tourism debate in less developed countries it is useful to quote some arguments concerning tourism in less developed countries: “the international tourist industry, because of the commercial power held by foreign enterprises, imposes on peripheral destinations a development mode which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries” (Britton, 1982: 355). In 1979 Emmanuel de Kadt wrote: “no development strategy can hope to be successful without restructuring of North-South economic relations [...] major institutional adjustments will be needed in the industrialised countries if the poor nations are to achieve their development goals” (de Kadt, 1979: xii).

These authors give an explicit account of the Structuralist/Dependency Theory. Studies on Dependency often give attention to the role of transnational tourism corporations (TNTCs) and their power structures that among other things decrease the chance of economic trickle-down in developing countries (Britton, 1981 and 1982). In general “Dependency Theory positions

tourism as a new form of imperialism, just another way in which the West is exploiting the physical and human resources of the Third World” (Scheyvens, 2002: 28).

Neo-liberalism

Despite the critiques advanced by the Dependency School of the Modernisation theorists, “in the 1980s, the political ascendancy of conservative governments in the USA, Canada, Britain and West Germany brought a neo-classical counterrevolution in economy theory and policy” (Todaro, 2000: 95). This opened the way for neo-liberalism. The theory opposes eighteenth-century mercantilism, which gives the state an important role in the economy; and also rejects Keynesian influences. Its adherents claim that “the modern welfare state together with trade unions and state bureaucracies have destroyed the market system” (Potter, et al., 1999: 55). Rejecting almost all Keynesian influence present in various ways in previous liberal theories, neo-liberalism adopted a more extreme version of economic laissez-faire. Neo-liberal policy argues that:

... by permitting competitive free markets to flourish, privatising state-owned enterprises, promoting free trade and export expansion, welcoming investors from developed countries, and eliminating the plethora of government regulations and price distortions in factor, product, and financial markets both economic efficiency and economic growth will be stimulated. (Todaro, 2000: 95).

Neo-liberalism attributes failures to develop to the “heavy hand of the State and corruption, inefficiency, and lack of economic incentives that permeate the economies of developing countries” (Todaro, 2000: 95). Neo-liberals believe that the free market should be encouraged and the State should privatise its companies to diminish corruption and inefficiency (Brohman, 1997). The two main countries supporting extreme neo-liberal policies were the USA under Ronald Reagan and the UK under Margaret Thatcher who with the help of their allies, were able to obtain control of the major international financial institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) (Brohman, 1997). The control of these agencies allowed the advocates of neo-liberalism to distribute aid in a selective manner – to those recipients willing to follow the policies advocated by neo-liberal policy makers and less developed countries were forced, and predominantly still are, to adopt free market strategies in order to be

able to receive development aid. Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) were the mechanism, which less developed countries had to adopt (Brohman, 1997). One of the reasons behind the neo-liberal argument is that the implementation of free market strategies produced, it is alleged, clear “success stories” in the newly industrialised countries (NICs) such as Taiwan and South Korea, although “the rhetorically important attempt to annex the development experiences of Pacific Asia to the position of the new right has been widely ridiculed by development specialists” (Preston, 1996: 260).

Much of the critique of neo-liberal theory comes from the observation that “the schedule of reforms inaugurated by the New Right have not generally proved to be successful” (Preston, 1996: 260). Binns (1995: 308) argues that “these policies [SAP] seem to have had a disproportionately harsh effect on poor people.” Due to the general failure of neo-liberal policies during the 1980s the decade became known as the “lost decade.” This was strikingly expressed in an article in the Mail & Guardian newspaper (Elliot, 2003) where the 1990s are described as ‘a lost decade for the world’s poor’. Referring to the African experience Binns (1995: 308) has written, “not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused on shaping Africa’s economic structure and the nature of its participation in the world system.” The tourism sector in most countries has for the most part conformed to neo-liberal policies and is generally privatised under the direction of neo-liberal policy makers who guide the international institutions (Telfer, 2002). Neo-liberal policies were generally, but not universally, welcomed by private companies within the tourism sector who saw the opportunity to expand their business under laissez-faire policies (Holden, 2005). As Brohman (1996: 51) points out: “Serving as a centrepiece for the neo-liberal strategy of outward-oriented development in many countries is the promotion of new growth sectors such as tourism or non-traditional export (NTEs).”

The expansion of the tourism sector in developing countries under neo-liberal policies seems to favour the tourism companies from the Western world (or in specific cases, such as South Africa, locally based TNCs), given that “their expertise, marketing connections and capital resources give them an overwhelming competitive advantage over local tourism operators” (Cater, 1995 in Scheyvens, 2002: 25). More critical opinions of neo-liberalism were expressed from the mid 1980s to the late 1990s. Neo-liberalism however remained the dominant framework, at least in

institutional policymaking, and tourism was seen “as a good way to earn foreign exchange to balance payments and to pay off foreign debt” (Scheyvens, 2002: 22).

2.12 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has described the role of the South African government attempts of to reduce and combat poverty through the valuable history that the country has to offer. This chapter has also given working definitions that shall be used throughout this paper and has also discussed poverty distribution amongst the provinces of South Africa and the Local Economic Development Initiatives that the government of South Africa aims to implement.

Chapter Three: Community Tourism and Local Economic Development

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter attention is given respectively to the management of local economic developments and the management of tourism development, while also looking at the attitudes and perceptions towards the role of Local Economic Development (LED) context of townships in South Africa. This chapter starts by examining the role of LED and LED in a Neo-Liberal context and explores the validity and legitimacy of Local Economic Development in rural areas. Finally, this chapter unpacks the relation of the White paper on Local Government (1998) and the role of LED Development.

3.1 Role of Local Economic Development

Since the inception of a democratic South Africa in 1994, Local Economic Development (LED) has been recognised as a key response to challenges of poverty and underdevelopment. More specifically, LED has been associated with increasing decentralization of power and decision-making processes to the local government level (Nel et al, 2005). Blakely et al (2010) eludes that the principle goal of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural and institutional resources". This understanding of LED is evident in South Africa's policies concerning LED as evidenced by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal's (1996) definition which states that, "Local Economic Development should be seen as a process of deliberate intervention in the economy of a particular locality to stimulate economic growth by creating a local business climate, which fosters sustained private investment" (Vaughan, 1997:47).

The definition given by Greenwood et al, (2010) emphasises that this process of using local resources to modify or expand the local economy, must be achieved to benefit the majority of the community. Greenwood (2010) identifies that these benefits as jobs, revenue, investment in social infrastructure and long-term prosperity. It is therefore evident that the key focus of LED concerns partnerships, economic sustainability, job creation and an increase in the quality of life shared by the local (Greenwood et al, 2010).

In response to this understanding of the concept, Binns et al (2002) and Nel et al (1999) emphasise the importance of local control and empowerment through fostering community reliance on local initiative and resourcefulness. Effective and sustainable LED rests on the degree to which local people seize the initiative to promote and develop economic and social improvements within their communities. The most effective means of achieving sustainable LED is through partnerships and joint endeavours with other communities, the private sector and relevant authorities such as local government. The LED concept is a key element in the 1995 National Rural Development Strategy as well as featuring in the 1996 Provincial Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal (Nel et al, 1996). Nel et al (1996) illustrate that where communities with vision, leadership, and confidence in their abilities have adopted LED, significant results have been obtained and where communities have seized the initiative and taken ownership of development, sustainable livelihoods have been created. These central principles of LED satisfy the requirements of many development critiques as discussed above. However, despite critique and disillusionment, neo-liberal economics still dominate global economics. It is therefore necessary to consider LED within the context of global economics.

3.2 Local Economic Development in a Neo-Liberal Context

As it has been indicated above, LED has been recognised as a key response to challenges of poverty and underdevelopment in many countries (Stough, 2005). More specifically, LED has been associated with increasing decentralisation of power and decision-making processes to the local government level (Nel, 2005). This has been largely due to forces such as globalisation, which promotes the retreat of central state in economic affairs and the rise of local leadership and innovation and the failure of macro-economic policies to adequately impact upon the poor communities at a grass roots level (Maharaj et al, 1998). In June 1996, the African National Congress (ANC) led government adopted the *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* plan (GEAR) and this macro-economic strategy was aimed at enhancing South Africa's ability to embrace forces of globalisation as they seek to re-enter and prosper within the global economy through foreign investment and growth in the private sectors (Philander et al, 2001). Evidently from Solow (2000), this had led to a lure of international investment and co-operation which has resulted in the shift of responsibility for local development and planning from national government to sub regional and local levels, specifically local government (Nel et al 2004).

Developmental local government is therefore responsible for meeting the challenge of restructuring local economies and administration to meet the challenges of operating within a global economy, while ensuring that local communities are not neglected or relegated as the 'forgotten' (Philander, 2001).

LED is development which is mainly aimed at promoting self-help and thus, according to Nel et al (1999), it is able to achieve social and economic objectives at a grass roots level. LED incorporates the use of the under-utilized economic capacity, the labour and resources in order for additional wealth may be created. Stough, (2005) suggests that should this wealth expand through multiplier effects, an increasing proportion of the local economic will benefit, which in turn will positively benefits the nation as a whole. Concurrent to these economic benefits, economic development based on local participation and initiative boosts the morale of the communities hence their involvement in increasing their quality of living boosts levels of self-esteem and personal validation (Stough, 2005). However, the best means to achieve such an approach is often accompanied with debate as indicated by the pro-poor or pro-market debate (Rogerson, 2002). The main concern with such an approach of pro poor tourism raises issues such as,

- i. Should LED be seen as a break-away from neo-liberal economics because of its people centred focus or;
- ii. Does LED yield the best results when it is merely a form of restructuring within a neo-liberal context? (Rogerson, 2002).

3.2.1 Local Economic Development in Rural Areas

Emphases applied by Reese (2008) leads to assumptions that when comparing LED initiatives in the first world to a third world situation, a distinction must be made between increasing growth through the big business approach of the former and the survivalist strategy adopted by the latter. Sands et al (2008) associate first world LED with big-business investment, private sector support and initiation and large project development. In comparison, LED in a characteristic third world scenario such as a rural setting, is more likely to incorporate

community-based initiatives, indigenous skills and resources and survival goals as opposed to achieving global status Sands et al (2008).

Economic growth has a history of benefiting those at the top who are already wealthy, and thus LED in rural areas has to be constantly monitored and evaluated with regards to who is truly benefiting. In addition to this, in understanding the diverse and complex nature of rural areas, it is often pertinent to question whether LED is the best option and if so, what form of LED should be applied. Nel et al (2005) suggests that a wise approach to LED, specifically that pertaining to rural development, is one that recognizes the pre-requisites and requirements necessary for sustainable LED to take place before it is adopted. With reference to the provision of government support in the early stages of implementation of rural approached to Led (Nel et al, 1999), help is provided once certain assumptions have been fulfilled.

Successful LED is evident when the local economy becomes self-supporting from a long-term perspective (Nel, 1999) and thus, there must be evidence that the local community has the potential to ensure this factor of sustainability. In addition to community leadership and vision (Sands et al 2008), indicators of this potential include potential entrepreneurs, available financing and the ability to acquire capital to continue running the development initiative. Over and above these considerations, it is fundamental that a sufficient market demand exists to maintain long term economic sustainability. In terms of internal dynamics, political stability and structure needs to be in place that supports LED. This can often be determined according to the emphasis placed on education and training for local people as well as the preparation of management systems to ensure long-term sustainability. The most successful and sustainable rural LED initiatives are those that promote the growth and success of local micro-enterprises as opposed to restructuring the local economy for growth (Sands et al, 2008).

3.3 Small, Medium and Micro- Enterprises in Local Economic Development

The opening Address made by Minister van Schalkwyk at the Local Government and Tourism Conference (2009), emphasizes that the promotion of Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs) has been recognised as a key economic strategy needed for reconstruction and development in poor communities. The reality of substantial decreases in agricultural employment expected in future years creates a substantial challenge for governments in terms of

finding alternative sources of employment in rural area (DEAT, 2009). It is against this backdrop that the potential significance of SMMEs has been recognised. Rivett-Carnac (2009) explicitly states that viable small and micro businesses do not emerge as a result of a trickle-down effect from some greater market-based process such as tourism or as spontaneous responses to market forces. Specific opportunities need to be identified and promoted during the early stages of economic development planning and implementation. Rivett-Carnac (2009) in the Development Planning Division Working Paper continues to stress that for sustained growth to occur, it is essential that SMMEs are integrated into a long term strategy. Short-term strategies geared to alleviate poverty by creating immediate jobs in the near future are most often not sustainable. What is required is vision to promote long term processes that emphasise the gradual elimination of poverty through sustained growth in employment, productivity and income. This process often relies heavily on the role of local government in stimulating and sustaining the rural SMME economy, especially through policy interventions that enhance a community's capacity for initiating local economic development (DBSA 2010).

