SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM PROJECTS: A CASE STUDY OF THE MEHLODING COMMUNITY TOURISM PROJECT

By

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Abstract:

Tourism and its spin-offs have been acknowledged as possible means for development. When the main target of this development is the local community, solutions such as community based tourism projects have been implemented. This is the case analysed in this study, The Mehloding Community Tourism, a community based tourism project that is being developed in the Alfred Nzo district of the Eastern Cape province in the Republic of South Africa.

Through the study of the existing literature, to establish a solid framework, and a deep analysis of the project; using the project documentation, interviews with key informants, and other information obtained in the field visits; it has been tried to reach a better understanding of the scope of the main social and economic impacts of the project, using as benchmark the original goals stated in the project documents.

The results show a well initiated project with some weaknesses in the area of planning process, which are trying to be corrected at the moment. In the area of the project operations the management seems to be quite positive but there are problems in the participation and capacity of the trustees as well as a shortage of tourist. The core section of the analysis, i.e., the social and economic impacts is on the whole positive, with the social impacts appearing to be achieved in a higher degree than the economic ones. Although considering the small scale of the project and the relatively early stage of it, and despite of the general optimism of its members, the economic sustainability of the project is still uncertain.

The study, with it scope and limitations, concludes that community based tourism projects, if well planned and developed, could have positive impacts over the local communities, in particular over those members directly involved, such is the case of the Mehloding Community Tourism. However it has raised some questions about the suitability of the initiative to achieve poverty alleviation in the area. It is suggested that, other than solving the major problems of economic sustainability and Trust capacity, the platform created at a human and institutional levels should be used for further developmental initiatives of the area.

Declaration:

This dissertation represents original work by the author and has not been previously submitted in any form to any University. Where use has been made of work of others, this has been duly acknowledged and referenced in the text.

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Alcalá de Guadaira (Sevilla), Spain 27/06/05

Acknowledgements:

Motivation

The main reason for me to undertake this study is the close relation and involvement I have had during the last years with the tourism field in developing countries, mainly in Latin American the Caribbean. Nature-based resources for tourism are commonly abundant in these countries such as the Amazon jungle, the Andean Cordillera, the coral reef, etc. just to mention some of them. However in most of the cases the local population and communities are not the major beneficiaries, whether because of a predominance of foreign privately owned companies or due to a lack of knowledge, initiative and support to the communities to be able to start their own projects. To address this problem the option of community-based tourism project has been pointed to and in some cases implemented as a possible and sustainable alternative. In particular in rural South Africa this approach has been considered and put into practice in a few communities such as in the case study of this dissertation - the Mehloding Community Tourism and its two products: the Mehloding Adventure Trail and the Masakala Traditional Guesthouse in the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa.

List of abbreviations:

AND : Alfred Nzo District.

CB : Capacity Building.

CBO : Community Based Organization.

CBT : Community Based Tourism.

CP : Community Participation.

CTA : Community Tourism Association.

CTO : Community Tourism Organization.

DC : Developing Countries.

DEAT : Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

DEAET : Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism.

DPLG : Department of Provincial and Local Government.

EC : Eastern Cape.

ECDC : Eastern Cape Development Corporation.

ECTB : Eastern Cape Tourism Board.

ECTMP : Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan.

EDA : Environmental Developing Agency.

ERS : Environmental and Rural Solutions.

FTT : Fair Trade in Tourism.

FTTSA : Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa.

GDP : Gross Domestic Product.

GEAR : Growth and Employment and Redistribution Strategy.

GEM : Group for Environmental Monitoring.

IDP : Integrated Development Plan.

IFAD : International Fund for Agricultural Development.

IFI : International Financial Institution.

IMF : International Monetary Fund.

INGO : International Non Governmental Organization.

IUCN-SA : International Union for the Conservation of Nature South Africa.

KZN : Kwazulu-Natal.

LDO/IDP : Local Development Objectives/Integrated Development Planning.

LEDF : Local Economic Development Fund.

LTO : Local Tourism Organization.

MAT : Mehloding Adventure Trail.

MCT : Mehloding Community Tourism.

MCTT : Mehloding Community Tourism Trust.

MDB : Municipal Demarcation Board.

MDTP : Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Project.

MNC : Multi National Corporation.

MTG : Masakala Traditional Guesthouse.

NBT : Nature Based Tourism.

NGO : Non Governmental Organization.

NIC : Newly Industrializing Country.

PPT : Pro Poor Tourism.

PSC : Project Steering Comitee.

RDP : Reconstruction and Development Programme.

RETOSA : Regional Tourism Organization of South Africa.

SA : South Africa.

SAP : Structural Adjustment Programme.

SMME : Small and Medium Enterprises.

TCSP : Tourism Council of the South Pacific.

TDP : Tourism Development Process.

TNTC : trans-national tourism corporation.

UMTA : Umzimbuvu Matatiele Tourism Association.

UN : United Nations.

UTA : Ukhahlamba Tourism Association.

VSA : Volunteer Service Abroad.

WB : World Bank.

WTO : World Tourism Organization.

ZAR : South African Rand.

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Chapter 3. <u>Community Participation and Tourism</u>

Part II. Case Study: The Mehloding Community Tourism Project (Mehloding Adventure Trail and Masakala Traditional Guesthouse)

Introduction:

In the last four decades, and in a context of economic marginalisation, Developing Countries (DC) have embraced tourism as a "panacea" to improve their development, encouraged by some successful examples such as the case of Spain in the 1970s. Tourism can undoubtedly be an engine for developing countries growth, but this is not as simple as it looks. If not treated carefully it can even worsen some common problems of these countries such as: increasing foreign dependency with a subsequent loss of local control over the tourist resources; lack of coordination between national economic sectors and tourism areas; increasing social and economic neo-colonial patterns; unsustainable and environmentally unfriendly practices; and loss of cultural identity by the local population, due to the pervasive influence of mass tourism which has bigger economic resources and mechanisms of social control. In opposition to these possible negative effects of some unsustainable forms of tourism, such as poorly planned mass tourism, the idea of alternative tourism emerged characterised, among other things, by community participation. Within this context is framed the notion of community based tourism, relying in particular on sustainable managed nature tourism, in which the participation and ownership of local residents in different parts of the process, such as planning, implementation, etc. increases. This can be seen in the following quotation from Timothy (2002: 150):

"Community-based tourism is a more sustainable form of development than conventional mass tourism because it allows host communities to break away from the hegemonic grasp of tour operators and the oligopoly of wealthy elites at the national level".

However the difficult issue is to combine an economically profitable use of tourism resources, to boost growth, with a real involvement of the community in a sustainable way so the resources can be enjoyed and used by future generations. In de Kadt's words: "make the conventional more sustainable" (1990: abstract). In this regard some authors like Brennan and Allen (2001) suggest that it is not always the case. In their study the benefits of community based ecotourism projects in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa, have been so far more rhetorical than practical.

Since the mid 1990s South Africa has been one of the countries that embedded tourism in its developmental strategies for poverty alleviation and conservation. Its tourism strategies are led by ecotourism and community based projects in rural areas, within this context we find the project case study of this dissertation.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the Mehloding Community Tourism Project in order to analyze community based tourism (CBT) as a tool for local economic development; the requirements and limitations for its implementation focusing on its social and economic impacts (on the host communities); and through the study reach a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of this type of tourism.

Outline of Dissertation:

The dissertation is divided in two main parts, the first establishes a theoretical framework and the second deals with the case study. The first part begins by describing tourism and its types in an attempt to frame CBT. Chapter two continues by linking tourism and development, and the different developmental paradigms that have influenced it. This is followed by a brief description of the recent situation of tourism in Developing Countries (DCs), complemented by an analysis of tourism strategies and interventions in DCs in general, and in South Africa in particular. The chapter concludes by reviewing and classifying the different impacts of tourism in DCs. Chapter three provides a more detailed analysis of the concept of community participation and the inclusion of this concept in the field of tourism, as well as the main limitations of community participation in tourism within the tourism development process. Finally, the chapter concludes by reviewing the evaluation of tourism impacts.

The second part is dedicated to the case study. Chapter four outlines the methodology to be used and chapter five sets the tourism context in South Africa at National level, Provincial and Municipal level strategies are further explored to provide the context for this case study. Chapter six comprehensively describes the project. Chapter seven presents the data collected and displays the results objectively to the reader, followed by chapter eight in which the author presents his analysis. The dissertation finishes with chapter nine summarizing the study as well as presenting the conclusions and providing some general recommendations.

Part I: Theoretical Framework

This first part intends to set the theoretical foundations of the dissertation that can help to understand and to underpin the different issues of the case study in part two. In doing so, this part has been structured in three chapters that deal with tourism, the links between tourism and development, and between community participation and tourism.

1. Tourism.

The main aim of this chapter, besides introducing the concept of tourism accompanied by a brief historical overview of its evolution, is to give an overview of the main kinds of tourism including the central one in this study, community based tourism, and to identify the main stakeholders that play a role and exert their influence over the tourism sector. This will further the understanding of the different role players and their functions in the case study.

1.1 The concept of tourism:

In defining tourism there is some confusion derived from the fact that the words tourism and travel are used indiscriminately to mean similar things. However, three common elements are present in the concept of tourism: the movement of people, a sector of the economy, and a system of interacting relationships between the need and desire to travel (demand), and the attempt to answer this need or desire (supply) (Page et al., 2001). In trying to conceptualize tourism Burkart and Medlik (1981) distinguish five characteristics which can help to define tourism:

- Tourism comes from the movement of people and their stay in the destination.
- Two elements can be separated, the journey itself and the stay with its activities.
- The above two elements occur outside the normal place of residence and work, and have therefore led to the development of different activities to those of the residents and working populations.
- The movement is characterized for being temporary, generally of short term.

- The purposes of the visit are other than taking permanent residence and/or getting remunerated employment in the place/s of visit.

These characteristics give a clear concept of tourism in which the movement and stay of people for a short period, in a place different from that of normal residence or work, have purposes other than living and/or working.

In this regard the World Tourism Organization (WTO), gives a very similar definition in which tourism comprises: "The activities of a person travelling outside his or her usual environment for less than a specified period of time and whose main purpose of travel is other than exercise of an activity remunerated from the place visited." (1991: no page).

1.2 Tourism: an historical overview

Tourism, understood as the practice of travelling for recreational purposes, is not a new phenomenon; there are signs of it from centuries ago in the ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman cultures. Historically, religious reasons have always been an important motivation for travelling, from the medieval pilgrimages such as the "Camino de Santiago" along Europe, which led to the development of a network of inns and hospitals to cover the needs of the pilgrims; to current "pilgrimages" to holy or religious places such as Mecca, Jerusalem, Vatican, etc. which generate large tourist incomes for the host countries and contribute to the development of their tourism industry. Following the pilgrimages in the middle age, the "Grand Tour" became popular among the North American and the European middle class, but what has really boosted tourism in the modern era, and in particular mass tourism, has been the invention and the improvements of the different forms of transport. For example, the development of the railways in the nineteenth century helped to popularize seaside resorts that were conveniently located nearby main industrial cities, which until then had been only in reach of the upper classes. In the second half of the nineteenth century the construction of large and luxurious cruise liners increased long-haul travelling (Harrison, 2001). At the same time the Fordist production of cars, making them more affordable, as well as the improvements and expansion of the roads helped increase tourism throughout Europe and North America. In the twentieth century the biggest contribution to the increment of the number of tourists and destinations was definitely made by the plane,

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with the introduction of charter flights, passenger jets, and the construction of new airports that opened up a bigger range of destinations.

All these improvements in tourism and the expansion of it to a larger sector of the population with different interests and purchasing power led to differentiation in the sector and the creation of various types of tourism.

1.3 Tourism types:

Depending on the criteria used we can find many different types of tourism, only the most common and useful for this study will be defined.

Mass tourism:

This is large scale tourism, derived from the modernization and neoliberal development trends defined by Telfer (2002a), in which the main aim is to increase the supply and the profits, resulting in a generally high and disruptive impact in the host communities, low sustainability and external ownership.

Alternative tourism:

Alternative tourism is a concept that has been widely used, meaning many different things, sometimes to describe any tourism initiative that is different to conventional tourism, and sometimes just as a trendy and fashionable word. However, there are some common characteristics that according to Telfer *(ibidem),* can help to define this kind of tourism. It is a type of tourism that is small in scale and dispersed, which tries to promote a closer and non disruptive contact between the tourists and the host communities. The ownership is more oriented to local instead of foreign businesses. It encourages and promotes community participation in the tourism planning as well as in the related development. It emphasizes the idea of sustainability, both from an environmental point of view as well as from a cultural one. And finally it respects the host communities in its culture and traditions avoiding or minimizing any possible alienation or disruption of them. Defining the different types of tourism within this concept of alternative tourism is a controversial matter and still subject to debate.

Nature based tourism (NBT) and Ecotourism:

According to Weaver (2001 quoted in Fennell, 2003: 6), "Nature based tourism is any type of tourism that relies mainly on attractions directly related to the natural environment." Weaver also includes ecotourism as a type of NBT and Honey (1999: 25) provides the following definition of ecotourism:

"Ecotourism is travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and, usually, small scale. It helps educate the traveller; provides funds for conservation; directly benefit the economic development and political empowerment of local communities; and foster respect for different cultures and for human rights".

In this respect and worldwide, eco-tourism is currently the subject of much discussion and debate with regard to its impact on rural communities. Many believe that eco-tourism development has not delivered on its original promises and has deviated from its original definition into an elitist type of nature-based tourism for the wealthy people. It is necessary to guard against romantic notions that eco-tourism is a magical panacea for poverty. According to the Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (ECTMP, 2003), for eco-tourism to be used as an effective tool in community development requires a massive effort to redistribute the benefits and revenues generate by the tourism industry.

Culture based tourism:

Using Weaver's (*ibidem*) definition for NBT, this would be any type of tourism that relies mainly on attractions directly related to cultural resources.

Community based tourism:

Mearns (2003: 30) defines CBT as:

"Tourism initiatives that are owned by one or more defined communities, or run as a joint venture partnership with the private sector with equitable community participation, as a means of using the natural resources in a sustainable manner to improve their standard of living in an economically viable way."

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However, this definition is limited due to its inclusion of only natural resources. CBT can also utilise other types such as cultural resources. As CBT is the main type of tourism analyzed in this study it is deemed useful to provide a complementary definition taken from the Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (ECTMP) (2003: no page):

"Community based tourism is defined as tourism which involves rural or urban communities in identifying, developing, managing and promoting their historical, cultural, heritage or natural resources as tourism products."

Classifying tourism is not an easy task since throughout the literature we find numerous terms which sometimes overlap each other such as alternative tourism, ecotourism, green tourism, etc, as can be seen from the definitions above. However and for the study purposes a classification based on four criteria is proposed, according to which any form of tourism initiative could be categorized:

1. Scale of Tourism:
    a) Mass tourism
    b) Small scale/ 'Alternative'

2. Resource used:
    a) Nature based tourism
    b) Culture based tourism

3. Ownership of initiative:
    a) Private
    b) Community based tourism
    b) State led

4. Organization:
    a) Independent tourism
    b) Organized tourism

Source: (the author, 2005).

1.4 Tourism entities and their roles

The tourism sector depends on three different entities which, due to their varied interests and capacity, influence the tourism sector in every domain:

a. Private sector
b. Public institutions/organisations
c. Society/Community

Since the start of modern tourism in the middle of the nineteenth century the relevance of private enterprise in tourism has always increased parallel to the growth of the tourism market itself. The sector can be divided by company size and by sectorial business within the tourism sector (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). At the higher levels there are the TNTCs (trans-national tourism corporations) which are sub-divided by business sector, such as accommodation, transport, etc. The level of control over the tourism sector is directly related to the size of the company.

The geographical location of companies is also a very important factor that can determine the level of power in the global tourism sector. Today, major tourism companies in all sectors are owned and mainly located in three regions: North America, Western Europe and Japan. In addition, recent years have witnessed an increase in horizontal (within the same sector) and vertical (between different sectors) integration. The role of these companies is quite different. In general it is possible to say that TNTCs control the majority of the conventional tourism sector, and medium size enterprises tend to exploit specialised alternative niche markets and the residual "crumbs" of conventional tourism left over from the TNTCs. Finally, small sized firms rely on the business of the other two.

Since the 1950s, when there was virtually no public sector tourist planning, public institutions have enormously increased in importance after having assumed that tourism need to be fully planned, otherwise tourism could not bring the expected benefits to developing countries (Scheyvens, 2002). The public institutions involved in the different aspects of tourism development can be located at sub-national (provincial and local), national, regional and international level. At sub-national and national level,

governments, along with their agencies, are surely the key players in the development of tourism within their countries. Two kinds of influence can be recognised: internal and external.

Probably the most important internal policy that a government implements is the development of a general tourism plan with long-term emphasis. This is because "unregulated short-term initiatives which serve the narrow interest of powerful forces may well jeopardise the sustainability and longer term tourism potential" (Brohman, 1996: 62).

Government legislation is also very important regarding the strategies to use for a wider local participation. Development is about the improvement of the masses in a holistic manner. In a national strategy only governments have the capacity to empower (or not) local communities. Key policy elements that can support local community development, depending on how they are implemented, lie in the following areas (Scheyvens, 2002):

1. Tourism planning and policy
2. Tourism marketing
3. Tourism regulation standard
4. Land use planning
5. Tourism training and licensing
6. Cooperation between community and private sector
7. Information, staffing
8. Parks pricing and development
9. Credit

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) distinguishes five ways in which the state is involved in tourism: establishing the framework in which public and private can cooperate; legislating and regulating cultural and environmental protection; providing infrastructure; developing training and education for tourism; and formulating policies and planning for tourism development (Raphael 1993 cited in Harrison, 2001). Another important sphere of intervention of the governments is the spatial distribution of the tourism throughout the country - in some cases restricting tourism expansion to limit its

possible negative impacts and in some other cases, expanding it to depressed and less favoured areas to promote growth and poverty alleviation.

A key external influence that developing country governments can exert is the implementation of marketing campaigns. Governments have the capacity to develop a national or sometimes co-operative multi-country marketing campaign at global level. Another potential external influence that public institutions can have is through the engagement and coordination at different levels with other public institutions, as well as the integration with cultural projects and the protection of heritage sites. As Rogerson (2001: 325) points out, "the emphasis on regional economic co-operation is increasingly important". Examples of institutional regional co-operation in tourism are, among others, the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) and the Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TCSP). Finally, national governments are engaged in negotiating national and international policies with international institutions and/or bilateral cooperation agreements.

Clearly, regardless of the kind of tourism promoted, the state has got a role to play but this seems particularly so in sustainable tourism. In this regard the governments have got their say and can create the conditions for sustainability, coexisting with strategies for conventional tourism such as infrastructure development, the admission conditions of tourists in the country and influence on exchange rates.

The tourism related literature (de Kadt, 1990, Brohman, 1996) agrees that if a more sustainable form of tourism is desirable a more active role for the state is needed. In fact in some respects, it is only the state which can facilitate a shift to greater sustainability. If tourism is left to the self regulation of the market, it is known that the latter has got imperfections and the sole interest of the big TNTCs will prevail, fostering large scale mass tourism, big hotels and facilities without much sensitivity for the environment and the interest of the host communities, and in particular the poor.

Civil society organisations include Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs), grassroots organisations, etc. at local, national or international level. Western-based INGOs (International NGOs) have generally four main areas of intervention:

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1. Funding

2. Field work projects (design and implementation)

3. Monitoring

4. Political pressure

INGOs can fund tourism projects in developing countries. Such funding can serve to emphasise western concerns such as environmental conservation, over local needs and priorities. In this way an ecologist (cited in Mowforth and Munt 1998: 179) "warned Zimbabweans to beware the evils of development. Nature, he claimed, needs to be protected from economic exploitation so that society can enjoy the aesthetic and recreational benefits of an unspoiled countryside". The discourse concerning the role of developing countries' own NGOs, especially at micro-level, is different. Their perspective is usually more concerned with people, the emphasis of local NGOs is on people participation and empowerment. They usually have a more democratic decision-making process. This does not eliminate the problem that also in so-called "democratic" NGOs, local elites and factors like gender, age and other social divisions can seriously damage the spread of benefits deriving from the tourism project.

2. Tourism and Development.

This chapter is dedicated to the relations between tourism and development, describing how tourism, being an important sector in development, is influenced by the different development paradigms, and how community based tourism is framed within the alternative development paradigm. It offers a brief overview of the evolution and actual situation of the tourism sector in developing countries (DCs). The chapter also aims to give an idea of the different tourism strategies or interventions followed in DCs and in South Africa in particular, as well as present the main effects of tourism identified in the literature. This will help in the selection of impacts to focus on and analyse for the case study.

2.1 Development paradigms

Since the different development theories after the World War II have influenced and modelled the orientation of the tourism field, it seems interesting for the study to briefly review the main development streams or paradigms. As with the concept of development, there are different classifications for the theories; however the one proposed by Telfer (2002a: 39), will be used here in which the four development paradigms are: Modernisation, Dependency, Economic neoliberalism and Alternative development.

Modernisation: this paradigm is understood as socioeconomic development which transforms a traditional society into a modern one, following an evolutionary pattern based on western societies. In this process a shift from rural to urban and from agriculture to industry occurs. This was a predominant view in the non-Marxist world mainly in the 1950's and 1960's to be applied in developing countries. This paradigm was dominated by Keynesian economics in which the state played an interventionist role. According to Rostow (1967 cited in Telfer, 2002a) for a society to achieve development it has to pass through four stages namely, traditional society, pre-conditions for take-off, the take-off, and the maturity and high consumption stage. The main critiques to modernisation come from its unidirectional western ethnocentric view in which tradition is incompatible with development, as well as for failing to consider the diversity of environments.

Dependency: this approach arose in the 1960's as a main critique to modernisation theories. According to it, underdevelopment is based on the dependent social, economic and political relationship of the developing countries with the developed ones. In other words the development of the western world occurs thanks to the underdevelopment and exploitation of the developing world. It is a neo-Marxist model based on contributions of the Latin American structuralists and Marxists. Economic reforms such as the import substitution strategies, protectionism and state intervention took place under this paradigm. The main criticisms are that the theories are too abstract, deterministic, pessimistic and rhetorical and lack policy recommendations.

Neoliberalism: this paradigm emerged in opposition to the tendencies of state interventionism and Keynesian economics in the mid 1970's and 1980's. Neoclassic economic concepts such as free market, privatisation, removing trade barriers have dominated since this time and form the platform of the globalization era. The main economic reforms proposed in developing countries to follow these principles came in the form of Structural Adjustment Programmes backed by the main International Financial Institutions. This paradigm has been criticised for being developed country oriented, for increasing inequalities and poverty, strengthening local elites, as well as paying little or no attention to social and environmental issues.

Alternative development: this emerged in the early 1970's and the 1980's as a result of the dissatisfaction with the results of the main development theories due to their excessive focus on economic issues and their neglect of people's participation, the environment, sustainability and gender. The latter concerns are precisely the pillars of alternative development that has given rise to the participation of what has been called civil society through Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and other forms, in the development process. Others have gone even further and declared the demise of development as it is understood from the western point of view. Criticisms of the alternative paradigm have come from a variety of fronts and include the belief that it is not an economically profitable path to development, that it impedes growth in the long term, that is involves excessive state control, and that there has been a lack of concretization of the concept of sustainable development.

2.2 Tourism and development studies

The study of the relationship between tourism and development mainly began after the Second World War when many countries were attracted to use tourism as an apparently quick, easy and convenient way to gain foreign currency as well as the fact that is was considered a pollution free economic sector. In the evolution of the relation between tourism and development it is possible to recognise three main periods that are roughly associated with three main development discourses.

From the 1950s until the mid 1970s tourism was seen as a success story in its relation to economic development. At that time much of the research was carried out by "planners and economists who worked for organisations including the United Nations, the World Bank and the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development" (Telfer, 2002a: 50). This early optimism about the positive relation between tourism and development, especially in developing countries, was later criticised for oversimplifying the much more complex and multidirectional phenomenon. The tourism sector was no longer regarded as an entirely good strategy but, on the contrary, the negative effects of tourism development were emerging and expanding. Notable among these critics were Bryden (1973), Britton (1982), Pleumaron (1994) and Brohman (1996). Since the mid 1980s to date tourism has generally been seen as a good strategy by those supporting the neoliberal creeds re-born during the Reagan-Thatcher era and promoted, within the developing country context, by the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). This strategy has been strongly supported by international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Tourism Organisation.

As Angel suggests (cited in Oppermann and Chong, 1997) it is possible to historically divide the tourism research literature into three distinct periods since the late 1950s. We can follow Angel's division to summarize the parallelism between development theories and tourism. The first period from the late 1950s to 1970s was a period of euphoria with uncritical trust in the positive economic impacts of tourism in developing countries. The research literature at this time was mainly descriptive. The second period, from the 1970s to 1985, was the "disenchantment period" (Opermann and Chong, 1997: 13). Critical studies started to emerge and tourism literature began to cover a wider range of issues than just economic effects. Social, cultural and physical

tourism effects entered the debate. The third period is characterised as the "differentiation period" (*Ibidem*). Here extreme positions were replaced by more pragmatic approaches and alternative tourism attracted more research due to its potential to promote better environmentally, socially, and culturally sustainable tourism.

In recent years there has been some research carried out on tourism and regional development. Studies on tourism in the regional context include Santana (2001) who explores the tourism sector within the MERCOSUR (South Cone Common Market) and Than (1997) and Henderson (2001) who have researched tourism and regionalism in the Greater Mekong Region and the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle respectively. Despite these efforts much remains to be done in this area of research.

2.3 Neoliberal development and tourism:

Tourism policies and the debate on tourism have followed the more general debates regarding development approaches. As has already been explained, Telfer (2002a) proposes that the development paradigms can be classified as Modernisation, Dependency, Neo-liberalism, and Alternative Development. Logically, as an important sector in the economy, tourism has been influenced by these mainstream development theories. Due to space constraints and for the purposes of this study only two paradigms and their influence over tourism will be analysed in depth here - the neoliberal model, which gave rise to an outward oriented form of tourism i.e. mass tourism or conventional; and the alternative model which led to the alternative tourism approaches.

The post-war period commenced with a general pessimism about the export oriented potential of developing countries and therefore inward oriented strategies, such as import substitution industrialization, were adopted. This view began to be challenged in the mid 1970's in favour of outward oriented or neo-liberal development strategies, and was boosted by the conditional lending of the International Financial Institutions (IFI) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). These institutions promoted market oriented growth and the reduction of state interventionism, putting emphasis on new growth sectors in which developing countries (DCs) could have comparative advantages, such as international tourism. According to Brohman (1996), support for this outward oriented view in the economies of DCs and in the

tourism sector in particular, was based on seven arguments. First, growth in certain economic sectors, including tourism, is dependent on access to global markets. Access is achieved via outward oriented strategies. Second, these policies were regarded to be the least damaging from an economic efficiency point of view as well as the most beneficial in terms of productivity. Third, long term growth would be facilitated by the multiplier effects of foreign trade and tourism. Fourth, earnings from trade and tourism would enhance the macroeconomic figures of the countries giving them more credibility to access the international financial markets. Fifth, tourism earnings would be a large source of strong currencies to buy necessary imported goods. Sixth, the effects of these policies would increase the economic efficiency by increasing scale economies and technological diffusion. And seventh, the rapid growth of certain economies such as the Asian tigers and Newly Industrializing Countries (NIC), which adopted, among other measures, outward oriented strategies, constituted empirical evidence of the benefits of this orientation.

However, evidence in the development literature (Black 1991, Frobel, Heinricks and Kreye, 1980 cited in Brohman, 1996) of truncated, unequal, and exclusionary development caused by outward oriented growth, suggests the need to proceed with caution. As a matter of fact, in the case of tourism in the developing world, some of the shortcomings and contradictions shown include excessive foreign ownership and dependency; loss of control over local resources; overseas leakage of the earnings related with the foreign ownership; lack of articulation with other local economic sectors; instability and fluctuation of the earnings due to volatility and seasonality of tourism, reinforcing spatial unevenness; environmental destruction and adverse social and cultural effects among the local population (Brohman, 1996).

The control exerted by trans-national corporations over mass tourism in DCs contributes to the replication of old models of dependency. The dependence of DCs on mass tourism corporations and foreign capital, particularly in the areas of marketing, transportation and food and lodging, is a consequence of the imbalance of power between corporations and governments as a result of the need for foreign investment and the lack of interest and initiative within foreign companies to increase local participation. This dependency within tourism has been described by Britton (1980, cited in Brohman 1996: 54) as "a neo-colonial extension of economic forms of

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underdevelopment". Very closely related to the above is the problem of the loss of control over local tourism resources by host communities, often because the decisions over such resources are made by small external elites who are heavily influenced by the tourism industry. Foreign control and exploitation of tourism resources means that most of the profits generated from the sector are repatriated to the corporation's host country. Such leakage starts from the point of infrastructure construction, continues with the consumption of imported goods by tourists and also includes such things as the payment of foreign staff. Repatriation of profits reaches, in some cases, up to 70 % of the foreign exchange generated *(ibidem)*. This problem has been aggravated by the lack of coordination and articulation with other local economic sectors and in particular with agriculture As a result the potential multiplier effect of tourism in the domestic economy is lost. This has been found to be particularly true in large scale, foreign dominated tourism, whereas higher multiplier effects have been associated with smaller scale, locally owned forms of tourism in some studies (e.g. Pearce, 1980 in Brohman 1996). Besides this leakage, tourism is a very volatile and seasonal sector. External factors such as economic recessions, exchange rates, natural disasters, etc. all contribute to an increase in the instability of this export sector. Parallel to this, tourism has contributed to a reinforcement of spatial inequality and unevenness since in most DCs tourism has been promoted in certain areas of the coast, leaving the interior areas even more underprivileged. Another common problem caused by some forms of tourism has been environmental destruction - creating irreparable damages whether by misuse or overuse of natural resources such as water for golf courses, damage to marine life, etc. In addition, there are many potential negative social and cultural effects accompanying tourism such as the rise of crime, child prostitution, and alienation of local people caused by a loss of cultural and social identity.

2.4 Alternative development and tourism:

A concern with sustainability is the major influence of this paradigm on tourism and it is precisely within this stream that the idea of community-based tourism, the pre-occupation of this study, was born. Under the umbrella of this approach, and helped by the negative effects of the mass tourism stated in the previous paragraph, arose the concept of alternative tourism - already defined in the previous chapter and within which concepts such as sustainable tourism, ecotourism, community-based tourism are

found. The main positive effects and attributes of this kind of tourism indicated by Telfer (2002a: 67) include: an emphasis on environment protection and always looking for the lowest environmental impact (a feature deemed essential for the sustainability of this kind of development). As far as economic distribution, alternative tourism is considered to increase the local multiplier effect and spread the benefits among the local population. It promotes local control through local ownership of the resources and/or projects, empowering the communities where the tourist activities take place, and gives special consideration to disadvantaged sectors of the population such as the unemployed, women, and indigenous people, etc. From a social and cultural point of view it often encourages a respect for the local traditions and cultures, contributing to a better acceptance of this form of tourism by the host communities.