Rogerson (2006) argues that, it is essential that SMME development in disadvantaged communities confronts the obstacles of economic, educational, skills and resource constraints facing the local communities. Responding to Tourism-Based LED, where project beneficiaries are limited to white-owned tourism enterprises, the effective empowerment and the progression experienced by the broader community still remains elusive. However, if correctly managed and planned, tourism-based LED provides multiple opportunities for SMME development that provides employment and empowerment opportunities for local people. In addition to this attribute, StatsSA (2007) promotes the development of tourism to enhance and to stimulate the economic competence and independence of rural areas as it permits a creative combination of the utilization of natural and cultural resources on an economically sustainable basis for the benefit of the local communities.

3.3.1 Tourism-Based Local Economic Development

The most distinguishing feature of rural Local Economic Development planning is the emphasis placed on the utilisation of natural resources. Turor (2008) argues that traditionally, rural economic restructuring through LED initiatives have been built with the aim of strengthening the

agricultural sector, diversifying the local economy through attracting new production options, creating or strengthening the tourism market and promoting public expenditure in favour of the poor (Turok, 2008). Rural development has expanded to include a greater variety of industries that are able to provide sustainable livelihoods for local communities. It is widely accepted that tourism provides opportunities to earn foreign currency as well as creating employment opportunities. In many rural settings primary and secondary activities no longer provide employment or sustainable livelihoods and thus tourism is increasingly viewed as the only ecologically viable opportunity for socio-economic development (Turok, 2008). Tourism is perceived to have the greatest growth potential and is thus considered as a key factor in the development of many rural areas exhibiting a rich natural or cultural heritage and due to the rich natural and cultural heritages, which is most often a rural community's greatest asset, Nature-Based Tourism is increasingly viewed as the preferred medium for economic development in rural areas (DEAT, 2006).

Current trends indicate that rural communities are attempting to diversify their economies by adopting the concept of Ecotourism and or Nature Based Tourism. These brands of tourism are classified as pro-poor, which is one of the latest strategies promoted in tourism theory (Innes, 2000). The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, (2006) discusses tourism as an example of the potential for the rural non-farm economy to increase benefits to the poor. Research in southern Africa has shown how pro-poor Community Based Tourism initiatives were able to increase incomes for the poor, to strengthen community institutional capacity, protect the environment and create new commercial and political partnerships, which involve poor people. Although all different from one another, each initiative depended on state intervention to some degree in terms of policies, regulation and co-ordination (DEAT, 2006).

The South African Tourism, Annual Tourism Report by Pollock, (2007) illustrates how LED, specifically within South Africa, has been geared towards trends such as increasing production and manufacturing, promoting business and attracting new investment. In comparison to these trends, tourism-based LED provides an opportunity to promote economic development founded on consumption as opposed to production-based growth and development. In addition to this, tourism has been internationally acclaimed as a catalyst for job creation, and thus, is now considered an essential factor in promoting economic development within South Africa. Where

opportunities for emerging entrepreneurs exist, initiatives should be pursued as well as seeking to develop closer business linkages with larger, more established tourism enterprises (Rogerson, 2005). Furthermore Rogerson (2005) has identified three critical factors required for any tourism site to emerge as a successful tourism space as listed below:

- i. The development and marketing of a competitive tourism product based on the resources available to the destination;
- ii. The development of both physical infrastructure and economic strategies to support the tourism market; and
- iii. The effective management and planning processes to ensure the long-term sustainability of the tourism product.

In terms of developing a successful tourism product, it is also essential that the local community is made aware of the potential associated with tourism in terms of economic opportunities and also that the local leaders and authorities must realise the potential existing within tourism so that they can detail local leadership and vision (DEAT 2006). Rampete (2008) provides the following benefits of tourism, specifically from a pro-poor Community Based Tourism perspective, which are:

- i. Tourism is often developed around natural and cultural assets and very often these are the only assets available to poor communities
- ii. The industries' diversity increases opportunities for broader participation and inclusion and development of the informal sector;

However, although tourism, specifically Community Based Tourism (CBT), is often heralded as the epitome of sustainable development, Nelson et al (2010) reminds us that there is often a vast difference between the needs of the tourist industry and those of the local people, especially in

third world countries. Keeping this in mind, it is possible to design tourist initiatives that enhance the development of rural areas such that the local people experience the benefits. Other problems highlighted by Nelson et al (2010) are associated with tourism directed Local Economic Development which are primarily huge disparities in employment levels during the on-season compared with the off-season therefore many employees cannot rely on a constant income; and it is for these reasons that the promotion of Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs) has been recognised as a key factor in the Local Economic Development strategy developed for reconstruction and development in South Africa (Tosun, 2000).

The principles behind SMMEs are congruent with current understanding of LED in South Africa, which emphasises the process whereby local initiative combines skills, resources and ideas in stimulating local economies to respond innovatively and competitively to changes in national and global economies. The aim of this process is to move towards the goals of job creation, poverty alleviation and redistribution (Nelson et al 2010). In addition to the more specific and practical solution given above, Rogerson (2005) also discusses the major themes associated with the success or demise of tourism. Tourism needs to be inclusive and democratic, especially regarding the involvement of local communities in the decision making processes. This is especially relevant considering that tourism development often requires public financial resources to be directed away from social facilities and services in order to fund the relevant initiative or product (Tosun, 2000). It is therefore important that the distribution of costs and benefits extends to the local communities and not just to the private sector. In response to this reality, partnerships between the private and public sector need to ensure that local communities are not excluded from these partnerships, but rather stand to benefit from the partnerships created for the tourism industry (Rogerson, 2005).

Essential to this process of community involvement and the principle of community support, the community does need to understand and support the concept of tourism, especially its potential to bring economic growth and development to the area (Timothy, 2004). Support from the community is essential to the long-term sustainability of any tourism based LED strategy or initiative. In terms of ensuring sustainability of the tourism venture, it is also imperative that tourism is integrated into a broader economic strategy to avoid heavy reliance and dependence on one economic sector. Finally, once the tourism based LED strategy is functioning, it is

essential that effective monitoring and management systems are put in place to ensure future sustainability (Rogerson, 2005).

3.4 Local Economic Development within the South African Context

An extensive overview of Local Economic Development LED research in South Africa is provided in a study of the “Role of Local Government in Promoting LED” (World Bank, 2004). This overview considers the rise of LED research from the perspective of national development planning, LED in major urban centers, LED implementation in small and rural towns. For the purpose of this dissertation, the focus will be placed on the occurrence of LED in rural circumstances. South Africa has been heralded for its initiatives taken concerning its approach to LED within the country since 1994: "South Africa is one of the pioneers in the planning for LED in the contemporary developing world and the most advanced example of LED initiatives in Africa" (Seif, 2009:117). Specifically, South Africa has been acknowledged for their policy measures that have been designed to encourage LED initiatives at both the urban and rural level (Seif, 2009, and World Bank, 2004). However, the focus has shifted to a more indigenous approach as debates over township and rural development have risen to the fore (Philander et al, 2001).

The transformation from apartheid to the democratic South Africa incorporated the relegation of top-down approaches to development planning and embraced the logic of local economic development initiatives. The previous eighteen years (since 1994 to 2012) have been characterised by consistent urgency for the need to overcome poverty and inequality in South Africa. LED has gained support and prominence due to its ability to incorporate grassroots level participation and decision-making processes (World Bank, 2004). As emphasised in the African National Congress, (1994) Reconstruction and Development Programme, the focus of development in South Africa is to empower local people, alleviate poverty and to ensure that those who are most vulnerable are fully incorporated into the development process. In light of this discourse, central government's control over local development planning was shifted in favour of local authorities and involvement in regional and local development. This relegation was in response to central government's awareness of their inability to adequately deal with and

to provide social, welfare and economic services and support at a grassroots level (Padayachee, 2006).

In response to this reality, central government has provided avenues of support for poverty stricken nodes of development such as the Local Economic Development Fund (LEDF) which was introduced in 1999 and administered by the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG). The Local Economic Development Fund (LEDF) is targeted specifically at poverty alleviation projects (Turok, 2008). Furthermore Turok, (2008) defines the LEDF as a central government scheme that was established to provide funding for community driven economic development. Specifically, the LEDF finances employment-generating projects in the smaller and under-resourced local authority areas (Nel et al, 2005).

Commitments from central government such as the LEDF, illustrate that within South Africa, LED is seen as an outcome-based, local initiative that needs to be driven by local residents. In keeping with the objective of providing services and economic opportunities for rural communities, the aim of LED needs to be employment for local residents, poverty alleviation and resource redistribution (Philander et al, 2001). It is at once noticeable that the apparent favour given to LED is not completely in line with the country's macro-economic policy, which is based on neo-liberal economics. As opposed to retreat of the state, privatisation and market-led economics, LED offers local government facilitation, the provision of services and resource distribution. This then according to Turok, (2008) raises concerns of the following:

- i. How does the promotion of LED as a poverty alleviation scheme fit into the greater economic strategy adopted by the country?
- ii. Does it even have a place in third world countries or is South African LED specifically pro-poor or pro-market?

3.4.1 Tourism-Based Local Economic Development within South Africa

As part of the government's agenda to tackle the challenges of poverty inherited from apartheid, tourism-based initiatives were initiated and promoted as a means of supporting economic development across the country (Timothy, 2002). Faith in tourism to achieve economic development was based on its potential ability to boost the economy through job creation,

foreign investment attraction, rural development and black economic empowerment and there are obvious reasons for linking tourism with poverty in southern Africa, and those reasons being mainly 'the tourism sector is large and many southern Africans are poor and consequently the growth of one should be harnessed for the reduction of the other (Tassonyi, 2005).

(Timothy, 2002) expresses that since 1994, greater resources have been allocated towards creating an environment that supports tourism growth and (Messner, 2004) also emphasises that both the LEDF, and the Department of Environment and Tourism's (DEAT) Poverty Relief Fund acknowledges the role of tourism endeavours in alleviating poverty. In addition to this, the Poverty Relief Fund was established to financially support and facilitate tourism infrastructure and product development. In addition to these funds, tourism-based economic development is further being promoted in South Africa through the concept of development initiatives known as Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) (Seif, 2009). The SDIs identified a combination of potential areas that could be developed through tourism to create opportunities and a framework for spatial development within the country. Seif (2009) articulates that in terms of community empowerment and economic development in marginalised and isolated areas, infrastructure, employment, education and training are an expected outcome of these development initiatives. Parallel to this nationally driven initiative, the country has also witnessed locally driven initiatives, which have aimed to use tourism as their means of promoting economic development in their regions or communities (Nelson, 2009).

Evidently there is an increasing trend for local authorities, often in partnership with the private sector, to choose tourism as the lead economic sector in the process of pro-actively confronting the challenges of poverty and economic stagnancy. In these cases, LED is developed by using a locality's natural, built or cultural resources to market it as a tourist destination. In reference to locally driven tourism-based LED, Nelson (2009) urges a greater commitment towards creating and promoting a pro-poor tourism policy. Social and welfare planning need to be incorporated within tourism planning to ensure long-term sustainability and tangible benefits for the local communities. This will require forming local partnerships and networks to ensure the benefits of tourism are directed locally and not lost due to leakages to an external market. In addition to this, it is imperative that local programmes are developed to build up the local asset and skills base and that access to finance, land and training is firmly established. Furthermore Nelson (2009)

states that the belief in tourism as a poverty reduction strategy compels the government to adopt a pro-poor approach and community based approach to tourism (Nelson, 2009).

Ashley et al (2002) substantiate the importance of a pro-poor orientation that increases the benefits to poor people as a result of the relevant tourism development. Tourism's ability to include women and provide opportunities for the informal sector, its enhancement of natural and cultural resources and its applicability to rural areas renders it more conducive to pro-poor growth than many manufacturing alternatives (Roe et al, 2001) and a pro-poor approach is characterised by social, environmental and cultural benefits as well as economic growth. This is achieved through a perspective that prioritises poverty related issues as it aims to enhance the tourism initiative's contribution to sustainable poverty reduction. Unlocking opportunities for the poor through tourism is deemed more important than the overall economic growth for the tourism sector (Roe et al, 2001), thus the success of CBT in rural areas and in townships with dense historical background rests on the greater context within which it is initiated. Community based initiatives of any kind cannot be viewed as stand-alone initiatives, especially in the case of small-scale, locally driven initiatives, the existence of a greater support structure is essential for long-term sustainability (DEAT, 2009). As discussed previously, this is of undisputable importance when considering that these initiatives have to survive in a neo-liberal context driven by big business and profit gains. The presence of South Africa's supportive national policy structure is inherently related to the sustainability and success of all small-scale community initiatives.