Negative aspects and/or attributes of this form of tourism for development include the low profits generated compared with other more profit oriented tourism, as well as operational inefficiencies due to the difficulties of coordinating the commonly larger number of people involved, who also tend to lack training and experience (*Ibidem*). All this works to make alternative tourism less attractive to investments and more difficult to get adequate infrastructures. As a consequence, alternative tourism sometimes requires a bigger role for the state to overcome these problems. In some countries, such involvement could be potentially used as means of social control, particularly in the case of community-based tourism.

2.5 Tourism in Developing countries:

Signs of tourism in DCs can be found back in ancient times when explorers, researchers and others started travelling to these countries. As far as modern tourism is concerned, which is recognized to have started with the organized tours of Thomas Cook in the mid 1800's (Oppermann and Chon, 1997), DCs such as Egypt and the Middle East have long been the destination of organised tours. Other signs of the popularization of DCs as tourist destinations include the publication of tour guides of places like Bali in 1914 and the South American Handbook in the 1920's. Countries like Morocco and some of the West Indies were already popular destinations in the early twentieth century, not to mention Cuba which was one of the most popular destinations among North Americans at that time. All this underlines that tourism in developing countries did not begin post World War II and post the origin of development theories.

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However, it has been only in the last forty years that tourism has really increased and has been considered by many as a solution for developing countries and an alternative to DC economies based only on raw materials and the primary sectors. Described by some as "the white industry" (*Ibidem*), tourism on the one hand granted the possibility of generating foreign exchange, making it very appealing to DCs, and on the other hand, the presence of sun, sea, sand, exotic cultures, wildlife and overall a convenient exchange rate for international tourists, constituted the perfect ingredients for a long lasting marriage between developing countries and international tourism. Among the main benefits promised by the industry included employment generation, greater balance in the terms of trade, increased foreign exchange and the reduction of migration. However this has often not been the case in developing countries, and in addition, problems already described including negative socio cultural and sometimes economic impacts, have arisen.

The reality of the situation is that, although in the last forty years tourism has largely increased in DCs and in the East/Asia Pacific region in particular (WTO, 2005), the bulk of international tourism remains within the developed world. In the year 2002 the tourist arrivals to developing countries amounted to only 25 % of the world total, with Africa representing only 4.1 % (WTO, 2005). Of interest in the data, and something that could be considered for promotion purposes, is that the majority of the tourism world wide is intraregional not inter-regional. Another characteristic of tourism in developing countries is the enormous difference in tourist arrivals among them, with China and Mexico far above the rest. There is also a concentration of tourist arrivals in just a few countries - while there are more than 150 developing countries, twenty five of them account for 88% of tourist arrivals within the developing world. In the world's top destinations, even though some developing countries like Turkey or the Republic of Korea, improved their rankings during the 1980's; only six developing countries were among the top twenty in 2003 (WTO, 2005).

A positive finding in the data is that among the world's top emerging tourism destinations in the period 1995-2002, defined by WTO as those growing at a rate double than the world average (3.6 %) and increasing at least in 150000 arrivals (WTO, 2005), the majority of countries belong to the developing world (see table 1). Among these China is the fastest growing and has similar values to those of the biggest destinations in

the developed world such as Spain and France. Per region, the Middle East has the highest average growth (10.6%) and is the only region that is growing at a rate that is at least double the world average. Asia and the Pacific and Africa are also among the regions with the fastest growth rates but in the last the absolute number of arrivals is one of the lowest, being only smaller in the Americas. Of particular interest for this study is the fact that South Africa is not among the emerging tourist destinations in Africa. Within the Americas the emerging destinations are mainly from Central America and the Caribbean; and in Europe they are the Newly Independent Countries - making tourism a potential contributor to their development (*Ibidem*).

Table 2.1. World's top emerging tourism destinations.

World's Top Emerging Tourism Destinations in the period 1995-2002*

(Destinations growing at a rate double the world average and an increase of at least 150,000 arrivals)

| | Series | International Tourist Arrivals | | | Average annual growth | | Absolute increase |
| | | 2002* | 2001 | 1995 | | | |
				(1000)	1995-2002*	1995-2001	(1000)
World		*702,636*	*684,108*	*550,354*	*3.6*	*3.7*	*152,282*
Africa		**29,136**	**28,330**	**20,030**	**5.5**	**5.9**	**9,105**
Zambia	TF	565	492	163	19.4	20.2	402
Botswana	TF	1,037	1,049	521	10.3	12.4	516
Tanzania	TF	550	501	285	9.8	9.9	265
Algeria	VF	998	901	520	9.8	9.6	478
Namibia	TF	..	670	399		9.0	271
Morocco	TF	4,193	4,223	2,602	7.1	8.4	1,592
Ghana	TF	483	439	286	7.8	7.4	197
Mauritius	TF	682	660	422	7.1	7.7	259
Americas		**114,853**	**120,156**	**108,822**	**0.8**	**1.7**	**6,031**
El Salvador	TF	951	735	235	22.1	20.9	716
Cuba	TF	1,656	1,736	742	12.2	15.2	914
Honduras	TF	550	518	271	10.7	11.4	279
Peru	TF	846	798	444	9.6	10.3	402
Nicaragua	TF	472	483	281	7.7	9.4	191
Dominican Rp	TF	2,811	2,882	1,776	6.8	8.4	1,035
Asia and the Pacific		**137,163**	**126,962**	**89,837**	**6.2**	**5.9**	**47,327**
Lao P.D.R.	TF	215	173	60	20.0	19.3	155
Cambodia	TF	787	605	220	20.0	18.4	567
Iran	TF	..	1,402	489		19.2	913
Malaysia	TF	13,292	12,775	7,469	8.6	9.4	5,823
China	TF	36,803	33,167	20,034	9.1	8.8	16,769
Europe		**399,759**	**390,829**	**322,270**	**3.1**	**3.3**	**77,489**
Azerbaijan	TF	834	767	93	36.8	42.1	741
Croatia	TCE	6,944	6,544	1,485	24.7	28.0	5,459
Uzbekistan	TF	332	345	92	20.1	24.6	240
Georgia	TF	298	302	85	19.6	23.4	213
Estonia	TF	1,360	1,320	530	14.4	16.4	830
Lithuania	TF	1,433	1,271	650	12.0	11.8	783
Serbia & Montenegro	TCE	448	351	228	10.2	7.5	220
Slovenia	TCE	1,302	1,219	732	8.6	8.9	570
Turkey	TF	12,782	10,784	7,083	8.8	7.3	5,699
Finland	TF	2,875	2,826	1,779	7.1	8.0	1,096
Ukraine	TF	6,326	5,791	3,716	7.9	7.7	2,610
Middle East		**27,594**	**23,646**	**13,633**	**10.6**	**9.6**	**13,961**
Syrian Arab Republic	TCE	2,809	1,318	815	19.3	8.3	1,994
Untd Arab Emirates	THS	5,445	4,134	2,315	13.0	10.1	3,131
Saudi Arabia	TF	7,511	6,727	3,325	12.3	12.5	4,186
Bahrain	TF	3,167	2,789	1,396	12.4	12.2	1,771
Oman	THS	602	562	279	11.6	12.4	323
Lebanon	TF	956	837	450	11.4	10.9	506
Egypt	TF	4,906	4,357	2,871	8.0	7.2	2,035

Source: World Tourism Organization (WTO) ©   (Data as collected by WTO September 2003)

2.6 Tourism interventions in Developing Countries

Hettne (1995 cited in Telfer, 2002b) suggest that development theory can be divided into development ideology, which determines the ends of development, and development strategies or the means. Both will configure the kind of development intervention. Applying this to the tourism and development field, the tourism development strategy will vary depending on the driving ideology behind it. This has led to different types of tourism development interventions in developing countries, depending on which were the priorities or ends - either to develop tourism or use tourism as a tool for development. Nations in desperate need for profit from tourism have not been very receptive to concepts such as sustainability, capacity building, empowerment, participation and environmental concern. While the application of these concepts is arguably more needed in DCs than in developed countries, this has not been the case. As a consequence many of the tourism interventions in DCs have promoted fast growing mass tourism driven by one main concern – to generate as much income and foreign exchange as possible resulting in unequal and exclusionary development with the associated problems described under the neo-liberal paradigm. However, according to Hawkins and Khan (1998 cited in Richter, 2001) some interventions and case studies offer hope that there is an interest in thoughtful and sustainable development through tourism in DCs.

However, different tourism interventions are not necessarily incompatible with one another; in fact Brohman (1996) suggests that in most cases a variety of tourism initiatives are necessary and that at least in the short run alternative tourism can not replace mass tourism in developing countries. What is needed is a more sustainable mass tourism with less foreign control; that is more culturally and environmentally responsible as well as participatory; and that is able to coexist with other forms of tourism. In terms of tourism planning in developing countries the following quotation of Brohman (1996: 67) is very illustrative: "Tourism-led development in the South should be planned to meet the diverse, long-term interest of the popular majority rather than the narrow, immediate goals of an elite minority".

Nelson (1993) formulated an action strategy for sustainable tourism development in which among other things, he proposes: sector specific research on

tourism effects; monitoring of existing tourism developments; design and implementation of educational awareness programmes; assisting regional-local levels of governments to design their own tourism and conservation development strategies; the development of standards for impact assessments in the environmental and cultural levels; design and development of consultation techniques to involve all the stakeholders in tourism related issues; and the development of design and construction standards to be environmentally and culturally friendly.

In the case of post-apartheid South Africa's development interventions in tourism, the coexistence of various forms of strategies mentioned before is taking place in some cases. Ndlovu and Rogerson (2003) suggest that although the biggest tourism-led initiatives take place in the major cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg or Durban, there are a number of initiatives in small towns and rural areas, with the particular and interesting characteristic that the majority of these tourism-led local economic development projects are community-based and receive strong support from government. Such is the case for the project investigated in this study. This means a positive step in the type of interventions that put development first, promoting sustainability, participation, community empowerment and ownership as well as positive socio-economic impacts. Pro-poor tourism (PPT) initiatives are also taking place in Southern Africa. PPT is understood to mean tourism that generates net benefits for the poor (Ashley and Roe, 2002: 62), considering poor people and poverty the main targets. This kind of intervention relies on three categories of strategies, namely:

- Access to economic benefits, based on more employment opportunities for the poor, training and capacity building and the spread of benefits among the community.
- Address negative impacts associated with tourism, such as the environmental, social and cultural.
- Focus on policies, processes and partnerships, creating adequate policy frameworks, promoting participative processes and encouraging partnerships between the private sector and poor people.

In their study, Ashley and Roe (*ibidem*) highlight the diversity of actors and levels of interventions involved in these kinds of strategies, ranging from different

governmental levels, small and large private companies, to national and international organizations. In the area of intervention, top-down government boosted initiatives as well as enterprise support at micro-level can be found.

2.7 Impacts of tourism in developing countries

Tourism affects different spheres of development, generating different types of positive and negative impacts. According to Lumsdon and Swift (2001) a debate exists about whether the positive impacts are worth the negative ones. For a classification of them, the one proposed by Lea (1988) below could be useful. Lea divides the impacts into three categories, namely: economic, environmental, and socio-cultural. Later others like Diamantis (2004) continue to utilise these three categories of impacts.

The main economic impacts of tourism in developing countries are divided in to:

- Benefits:
  - Balance of payments. The currency flows generated by the tourist expenditure helps to compensate the imports expenditure of developing countries, as well as to stimulate other sectors of the economy.
  - Employment. There are three different categories of employment benefits. Direct employment, indirect employment in business affected by tourism, and induced employment derived from the spending of money of local people employed in tourism.
  - Entrepreneurial activity. Tourism stimulates and promotes improvements in different sectors such as construction (infrastructures, hotels), food supply and others.

- Costs:
  - Opportunity costs. These are the relative costs of investing in tourism than in other sectors that could be potentially more profitable.
  - Over-dependence on tourism. Tourism is a volatile and seasonal industry depending on factors such as fashions, exchange rates, political situations, and natural disasters (e.g. Hurricane Mitch in Central America in 1998 and the Tsunami in Indonesia in 2004), which developing

countries are unfortunately more prone to due to their geographical location (tropical, subtropical, seismic areas), and have more difficulty in recovering from, for obvious economic reasons.

- Inflation. Tourism causes an increase in prices of land and property and in the types of food and goods highly demanded by tourists. These rising costs have a negative impact on local people.

Source: (Lea, 1998)

The environmental impacts are categorised as conservation, conflicts and carrying capacity and multiple use.

- Conservation:

Tourism can help in the conservation of the environment from the rehabilitation of old buildings, the protection of natural resources, to better use and management planning of the environment. Tourism could also have negative conservation impacts by transforming historical buildings for tourism purposes.

- Conflicts with the environment:
    - Permanent environmental restructuring as a result of major constructions such as airports, highways or tourist resorts.
    - Generation of waste products.
    - Tourist activities. Many outdoors tourist activities if not well regulated and controlled may lead to the destruction and/or overuse of the environment, such as diving in coral reefs, four wheel drive routes.
    - Population dynamics. Tourism is a seasonal activity increasing the population, sometimes doubling or even tripling local populations during certain periods, therefore placing pressure on the environment.

- Carrying capacity and multiple use:

Tourism can cause this capacity to be exceeded due to the fact that some land used by the sector is also used for different activities such as park and logging, resulting in land overuse.

Source: (Lea, 1998)

Despite the difficulty of separating social and cultural impacts, for study purposes they are divided into:

- Social:

  - Social change. International tourism in developing countries affects the social behaviours, from hostility to tourists to the assimilation of their habits in what has been called the westernisation of society.

  - Moral behaviour. Tourism may encourage prostitution, organized crime and/or gambling as a result of the economic needs of the host population and the relatively wealthy situation of the tourists.

  - Other social impacts. E.g. the presence of foreign languages can lead to changes in the local language; the presence of tourists can lead to positive improvements in local health facilities but can also have negative impacts on health such as the spread of diseases.

- Cultural:

  - Communication between cultures. Cross-cultural communication between tourists and host communities can sometimes be positive and some others negative, depending on factors such as type and attitude of tourists, length of stay and language barriers.

  - Impacts on physical products. Tourism can boost traditional products and arts, helping to preserve them in addition to the economic benefits generated from their sale. On the other hand, high tourist demand for traditional products may lead to a decline in quality and the production of fake art.

  - Local customs. Tourism can help to safe-guard and promote local culture and traditions, such as religious festivities and ceremonies, local music and musicians, as they can serve as an incentive to attract certain kind of tourists if properly promoted. But it can also have a negative impact if culture is treated only as a commodity.

  Source: (Lea, 1998)

The above classifications may help to understand the areas in which the tourism could have an impact, as well as where to look or which indicators should be analyzed in order to see the real impacts of the tourism in developing countries.

3. Community Participation and Tourism

In the final chapter of this first part, the objective is to help understand the concept of community participation (CP) in development and its embedding in tourism initiatives, by identifying the signs of true participation and empowerment, as well as its limitations. It also tries to provide guidelines about the tourism impacts to consider and evaluate at the community level.

3.1 Community Participation in development:

Community participation is a concept originated and refined in the developed country context. However, since the 1970s it has become a popular concept in development intervention (Tosun, 2000). CP is deemed by some (e.g. Desai, 2002) as indispensable in any development project supported by national governments, international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, etc. and non governmental organizations (NGOs). CP is understood to mean "sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development and involvement of people in decision making at all levels of society" (United Nations, 1979 quoted in Desai, 2002). For others like Willis (1995), CP involves a shift in power from those who have had a major decision-making role to those who traditionally have not had such a role. CP has also been seen as a powerful tool to educate the community in rights, law, and political good sense (Low, 1991). This shows that the concept involves different disciplines and is multidimensional, and is therefore not possible to limit it to a single definition or term.

Desai (2002) identifies some of the main reasons why CP is desirable for governments and development agencies include:

- The right of the people to participate in decision making, if the latter will affect their conditions of living.
- The knowledge of people themselves of what they need, they want and they can afford. Increasing self-reliance can at the same time promote social development and moreover if the community is involved, even if the promoting agency withdraws, the project can continue developing.

- CP helps to demonstrate that government and people can work together.
- The community leadership can be manipulable, increasing the social and political control.

The different actors involved in this scenario are the community organizations, community leaders, governments and NGOs. And this raises one of the controversial issues in CP - who is to participate? Although in theory there is a general consensus about what participation should mean in the sense of empowering the less powerful, in practice there are problems such as the access to participation in the communities of only the most favoured, i.e. the richest among the poor, or the state using the participation as a tool for social control or gaining political support among the communities. This suggests perhaps, that states are not the best actors to promote efficient CP.

3.2 Community Participation in Tourism: Community Based Tourism (CBT):

Tourism can undoubtedly be an engine for growth in developing countries, but this is not as simple as it looks. If not treated carefully it can even worsen some common problems of these countries such as: increasing foreign dependency with a subsequent loss of local control over the tourist resources; lack of coordination between national economic sectors and tourism areas; increasing social and economic neo-colonial patterns; unsustainable and environmentally unfriendly practices; and loss of cultural identity by the local population, due to the pervasive influence of mass tourism which has larger economic resources and mechanisms of social control. This leads to unsustainable tourism development and has originated debates about the concept of sustainability in tourism research. Many authors see community-based tourism as a more sustainable form, as can be seen in the following quotation from Timothy (2002: 150):

"Community-based tourism is a more sustainable form of development than conventional mass tourism because it allows host communities to break away from the hegemonic grasp of tour operators and the oligopoly of wealthy elites at the national level".

Community-based tourism is the result of applying the community approach to the tourism field, in which, according to Timothy (2002), the focus is the empowerment of the community mainly in two areas, the decision-making and the benefits of tourism. In this respect Mearns (2003) also opines that CBT is not an end in itself but a means to empower the local communities and to help in the execution of their own development through the control and use of their own resources and land. For the CBT initiatives to be sustainable there are four important dimensions: to be economically viable by generating at least enough income to cover expenses; to be environmentally sustainable in that the use of natural resources do not damage the environment; to have equal distribution of costs and benefits among the participants of the tourism initiatives; and finally to have a clear and transparent organization in which the interest and voices of all the community members are truly represented *(ibidem)*.

However there are different levels of participation in tourism and not all of them are sustainable as France (1998) denotes in her taxonomy of participation in tourism in the table below:

Table 3.1: Taxonomy of participation in tourism

Type	Characteristics	Examples from Tourism
Plantation	Exploitative, rather than developmental. Possibly paternalist. Payment in kind.	No attempt to participate on the part of workers, who are commonly racially and culturally different from "management" and owners. Purely for material gain of owners.
Manipulative and passive participation	Pretence of participation. Local workers are told what is decided.	Some highly centralized multinational corporations (MNC) based in developing countries. Neocolonial attitudes prevail through the use of expatriate labour, capital and technology. Those employed in tourism in non-menial jobs are likely to be expatriates or non-indigenous residents.
Consultation	Residents consulted but external definition of problem and control.	Operation of some MNCs is devolved from metropolitan centres to local elites.

Type	Characteristics	Examples from Tourism
Material incentives	Locals contribute resources but have no stakeholding.	Local employment in tourist services where local expertise is used and locals are hiring in some managerial positions.
Functional participation	Participation seen by outsiders as a way of achieving goals. Major decisions are external.	Increasing use of local technology, capital and expertise. Some small, locally owned hotels. Minority elites often the most likely to participate. In larger hotels, some decisions made locally but according to external forces.
Interactive participation	Residents contribute to planning. Groups take control of local decisions.	Hotels owned by local people or groups or groups of local people. Locally owned taxis, tour agencies, and restaurants. Maintenance of cultural events for the benefit of residents and tourists.
Self-mobilization	Independent initiatives	Local people who have accumulated capital from tourism strengthen and extend their activities.

Source: France (1998: 225)

For participation to lead to real empowerment and provide benefits to the community it needs to be effective. There are signs of different empowering types which can help to determine if participative forms of tourism, such as community-based ecotourism, are really empowering the community; and to distinguish them from disempowering forms of tourism camouflaged under the name of ecotourism. The latter are labelled by some as "eco-pirates" who, according to Lew (1996, quoted in Scheyvens 1999: 247), are "people who copy existing responsible tourism products, but in a non-responsible manner, typically offering lower prices, inferior experiences, and detrimental environmental and social impacts".

The empowerment framework proposed by Scheyvens (1999) can help in the recognition of community empowering tourism initiatives. She divides the signs of empowerment into four levels: economic, psychological, social and political. Signs of

economic empowerment can be seen when tourism initiatives bring durable and regular incomes that are shared and equally distributed among the community instead of controlled and monopolized by local elites. Other signs of economic empowerment include improvements in services, infrastructure and standards of living that are directly derived from the cash incomes of the tourism activities.

At the psychological level the community can be empowered through increased self-esteem as a result of witnessing their own resources, culture and traditions being valued from outside. This may lead, at the same time, to a desire of the community members to seek out further education and training opportunities. The contribution that tourism can make by generating jobs is also particularly important from a psychological point of view, given that this can lead to an improvement in status and recognition for disadvantaged groups within the community members such as women and young people.

Social empowerment signs can be seen when tourism maintains and/or improves community equilibrium and cohesion by encouraging communities to work together for a common purpose, such as in the case of a successful community-based ecotourism enterprise. Another sign would be the use of tourism funds generated for community development purposes such as education, health, etc.

Finally, signs of political empowerment may include the creation of representational forums to which the members of the community can bring their opinions and concerns to guide the development process of the projects in their different phases. To achieve political empowerment all interest groups should be included and given the possibility to be represented in the decision making bodies. This process would decentralize power and bring it down to the community level.

3.3 Limitations to community participation in tourism:

According to Tosun (2000) there is a general agreement in the development literature that CP implementation has only been partially successful. However, what is less clear are the reasons or limitations for this partial success. Tosun (2000) proposes

an analysis of the limitations in the tourism development process (TDP) at three levels, namely, operational, structural and cultural.

1) Limitations at the operational level:

a) Centralization of public administration. This is related to the excess of centralization that exists in developing countries, as opposed to the decentralization of powers, from central to local government, needed for the successful implementation of CP.

b) Lack of coordination. Very closely related with the previous argument is the fact that very often a highly bureaucratized government lacks coordination between the different levels: central, provincial and local. In an already highly fragmented tourism industry, coordination is also needed between the other actors participating in the process, such as the private sector, community, NGOs.

c) Lack of information. Generally in developing countries there is a lack of good and reliable tourism data or if they exist, they are not well known or easily accessible by the community. This increases the gap between the decision makers and the community which has to participate in the process. Sometimes this information problem also applies to the lack of reliable and up to date information possessed by the decision makers about the communities to be empowered by the TDP.

2) Structural limitations:

a) Attitudes of professionals. Some professionals responsible for the implementation of a theoretical CP in tourism are resistant to the idea. This may be because they do not believe in it or because it will cost extra time and money. For these reasons it is not easy to persuade technocrats with little community knowledge and no tourism background, about the potential benefits of CP in the tourism process.

b) Lack of expertise. The participatory development approach is often absent from tourism planning in developing countries due to the lack of qualified experts in tourism in DCs who have received enough training and ideas of how to incorporate CP in the tourism industry. Sometimes this is due to a lack of resources and

initiatives to qualify them and sometimes because the tourism planning in these countries depends on the expertise of foreign donors who are more interested in other outcomes.

c) Elite domination. This occurs and limits the CP in two spheres. The first is in countries with young democracies coming from totalitarian systems or unreliable democratic systems. Here there is a traditional lack of interest of the ruling elites in the participation of the masses due to the possible loss of control and power in favour of the majority. The second is in cases where even if the participatory approach occurs in theory, in communities with high levels of inequality or with some kind of traditional leadership system characterized by certain despotism, only the most favoured are represented, i.e. the repetition of the previous sphere within the poor sphere where only the rich within the poor participate in the TDP.

d) Lack of appropriate legal system. A legal system which promotes a framework for participatory development is needed as a base for CP in tourism but this alone is not sufficient. The system must also be able to implement and put into practice these laws and regulations.

e) High cost of CP and lack of economic resources. Compared with a non participatory approach, CP demands more time, money, skills and effort. It may also raise expectations in the community which are not easy to meet. This may discourage governments with few resources (economic as well as human, organizational, etc.) to implement this kind of approach.

3) Cultural limitations:

a) Limited capacity of poor people. For obvious reasons, poor people have their own hierarchy of needs and first of all they have to satisfy the basic needs, among which is not dealing with political issues about the need or convenience of CP in tourism. This suggest that CP in tourism has to be previously or simultaneously underpinned by other initiatives which palliate those needs, in order to become a solution itself for development in poor communities.

b) Apathy and low level of awareness in the local community. Apathy may have its historical reasons since poor communities have hardly been taken into consideration and it seems logical that people react reluctantly to CP initiatives if they have not had any previous positive experience. But apathy can also arise because of a lack of awareness within the community about the positive effects and impacts of CP in tourism. This becomes another limiting factor and an important issue to be taking into consideration for any successful participatory initiative in tourism.

(Tosun 2000:618-626)

3.4 Evaluation of tourism impacts in host communities

Tourism interventions in developing countries have been analysed and evaluated looking at different impact levels; most commonly focusing on economic and financial impacts. However, when talking about impacts at the community level, those other than economic should be taken into consideration, such as social and cultural (e.g. participation and ownership) and environmental, etc. Regarding this, Nelson (1993), in his action strategy for sustainable tourism development, proposed the development of standards for impact assessments at the environmental and cultural levels (already discussed in paragraph 2.6). And so we see studies such as by Mahony and Van Zyl (2002) in which they assessed the impacts on rural communities of tourism projects at the economic and non-economic levels, dividing the impacts into developmental and policy categories. The developmental impacts were further divided into economic and financial indicators to measure the effects on local employment, the effects on small business development, the collective economic benefits generated, and the levels of economic participation. The policy impacts were analysed jointly for the three case studies looking at: land rights and tenure reform, tourism investments, restructuring of the tourism industry and finally employment creation.

Ashley and Roe (2002), in their pro-poor approach to tourism, distinguish between financial and livelihood impacts. Within the financial they measured how many of the poor earned how much, who earned the income, and what was the aggregate scale of benefits, i.e. the total incomes related to the population and scale of initiative. For livelihood impacts they measured improvements in skills, education and health, infrastructures and access to information.

Naguran (1999:53,54) suggests that to assess the economic impacts in community based tourism projects, four questions need to be asked: a) How do the benefits reach the community? (e.g. directly in the form of wages or indirectly in the form of a fee or levy, etc. b) How are the benefits spread across the community? c) How successful are the projects in employment creation? and d) Has the project encouraged the creation of secondary income generating activities (e.g. food supply, craft selling, laundry services)?

Part II. Case Study: The Ukhahlamba Community Tourism (Mehloding Adventure Trail and Masakala Traditional Guesthouse)

This part of the study deals exclusively with the case study. It is structured and divided in six different chapters in which, after an outline of the general methodology, the tourism context where the case study takes place is set. This is followed by a description of the project, and finally the display and analysis of the data and results obtained from the fieldwork. The section ends with the concluding findings and recommendations.

4. General Study Methodology

The methodology used in this study combines the use of primary and secondary sources of information, obtained from different monitoring and evaluation methods (IFAD: 2002). The primary sources comprise semi-structured interviews and questionnaires mixing closed and open ended questions, with different stakeholders involved in the project. The stakeholders were not randomly selected but chosen using the information obtained in initial meetings with key informants. Since the interviewees play different roles in the project and each one can provide useful information on his/her area, there is a set of common questions to aid comparisons within the data as well as a section in which they could provide some specific inputs related to their area of knowledge and experience. An additional and more detailed description of the interviews, its sections, and how they were conducted, is provided in chapter seven. A copy of the full questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1. The fact that the key informants are or have been directly involved in the project in one way of another, presents the potential risk of a certain bias in the answers.

The other primary sources used in order to get good baseline data were the general project documentation about the project which was reviewed, as well as the direct information provided by the management and other members of the project in the various conversations held with them outside of the formal interviews. This latter information has been added to the study assuming its veracity and that it was given in good faith. However there is also a risk that the project documentation is poor. This is because some problems were found when trying to obtain documents such as the project

framework and the planning materials. This was either because people could not locate them or because they did not exist. This problem was in part overcome through the use of the direct information previously mentioned and through the questionnaires, as will be further indicated in chapter seven. This primary research has been complemented by secondary sources of information such as articles, reports, tourism projects, related web pages and various other publications.

5. Context Setting: Tourism in South Africa

This chapter aims to give an overview of the situation of the tourism sector in South Africa (SA). The context is described at the three levels of government present in SA, i.e. national, provincial and municipal. The provincial and municipal level tourism context will only be discussed in relation to the province and municipality in which the case study is set. This will aid in setting the general context in which the case study project takes place and will help in understanding the type of tourism intervention.

5.1 National Level:

The special circumstances of the apartheid era in SA were responsible for particular features of the SA tourism sector - there was growth in domestic white tourism accompanied by a growth in the local tourism capital which expanded its operations beyond SA's frontier. Tourism was perhaps one of the most severely affected sectors in the South African economy by the apartheid related international boycotts and sanctions which considerably reduced the flow of international tourists and led even to the closure of many of the overseas South African tourism promotion offices (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). It was a period where tourism was for white elites and in which equal access to the country's natural and recreational resources, such as beaches, was non-existent; national parks were only concerned about the conservation issue and neglected the social welfare of the surrounding communities. In many ways and in Rogerson's words (2002 cited in Rogerson and Visser, 2004: 4) the "tourism sector was anti-developmental".

The apartheid era ended in 1994 and SA was fully incorporated back in the international arena. As a consequence of its readmission into the global system, SA also began to be embedded, through its development efforts, in to the globalisation framework (Rogerson, 2000). The increased embedding and influence of globalisation can be seen in the shift from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the Growth and Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), as is captured in the following quotation:

"Indeed the GEAR strategy is an explicit acknowledgment of the power of globalisation, seeking the full reintegration, after the apartheid isolation, of South Africa into global economy, making South Africa attractive to foreign investment, aiming to enhance the role of private sector and reducing the role of the central state" (*Ibidem*: 397).