3.4.2 The White Paper on Local Government and LED Development

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) is explicit in terms of laying out the role to be assumed by the local governments. Essentially, local governments need to be developmental. Nel et al, (1999) states that local government must pro-actively exercise their powers and functions in a way that maximises the social development and economic growth of their relevant communities and furthermore the White Paper on Local Government calls on local governments to provide leadership and vision and to creatively adopt new approaches associated with partnerships, increasing the efficiency of planning processes and encouraging social ownership

and responsibility. The White Paper endorsed basic service subsidies, support to community organisations and emphasises the need for policies that directly linked economic growth with redistribution and community development, specifically for the poor (Bond, 2005). The White Paper is significant as it represents a fundamental break from past concepts concerning the role and responsibility of local government World Bank, (2004).

3.4.3 The Local Government Systems Act of 2000 and LED Development

The Local Government Systems Act (RSA, 2000), also known as the Municipal Systems Act, was the last fundamental piece of legislation in the process of establishing the principle of participation in local governance and development. This policy implicitly defined operational procedures, powers and management systems with respect to facilitating pro-poor Local Economic Development (World Bank, 2004). This Act was instrumental in setting out the principles required to establish local government as a principal delivery agent for Local Economic Development LED (Hindson et al, 2005).

The Draft LED policy of 2002 has been referred to as "probably one of the clearest statements on pro-poor LED in the World" (World Bank, 2004:13). Its title, 'Refocusing Development on the Poor' is indicative of the policy's pro-poor approach (Bond, 2005). This draft LED policy document argues that in response to the problems of poverty and inequality, which are entrenched in the country's social and economic fabric, a community based approach to development must be harnessed and acted upon Department of Provincial and Local Government (Hindson, 2005). Furthermore this document proposes that local governments can attain community based development through the achievement of the following goals and objectives:

- i. To establish an environment conducive to economic growth;
- ii. To implement sustainable rural development and urban renewal; and
- iii. To focus development on the poor and disadvantaged and a holistic approach to LED that is centered on redistribution in favour of the poor (World Bank, 2004).

The Country Report Local Economic Development in South Africa by Patterson (2008) alludes to the fact that community based pro-poor development is achieved when development is based on community participation, where redistribution occurs between rich and poor areas, where there is investment in human capital and where the delivery of infrastructure and services is integrated into development planning. Once again, the need to reduce leakage to external markets is identified as well as the need to expand and diversify economic activity (World Bank, 2004 and Bond, 2005). In addition to this, the Draft Policy calls for the establishment of LED units within the structure of local government where LED units would serve to co-ordinate and manage LED strategies and to monitor the progression of projects (Rogerson, 2009).

According to the World Bank, (2004) this LED policy document places great importance on the socio-environmental impacts of development. The policy adheres to the National Environmental Management Act of 1998 by emphasising that while LED should be committed to job creation, it must do so while simultaneously protecting the environment. Development of any form should be pursued in a manner that is consistent with national government's commitment to environmentally sustainable development. This has specific implications for tourism-based LED, specifically that which is based on using natural, historical and cultural resources as the dominant tourist attraction (Rogerson, 2005). It is also important to bear in mind the tremendous and complex conflict that usually arises between economic development and environmental protection. Within this controversy, two (2) considerations need to be central to all development that seeks to be sustainable which are listed as follows:

- i. Within the sphere of rural development, and specifically that of tourism, the long term sustainability of such endeavors is inherently related to the continued protection and conservation of the natural heritage; and
- ii. As stated in the introduction, environmental concerns will continue to remain second rate while poverty remains a pressing, everyday reality.

3.4.4 Local Government and the Constitution

According to Constitution no. 108 of 1996 sections 152(c) and 153(a), local government is given the responsibility of promoting social and economic development and must therefore, structure

administration, planning and budgets so that meeting the basic needs of their communities becomes a genuine priority (RSA, 1996 and Rogerson, 2001). It is within the Constitution that transformation of the local government is first evidence. With this function in mind, the Constitution identifies local government as a sphere of government in its own capacity and is, therefore, no longer a function of national or provincial government (World Bank, 1994).

The concept of spheres, as opposed to tiers or levels, illustrates the shift towards government in which each government sphere has equivalent status, is self-reliant and possesses the ability to define and express its unique character (Rampete, 2008). This assures local government an element of independence in decision-making and greater freedom in carrying out policy, which enables municipalities to evolve variations within the structural scheme. Essential to this process is the ability to develop public-private partnerships. However, this concept also places a greater responsibility on local government. In keeping with the goals of democracy, local government is required to use creative mechanisms to determine effective means of community participation. It is the role of local authorities to establish structures to encourage and facilitate public access and participation. It is in this way that local government is intimately connected to the social and economic aims of the Constitution (Rampete, 2008) and the presence of genuine participation that is central to democratic local governance.

3.5. Developmental Local Government

Despite the Constitution's commitment to political, social and economic freedom experienced through access for all South Africans to adequate housing, health care, education, food, water and social security, reality is far from this ideal, especially in the rural and urban rural context RSA, (2000). Many rural communities are still divided and millions continue to live in dire poverty, isolated from services and opportunities (Turok, 2008). The concept of developmental local government aims to place local government at the center of poverty alleviation and the promotion of empowerment and freedom for South Africans (World Bank, 2004). The 1998 White Paper's aim was to complete the final restructuring of local government with the aim of solving problems encountered. This aim would be achieved by focusing on developmental local government (Dladla, 2000). The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998:6) stresses on the developmental role of municipalities, and as a result Developmental Local Government is

focused on local government committing to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and to improve the quality of their lives". (Philander et al, 2001). The White Paper specifies that a developmental local government should seek to maximize social development and economic growth, integration and co-ordination of activities and communities, democratising development and likewise promote learning within the municipal structure as well as within local communities (Philander et al, 2001) and furthermore the desired outcomes from such an approach include:

- i. Provision of household infrastructure and services;
- ii. Creation of livable and integrated cities, towns and rural areas; and
- iii. Community empowerment and redistribution.

An essential factor to this challenge is the integration of rural local government with other local municipalities and even district municipalities in order to enable a more effective distribution of resources Turok, (2008). In addition to this is the central vision of always working with local communities to establish sustainable methods of meeting basic needs and improving the quality of rural life (Dladla, 2000). The challenge currently facing local governments in South Africa is to embrace this responsibility and pro-actively implement development initiatives that will improve the quality of life for their residents Turok, (2008). They have been given ample guidance, support and direction through national policies such as the Review of Rural development (2008) and the National Planning Policy Framework (2012) and the responsibility to act on realising democratic and developmental local government now rests with the relevant councilors (Patterson, 2008).

It is within this context that the case study of the Inanda Heritage Route exists. The Inanda Heritage Route example provides the opportunity to witness local government and LED theory in practice. The analysis of the Inanda Heritage Route seeks to determine, amongst other factors, what contribution this case study can provide for current understanding of LED and developmental local government in South Africa.

3.6 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has outlined the role of Local Economic Development (LED) since the inception of democratic South Africa in 1994 when LED was recognised as a key response to challenges of poverty and underdevelopment. Furthermore, this chapter described LED in a Neo-Liberal Context where more specifically, LED has been associated with increasing decentralisation of power and decision-making processes to the local government level. Local Economic Development in rural areas was also discussed including its context within South Africa. Lastly this chapter discussed Local Government and the Constitution outlining the responsibility of promoting social and economic development within communities.

Chapter Four: Study Area

4.0 Introduction

4.1 Physical Location

Inanda is a township situated 24 km inland from Durban (*see Map 1*) and it forms part of eThekweni Municipality and the Greater Durban Metropolitan Municipality, describes Burton (2000). This township is populated primarily by Zulu-speaking Black Africans and Inanda is known as the home of John Langalibalele Dube, the first president of the African National Congress (ANC), and as a residence or a base of operations of Mahatma Gandhi, and as birthplace of the syncretic Nazareth Baptist Church (Mugenda et al 1999: 89). Inanda is adjacent to Ntuzuma Township and is in the north of Kwa Mashu Township (*see Map 1*). Mugenda et al (1999) further describes this township as located on the peri-urban fringe, away from the economic as well as employment opportunities, with the closest economic and industrial area being Phoenix, approximately 10km away (Mugenda et al, 1999). Inanda occupies an extensive area and is subdivided into smaller townships (villages), including Inanda Newtowns A, B, and C; Inanda Glebe; Amaoti; and Emachobeni (see Map 2.). The area of Dube Village has become something of a tourist attraction because of its rich historical connection to John Langibalele Dube (see Figure: 3).

4.2 Historical Perspective

4.2.1 Early Developments in Inanda

Inanda was established in the 1800s as a “reserve” for African people” (Hemson, 1996: 59). A sizable local Indian population where they resided in the area until 1936, when it was designated a “Released Area” for exclusive occupation by Africans (Papini, 1992). Historic literature such as Papini, (1992) and Dey (1993), verifies that In the 1830s, KwaZulu-Natal was for a brief time a Boer Republic called Natalia and several Boers acquired farms for themselves including Inanda. These were largely abandoned when the British took control of Natal in 1843 and fell

into the hands of land speculators. Around the turn of the twentieth (20th) century, several wealthier Christians from Inanda mission, including the Dubes and Gumedes, bought land from these speculators thus resulting in many ex-indentured Indian agriculturalists also buying land here Dey (1993). According to Bramwell et al (1993:78-88), many of these families (living in Inanda) were second and third generation descendants of the indentured labourers who were shipped into the then Natal Colony from 1860 onwards to work on the sugar estates. After serving their periods of indenture, some of the more enterprising families bought their own small-holdings, while a few others purchased and successfully ran larger farming and business enterprises (Bramwell et al, 1993). Matters dragged on in a state of uncertainty until the late 1950s, when the apartheid government, which had been in power for ten years, turned its attention to urban Africans. In order to introduce tight controls over entry to urban areas, the state built new townships all around Durban (Tichmann, 1998).

Papini, (1992) states the actualities that the largest and most important informal shanty town in Durban, Cato Manor, was destroyed and some residents were moved to KwaMashu township and those with no jobs were to leave the city altogether and they were forced to move further out to places like Inanda. “Landholders in Inanda, now in a desperate state, found that they could rent out plots for shacks which became a much steadier form of income than crop farming, thus they became ‘shack farmers’ and this was the beginning of urbanisation in Inanda” (Papini, 1992:79-82). From the late 1970s Papini (1992) describes that Inanda saw a vast influx of people from the drought stricken rural areas. In the 1980s, Inanda changed from being a relatively quiet shanty town to an extremely dense settlement characterised by high levels of unemployment. From 1985 onwards, Inanda was caught up in a spiral of violence writes Hemson, (1996). First, the remaining Indian residents of the area were chased out, and then there was politically motivated violence between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) particularly in lower Inanda. Speaking to the Sowetan Newspaper Minister of Police of the Republic of South Africa ‘Mr Nathi Mthethwa’ was quoted saying, ‘Since 1994, the situation in Inanda Township has calmed down dramatically, however, outbreaks of violence presently still continue owing to political factionalism’ (Memela, 2012).