Kirsten and Rogerson (2002) underline the importance the tourism sector will have in the economic expansion and the employment in the Southern African region in the next ten years. One figure is enough to understand the relevance of tourism in SA. In 1994, the country received 640 000 tourists - while almost 10 years later (2003) the tourists coming to SA have been calculated as 6.5 million. When looking at the trend between 2002 and 2003, overseas arrivals in SA increased by 4.2% (not including Africa) or 1.2% including Africa. This occurred at the same time and "in the face of a 1.3% fall-off in global travel attributed to the conflict in Iraq, fears over the SARS virus and a weak global economy" (*Ibidem:No page*). The country is consequently hoping to use tourism as a major tool in development.

According to the World Bank (2001) SA has seen a major expansion in its tourism volume in the last decade to become the number one tourism destination in Africa. In 1997 SA was the 26th most popular tourist destination and the only Sub-Saharan African country included in the top forty tourism destinations world wide (Cristie and Crompton, 2001). Since 1994 foreign-tourist arrivals in SA have expanded at a compounded rate of 20.5% per annum. In 1997 there were 5.5 million tourist arrivals in SA, providing receipts of US $2.297 billion. This growth is expected to continue. 60% of all foreign tourists coming to SA visit a game reserve or national park, revealing the very important element that parks and game reserves play. The volume of domestic tourism in SA is twice the size of foreign tourism and the province of KwaZulu-Natal, which supports a mature nature-based tourism industry, is the most popular domestic holiday destination. This market creates an opportunity to combine biodiversity conservation with economic upliftment of local communities.

However, tourism still makes a small contribution to SA's GDP (7,4 % in 2003) compared with the rest of the world (13,4 % in Europe and 10,9% world wide in 1995). Despite this, tourism in South Africa is the fourth largest earner of foreign exchange

and, due to the richness of resources and the current relatively low level of GDP contribution, it seems to have great potential (Tifflin, 2004).

5.2 Provincial level: Eastern Cape.

The Eastern Cape, with an area over 170.000 km², of which a 70% is rural, and a population of seven million, is the second largest province in the country and enjoys a strategic advantage for tourism potential in terms of location since it lies in between Kwazulu-Natal and the Western Cape, South Africa's premier domestic and international tourist destinations respectively (see map 1). With more than 800 km of unspoiled beaches along its southern Indian Ocean coastline, the Eastern Cape offers "no one big thing but a whole lot of everything" (ECTB, 2003: no page). However, the EC is one of the poorest provinces in SA; according to the Eastern Cape Provincial Government (2005) its GDP in 1999 was around R57 billion which represented only 7.5% of the country's total. The province is also affected by poverty and high unemployment which stood at 54.9% in 2003 (ECDC, 2004).

SOUTH AFRICA

Source: ECDC, 2005.

Map 1. Location of Eastern Cape

The current characteristics of the tourism sector in the EC, as well as the main guidelines for tourism intervention, are described in the Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (ECTMP). EC tourism is focused on ecotourism and among its primary features are its climate, the variety of ecosystems and the presence of different cultures and their traditions. Tourism in EC relies heavily on its natural resource – the EC has incredible biodiversity and is the only province in South Africa where all 7 biomes and 29 Acocks

veld types can be found. A major problem however is that this biodiversity is threatened (ECTB, 2003: no page).

The ECTMP contains the following significant data regarding tourism infrastructure. In terms of accommodation capacity over 24.000 beds were counted in 1997, of which the hotels ones are mainly occupied by business travellers. Of the foreign visitors, 48% stay in hotels, 38% are visiting friends or relatives and 31% stay in Bed & Breakfast and Guest Houses (ECTB, 2003: no page). There are about 34 Travel agents based in the province and there is enough transport for the affluent tourists. The roads and signage are in the process of being upgraded and represent a limiting factor in certain rural areas, including the area of the case study project, Alfred Nzo district. Safety is also a limiting factor which the province is trying to tackle through a Tourism Safety Task Team. The EC province counts with different tourism organizations, both in the public and the private sectors. In the public one, the most relevant are the Eastern Cape Tourism Board (ECTB), and the Community Tourism Organizations (CTOs). In the private sector, there is a tourism marketing syndicate. However not all of these bodies or organizations perform at the desired level. The main contribution of tourism recipients in the province comes from domestic tourism. The EC is the third most popular destination for domestic tourists in the country along with two other provinces, and is the fifth for foreign tourists.

According to the ECTMP (ECTB, 2003), the tourism intervention in the EC is said to be in concordance with the national White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa and endorsed by two national Departments namely the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), and the Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (DEAET); and provincially by the ECTB. And the tourism planning and development is being embedded within the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). In this framework, the type of tourism pursued has "responsible tourism" as its leading principle, not as a type of tourism but as a way of doing tourism planning, policy and development, that ensures a fair distribution of the benefits among all the stakeholders participating in the process. This has to be reflected in a proactive approach that: develops the industry in a responsible manner; takes a responsible attitude towards the environment through sustainable practices focusing on environmentally based tourism activities; incorporates

a commitment by the government to involve local people in decision-making processes; promotes a meaningful engagement between tourism and other sectors; promotes responsible behaviour from the side of the operators and employees to safeguard tourist health and safety; and to promote a responsible attitude amongst the tourists in order to respect the local culture, traditions and environment (ECTB, 2003). In terms of the type of tourism to be marketed, and in line with the previous principles and eco-tourism ethics, a responsibly developed, small scale and natural heritage tourism along with responsible diving and marine-oriented tourism, are the key products and focus for the ECMTP.
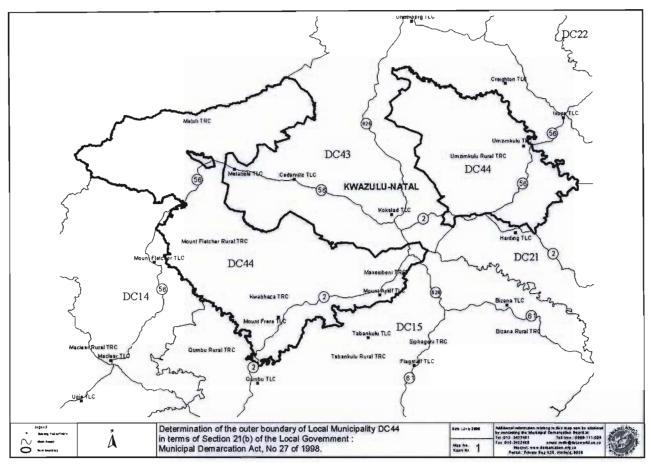
The Master Plan pays special attention to Community Based Tourism (CBT) in the EC in its section 4.6, and according to it, the province should use the framework and principles provided at national level in the five year plan for CBT prepared by the Executive Committee of the Community Tourism Association of South Africa (CTA). This plan includes the analysis of roles and functions of community based tourism organizations and it could be used for the development of CBT in different areas of the province. The plan underlines the importance of the existence of a shared vision and common projects to make the communities work together; it also gives attention to the concept of capacity building by proposing the creation of specifically designed training programmes on CBT.

5.3 Municipal level: Alfred Nzo District.

Alfred Nzo District (AND) is an underdeveloped and mainly rural area. It is perhaps the least developed region for tourism. At this stage, its peaceful and rural environment, with the backdrop of the Drakensberg Mountains, and the opportunity to experience traditional Xhosa rural culture, are its unique selling features. However, according to the ECTMP (ECTB, 2003) it has great potential for community based tourism and in this regard the Mehloding Community Tourism (MCT) anchor project, which involves 11 local villages, as well as the inclusion of the area within the boundaries of the Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Project (MDTP) could stimulate tourism growth in the region.

The AND covers the north east of the Eastern Cape province, bordering Lesotho and Kwazulu Natal (see map 2). All its area once lay within the Transkei homeland. The land is high, all above 1,000 metres and rising to the southern Drakensberg on the border of Lesotho. Rainfall is high, but cold weather and snow are possible in winter. The main centre is Kokstad, which actually lies within KwaZulu-Natal. Alfred Nzo is the smallest district with an area of 7,952 square km. Other towns in the area are Matatiele, Maluti, Umzimkulu, Mount Ayliff and Mount Frere. The district has got a relatively small population of 544.107 in 1999, but despite its remote rural nature has a relatively high population density of 72/square km. Economically it suffers the same problems of poverty and unemployment described above for the whole province. According to the ECDC (2004) in 1999 the AND had an unemployment rate of 76.1%, and it contributed to only 2.6 % of the province's GDP. The population has a large African majority of 99% with few white and coloured inhabitants. Xhosa is the first language in most areas, but with significant use of Sesotho around Matatiele and Zulu around Umzimkulu.

The potential tourism products identified in the ECTMP include: Eco-tourism, cultural tourism, adventure tourism, health and fitness tourism. The tourism development zones are mainly concentrated in the mountainous region and to a smaller extent around Mount Frere and Mt Ayliff. There are no tourist routes in the district and these still need to be developed and boosted by the possibility of establishing transfrontier projects and the promotion of the area as a gateway to Lesotho, once the area has been included in the MDTP. This potential, furthered the development and implementation of the first phase of the Mehloding Horse and Hiking Trail, a community-based project on five sites of the rural AND, which involves eleven villages. This phase became operational in 2002.

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Source: Municipal Demarcation, 1998.

Map 2. Alfred Nzo District

6. The project: Mehloding Community Tourism

This chapter describes the project of the case study in depth, from its origins to the current situation, and reviews the objectives, the role players, its governance structure and its phases in chronological order. This will provide a better knowledge of the initiative constituting the base line from which the analysis will be carried out using the data collected.

6.1 Profile of the area:

The area of the project was characterised by high levels of unemployment. In the year 2001, Umzimvubu local municipality, which is where the project is located, had almost 70 % of its total labour force unemployed (MDB, 2003). It is also ranked as one of the poorest areas in South Africa with a large part of the local income coming from either pensions or remittances from migrant workers (Ndlovu and Rogerson, 2003). According to ECDC (2004), the formal economy in Alfred Nzo district is small compared with the rest of the province, contributing only with a 2% to the total value added of the economy of the Eastern Cape province. Agriculture is the main private sector, and within it forestry is the principal activity with extensive plantations. The livestock is composed of cattle, sheep and goats. There is little commercial farming with most farming taking place at subsistence level and at the mercy of frost and snow in winter. Manufacturing is dominated by wood products and represents only 4% of the value added and contributes to 6% of the employment. At 46% the government is the main contributor to the value added as well as a significant employer, providing 50% of jobs. This is a reflection of the inherited bureaucracy from the former Transkei. There are some opportunities in forestry, small furniture, wool processing, and in the improvement of the current livestock. The potential for outdoor recreation, cultural heritage and small scale adventure tourism was highlighted by some studies that underpinned the initiative of developing the project of this case study.
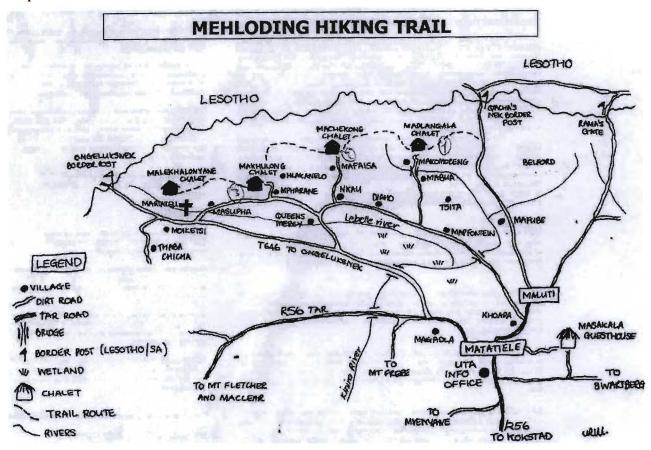
6.2 Genesis of the project

The project was born in the late 1990's as a result of the LDO/IDP process (Local Development Objectives/Integrated Development Planning), within the framework of the Development Facilitation Act of 1995. Under the funding of the Swiss Agency for Development, which had a specific focus in the area, a detailed and participatory planning process led to the establishment of the Maluti Development Planning Committee who were tasked with identifying possible major potential sectors for poverty alleviation in the Maluti District. Twelve sectoral areas were identified and tourism was amongst them. This came to support "the vision" of Mr. Simon Lesia, a 72 year old community member who had to migrate into Lesotho for political reasons and who then returned, following Mandela's release, to "his mountains" (Lesia, 2005). In 1997 Mr. Lesia saw the potential of this area for attracting visitors and stimulating local development.

An Environmental and Tourism Task Team was established to explore the possibilities of this sector. In 1999 the Eastern Cape Tourism Board (ECTB), with the support of the EDA trust (Environmental Developing Agency), an NGO which has been operating in the area for about 25 years providing rural development support and which became the implementation agency for this project, launched a tourism awareness initiative. This was deemed necessary since the concept of tourism in this area was completely new and strange to the community, who mainly identified it with something happening far from them in the coastal area and was by no means conceived as a possibility in their own area. This tourism awareness day was complemented with a steering committee of local stakeholders including local authority, NGOs, CBOs, religious bodies, local businesses and police representatives. Out of this committee and in line with the White Paper on Tourism, which provides for the establishment of Local Tourism Organizations (LTOs) involving local authorities, the Ukhahlamba Tourism Association (UTA) was launched in September 2000. The name was later changed to the Umzimbuvu Matatiele Tourism Association (UTA). The UTA was a community based LTO which became the central role-player for the community participation process.

6.3 Project description:

The idea of an anchor project in the form of a multi-day trail was presented to UTA. The project was aimed at developing two lead tourism products for the area. The first involved the establishment of a hiking and horse trail through the Drakensberg/Ukhahlamba mountains in the Maluti district. This was first called the Ukhahlamba Hiking and Horse Trail, was then renamed as the Mehloding Hiking and Horse Trail and is now called the Mehloding Adventure Trail (MAT). Mehloding means source and is also the name of one of the nearby zones through which the trail goes. It consist of a 5 day/four night guided trail which provides the hikers and riders with the opportunity to have close contact with local culture; in the form of hospitality, food, entertainment, medicinal plants knowledge; rock art and heritage sites, whilst enjoying panoramic mountain views, native trees and plants, pristine water streams and clean air in an unspoilt mountain environment. At the end of each day's journey a traditionally designed chalet has been constructed, using as much local materials as possible by local workers and artisans, to provided overnight accommodation to hikers and riders. Each chalet has similar dimensions to accommodate 12 people each, but they are all unique in decoration and character, representing motives of the various cultures of Sotho, Xhosa and Griqua that are present within the area (see table 3 for names and location, map 3 below, and plates in Appendix 5). A fifth chalet, Belford, was planned but due to problems between the two local chiefs of the area about site allocation as well as to which chief's constituency the benefits would accrue to, the construction has not yet started. A possible increase in the capacity of the chalets was being discussed and is dependent on new funding. However, this is a little controversial since the trail is designed to minimize the impact on the environment.

Map 3: Location of chalets

Source: MCTT 2005

The second product of the project was the establishment of a guesthouse in Masakala village, 8 kilometres from the town of Matatiele, consisting of two rondavels. A choice of single, double or dormitory style sleeping arrangements are offered at a standard demanded by international travellers but with local flavour. At the time of writing a third structure with two rooms is being built. It was intended that the Masakala Traditional Guesthouse (MTG) provided alternative rural accommodation to the conventional ones existing in Matatiele. MTG was also built using local people's skills and ideas, and with local materials. It is also community owned and operated (EDA, 2002).

Table 6.1: Names and Location of Guesthouse and Chalets

SITE NAME	NEAREST VILLAGE	WARD	DISTANCE FROM MATATIELE	CTO(Community Tourism Organization)
Masakala	Masakala	21	8 km	Masakala
Madlangala	Makomoreng	28	39 km	Madlangala
Machekong	Mafaiyisa	28	43 km	Three Sisters
Makhulong	Mpharane	26	42 km	Makhulong-a-Matala
Malekhalonyane	Moiketsi	27	52 km	Malekhalonyane
Belfort Dam (*Projected but not built yet*)	Mafube/Thabana Tsoana	22	25 km	Mafube

Source: EDA Trust, 2002: no page.