MAP: 1 LOCALITY MAP OF INANDA

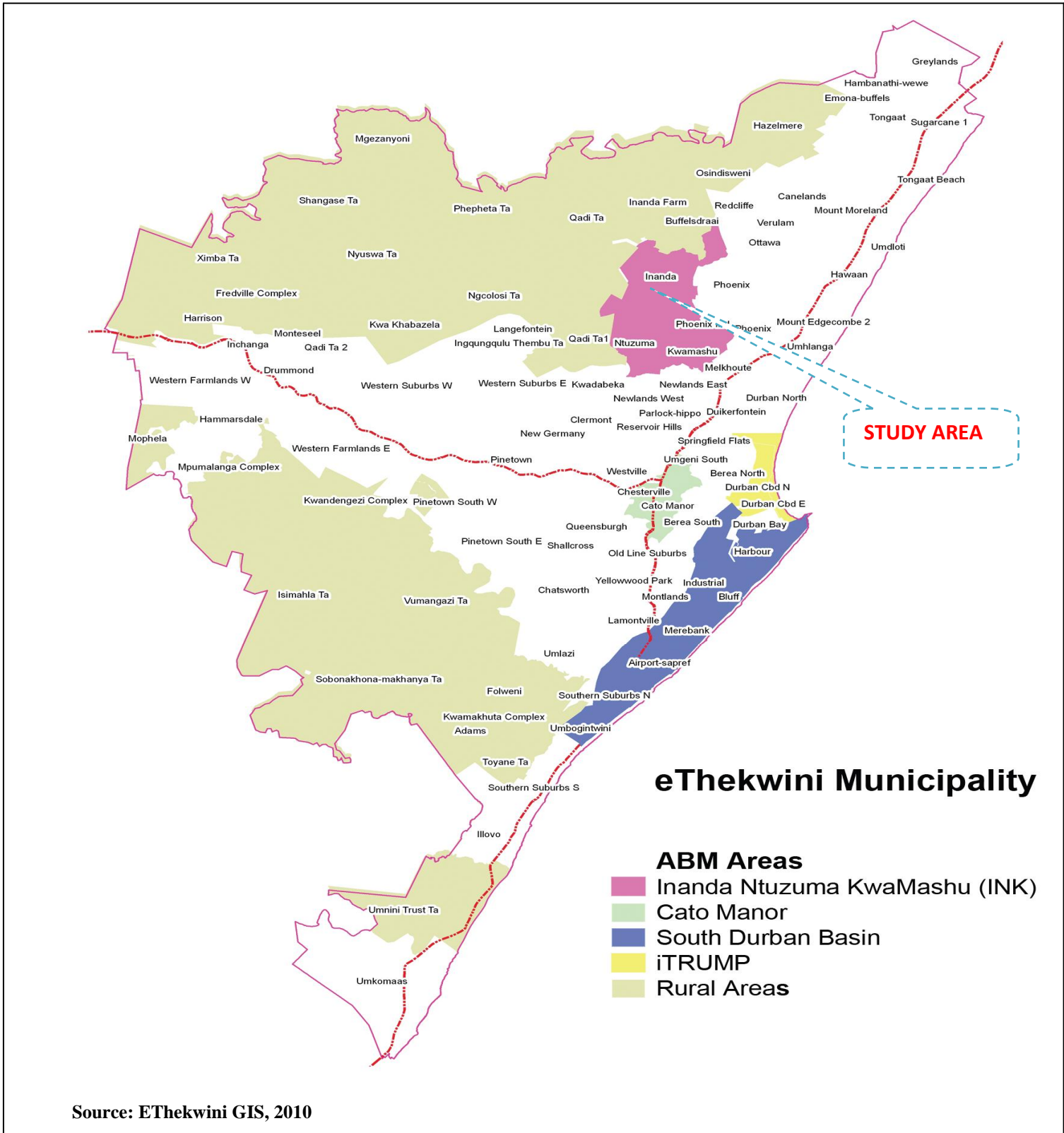
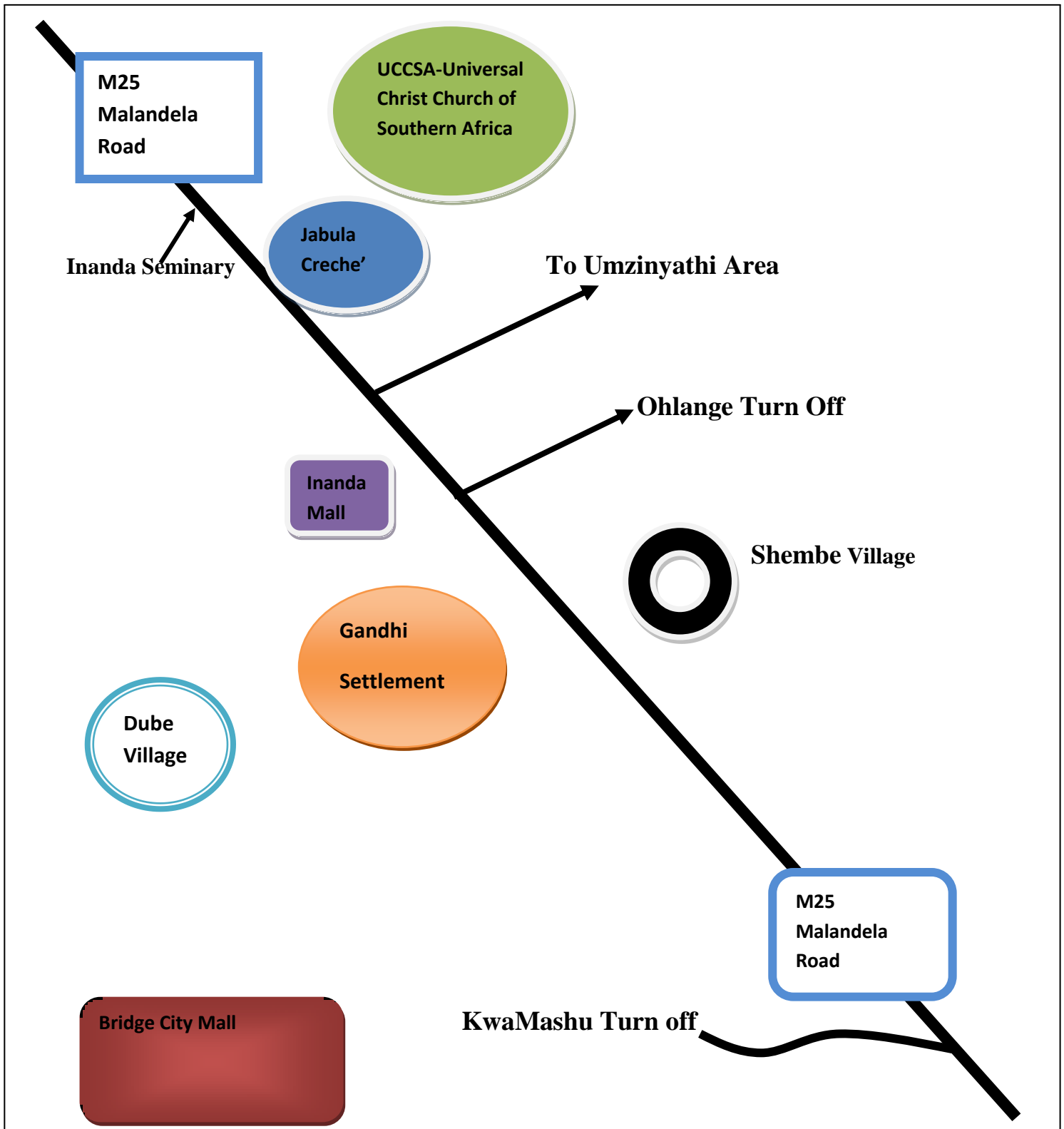
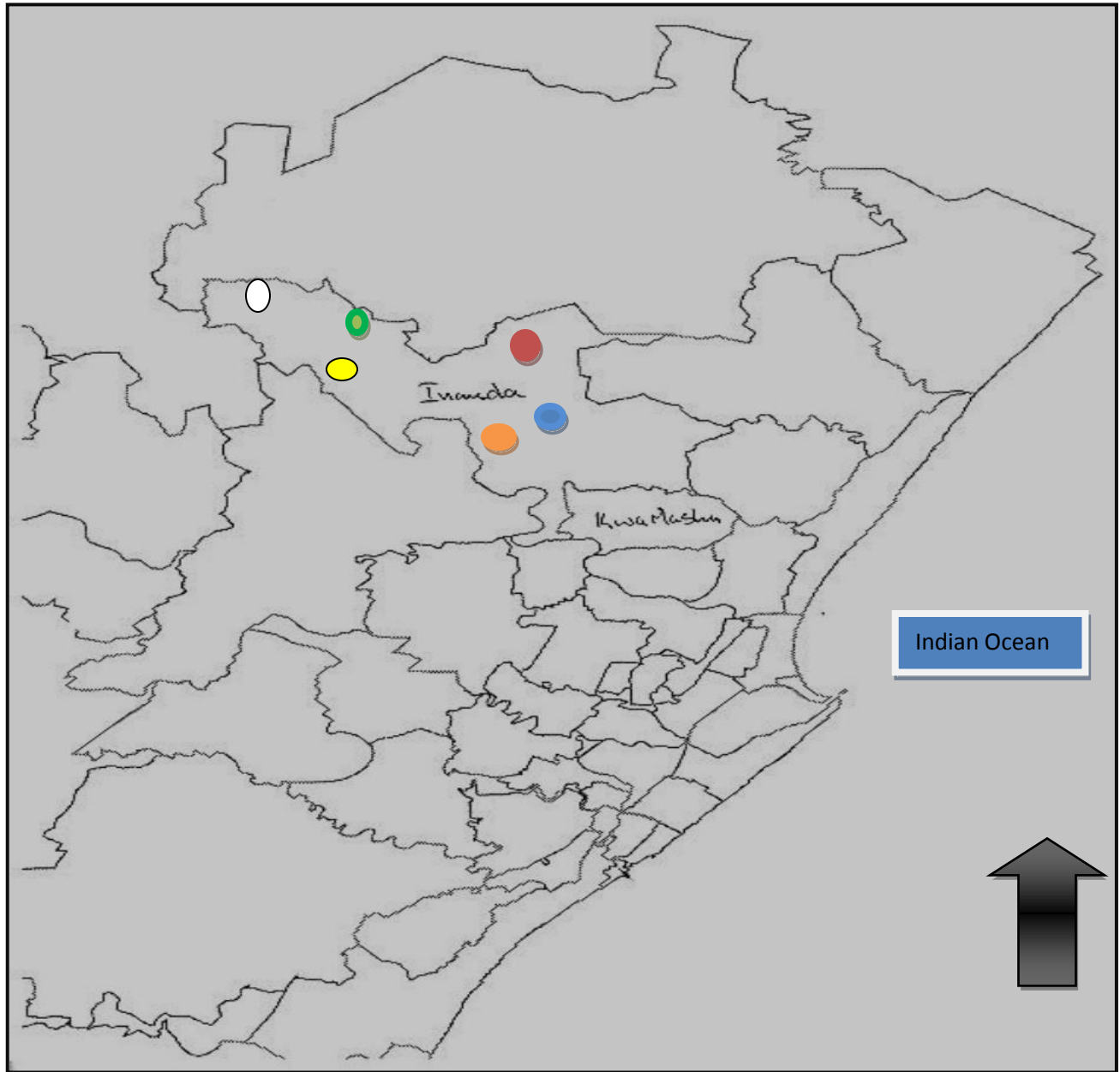








Figure: 3 Schematic Route of the Inanda Heritage route



Map: 2 The Different Sections of Inanda Township



Legend

					
Newtown A	Newtown B	Newtown C	Glebe	Amaoti	Emachobeni

According to Mugenda et al (1999) at the beginning of the 20th century, Inanda was a place that was characterised by connections, conversations and the exchange of ideas in a dynamic spirit of multiculturalism and common humanity. It was in Inanda Township, in a marginalised space, that a number of remarkable leaders sowed the seeds that would, in direct and indirect ways, lead to the independent state of India and a democratic South Africa (Mugenda et al, 1999). They were Mahatma Gandhi, John Dube and Isaiiah Shembe. The History of Inanda is referred to by different scholars such as Marschall (2008) and Hennig, (2010) as a story of unity in diversity and furthermore these scholars allude to the fact that this is the motto on our South African national coat of arms and the essence of our constitution and it is for this reason Inanda is sometimes referred to as the Cradle of Democracy. The lives and legacy of the respective founders of these sites (or ‘nodes’ on the Inanda Heritage Route), form the structure of the heritage interpretation framework and these include Dube’s Ohlange Institute, Gandhi’s Ashram at Phoenix and Shembe the Nazareth Baptist Church discussed below:

i. Ohlange Institute

Hemson, (1996) enlightens that Inanda is an IsiZulu word meaning a ‘Pleasant Place’ and is well known as the burial site of John Langalibalele Dube, a politician and the first president of the ANC. With much research from Marschall (2012), Inanda, was once a rural area that during the middle of the nineteenth century, the Qadi clan moved to the area from the Thukela valley. Shortly afterwards, the arrival of American missionaries, Rev. Daniel Lindley and his wife Lucy, injected new impulses with the establishment of a mission station and the Inanda Seminary in 1869, the first secondary school for African girls in Southern Africa (Hughes, 1990). Through contact with the Inanda Seminary, John Langalibalele Dube, son of the Qadi chief, was sent to study in the United States. Upon his return, he established the Ohlange Institute in 1901, which was the country’s first industrial school for African boys (Marable, 1980). Apart from being a religious leader, Dube became increasingly politically active, culminating in his co-founding of the African National Congress (ANC). It was for this reason that Nelson Mandela chose to cast his vote at Ohlange in the first democratic elections on 27 April 1994 (Marschall, 2012; Hemson, 1996).

ii. Ashram- Phoenix Settlement

Almost at the same time, in 1904, Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) established his first ashram, the Phoenix Settlement, on a farm close to the grounds of the Ohlange Institute. ‘An ashram is an Indian centre for spiritual instruction and meditation’ (Marschall, 2008:15). Following his legal training in London, Gandhi spent his formative period in South Africa from 1893 to 1914, and it was at Phoenix, today preserved in truncated form, that he developed his philosophy of satyagraha or non-violent resistance (Marschall, 2008; Tichmann, 1998).

iii. Shembe the Nazareth Baptist Church

Six years later, in 1910, Prophet Isaiah Shembe, founder of the Nazareth Baptist Church, which according to Anderson, (2000); Oosthuizen, (1996) is one of the most important African Initiated Churches in South Africa, settled on the land in between Phoenix and Ohlange. This area is still today known as “Ekuphakameni” and it became the religious centre of the “Shembe” Church, attracting thousands of pilgrims from all over the country for their annual festivals. When the church split over a succession battle in the late 1970s, Ebuhleni, a flat hilltop area near the Mzinyathi waterfall, was established by Amos Shembe as headquarters for what is now the church’s majority faction (Papini, 1992).

iv. The Significance of the Historical Perspective

The two Shembe sites, the Inanda Seminary, the Ohlange Institute and the Phoenix Settlement now constitute the five principle nodes of the Inanda Heritage Route (See Figure: 4) (Marschall, 2008). The Inanda Seminary’ current alumni include the former Deputy President of South Africa and previous speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa from 2004 to 2008, Baleke Mbete, the current Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, the late Minister in the Presidency Manto Tshabala-Msimang and many other distinguished South Africans (Marschall, 2012).

4.3 Rational of the Study Area

These historical nodes are of vital importance to this research, because they hold value in the history of South Africa. The Inanda Heritage Route exists today because of all the events of the

past which now attracts tourists from all over the world. The first serious attempts at promoting tourism in Inanda was marked by the reconstruction of the principle buildings on the apex of the Phoenix Settlement in 1999, officially unveiled by President Thabo Mbeki on 27 February 2000 (Henning, 2010). The Inanda Heritage Routes’ development is seen as a crucial mechanism for diversifying the local economy, while simultaneously enhancing social cohesion and community pride. Inanda Township is of great importance in the history of Durban and South Africa as there are many historical and significant events that took place in Inanda which have had global significance and influence which still makes Inanda a lively and exciting hub of cultural and spiritual activity. An example of such historical yet significant events include facts such as such as it is where John Langalibalele Dube, founding father of the African National Congress (ANC), was born and this is also where he was buried as previously discussed in chapter one.

4.4 Demographics Characteristics of Inanda Township

4.4.1 a) Population

The population of Inanda Township is almost exclusively African, accounting for approximately 99% of the population and this population numbers 579 870 and has increased by about 14, 6% since 1996 (Census, 2001) [**Census 2012 was consulted but did not give clear results for Inanda Township**] In comparison the averages for South Africa and the eThekweni Municipalities were only 10.46% and 12.52% respectively (Statistic South Africa, 2001).

Distribution of the population by area can be seen in the following table:

Township	Population (1996)	Population (2001)	% Increase
Inanda	240 470	266 915	11.0

Source: Census, 2001

Figure: 4 The Five Principle Nodes of The Inanda Heritage Route



Figure: 4 Source: Maschall, 2008

b) Age Profile

The age profile of Inanda tends to be very young, with 30% of the population below the age of 14 and about 41% of the population between the ages of 15 and 34. (eThekweni Municipality)

Age Profile of the Inanda Township Population, 2001

Age category	% of population
0 – 14	30.0
15 – 34	41.7
35 – 64	25.6
65 or older	2.7
Total	100.0

Source: Census, 2001

c) Dwelling Types (amounts displayed in percentages)

Dwelling Type	Inanda
House or brick structure on separate stand or yard	39.68
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials	8.76
Flat in block of flats	2.10
Town/cluster/semi-detached house(simplex, duplex)	1.77
House/flat/room in back yard	2.93
Informal dwelling/shack in back yard	7.92
Informal dwelling/shack NOT in back yard	34.27

Room/flatlet not in backyard but on shared property	2.01
Other	0.56
Total	100.00

Source: Census, 2001

d) Education and Skills Levels

The table below shows the levels of education and literacy amongst the residents of Inanda as depicted by the eThekweni Municipality IDP (2011/11). Only 22% of the populations have a matriculation and less than 4% possess any sort of higher education. The low levels indicated in the table below can largely be attributed to the legacy of apartheid, and are indicative of levels for most previously disadvantaged peoples (eThekweni Municipality IDP,2011/11). The percentages are similar across the three areas of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu; however KwaMashu has slightly higher levels of matriculates and people with tertiary education. These generally low levels of education generally have implications for income and employment levels and may aggravate the low levels of human development in Inanda (Patterson, 2008). Information on skills levels is also important in the determination of employment levels and opportunities. Since there is a lack of readily available data on skills levels, education levels can be used as a proxy. This would indicate that the area is largely comprised of low and unskilled people. The low level of skilled labour in this township will according to the eThekweni Municipality IDP have a bearing on the types of employment generating policies chosen. (EThekweni Municipality IDP (2011/11).

Educational Profile of Inanda Residents

Education Level	Inanda (%)
None	13.69
Primary	26.59
Some Secondary	38.2

Grade 12	18.85
Higher than Grade 12	2.68
Total	100

Source: Census, 2001

f) Employment and Income Levels

Unemployment levels in Inanda are very high as census statistics (2001), places them at 56%, significantly higher than the national average. Unemployment percentages by area are 57% for Inanda, 50% for Ntuzuma and 60% for KwaMashu (StatsSA, 2001). Thus employment represents a very pressing development need for this area, hence of those who are unemployed an overwhelming number (64%) cited being unable to find work as their main reason for not working – highlighting the scarcity of employment opportunities within and around the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu area (Patterson, 2008). Inanda is also largely residential and therefore most employed people travel to surrounding areas to get to their places of work such a Phoenix and the Gateway Shopping Centre. The following table gives a breakdown by area of employment, unemployment and the economically active status of the regional populations.

Breakdown of Employment by Area Location in Inanda

Sub-Area	Population	Employed	Unemployed	Econ. Active	Econ. Active %	Unemployed
Amatikwe	19817	3074	4669	7743	39.1	60.3
Bhambayi	13192	2317	3973	6290	47.7	63.2
Etafuleni	11722	1859	2647	4506	38.4	58.7

Inanda Congo	10462	1573	2955	4528	43.3	65.3
Inanda Glebe	9797	1990	1651	3641	37.2	45.3
Mshayazafe	3259	530	1076	1606	49.3	67.1
Newtown	25390	4360	7228	11588	45.6	62.4
Ohlange	12141	1909	3316	5225	43.0	63.5
Stop 8	3185	443	1012	1455	45.7	69.6
Total	108965	25305	28527	46582	389.3	555.4

Source: (DPLG, 2005).

g) Household income in Inanda

Household income in Inanda tends to be very low with 35% of the population earning less than R800 a month (StatsSA, 2001). The largest share of the population earns between R800 and R3200. These figures indicate that the majority of the population has low living standards and a poor quality of life, while it is also important to note that the table below indicates household income and not personal income, and therefore very often this income must be used to support a number of dependents within the household (Patterson, 2008). This is especially likely given the high unemployment that exists in this township of Inanda (DPLG, 2005).

Level of Household Income (Rands per month)

Monthly Income	Inanda (%)
None	2.27

R1 – 800	25.0
R801 – 3200	60.6
R3201 – 12 800	11.6
R12 800 – 51 200	0.5
Over R51 200	0.03
Total	100.0

Source: (DPLG, 2005).

h) Economic Profile of Inanda Township

The Inanda present area better known as INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu) has a small economic base primarily due to the fact that it is largely residential with economic and industrial activity taking place in surrounding areas (Patterson, 2008). Furthermore (Patterson, 2008) gives evidence that 95% of the residents in INK who are employed travel outside of the INK present area to their place of employment. Poorly developed urban infrastructure, low skills levels and a shortage of entrepreneurs all contribute to a lack of business development, hence this section serves to highlight the main findings from the consultative process, the situational analysis and other analysis tools utilised in the study, and to provide a summary of the problems and objectives of this project of the Inanda Heritage Route.

Inanda Township generally suffers from low levels of economic activity, widespread poverty and high unemployment (Pollock, 2007). In order to address these issues authors such as Pollock (2007) and Turok (2008) suggest that it is imperative that the exact nature of the problems and contributing factors towards this are identified and fully understood. They argue that in South Africa, there exists the situation of a dual economy that is of two concurrent economies operating parallel to each other. The first economy is competitive and integrated into the global economy; it is the principle contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and is well developed (Turok, 2008). In contrast the second economy is isolated and underdeveloped and is not growth orientated. This dual economy has been accentuated and exacerbated by apartheid planning.

Thus the Inanda area and the Community Based Tourism economic activities generally fall into the second economy and are thus excluded from many benefits of the first economy (Rivett-Carnac, 2009), who additionally explains that there is however leakage into the formal economy, but this often only serves to further marginalize Inandas' economy, that is the residents spending their disposable income on things like groceries, appliances and entertainment outside of Inanda township (Rivett-Carnac, 2009), thus as a result Inanda requires initiatives to integrate its economy into the broader eThekweni economy. This is necessary for the growth and development of both economies as well as to improve the social and economic quality of life for Inanda residents.

The marginalisation of Inanda is felt in elements such as the poor quality of basic services and housing that tends to be poorly maintained, in part due to the lack of formal ownership which see large parts of the Inanda township having never been formally planned and as a result the area has not been optimally developed in terms of provision of services and facilities (Rivett-Carnac, 2009). Access to these services differs considerably by area, with some areas much better served than others and in areas where there is inadequate water supply; residents are dependent on natural sources which carry the associated health risks (Pollock, 2007). There is also a limited quantity and quality of open and recreational space and little management of any natural areas. Inanda Township suffers from a lack of maintenance of services such as cemeteries, clinics and police stations and the population generally has poor overall access to government and municipal services, although since 2006 there is a municipal 'Sizakala'(meaning get Assistance) office and Area Based Management to assist the community (Turok, 2008). Many of these characteristics are lasting legacies of apartheid policies, but the haphazard nature of informal settlements aggravates the situation as it does not promote sustainable growth and development (Turok, 2008).

In terms of business development, it was established by Worden (2012) that Inanda Township experiences low levels of both supplier power and buyer power and as a result of high unemployment and low income, it means that residents will have limited disposable income, thus low demand will hinder viable business opportunities. Added to this already low buying power is the issue of many residents spending their money outside of Inanda, further retarding the growth

ability of its economy. Both these elements contribute to the generally high entrance barriers identified for budding entrepreneurs. Overall Inanda scores very low in terms of business competitiveness (Worden, 2012). Other constraints to business development that were identified by Worden (2012) include inadequate business support structures, a lack of financial support services and limited access to trading space and facilities and as a result, Inanda does not have a strong economic base, as it was not developed as a sustainable urban unit but exists as a dormitory residential area, supplying labour to surrounding industrial areas and city areas. The general low levels of skills and education of Inanda residents however has meant they have been effectively excluded from taking advantage of any employment growth and unemployment in Inanda is aggravated by inadequate skills development. The economics of the Durban metropolitan area has been expanding towards the Umhlanga, La Lucia and Mt Edgecombe areas for which Inanda is well positioned to service them, however current links and access to these areas remain weak Turok, (2008).

Marschall (2012) also adds that the Inanda Township transport facilities are not geared to suit the needs of a low income population who are reliant on walking or public transport to get to their places of employment. Little attention has been paid to providing pedestrian pavements. Systems are not capable of moving large amounts of people quickly and efficiently and while some areas are served on a regular basis by bus and taxi, others suffer greatly from problems of accessibility, and in this respect Ntuzuma and KwaMashu are better off than Inanda (Marschall, 2012).