6.4 Objectives and deliverables:

The primary general objectives of the project were:

- Stimulation of the local economy to contribute towards improved income and livelihoods for rural people of the area, through the establishment of a community based tourism initiative.

- Conservation of natural resources and biodiversity of the area, using this kind of tourism as an alternative form of land use, reducing the problems of overgrazing, degradation and frequent fires.

In the operational phase four main objectives with their specific outcomes were envisaged (EDA Trust, 2000):

1) Development of an anchor project for the area.

The outcomes for this objective were:

- Well established and nationally marketed trail operational by mid 2002.

- At least five households per each of the four target villages to benefit directly from revenue derived from trail bookings through provision of accommodation entertainment and catering.

- At least four qualified and accredited guides to derive a regular income through providing a quality trail guiding service to tourists.

- At least two community projects per village, developed in the form of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs), with a majority of women members, to generate income from selling their products (bread, chicken, etc.).

- A further ten individuals per village to benefit from craft selling to trail users.

- Stopping the destruction of rock paintings, indigenous trees and other attractions, caused by herd boys and shepherds, through the CTOs management in order to preserve these valuable assets for the community.

- Discourage stock theft in the border areas by the presence of trail users in the zone.

- Improved water and sanitation facilities and to encourage installation of similar facilities at other dwellings in the target villages.

2) Independent operation of the Local Tourism Organization by December 2002. The outcomes of this objective included:

- Regular meetings, as specified in the constitution, which deal effectively with issues arising and related to tourism development, without the support of EDA.

- Sufficient income generated and managed to support all the UTA's planned activities, as well as annual audits reflecting expenditure according to plans, budgets and donor contracts.

- Production and circulation of at least two information brochures about the area, produced by UTA on behalf of its members.

- Active CTOs promoting their areas and ensuring a high standard of product and service in compliance with the UTA constitution and standards.

- A measured increase in tourism activity in the area and indicators of income increases for those households involved in providing services such as accommodation.

3) Establishment of effective Community Tourism Organisations (CTOs).

The outcomes expected for this objective included:

- At least three well established CTOs with widely representative and strong membership, meeting regularly and keeping accurate records of processes and finances.
- Crime free CTOs areas, no vandalism on paintings or other attractions or theft reported by tourists.
- At least one lead product per CTO area generating income for its participants.

4) Establish a sustainable market for locally produced handcrafts.

The intended outcomes for this objective were:

- At least 20 producers, with a 60% of women minimum, generate a 50% increase in annual income through regular sales of crafts.
- Fair trade principles are applied and result in fair share, transparency and sustainability of the local craft industry.

According to the Business Plan (DEAT, 2002), the deliverables to be accomplished up to 31/05/2003 were divided in five categories as follows:

1) Deliverables: Accommodation.

Construction of four, simple, comfortable overnight hiking lodges providing beds and bedding, furnishings, catering and heating equipment and to accommodate twelve people each.

2) Deliverables: Temporary jobs to be created.

A total of ninety five temporary jobs were to be created with the following distribution:

Table 6.2: Temporary jobs to be created

Category	Number of Actual People	Total Person Days	Person Days by Women	Person Days by Youth<25	Person Days by Disabled	Person Days by Local People
Clerical	4	598				
Labourer	40	3520				
Managerial	0	0				
Professional	3	40				
Semiskilled	24	480				
Skilled	20	600				
Supervisor	4	400				
All Occupations	**95**	**5638**	**2798**	**1720**	**40**	**4518**

Source: DEAT, 2002: no page.

3) Deliverables: Permanent jobs to be created.

A total of ninety one permanent jobs, including those pertaining to SMMEs, were to be created with the following distribution:

Table 6.3: Permanent jobs to be created

Category	Total	Women	Youth<25	Disabled	Local People
Clerical	1				
Labourer	4				
Managerial	2				
Professional	0				
Semiskilled	40				
Skilled	40				
Supervisor	4				
All Occupations	**91**	**66**	**24**	**4**	**85**

Source: DEAT, 2002: no page.

*Columns beside the total give details of the people conforming the different categories of jobs, being possible that the same person fits in more than one.

4) Deliverables: Training of local people.

A total of one hundred and forty two local people in the following different categories were to be trained, aiming to capacitate the people not only for the prospective jobs and to develop the SMMEs, but to create a human capital able to increase future spin offs :

- Four hostesses in hospitality.

- Twelve tour guides.

- Four Ground keepers in maintenance and security.

- Four catering SMMEs of five people each.

- Four horse associations of ten people each.

- Eight firefighters.

- Twelve fresh produce SMMEs of an average of four people each.

5) Deliverables: SMMEs to be used and created.

A total of twenty seven SMMEs to be created and forty to be used in the following business sectors:

Table 6.4: SMMEs to be created

Business Sector	No. of SMMEs created	No. of SMMEs used	Comment
Services	16	16	To supply catering, cleaning, horses and entertainment
Agriculture	5	12	To supply fresh produce for catering, including vegetables, chicken and meat
Retail/Commerce	2	4	To supply handcrafts and entertainment for visitors
Manufacturing	4	8	To supply construction materials, fitting and furnishing, including block-making and handwork/sewing
Total	**27**	**40**	

Source: DEAT, 2002: no page.

6.5 Partners and role-players

Community:

- The central community role-player of this project in its first stages, as it has been mentioned in the genesis of the project, was the Ukhahlamba Tourism Association (UTA), a truly community based LTO, which changed its name to UMTA. With the creation of the Trust that will be described in the next paragraph, the association started passing its initial central role and leadership to it little by little.

- CTOs play a very important role in the delivery of the anchor project; they represent the voice of the community in the trust. There are eight established CTOs and five of them are involved in the project: one per chalet plus Masakala. During the construction phase the CTOs nominated Project Steering Committees (PSCs) to drive this phase. Other active members of the community have been the Councillors and Tribal Authority Representatives.

NGOs:

- EDA Trust, this NGO provided guidance, support and capacity building for UTA and its members. It was the main fundraiser and trainer for the tourism activities in the area, on behalf of UTA. It was also named as the implementing agency for the DEAT funding, the consultant for the Local Economic Development Fund (LEDF) and it was responsible for the overall facilitation and financial management of the anchor project. However, at present, EDA Trust split and some of the former members of the Trust have created a consultant agency called Environmental and Rural Solutions cc. (ERS), based in Matatiele, which retained the implementing task for the project. EDA still exists and is linked to the project but under the name of EDA Matatiele.

- The Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM), an NGO based in Johannesburg, provided support in the form of the allocation of a tourism officer and by running an information office in Matatiele.

Donors:

- The Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation has provided funding for the emergence and facilitation of the project since 1998.

Government:

- The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) through its Poverty Relief Funds provided funding to support the development of the anchor project since April 2001 via EDA.

- The ECTB has from the beginning provided very valuable support to the project at various levels, encouraging and promoting tourism in the area through tourism awareness initiatives, giving planning support, contributing very actively to the capacity building by organizing training for tour guides, CTOs and SMMEs as well as providing marketing support.

-The Alfred Nzo District Municipality has been another very active and supportive partner in this project, acting also as the receiver of the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) funding.

Others:

- Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA), a New Zealand's development agency, has contributed with the experience of a tourism practitioner (volunteer) who is assisting the Trust, transferring skills by providing training to a local person to fulfil the management position, helping with marketing strategies and in general contributing to move from project to product in this initiative. This first volunteer is in the project from July 2003 to July 2005, after this a second one is taking over for an extra year, with the main goals of training caretakers in maintenance, carpentry and plumbing.

- Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) through its FTT partners provides the project with a national and international marketing service as well as assisting with training in basic marketing. FTTSA is an independent project which was born in 2001 from a pilot project of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature South Africa (IUCN-SA) with the primary goal "to facilitate improved access to tourism markets for structurally disadvantaged tourism enterprises" (Seif, 2002: 3). This is achieved by awarding, monitoring and promoting a "fairness" trademark. To be awarded with the trademark enterprises have to comply with the six FTTSA principles, namely: Fair share, Democracy, Respect for human rights, culture and environment; Reliability; Transparency and Sustainability. At the moment of writing, Masakala guest

house was already endorsed by the trademark and MAT was in the application process for the award.

- Another boost for the area and the project has been the inclusion of the zone under the Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Project (MDTP), a World Bank funded development and conservation project between South Africa and Lesotho. The MCT initiative is being used as a pilot project for the community involvement goal of the MDTP, which apart from having given the use of the brand name to the MCTI, has got a regional facilitator based in Matatiele who is to provide further support for the skills transfer of a tourism specialist.

Governance structure:

During the first period, up to 2002, a period funded by the DEAT, the project was managed by a Project Management Committee composed of representatives of each PSCs and who were responsible for the construction of each chalet in every community. The committee was made up of community members, Ward Councillors, Tribal Authority, UTA, EDA, the Public Works Department, the District Municipality and donors. The Committee met regularly every month. From December 2002, as one of the main objectives in the operational phase described previously, a Trust was established to own and manage the project. The Trust, called The Mehloding Community Tourism Trust (MCTT), is still the responsible body for the project at the present time. The Trust represents over 25 villages, it has got the main office in Matatiele for logistic reasons. The composition is as follows, two representatives per each CTOs (five CTOs, one per built chalet plus Masakala), as well as representatives from the Alfred Nzo District Municipality and the Local Tourism Association. It meets regularly every month like the former Committee. The Trust has appointed and monitors a management team or business unit that is in charge of: the daily coordination of and communication with employees; training and support; managing the product as far as the daily operations concern (bookings, information, etc.); marketing and promotion; and finally it is also responsible for the payments. This team has to report and is accountable for its activities to the Trust. The proposed business organization chart of the project is shown in Appendix 4.

6.6 Capacity Building:

In order to address one of the important limitations for a successful implementation of a community based project, such as the lack of expertise as well as the limited capacity and knowledge about tourism of the local people, an ongoing capacity building and training programme was established in different areas such as tour guiding, maintenance and security, tourism hospitality, arts and crafts, marketing, management training and SMMEs development. In addition to these were the specific and valuable capacity building inputs of the VSA volunteers in the different areas mentioned above. The first volunteer provided mainly management, marketing and basic accommodation skills while the second provided basic IT training for management employees and maintenance.

According to the management the following training has been received by the local people to date (May 2005):

- 15 people, including guides, hostesses and caretakers, trained in basic hospitality.

- 5 people in Bed and Breakfast management.

- 14 accredited tour-guides.

- 15 people in basic fire fighting skills.

- 25 people in first aid.

- 14 people (tour guides) in bird watching.

- Exposure trips for the guides, in rock art interpretation as well as visiting Amadiba Community tourism project for outdoors activities.

- Exposure trip for hostesses to visit different Beds and Breakfasts and Guesthouses and tourism information offices.

- In addition to that, SMMEs training have been identified in the different areas mentioned in the deliverables for about 50 projects, which will start soon. Plus training is planned to continue in the areas of guiding (advanced), catering and care taking and IT (MCTT, 2005).

The training that has taken place to date is more than was projected in the deliverables of the business plan, described in section 6.4.

6.7 The construction phase

The bulk of this phase, under the supervision of the PSC, was mainly done from the year 2001, after the funding commenced, and up to February 2002. According to the business plan milestones, all lodges had to have completed the basic infrastructure including sewerage and water supply by the 15/09/2002, in the majority of cases this is what was achieved.

The design of the chalets was the result of consultation between PSCs, EDA, Public Works and a volunteer architect. The main principles that guided the design were:

- Use of traditional designs and local materials, reflecting the local culture and ensuring the utilization of local skills and the participation of local artisans. At no point were contractors brought to supply any building work.

- Consideration of aesthetics. Trying to get a rustic appearance, and as similar as possible to the local rondavels, using stone, thatch, etc.

- Minimising impact on riverine and groundwater sources by using sealed septic tanks and using temporary pit latrines during the construction to avoid uncontrolled ablutions, as the sites are located in the upper catchments area of the Umzimvubu River.

- Provision of comfortable accommodation compatible with a thermally efficient design, like use of large windows to catch heat in winter and good insulation provided by thick walls and thatch.

However, after these basic specifications were given, each PSC could use their inspiration to make a unique design, and every site has its own layout and character. The sites of the chalet were determined, aside from the attractiveness and scenery, by the practical distance to be covered in one day by the trail users, as well as by the proximity to villages for servicing and access by local SMMEs and the availability of water supply.

In terms of the economic impacts generated in this phase, over 15000 person days of employment were created for more than 450 people (the majority of them, for locals). 30% of those employed were women, 15% were under the age of 25 years, and few disabled people were employed due to the physical demands of the working

conditions (MCTT, 2004). The recruitment of workers was carried out by each PSC who were given the mandate of ensuring the fair recruitment of workers from the villages which fall within the CTOs geographical range. Employment was carried out on a task basis using contracts where possible rather than a daily wage basis. Jobs were paid on the applicable daily rate for the skill involved, the rates used were: a minimum of R35 / day for unskilled workers, R45 / day for semi-skilled workers such as a task leader, R60 / day for skilled but unqualified artisans and R120 / day qualified and certified artisans. Traditional architecture and local designs were encouraged by organizing local workshops; whenever they were necessary, materials were sourced by local suppliers such as blocks and carpentry. The project ensured a maximisation of impact upon SMMEs by utilising the products of six existing enterprises and by boosting the creation of an additional two. Fittings and décor goods were commissioned to local sewing groups who produced the bedspread patterns, beadworks, floor mats, grass mats for window blinds which all give each chalet and room a flavour of local culture. This can be seen especially in Masakala guesthouse in which each of the four rooms is inspired by designs of the main cultures present in the area, Xhosa, Sotho, Phuti and Zulu.

6.8 The operational phase: Marketing and Performance

Domestic marketing of the products has been done through various channels including travel and adventure shows; exhibition stands at tourism fairs such as Indaba (at the time of writing the project had a promotional stand sponsored by ECTB at Indaba 2005, in Durban); directly through hiking, adventure and mountain clubs in Southern Africa; through backpackers and lodge networks; as well as through advertising and exposure in development media and newspapers. International marketing has been carried out via FTTSA and directly to international operators, websites and magazines. Some other initiatives are being put into practice, such as the promotion of the project as part of a whole regional destination, involving different roleplayers such as MCTT, ECTB, Alfred Nzo District Municipality, Matatiele Municipality, DEAT, East Griqualand Outdoors Tourism Association, Tourism KZN and FTTSA. The results of these marketing initiatives are yet to be seen.

As for the performance of the tourism products, in general, the guesthouse has done better as it hosts tourists nearly every week since is a cheaper product involving only accommodation and/or board. On the other hand the trail has been less successful at attracting a regular flow of tourists given that it is a more seasonal product involving more logistics; it is more expensive than the guesthouse produce and consequently not as easy to sell.

From December 2003 to December 2004, the Trail achieved a total of 207 overnight stays and generated an income of 52,696 ZAR. For the same period, the guesthouse achieved 76 overnight stays and generated 14940 ZAR. Considering that the trail, having four chalets, has to be measured as four units and it involves more expenses than the guesthouse, as for instance guides and transport. And the guesthouse has only one unit. The benefits of the trail should, at least, fourfold those of the guesthouse to perform at the same level, wherewith with the above incomes the guesthouse seems to have performed better than the trail per unit. What is missing from the economic data that could be gathered, are the total expenses. An estimation of profits or losses can therefore not be made. However, in terms of sustainability of the trail it was estimated in the project planning that a monthly average of 25 trail users were needed to break even. This target is not currently being met.