4.5 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has discussed the location of the study area, and has highlighted its geographic position to the city of Durban. The historical perspective and significance of Inanda was also discussed because the historical events of Inanda hold value in the history of our country. The Inande Heritage Route exists today because of all the events of the past which now attracts tourists from all over the world. The main tourism nodes of the Inanda Heritage Route were also discussed emphasising their historical significance. Finally this chapter discussed the demographics of the Inanda Township, which included the populations, age profile, gender profile and education and skill levels of the Inanda citizens.

Chapter Five: Research Results and Discussion

5.0 Introductions

This chapter presents the findings of the study that was carried out in Inanda Township, specifically along the Inanda Heritage Route. The main purpose of this study was to examine how Community Based Tourism (CBT) can play a pivotal role in sustaining the local communities who are living within the heritage sites of the Inanda Heritage Route. The advent of the democratic transformation in South Africa in 1994 brought with it the high hope that poverty and inequity would soon be significantly reduced from the very high levels that existed during Apartheid era (Van der Merwe, 2000). The reality is not so as the 'Fifteen Year Review of Income Poverty Alleviation Programmes in The Social and Related Sectors (2008)' attest that despite steady economic growth and early success in adopting an exemplary Constitution, combined with the introduction of many progressive policies and laws, progress in poverty reduction has been slow and uneven (Bhengu, 2008). In efforts to fight deprivation in South Africa, the democratic government has, since 1994, implemented various programmes that aim to alleviate income poverty through stimulating employment, developing skills and improving service delivery.(Friedman et al:2008).

5.1 The Current Status Quo

Reference to the Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu (INK) Nodal Economic Development Profile (2005), Inanda Township generally suffers from low levels of economic activity, widespread poverty and high unemployment (DPLG, 2005). In order to address these issues it is imperative that the precise nature of the problems and contributing factors towards this are identified and fully understood. The marginalisation of Inanda is felt in elements such as the poor quality of basic services and housing that tends to be poorly maintained, in part due to the lack of formal ownership (Marschall, 2011). Marschall argues that large parts of the Inanda Township have never been formally planned and as a result the area has not been optimally developed in terms of provision of services and facilities .Access to these services differs considerably by area, with some sections of Inanda such as Newtown A, B, C and Glebe section (*See Map: 2*) much better

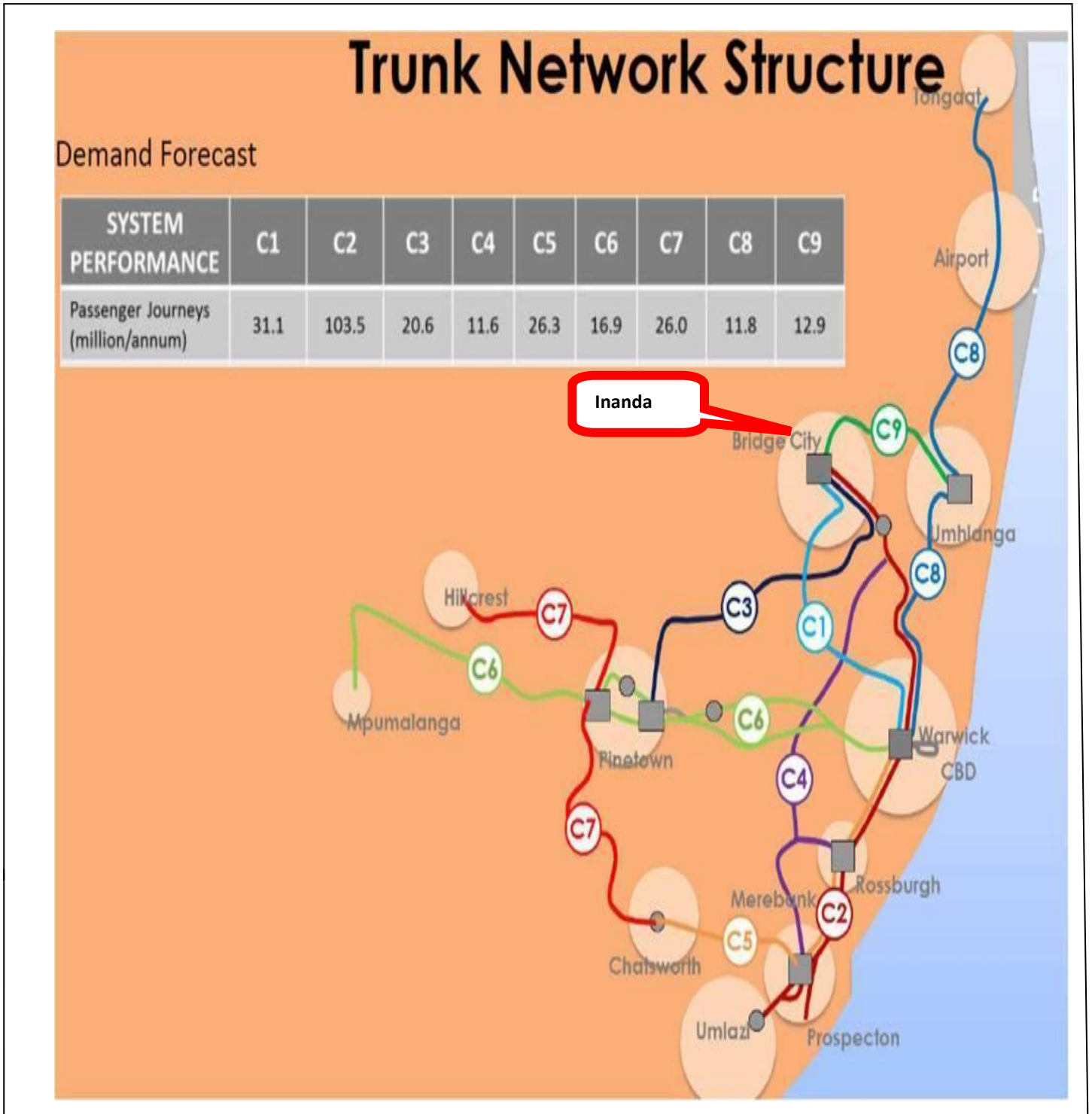
served than others. This is evident as these sections have Stores like Spar and Shoprite which contribute to the community. Furthermore, these sections have access to electricity and prepaid water per household (eThekweni Municipality, 2007). In areas where there is inadequate water supply, residents depend on natural sources with associated health risks. There is also a limited quantity of open and recreational space and little management of any natural areas, furthermore the eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP 2010/11) indicates that the area suffers a notable lack of maintenance of services such as cemeteries, clinics and police stations and the population generally has poor overall access to government and municipal services, although since 2006 there is a municipal ‘Sizakala’(meaning get assistance) office and Area Based Management to assist the community . Many of these characteristics are lasting legacies of apartheid policies, but the haphazard nature of informal settlements aggravates the situation as it does not promote sustainable growth and development (Marschall, 2011).

In terms of business development, it was high-lighted by Memela (2012) that Inanda Township experiences low levels of both supplier power and buyer power. High unemployment and low incomes means that residents will have limited disposable income, thus low demand will hinder viable business opportunities. Added to this already low buying power is the issue of many residents spending their money outside of Inanda, further retarding the growth ability of its economy. Both these elements contribute to the generally high entrance barriers identified for budding entrepreneurs (Memela, 2012). Other constraints to business development that were identified include inadequate business support structures, a lack of financial support services and limited access to trading space and facilities and furthermore the researchers analysis is confirmed with Marschalls’ (2011) findings that allude that Inanda does not have a strong economic base, as it was not developed as a sustainable urban unit but exists as a dormitory residential area, supplying labour to surrounding industrial areas and city areas. It suffers from very high unemployment (DPLG, 2005), as it relies on job opportunities from the cities and industrial areas which have been unable to keep up with the supply of labour. In particular, the sectors that have seen the largest growth in employment in major cities have been the financial and business sectors (Memela, 2012). This study confirmed that the financial and business sectors are the ones receiving major growth, with a business node (Bridge City Mall) (*See: Figure 3*) being evident in the center of the INK Development.

Unemployment in Inanda is aggravated by inadequate skills development and this conclusion was evident from interviews from key informants and residents conducted. This was also the findings of the research by Marschall (2008-2011) that found that residents had insufficient information and were lacking in imagination and innovation. The economics of the Durban metropolitan area has been expanding towards the Umhlanga, La Lucia and Mt Edgecombe areas for which Inanda is well positioned, however current links and access to these areas remain weak (Memela, 2012). The Spatial and Local Economic Development (LED) Interventions prepared by eThekweni Municipality, (2009) concluded that transport facilities in Inanda area are not geared to suit the needs of a low income population who are reliant on walking or on public transport to get to their places of employment. This has on the other hand affected community participation in being fully committed to tourism projects as local people do not always have reliable transportation to attend trainings and other skills development initiatives being introduced. Little attention has been paid to providing pedestrian pavements in areas such as Mshayazafe and Bhambayi (*See Map: 2*) and not forgetting that systems such as such as taxis and municipal buses are not capable of moving large amounts of people quickly and efficiently and while some areas are served on a regular basis by bus and taxi, others suffer greatly from problems of accessibility.

In attempts to remedy these challenges the eThekweni Municipality in 2011 introduced the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network Implementation Plan (IRPTN) (*see figure: 5*). It is aimed at the restructuring of the public transport system, and The IRPTN apart from moving people, is also about making the City of eThekweni more efficient by reducing trip lengths and cost of travel. The procurement of 800 extra-long articulated buses serving three high-volume corridors: Bridge City (KwaMashu) (*See Figure: 5*) to the CBD, Bridge City to Pinetown and Bridge City through the new Cornubia housing project to Umhlanga, which also will include a rail route from Bridge City to the CBD running through Rosburgh, Isipingo and Umlazi (eThekweni Municipality, 2011). The eThekweni Transport Authority head (2011-2016) stated that the INK area will greatly benefit as there will be dedicated bus lanes and pedestrian walkways and efficient, safe and reliable form of transportation which will be connecting towns further lying towns with the city and townships (eThekweni Municipality, 2011).

Figure: 5 Plans for the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network



eThekweni Municipality, 2011

5.2. Community Based Tourism and Local Economic Development

The Inanda Tourism Development Business Plan has been developed to provide a framework for tourism development in Inanda (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2009/10). This process has identified four main attractions for tourism in Inanda which are the Phoenix Settlement, Ohlange Institution, Inanda Seminary and Ebuhleni. Many researchers such as Achadlu, (2002) testify that from the late 1970s, Inanda saw a vast influx of people from the drought stricken rural areas. In the 1980s, Inanda changed from being a relatively quiet shanty town to an extremely dense settlement (Mearns, 2010), which the research noted is still characterised by high levels of unemployment. This, combined with the social pressures of rapid urbanisation, the insecurity that most local people (72% who complained) felt, and the intensification of the anti-apartheid struggle in these years, produced an extremely volatile situation. In addition, the apartheid state wished to control this shack settlement and its own policies did much to destabilise the area as described below.

Indeed from 1985 onwards, Inanda was caught up in a spiral of violence. Firstly, the remaining Indian residents of the area were chased out in the year 1985 (Achadlu, 2002), furthermore, Achadlu pointed out that there was warfare between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) particularly in lower Inanda (around Bhambayi, Lindelani, and in the new sections of Newtown Township) (*See Map: 2*) and it was one of the most violence stricken areas in the whole Province of KwaZulu Natal. Although since 1994, the situation has calmed down dramatically, there are still outbreaks of violence which continue due to political factionalism and marking out of exclusive territory for particular political leaders (Memela, 2012). Friedman (2008) argues that such a situation makes development initiatives within the Inanda area extremely difficult as also attested by 80% of respondents that this is so.

The interviews conducted revealed that Inanda as a Township has been under-developed and there is a dire need for it to be developed. The researcher through questionnaires and interviews established that there are some (66%) households without electricity connections or electricity at all. Moreover, the road infrastructure needs to be upgraded. Community Based Tourism through Cultural and Heritage in this township is being used as a vehicle for development to alleviate poverty levels. One of the key problems with respect to sustainability from a pro-poor

perspective is that the local people who are keen to participate in tourism are denied access to tourists (Holden, 2005: 132). This is particularly crucial in a case such as the Inanda Heritage Route, where the researcher observed that the movement and sight seeing of tourists is mostly controlled by tour operators and the itineraries are developed without specific consideration of pro-poor issues that the area experiences. The researcher noted that this is entirely understandable from a business perspective, as tour operator's focus on generating profits from a newly developed product surrounded by completely inadequate tourism infrastructure and low consumer awareness. It must however be acknowledged that it takes time and effort to motivate and capacitate the private sector to establish sustainable and responsible management practices (Spenceley, 2008: 365).