The spreadsheets corresponding to incomes and redistribution of Masakala guesthouse and MAT can be seen in the Appendix 2 and 3. The income redistribution is expressed as a percentage of the total income. This is calculated by adding the payments made for food brought to the villagers from each CTO, plus the payments to the local staff not permanently employed such as part time cleaners, caterers and guides, and plus the CTO levy. The levy is an amount directly deducted from the payment made by the tourists and is used to support the CTO activities.

In order to get an overview of the most important activities, events and phases in chronological order, a table resume is included below.

Table 6.5: Chronological description of key events

Dates	Key Activity or Phase	Participants/Stakeholders
Late 1990s	Project Initiation	EDA, Swiss Cooperation, Tourism Task Team, DEAT
April 2001-June 2001	Planning and preparations for construction	EDA, Community representatives
Started 2001-continues.	Capacity building	EDA, Community representatives and different institutions.
Started July 2001	Construction Phase. Masakala was finished in in Dec.2001, the rest during 2002	Community representatives, PSCs, Public Works, volunteer architect
2002-2003	Operational phase.Masakala became operational in 2002 and the trail at the end of 2003	Various stakeholders
Dec.2002	Establishment of MCTT	CTOs members , other community and municipality representatives.

7. Fieldwork report

In this section the data collected is objectively presented so the reader can form his/her own views and opinions about them. The analysis of the data is presented in the following section. The fieldwork consisted of two visits. A preliminary visit was made during the month of March 2005 to establish contact with the project, its members and facilities. This visit included a one night stay in Masakala guesthouse and a visit to three of the chalets on the trail. It also involved a meeting in the Trust offices in Matatiele. A second visit was made during the week of the 11th to the 15th of April 2005 for the purposes of data collection. Interviews were conducted in Matatiele, Masakala and Mount Ayliff.

7.1 Data collection

The majority of interviews took place in Matatiele since even though this town belongs to the Kwazulu-Natal Province, it is where the office of the Mehloding Community Tourism Trust is located, along with the office of other stakeholders involved in the project such as ERS and EDA. Masakala village and guesthouse is close enough and reachable by normal car and Mt. Ayliff is where the offices of the Alfred Nzo district municipality are located. The idea was to try and interview at least one key informant from each and every different group of stakeholders involved in the project. In doing so the people interviewed were:

1 caretaker.

2 hostesses.

2 trail guides and CTO members at the same time.

2 members of the Trust (the project founder and the chairperson).

2 people from implementing agencies.

1 facilitator from the Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Project.

1 person involved in the construction of the chalets.

2 people from the management staff (1 employed and the VSA volunteer).

1 member of the Alfred Nzo municipality.

The study aims to assess the economic and non-economic impacts of this community-based tourism project. In doing so, and based on the evaluation of impacts reviewed in the literature as well as the access to information from the project, the impacts to be evaluated will be divided into economic (jobs for locals, income generation, spread of benefits) and non-economics (level of community participation in the process, capacity building, empowerment). However the questionnaire also covers other issues such as the perception of stakeholders of the governance structure and functioning, the level of stakeholder knowledge of different aspects of the project and their future expectations. This information serves to help better assess the impacts of, as well as to deepen the general knowledge of the project.

7.2 Interviews

The interviews took the form of a questionnaire (attached as Appendix 1) which mixed open ended questions to gather qualitative information and closed questions to obtain quantitative data. The closed questions followed a fixed rating scale of five degrees, namely very good, good, fair, bad, very bad. However even in these questions the interviewee was asked to provide arguments or reasons for his/her answer for a more in-depth understanding of the issue of study. Since there were some problems in finding documentation about the previous phases of the project due to changes in management and implementing agencies which had led to a "certain confusion" about the location of them, a number of questions have been dedicated to gather this missing information from the key informants. This proved to be a valuable source of information in the absence of documents although the information gathered was some times contradictory.

The central objective of the questionnaire was to get as much information as possible from the interviewees to help answer the core question of the study, i.e. what are the economic and non-economic impacts of the project. Considering the gaps in the information mentioned above, as well as the aim to employ a holistic approach, it was deemed necessary to include sections to cover issues other than the mere impacts. The questionnaire comprised a total of 36 questions divided in six sections, plus an open section for personal reflections and comments based on the specific role played in the project by each of the interviewees. The six sections followed a logical sequence based on a chronological order. Section A was for biographical data and relationship to the

project. Section B was dedicated to information about the project initiation and expectations of stakeholders. Section C dealt with one of the missing areas in the documentation available, namely the project planning phase. The questions in section D were focused on project operations and governance structure. Section E was directed to obtain information about the perception of the real impacts that the project has achieved so far. And finally, in the chronological order, section F asked about perceptions of the future of the project. An extra section G was added in the form of an open ended paragraph for personal reflections as well as possible additional comments. The duration of each interview was different according to the amount of knowledge about the project and the information provided but they ranged from 40 minutes to 1 hour. The interviews were tape recorded with a portable device and with the prior consent of the interviewee.

7.3 Results of the questionnaires

Due to the different purposes of the various groups of questions previously mentioned as well as space constraints, the results will be presented per section and will focus only on the questions that have been considered most relevant in relation to the key question of the case study.

Project Initiation:

The purpose of this set of questions was to obtain feedback about this stage of the project from the experiences of the participants. This is considered a very important stage of the project since it provides insight as to who initiated it, what the level of involvement of the local community was and what was the degree of expectation generated by the initiative. The responses of the stakeholders showed that the idea of poverty alleviation through tourism by job creation and income generation, as the main expected objective, seems to be very clear. Even though the aim of environmental conservation was clear for some it was less so for others and therefore appears secondary to poverty alleviation. Other expected impacts were the capacity building as well as the cultural exchange and promotion. There is unanimity in the positive responses of the community since it was a poverty relief initiative and the majority have been receptive and supportive towards the project. This is despite the fact that in the

first instance they did not know very well what the project could bring, as can be seen in this response from one of the interviewees: "I tell you, my attitude changed a lot, at the beginning I did not believe very much in the idea".

Project Planning

The first group of questions in this section were aimed to complement the gaps in the information about the project planning process due to the difficulties found in gathering documents or other information relative to this stage of the project. This was followed by a second group of questions to rate different aspects of the planning process such as participation, capacity building and planning material. However, some of the answers were quite confusing or contradictory and in some cases there was no response. When asked about participation in the planning process, it seemed that the majority of respondents interpreted the question to mean participation throughout the whole project process instead of only in the planning stage. For instance, one interviewee said: "ECTB was very active, they did a lot of awareness". Clearly this response does not relate exclusively to the planning process, however, it still supports the idea that there was a good awareness campaign in the initiation phase. In general most of the stakeholders, with the exception of members of the implementing agencies and municipality, were not very sure about who participated in the planning process; this provides a significant indication about the possibility that there was a low level of participation from the community in this stage. Nonetheless, in the ratings given for each participant, with the exception of some disparities, the majority of the interviewees valued the participation of the different sectors above fair and from good to very good. The few negative results (bad and very bad) were only given to some government levels, but never represented the majority of the interviewees (see fig. 1 below)
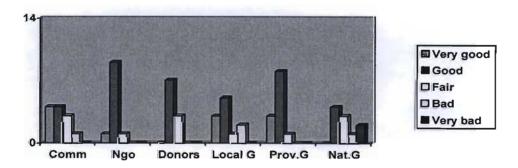

Fig. 1: Level of participation in the project planning process

Respondents were also asked to give their opinion and rate the capacity building of participants in the planning process. Again the majority of them were not able to separate it from the rest of the stages of the project; however, the data were considered valuable to help analyze the impact on capacity building of the project in full and therefore taken as an ongoing process. The rating indicates a very high level of satisfaction among the participants regarding the capacity building (see fig. 2). Considering that tourism was a new concept for the majority of people in the area, it seems quite important that this aspect has been taken seriously.
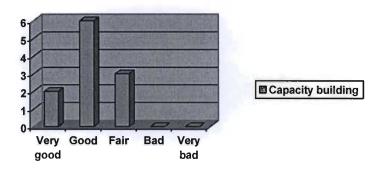

Fig.2 Capacity building rating

The interviewees were finally asked in this section about the quality of the planning materials and documents. These were valued quite positively and reasons given included that "they were quite understandable" and "things were according to planning". Some respondents acknowledged there were limitations in terms of elaboration in the planning documents, some other issues raised were the fact that they were only in English, they lack organisation, they were too technical, and were not easy to access by stakeholders. However the majority of the ratings given were above fair (see fig. 3), indicating a general satisfaction in this regard.
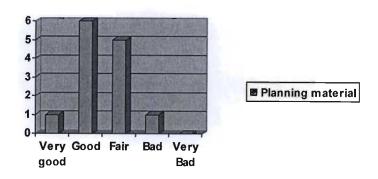

Fig. 3 Quality of planning material

Project operations and governance

The objective of this section was to collect information about the perceptions of the stakeholders regarding the governance structure and its functioning. This is an aspect of the project of vital importance because the future and sustainability of the project is dependent on effective and representative governance. The operations management appears to be a very positive aspect of the project according to the interviews (see fig. 4 below). The main reasons argued for the good functioning of the management were the receptiveness to employees. One interviewee said in this regard "our ideas are taken seriously". Other reasons given were the willingness of learning and a good skills transfer process from the volunteer to the employed staff.

When asked about the most common problems encountered so far in terms of operations and governance, the majority mentioned the low capacity of some members of the trust and the lack of tourists for the trail. Considering they were the main problems, special attention to them will be given in the analysis section to follow. Other problems raised by the respondent, but less frequently, related to different stages of the project. These include the reluctance and lack of understanding of community members at the beginning; and, in the current stage, that there are some tensions and conflicts within the community caused by the fact that some members got jobs and some did not. The following comment from a respondent gives an idea of this problem: "some people in my community think that Masakala is my project and it has not got anything to do with them". In terms of the solutions or initiatives to deal with these problems, the answers reflect that most of these problems are being addressed in some way or other, or at least there are some movements in the right direction. A variety of answers were given when asked what the solutions were to these problems, such as: "increasing the number of employed", "learning from other projects", "making people understand tourism", "improving roads", etc. What coincides, are the responses for the solutions of the two main problems currently affecting the project, i.e. the lack of tourists and the governance issues. The majority said that the solutions to these respective problems should be based on improving promotion and marketing strategies and restructuring the Trust and/or capacitating its members.
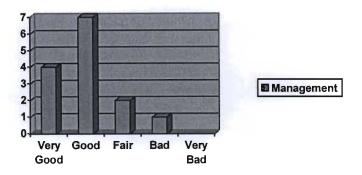
Fig. 4: Management rating

Another issue raised in the questions about operations and governance was the communication about the project activities to key stakeholders. This aspect is valued as very positive by the majority of interviewees (see fig.5), in particular by the community members. This is quite interesting given that the majority of facilities and villages of the project are located in very remote areas with bad or non existent roads, no phone signal, and a considerable number of stakeholders. Nevertheless some people think that there are differences in the level of communication depending on which stakeholders you are referring to. The level of communication is considered quite good between management and employees but not so at the level of the community and this is because of the problems associated with the trustees as already mentioned. This can be seen from the following response that was referring to the communication of information about Trust meetings from Trust members to his/her community: "some members of the trust are not doing this well".
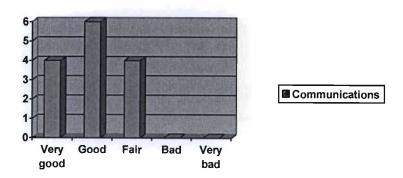

Fig. 5 Communication about project and activities to key stakeholders

The final purpose of this section was to get feedback about the level of participation in the governance structures. The rating is in general mostly good, however, and from the answers, these responses can be divided into two aspects: attendance and active participation. In terms of attendance at the meetings, it looks like there is a good level of presence of Trust members, which is also confirmed by the review of the minutes of the meetings. But at the same time the level of active participation is not rated high. This reinforces the idea, indicated in the previous questions, that this is one of the main problems that the project is facing at the moment. This can be seen in the following response: "some members just come to the meetings and go without saying any word".
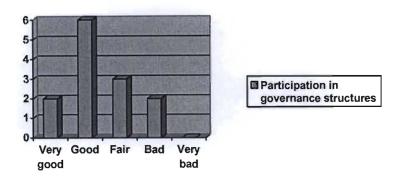

Fig 6. Level of participation in the governance structures

Project Impacts

The objective of this section was to get feedback from the different stakeholders about the impacts of the project at the social and economic levels. This was done in order to get direct inputs that could help to analyze the core question of this study. The impacts of the project are extremely important as they will be the indicators used to explore the successes or failures of the CBT intervention. From the answers given, it could be said that the interviewees' impact expectations, both economic and non-economic, have been fulfilled in most of the cases. This is despite the suggested problem raised by some interviewees in the previous question that there was a possible excess of expectations amongst the community members.

In general, income generation and attracting tourist are the lowest rated categories, and since the income generated depends directly on the amount of tourists, the lower economic performance of the trail in this respect in relation to the guesthouse,

is clearly affecting the results. The commitment to the creation of permanent jobs as outlined in the business plan has not been fulfilled by far (16 permanents job created against the 91 projected, although this included the SMMEs). However, in the job creation impact, the expectations of the majority of the respondents appear to have been satisfied, as well as in terms of empowerment of the community. The main reasons given for the empowerment were a feeling of ownership of the project, the recognition of their culture, and the skills and jobs provided to community members. The impact on capacity building, in which the achievements not only coincide but exceed the commitment of the business plan, has got a rating above average. The spread of benefits, despite the low income, has also been rated above average, as it can be seen in fig. 7.

According to the responses it seems clear that the project has brought more positive impacts than negative. In fact five of the respondents answered that there were no negative impacts. Nevertheless the negative impacts that were mentioned were: conflicts of envy and jealousy within the community, some negative environmental effects due to the construction of roads and an excess of expectations of some community members. Regarding the latter, one respondent mentioned: "some people thought that this was going to bring a lot of jobs, as if it was the coast". However, as mentioned below, for different reasons the road was considered an indirect improvement to the area provided by the project. As for the positive impacts, the primary goal of poverty relief through job creation and income generation is widely considered to have been achieved as the main positive impact, followed by environmental conservation awareness, and a feeling of community empowerment from the recognition of local culture along with dignity and confidence building (the latter was also highlighted in a later section of the questionnaire). Some of the interviewees also highlighted the fact that thanks to the project infrastructures, access to roads etc had improved.

When asked about the suitability of the project for poverty relief, in the last question of this section, the majority agreed that tourism was the best initiative for poverty alleviation. However, there was also a general concern that it should be complemented with other initiatives since this project is not thought to have a big impact on its own and is not able to generate more jobs at its current scale. The

alternative and/or complementary solution suggested was some kind of agricultural initiative.
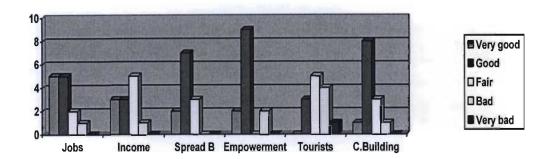

Fig. 7: Project Impacts

Future of the project

The final section of the questionnaire was design to get information from the interviewees about their views and perceptions of the prospects of the MCT project. As it can be seen in fig. 8, the rating of the question is quite positive reflecting a clear optimism among the interviewees about the future of the project, based in the growing number of tourists and the success of the marketing initiatives, as well as the gradual improvements, in this respect one interviewee said "since its opening it has been improving - the project -, so we expect to keep the same tendency".