In many developing countries, where local communities struggle to meet basic needs, community support for the conservation of cultural and natural heritage resources appears to be contingent on the materialization of benefits generated from these resources (Friedman et al, 2008). Although government agencies correctly point out that "benefiting" must be understood in more than solely economic terms, there is no denial that most impoverished communities expect job opportunities, income generation and infrastructure improvements from the heritage tourism development in their midst (Achadlu, 2002). Moreover, sixty-two (62%) percent of respondents, who were interviewed suggest that the friendly attitude of the local population clearly contributed to the tourists' positive experience of the Inanda Heritage Route (IHR). Although local tourism marketing makes us believe that South African communities are exceptionally hospitable by nature, one must, more realistically, and from approximately eighty (80%) of the respondents who attest that many locals welcome tourists because they associate them with money and economic benefits. It cannot be taken for granted that this attitude will be sustained if no direct material benefits accrue to the residents in the medium term.

R'atz et al (2008) concept of the "tourist milieu" refers to the ambience or general atmosphere of the destination as it is subjectively perceived by each visitor, based on personal experiences, emotions and impressions, personality, and interests. The milieu is influenced by many factors apart from the primary attractions, including the destination's climate, environment, and food, socio-cultural characteristics of the local community and the attitude of the local population. In contrast to the destination image, which is heavily shaped by marketing material and other media

and which is often formed in the tourist's mind on the basis of preconceptions, milieu is predominantly based on actual observation and participation; it develops as a result of the visitor's actual sensual experiences of a destination's attributes (R'atz et al 2008: 5). While destination image attracts first-time visitors, the tourist milieu entices return visitors, because the milieu may become an attraction in itself. Given that key issues in the sustainability of the Inanda Heritage Route are an overall increase of visitors and an increase in community benefits from the tourism in the area, more research could be done on milieu factors that attract tourists to Inanda, and a more holistic marketing of the destination, subtly focused on linking community-based spending opportunities to the visit of the primary sites.

Much of the literature on sustainable tourism around cultural heritage, produced in developed countries and based on case studies of some of the world's most popular heritage attractions, is focused on managing excessive volumes of visitors (Prentice, 1997). Key issues include the safeguarding of the heritage resource from the potentially damaging impacts of the tourists and ensuring the quality of the visitor experience in view of the constant effect of crowding. The concept of perceptual carrying capacity, i.e. the relationship between tourist volumes and experience implies that low visitor's numbers guarantee a higher quality visitor experience in certain types of attractions, notably those involving guided tours in small-scale environments (Prentice, 1997). In the case of the Inanda Heritage Route, this observation provides an opportunity for turning a weakness into a strength and competitive advantage. In a context where cultural heritage sites throughout the world suffer from massive congestion, the Inanda Heritage Route with its low volume of visitors can provide quality experiences on the basis of in depth, close-up exposure to the sites, individual attention, ideally customized heritage interpretation narratives and possibly one-on-one contact with members of the community. Once again, the marketing could highlight this point and some individuals might even find it worthwhile paying a higher price for such quality experience (Spenceley, 2008).

5.3 Community Based Tourism and Economic Empowerment of Communities

It is evident through established tourism policies such as the ‘Tourism as a local development strategy in South Africa (2002) and the ‘Responsible Tourism Policy (2009) that the South African government acknowledges that many areas within South Africa have the potential to be developed into tourism destinations, but often the visitor experience is diminished by “the poor quality, poor management and lack of maintenance of cultural and heritage attractions” (Marais, 2006). To this one might add that the poor quality or complete lack of heritage interpretation, defined as the “process of communicating or explaining to visitors the significance of the place they are visiting” described Marais (2006). In the case of the Inanda Heritage Route, many improvements have been made to the heritage interpretation in time for the 2010 World Cup, notably the creation of new displays, the production of explanatory material and the employment of a permanent site tour guide at Ohlange site (Marias, 2006) . Other initiatives are still underway or planned, especially the creation of the above-mentioned exhibitions and a new interpretation centre at Ekuphakameni, which will hopefully address the desire for more displays and interpretive media highlighted by some of the more observant tourists. Heritage interpretation is sometimes criticized for its interference with the visitor’s own experience of a heritage place (Chambers, 2006).

In the case of political or religious sites such as those in Inanda, there is an inherent danger that an overzealous guide or an unbalanced exhibition may turn the heritage interpretation into propaganda fears Chambers, (2006), nevertheless, the researcher noted that there is a broad consensus that interpretation is very important for heritage tourism. That it considerably enhances the visitor experience and that it can play an important role in conservation and sustainable development. Much of the debate on interpretation at heritage sites centres on the relationship between education, long considered the core value in heritage interpretation, and entertainment or enjoyment, now widely regarded equally important to hold the visitor’s attention (Bramwell et al 1993; Timothy et al, 2003). A symbiotic relationship between the two

is particularly important in a case like the Inanda Heritage Route, which is still trying to expand its appeal and attract more visitors, including those outside traditional target markets, as occurred during the 2010 soccer World Cup.

The broad sense of satisfaction and generally the uncritical attitude expressed by the interviewees in this study might in part be attributed to the fact that the majority (78%) likely sought a brief, superficial experience of local history and culture. Quite different results might emerge when interviewing 'serious' heritage tourists (such as researchers or anthropologists) with much prior knowledge, and a deep need for information and learning, and a wide range of comparative experiences gathered on previous journeys. In fact, unreliable evidence and personal observations at other heritage sites in South Africa suggest that some visitors, including foreign tourists, feel that they know more about the history of the African leader (Such as Dr Langalibalele Dube) and the significance of the heritage sites than the local guides, attesting to (61%) of respondents who gave opinions that collaborated this view. This illustrates the dilemma between providing quality heritage interpretation and meeting social justice demands in a context marked by a long legacy of underdevelopment. Another observation by the researcher was that many tourist guides, especially site guides, possess low levels of formal education, little historical knowledge and little travel experience of their own and in an attempt to involve local communities and provide jobs, they are superficially trained to present a pre-designed narrative and respond to basic questions.

Many scholars such as Timothy et al (2003) highlight the need for different approaches to heritage interpretation for different audiences, because no standard tour guide narrative, display or text panel will be equally meaningful to all visitors, as they originate from diverse educational and cultural backgrounds and arrive with different motivations. One such type of heritage interpretation, which has gained increasing prominence in recent years, focuses specifically on members of the resident community and their understanding of the heritage site. In developing countries such as South Africa, where many heritage structures are surrounded by living communities such as the Mgungundlovu, Farm Moordplaats in Babanango District, Cycads, Monteseel Township in the Camperdown District and Mpande's Nodwengu Royal Homestead and Grave in Ulundi, Mahlabatini also not excluding the case study of this research, the Inanda Heritage Route (Mearns, 2010). It is particularly important to recognize the interdependencies

that exist between the community and the heritage resources in their area (Nuryanti, 1996:256). This presents another opportunity to turn a weakness into strength as the local guide is ideally equipped to address members of the local community at a level they can understand and relate to.

According to Mearns (2010), throughout South Africa, museums and heritage sites struggle to attract visitors from previously disadvantaged communities, despite the frequent absence of an entrance fee. Low levels of formal education contribute to this avoidance behaviour, but more importantly is the fact that in such communities, the visiting of museums and heritage sites has never traditionally formed part of their collective behaviour (Mearns, 2010), and to ensure sustainability, heritage interpretation must not exclusively focus on tourists, but be geared towards enticing the local communities. It is encouraging that one tourist in the Inanda Heritage Route in the sample was a local resident of Inanda, but the site guides can confirm that this is highly exceptional (apart from school groups on organized field trips). Communities need to understand the significance of preserving and visiting heritage sites beyond the mere prospect of economic gains and the researcher in this instance established that the locals of Inanda value and have a strong sense of ownership and pride in the historical and cultural heritage route as all respondents attested to this view. From a visitor's perspective, local people are an integral part of the "heritage locus"; they can contribute vitality to an area and assist in the maintenance of an atmosphere that is conducive to tourism (Nuryanti, 1996:256).

Moreover, a visit to the local heritage site is the start of developing a culture of engaging in domestic heritage tourism that will in due course benefit other heritage sites in the country, because an interest in visiting heritage sites is often kindled during childhood through museum visits with parents (Johnson et al, 2004) and some (25 that the researcher came across during the research) domestic tourists attested to this view of beginning an interest in sight seeing habit as early as possible. In South Africa, it might have to be the other way around as in; children who are now being introduced to heritage sites through school field trips should be encouraged to take their parents on such visits. If heritage sites offer interpretation programmes aimed at building local residents' knowledge, the latter can use that knowledge and share it with visitors, infusing it with their own perceptions, perspectives and experiences. Educating locals to become conscience of knowledge about local heritage and indigenous knowledge can provide fascinating, potentially provocative or humorous insights for tourists and substantially enrich the

quality of their visitor experience, while empowering locals by allowing them direct access to and interaction with tourists. This opens up a variety of opportunities and promotes sustainability on multiple levels (Johnson et al, 2004).

5.4. Summary of Chapter

By celebrating the heritage of the black majority, the Inanda Heritage Route (IHR) plays an important part in the transformation of the South African heritage sector from its very long legacy of focusing on the history and achievements. This chapter has presented the findings of the study carried out in Inanda Township. The current status quo of the Inanda Township and its Tourism related programmes were also discussed. It has also discussed the significance of Community Based Tourism and Local Economic Development impact on the economic empowerment of communities residing within the Inanda Heritage Route.

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Summary of Findings

This chapter provides a summary of the research conducted, the overall findings of research, recommendations and suggestions for further research. This chapter identifies the underlying relationship with respect to the success or failure of Local Economic Development (LED) strategies to alleviate poverty in Inanda. This chapter then concludes with a discussion about the issue of whether Local Economic Development (LED) through Community Based Tourism (CBT) has been successful in poverty alleviation or not in the township of Inanda. The study sought out to evaluate the impact of CBT as a LED tool to help alleviate poverty in Inanda but mainly focusing on the residents of Inanda who reside along the Inanda Heritage Route. Firstly it identified aspects of poverty in Inanda and assessed the extent to which poverty alleviation is influenced by demographic characteristics namely age, gender and income; this was conducted with the aim to compare the levels of poverty before and after the Inanda Heritage Route (IHR).

The study examined the role of the effectiveness of the structures such as the Municipality ‘Sizakala’ Centres, the developmental of Community Cultural Centers such as the Ekhaya Art Centre or the Wushwini Art Centre at Inanda put in place in the Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu Area Based Management (INK ABM) project in achieving the goal of poverty alleviation (*see section 5.1 The Current Status Quo*), and to use the results to recommend further initiatives. The study examined the nature of LED and CBT and established that a marginal impact in improving assets, income, employment growth and improving of the human capabilities of entrepreneurs and residents in Inanda through tourism. However LED has led to a significant implementation impact in upgrading infrastructure and improving household access to basic services in Inanda and the neighboring townships of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma such as the planning and upgrading of the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network Implementation (IRPTNI). The effects of the upgrading of the IRPTNI will assist in the transporting of Inanda commuters, and the recognition the Inanda Heritage Route has had within the South African Heritage Tourism Council. It has also been very evident that some Small Medium Enterprises (SME) entrepreneurs who are educated and skilled are able to take advantage of the tourism brought about by the Heritage Route by being able to submit funding proposals to the Provincial Department of Arts and

Culture and being able to draw up business proposals and plans. Moreover there is a positive correlation between the education and skills level with the level of income, profit, and market share of SME's. SME's with better skills have higher income, profit and market share in Inanda (Department of National Treasury: Case Study INK Township Replanning , 2009). Thus it is recommended to foster education and skills development.

Example of how Local Economic Development has had a significant impact in upgrading infrastructure and improving household access to basic services in Inanda

Table: 2 Five Anchor Projects, in addition to several other projects which are currently underway or planned for the INK area

Project	Description	Status	Value
KwaMashu Town Centre	Physical infrastructure projects, business development and support projects, safety and security programmes (including the building of a new police station) are all designed to establish the town centre as a major economic hub for the area	In Progress (physical infrastructure largely completed)	R76m
Inanda Heritage Trail	Development of several sites of historical interest in the Inanda area for tourism includes upgrading sites and building access roads, as well as educating tour operators.	Completed	R850m
Safer Cities Programme	Focus is on providing safety in schools, increasing police presence in the area, and mobilising the community against crime	In Progress / Facing Delays	R1.0m
P577 Road	Building of a 14.1 km dual carriageway urban arterial that incorporates a new road link over the UMngeni River. In INK, this involves building 5 km of road between Duff's Rd and Inanda Rd	In Progress	R550m

Source: DPLG, INK Urban Renewal Programme: 2007

The study findings strongly suggested that the starting point for LED strategies should be enhancing people's capabilities in improving their income, assets indicators, human skills, market share and employment creation of SME's and residents in Inanda especially through education and training as it was evident in the interviews that many (53%) respondents were illiterate or did not study beyond the twelfth grade (Grade 12). From this, a culture of

entrepreneurship and innovation can be fostered, since it has been observed that Small Medium Enterprises in relation to tourism such as crafters, art performers for tourists can be key drivers of growth. In trying to improve LED strategies; so that they can have a major impact on poverty alleviation. The study recommends rethinking LED strategies to unlock the poverty trap in Inanda. Targeting of LED programs should therefore be improved to ensure that strategies reach the poorest of the poor and these include the unemployed, uneducated and those that depend solely on government grants. Moreover there is a need for investing in all forms of capital since poverty is multidimensional and a web of factors (such as those revealed by the Inanda case) trap entrepreneurs and residents in poverty. The researcher argues that since poverty is multi-faceted it requires various packages to unlock the poverty trap which is endemic in most cities in the developing countries such as South Africa and local areas of concentrated poverty such as KwaMashu and Inanda and other peri urban areas. Moreover policy should be translated into meaningful practice so that there is a significant impact in alleviating poverty. Translating policy into practice can be improved by adopting the LED model cycle and the clinical LED concept development by the researcher and by so doing, the researcher contributes to knowledge in the field of LED.

6.2 Findings

The development debate, aided by the controversy inherently related to the concept of sustainable development of Community Based Tourism and illustrated the theoretical disarray in which LED has presented itself as a viable alternative form of development where the study revealed that there is a strong positive correlation between education levels and success of entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs who have better skills can therefore leverage themselves to LED strategies. The current sustainable livelihoods approach dominating rural development thinking has emphasised the need for locally driven, people-centered development (Chhabra, 2009). An analysis of LED and application identified its intrinsic potential to meet the needs of poor people, specifically those of rural communities such as Inanda Township. For this reason, LED has become a significant factor in the South African development planning and policy (Memela, 2012). With reference to rural South Africa, the rise of tourism based LED is progressively being favoured as the solution to rural or periphery economic decline and poverty. Due to the national

policy support for pro-poor development, policy has equipped and empowered local government with the task of facilitating and delivering LED for the benefit of their local communities.

The researcher had to acknowledge the reality that "on the ground, noble ideas are often fuelled by funding difficulties and applied shortages". This is very often the case as there are not sufficient support structures such as successful private enterprise and productive public-private partnerships set in place to maintain and facilitate the continued growth and sustainability of LED. It is clearly evident that within the South African policy the local government is seen as a fundamental facilitator in LED (Marschall, 2012). It is therefore imperative that while seeking to understand national LED policy, there is a need to consider the support structure created in local government. Thus this research has assessed demographic characteristics impact on the implementation of LED strategies and the study also revealed that INK ABM is not fully translating policy into practice thus not fully achieving its objective of being pro-poor and alleviating poverty through the tourism resources this township possesses.

6.2.1 Research Findings

Based on the research questions the research conducted has the following findings:

a) Institutional Structures and Management of Tourism

There are several Institutional structures the researcher observed which are contributing in the management of tourist facilities and are also encouraging local people to participate in Community Based Tourism in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu area and more specifically towards the Inanda Heritage Route. These institutional structures include the Inner eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (iTrump) and the Woza eNanda Tourism Brand.

- The Inner eThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (iTrump) is working on supporting cultural events and tourism within eThekwini Municipality and is engaging with stakeholders through a process of discussion and where necessary ensuring their participation in tourism activities that the eThekwini Municipality has to offer. The researcher observed that both the iTrump and INK ABMs see culture, events and tourism as tools or rather the means to regenerate the urban environment, change the uses of

public spaces into more productive enterprises that support new and varied kinds of cultural and recreational activities that purposefully link into and support local economic development initiatives. Another observation by the researcher was that a wider and more profound ambition is that in the process of consulting with stakeholders, implementing policies, generating economic and social activities and making links with new partners, a respect for diversity is encouraged out of which a new sense of citizenship and identity within the localities and the metropolitan municipality as a whole will emerge.

- All respondent agreed that the Woza eNanda Tourism Brand is a keystone socio-economic project which aims at deliver tourism-led economic development in the eNanda area. The respondents furthermore stated that the Woza eNanda Tourism Brand assists and encourages the local communities to be involved and participate in different forms of art, crafts, and the exotic aspects of people's way of life such as rituals, beliefs and practices.

b) Tourist Attractions along the Inanda Heritage Route

The Inanda Heritage Route boasts to several historical heritage nodes (*See Chapter: 4: Study area*) (Ohlange, Ashram- Phoenix Settlement, Shembe the Nazareth Baptist Church and The Inanda Seminary) but there are also other tourist attracting sites and festivals that attract domestic and even international tourist to Inanda area. The researcher noted that a stadium has been built at Ohlange, and it often hosts soccer matches and music festivals. There are commercial investments in the route in the form of two Bed and Breakfast establishments and two Taverns, directly connected to the route promotion. Notwithstanding the route or site is not a flagship project. It is, however, connected with the broader local economic development strategy of the Durban Metropolitan Municipality. Cultural and heritage interests are developed and promoted through music festival and other activities which are well regarded in the area. The Inanda Heritage Route has a well-established educational centre and works towards the development of existing local skills and cultural interests. Educational Centers such as Inanda Seminary, Ohlange Educational Centre and Mahatma Ghandi Phoenix settlement are all bastions of culture and heritage. On analyzing the views of officials, tour operators and tourists functioning around the Inanda Heritage Route on the basis of Policy Analysis Model attributes

showed some measure of satisfaction with the situation in the area located on the Woza eNanda Tourism Route and situated on the northern shores of the eNanda Dam, just 30 minutes from the Durban city centre, eNanda. Adventures offers a versatile selection of constructed mountain bike and hiking trails, excellent birding and rock climbing opportunities, all well as safe paddling (kayaking) and swimming. All activities provide visitors with spectacular elevated views from the Matabethule Plateau over the eNanda Dam.

c) Community Role in Tourism Based Activities

The researcher from the research conducted acknowledges that community of Inanda and surrounding areas such as Ntuzuma and KwaMashu is being encouraged to partake in community based tourism initiatives prompted within the INK area. Selected community development projects could be featured as attractions in their own right, such as the Ekhaya Art Centre or the Wushwini Art Centre at Inanda. These art centers host developmental activities such as bead work, candle making, sewing, sculpturing and painting. Furthermore the researcher noted from the interviews with the eThekweni Municipality officials that local government has consulted with tour operators before making decisions about the further expansion of the tourism amenities infrastructure in Inanda such as the rebuilding of Mahatma Ghandi's home as a monument to peace and justice after his original home was destroyed. The researcher did also note that more community participation is needed both in tourism and in cultural heritage site management to increase the sense of ownership and opportunities for material gains and poverty alleviation.

6.2 Conclusion

This research sought to examine the role of Community Based Tourism as a Local Economic Development tool with the case of the Inanda Heritage Route, whilst studying to what extent CBT has provided economic development. The study sought to identify aspects of poverty that have been reduced in Inanda; assess the extent to which poverty alleviation is influenced by demographic characteristics namely age sex and income in Inanda Township; to compare levels of poverty before and after the INK ABM in Inanda; to identify the positive and negative impacts of the LED strategies within the INK ABM in Inanda; to establish the effectiveness of the structures put in place in the INK ABM project within the Inanda Heritage Route in achieving

the ultimate goal of poverty alleviation, and to use the results to recommend further initiatives. However Community Based Tourism has had a significant impact in upgrading infrastructure and improving household access to basic services in Inanda Township. There has been infrastructure upgrade along the Inanda Heritage Route which includes the building of tourist accommodations in forms Bed and Breakfast facilities, the refurbishing of tourist back packers sites and also the building of a new town center nearby (Bridge City). Likewise the proportion of households with access in basic services such as (electricity, sanitation and refuse removal is over 70% in Inanda.

In trying to improve LED strategies so that they have a major impact on poverty alleviation the study recommends it is essential to alert tour operators to pro-poor issues and community based issues and show them how they can include community-based “complementary products” with tourist spending opportunities in their itineraries, ideally in ways that are mutually beneficial to everyone. The fact that many interviewees from Inanda were appalled at the community’s poor living conditions suggests that tourists would be pleased to see evidence of how the quality of people’s lives have improved through tourism, that being indirectly through their contribution. Furthermore the government might need to provide support to foster entrepreneurial activity within the Inanda community, and support small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) so that they can provide tourism-related services and especially encourage the emergence of more tour operators and tourist guides from within the area. The need for such intervention has long been recognized by both academics such as Bhengu (2008) and Marschall (2011) and the government, but so far, there is still too little evidence of implementation. These authors mentioned have hope that the country’s newly developed Draft National Tourism Sector Strategy (Department of Tourism, 2010) will contribute to rectifying this situation. The document specifically speaks of developing programmes that attract more black entrepreneurs to enter the tourism industry and providing national mentorship programmes to support such entrepreneurs and operators of SMMEs (Department of Tourism, 2010:74).

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Appendix: 1 Household Questionnaire for Inanda Residents

Name: _____

Address: _____

Relation to Household Head: _____

Age: _____

Sex: Male/Female _____

1. How many members are there in your family/household?

1-3 _____ 4-7 _____ 8 or more _____

2. Who is the head of the household?

Mother _____ Father _____ Child other (specify) _____

3. Are you employed, Yes _____ No _____

if no what is your source of income?

4. What is your average income per month?

Income	Tick where applicable
0-400	
401-800	
801-1600	
1601-3200	
3201-6400	
6401-12800	
12801 and above	

5. What is the family's average income per day, _____ week, _____ month
_____ year ?

6. What mode of transport do you use; taxi _____ own car; _____ bicycle _____

7. Do you have access to the following;

Service	Yes	No	Do you experience any cut or disruption in service	
			YES	NO
electricity				
water				
sewerage				
refuse removal				
telephone				

8. Are the community facilities adequate?

Facilities	Are they adequate	
	YES	NO
Education		
Sports		
Health		
Community		

9. a) What are the major factors limiting development in Inanda?

b) Or promoting development in Kwa-Mashu

10. a) What would you consider to be the good life?

b) According to your own definition are you living the good life? Yes No

11. What would you define as poverty?

12. a) According to your definition in (11) since 2001 would you consider yourself as poor?

Yes _____ No _____

13. What are the reasons for your answer in (a) ?

14. What type of house do you live in? Detached_____ Semidetached_____ or RDP Other (specify)

14a) Is it rented or owned? Yes_____ No_____

15. How many years have you been living in Inanda Township?

0-5 years _____ 6-10 _____ 10and above

16a). Is the INK ABM doing enough to improve the quality of life in Inanda Township?

Yes_____ No_____

b) Explain your answer in (a) above

17.a) What sort of assistance if any do you get from the INK ABM to improve your livelihoods?

b) or any other stakeholders?

18. Are you informed about the responsibilities of the INK ABM?

Yes_____ No_____

Thank you for your participation

Appendix: 2 Questionnaires for Interviewees and Relevant Stake Holders

1. What are the Local Economic Development strategies in Inanda?
2. What are the Local Economic Development projects being carried out under the banner of the Inanda Heritage Route?
3. Under the projects in (2) what are the flagship project(s)?
4. a) How do you define pro-poor LED
5. b) According to your definition in (a) are the LED strategies in Inanda pro-poor?
6. To what extent has Community Based Tourism successfully stimulated Local Economic Development?
7. Has there been any economically empowered and eradicated poverty for communities residing along the Inanda Heritage Route?
8. To what extent do tourists visit the Inanda Heritage Route?
9. What are the major tourist attractions within the Inanda Heritage Route?
10. What role does the community play in running, maintaining and operating of the attractions?

11. Has tourist expenditure had any impact to poverty levels at individual, household and community levels?
12. Do the LED strategies in Inanda have an economic growth focus?
13. How are you linked to the broader municipality departments?
14. Are you linked with other stakeholders? If Yes please explain
15. What factors hinder LED projects in Inanda?
16. What would you consider untapped opportunities in Inanda?
17. Since inception of the Inanda Heritage Route what has been your success or failure?

- Explain your answer