In this section the participants were also asked about the changes the project needs, if they considered any. The major changes proposed are obviously related with the key problems encountered and still not solved such as the trust capacity and functioning and how to increase the number of tourists, the changes suggested go from involving more tourism expertise in the trust, to limiting the trust competencies, more involvement at the grassroots level, and suggestions of public-private partnership. In this regard one of the interviewees related to the municipality said: "we are considering some options of partnership to solve problems in the management". Other minor changes suggested are related with things or facilities needed in the chalets such as more space, communication systems, etc.
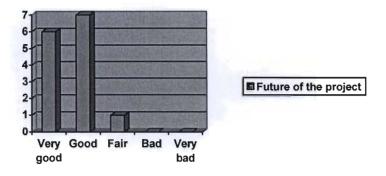
Fig. 8: Future of the project

8. Analysis of the results:

This chapter, based on answers from the questionnaires, plus additional information obtained from informal chats with stakeholders, and complemented with the personal perceptions of the author, provides an opportunity for an analysis of the field work results. Although the main goal of the study is to analyse the social and economic impacts, the project needs to be considered as a whole in order to understand the influence of other project elements on these impacts. Consequently other aspects apart from the mere social and economic impacts are analysed here. Since the questionnaire has been organized in chronological order and this order can help the reader to get a clearer view of the evolution of the project, it has been considered useful to present the analysis following the same criteria.

<u>Project Initiation</u>

In the project initiation stage, the fact that there is a good knowledge of who initiated the project and a certain consensus about the main goals projected and expected, may indicate that there was a good awareness campaign among the stakeholders and this was identified by some of the interviewees as a positive aspect of this stage of the project. This is in line with and reinforces one of the elements proposed by Nelson (1993) in his action strategy for sustainable tourism development, which emphasises the importance of the design and implementation of educational awareness programmes. Another relevant and positive aspect of this awareness initiative is that it helps to address one of the cultural limitations to community participation in tourism previously discussed in the overview of CBT – that of low level of awareness and apathy in the local community (Tosun 2000).

It was also very important that, in the initiation phase, the responses of the community to the project were positive following an understandable first period of uncertainty and even scepticism, since tourism was a totally new concept in the area. This positive attitude facilitated the community's involvement in the project, described in the theory and in the various definitions of CBT, as necessary for the successful implementation of these kinds of initiatives. And, as a result, some time and resources were saved. Here it could be said that the project successfully followed the guidelines

outlined in ECTMP and described in section 5.2, regarding the need of creating a shared vision and a commitment to a common interest.

<u>Planning Process:</u>

Continuing with the planning process, the fact that respondents had no clear idea about it and that there were contradictory answers, could be interpreted as a sign that the project planning process was not very participatory or was unclear. Neither from the results of the questionnaires nor from other sources, could it be very well determined that there was a good level of participation of the community in the planning process. This possible lack of involvement in the planning processes by the existing project stakeholders along with the lack of project documentation, that will be further described in this section, casts some doubt as to the degree of effective community participation in this crucial early phase of the project. France (1998) considers residents' contribution to planning as one of the characteristics of interactive participation, supporting the idea that to achieve the full participation of community residents in tourism, they have to be present in the planning process too.

In terms of participation, whether the question was interpreted by the interviewees as participation only in the project planning or participation in the whole project process, the results indicate that amongst the stakeholders, the most active participator was the NGO (called EDA at that time). This result could be biased for the community respondents, since, given the NGO was the implementing agency and, if its mandate to be the main agent involved along with the community was taken seriously in practice, this would mean close and frequent contact with community members. This contact and interaction could have been interpreted by the community interviewees as the only valid indicator of participation. It is important to underline though, that the rating given to the participation of all the sectors was above fair, which constitutes a solid pillar for a multi-stakeholder project.

The absence of conclusive evidence that there was genuine community participation in the planning process is a concern given that this may risk the possible achievement of the goals associated with CP in development. These, as already discussed in chapter 3, include, sharing in the benefits of development (UN, 1997 in

Desai, 2002) community empowerment and the education of community members in rights, law and political good sense (Low 1991).

The responses about capacity building included in the planning section of the questionnaire will be analysed in the social impacts section to follow. This is because of the possibility that respondents' answers referred to capacity building throughout the project and that capacity building should be considered as an ongoing process, since new needs and people are continuously incorporated into the project.

The planning materials were valued positively, however a contradictory issue is that few planning documents were found, there was a lack of proper records, and there was certain reluctance in providing them. The reason for this, as argued in the previous section, possibly concerns the splitting of the implementing agency. It is considered that a positive improvement, at least for the non-technical documents, could have been to issue them not only in English but in the predominant local languages (Xhosa and Sotho). This is not only for reasons of a better understanding, but for increasing empathy with the project and the feeling of ownership from the community - one of the main characteristics that according to the literature (Telfer, 2002a), a tourism initiative developed under the alternative development paradigm, such as CBT, should have.

Project Operations:

Moving to the project operations and governance, it seems to have two sides, the more positive one is the operations management, which is very highly rated in the interviews. Based on the contacts with the management and the interviews, it is considered that the two main reasons for this are the willingness of the staff and the valuable contribution in skills transfer made by the volunteer of the New Zealand NGO, VSA. Overall, taking into consideration the limitations of resources, time, and skills, the improvement in the operations management has been quite good within a short period of time. On the negative side is the lack of capacity of some of the trustees, highlighted by the lack of active participation of some members despite their attendance at meetings. This lack of capacity has been described in the literature as a possible reason for one of the negative aspects of alternative forms of tourism, that of operational inefficiencies (Telfer, 2002a). The lack of capacity has also been identified as one of the

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cultural limitations of CP in tourism caused by the fact that communities have other priority needs (Tosun, 2000). The lack of capacity of some trustees can be a very limiting factor since the Trust is the main governing body and all the important issues and decisions should be debated and taken within it. The latter along with the lack of tourists have been considered by the interviewees as the main problems the project is facing at the moment. Some of the reasons for the lack of tourists could be marketing problems; in fact Forstner (2004: 497) argues that CBT is prone to face marketing problems based on their dependence on intermediaries, a problem faced by most rural producers. Other possible reasons could be the remoteness of the area, the youthfulness of the initiative and the lack of integration in a biggest tourist route or area.

The solutions taken by the project stakeholders to tackle the main problems seem to be in the right direction, in terms of trust restructuring movements, capacitating initiatives and increasing promotion and marketing. Another problem mentioned in the interviews was the representativeness of the trust, some argued that those represented were not the most in need but mostly the well-off, which coincides with the problem described in the tourism literature (Desai, 2002; Tosun, 2000) as elite domination, referred in this case to the elites of the community and not the country; representing, according to Tosun (*ibidem*), one of the structural limitations to community participation in the tourism development process.

The problem of low tourist numbers mentioned above raises an important question about the suitability of tourism for poverty alleviation when it is clearly a volatile sector that is vulnerable to market trends. This reinforces an understanding of the problems created by the volatility of prices for developing country economies that rely too heavily on products subjected to these trends, such as raw materials. As Lea (1998) argues, too much dependence on such a volatile sector as tourism, is costly. The fact that the development impact of tourism in such cases may not be as positive as expected raises the question as to whether the money invested in this initiative could have been better spent elsewhere.

Project Impacts:

In analysing the section of the questionnaire directed to evaluate the social and economic impacts of the intervention, which represents the core question of the study. Generally speaking and with the limitations of the size of the sample, it can be said that the majority of both social and economic impacts expected by the interviewees are being fulfilled. Therefore, while in a following question dealing with the negative impacts of the initiative, some respondents identified an excess of expectations of other community members as one of them, this view was clearly not shared by the interviewed community members themselves. This issue could have been caused by a lack of knowledge about tourism in the community and/or a misleading awareness process. Ashley and Roe (2002: 77) identify the issue of excessive expectations as a common problem found in their Southern African and Tropic case studies of Pro Poor Tourism.

However, despite the similarities in the results, looking more carefully, it can be noticed that the perception of the impacts seems to be different depending on factors such as the position of the interviewees in relation to the project. For instance the permanent employees gave a high rating to the job creation impact (despite the fact that the commitment outlined in the plan was not actually achieved), whereas the commissioned or non employed people rated it worst. This is generating some social tensions between the community members, impacting negatively on the feeling of ownership of the project among the non-directly involved people of the community.

Regarding the economic impact of income generation, the low number of tourist visits to the initiative is clearly directly responsible for the poor profit performance. However, it is interesting to see that despite the low income, the spread of economic benefits among the community is positively valued. It should be remembered that according to Mearns (2003), the equal distribution of benefits (and costs) constitutes one of the four important dimensions for a CBT project to be sustainable.

In analysing the social impacts, and in particular the empowerment of the community, the latter issue is closely related and contributes to it, since according to Scheyvens (1999), and her empowerment framework, empowerment occurs at different

levels including the economic, in which the incomes should be shared and equally distributed. Other signs of empowerment that can be seen from the responses are at the psychological level with community members seeing their resources and culture being recognised from outside as valuable assets that can provide them opportunities as well as improvements in their living conditions. The existence in the project of Community Tourism Organizations (CTOs) and Trust meetings, if better managed and functioning properly, also has the potential to help at the social and political levels of empowerment by making the community work together for a common goal and creating representative and democratic forums where members can express their opinions and develop and manage the project.

The positive perceptions about the impact on capacity building are not a surprise since the commitment of the business plan was exceeded; this corroborates the success of the ongoing process of CB which has been put into practice from the first stages of the MCT project. CB is a concept repeatedly mentioned in the theory in the first part of this study, and in the policies of the ECTMP, as a basic aspect to consider for a successful CBT project. However it has to be considered that at least 50% of the respondents have received some kind of training, which on the one hand is a positive sign that capacity building is taking place and creating a base of social capital for the community to be used in this or in further interventions. On the other hand, that 50% of the respondents had directly benefited from the project could well have biased their responses.

One important aspect that also has to be borne in mind when measuring the relative success of the impacts, in particular the economic ones, is that this project was conceived as a low environmental impact intervention, with conservation as one of the main goals. Therefore one cannot expect high economic benefits such as substantial employment creation or high income and numbers of tourists which are derived from mass tourism. In fact one of the weaknesses of this kind of initiatives mentioned in the literature (see Telfer 2002a) is the relatively low profits if compared with other forms of tourism with a more lucrative orientation. Possibly the social impacts of capacity building, empowerment of the community through participation and ownership are as important, if not more, than the economic benefits of this kind of initiative. However, and despite the majority of respondents agreeing that tourism is a good solution for

poverty alleviation in the area, one wonders along with some of the interviewees, that if one of the main needs of the area was employment creation and income generation, a small-scale and low impact CBT project was the most suitable solution. This highlights one of the possible economic negative impacts or costs of tourism described by Lea (1998, see paragraph 2.7) as the opportunity costs. Nonetheless, the project is expected to generate other spin offs over time. For instance at the present time the constitution and development of different SMMEs around the project is taking place, and from the previous analysis there can be no doubt that MCT has brought some positive impacts for the community.

Future of the Project:

Finally, it is clear that positive attitudes and expectations exist regarding the future of the project and its sustainability, denoting a good degree of enthusiasm among the stakeholders. But besides this, the future depends on the success of the initiatives to tackle the actual problem of lack of tourist numbers and poor governance. However there is a critical point on sustainability that is important to be underlined, that is that the project still depends partially (for the wages of permanent employees) on economic support from the government. This point was made by one of the management members who said that "to guarantee the future of the project, this support is needed for a few more years until the project can be economically self sustainable". This also supports one of Mearns (2003) four dimensions for a CBT initiative to be sustainable - to be economically viable by generating enough income. In addition, it should be noted that the project, from an economic point of view, is within an open market, and subject to the competition of other similar products that are privately owned and focussed on profit. Hence, even though the main aim of this initiative is not only the economic impact, it still has to match some efficiency standards if it wants to be sustained in the future.

Summary of the analysis:

In summing up the analysis, the case study in its majority of aspects seems to reinforce most of the issues described in the theoretical framework about CBTs interventions, regarding principles and strategies to follow for good implementation, as

well as possible positive impacts, and in a minor degree the possible negative ones. This has been seen from the initiation phase, in which a good tourism awareness campaign among the community was an important step that helped to overcome cultural limitations, and it also boosted the community participation required to start the project. However, the analysis of the planning process raised some doubts about the participatory level of the community at this stage; this, along with the lack of good records, does not permit the conclusion that there was a good and participating planning process. This could present a threat to the achievement of CP goals for development. Nonetheless, results and available data showed that at least there was a variety of stakeholders involved. It also seems that the project has worked to correct these weaknesses of the early stages in the operational phase, for instance by increasing participation.

The project operations and governance showed a positive side, namely the management of operations, and a negative side, namely the lack of capacity and active participation of some of the trustees. The latter, along with the shortage of tourists for the trail, constitute the two main problems identified by the respondents. The low number of tourists brings into question the suitability of opting for tourism interventions as poverty alleviation strategies rather than for others based in more stable sectors. Other problems identified by the respondents, and also described in the literature, were related to marketing and elite domination.

As far as the social and economic impacts are concerned, the analysis showed that on the whole impacts were positive. However, when analyzing these positive perceptions more carefully there are differences according to who is responding, such as the poor rating given to job creation by those not directly employed in the project or the impacts on income generation and attracting tourists. Social impacts seem to have been achieved to a greater degree than economic ones, and so empowerment appears to have happened at different levels, including a feeling of true ownership at least by some sectors of the community. An ongoing and successful capacity building process is taking place, an issue highlighted and reinforced in the much of the tourism and development literature.

It is noted in the analysis, that to have a good sense of the scope of the impacts, it is important to consider that this is a small scale intervention and it is still in its early operational stage. This, at the same time, questions the suitability of the initiative, considering the needs of the area, although it is anticipated that it will act as a booster, furthering other initiatives. The analysis concludes by raising the question that, despite the level of optimism among the interviewees about the future, the economic sustainability of the project is still an "incognita".

9. Summary and Conclusions

9.1 Summary

This dissertation commenced by introducing tourism, its types, and the different role players, focusing on developing countries (DC), in an attempt to locate the concept of community based tourism (CBT) within this field. Chapter two described the relation and influence of development, and its different paradigms or approaches, in relation to tourism In doing so the theoretical foundation of CBT was explored under the alternative paradigm. The description of the situation of tourism in DCs revealed that tourism is still dominated by developed countries and that the desperate need of income and foreign exchange of some DCs lead them to opt for unsustainable forms of tourism. However, some positive evolution and signs seem to be happening. In the case of South Africa, different forms of tourism interventions coexist, including state promoted CBT particularly in the rural areas. Later the study described the different kinds of impacts at the economic and non-economic levels that tourism can have on the host countries. The last chapter of the first part showed the importance and the possible benefits of community participation (CP) in the tourist development process, to avoid the common problems of foreign dependence, lack of participation, unsustainable practices, etc. associated with more conventional forms of tourism. Here, important limitations to CP were also described and some examples and guidelines on evaluation of impacts, to be used later in the case study, were provided.

After having set the context of tourism in South African, in which the case study takes place, and having outlined and discussed the principles of intervention of CBT for development, under which the MTC was born, the second part of the study presented the project in full. Here, the aims and plans of the project provided the reference to compare the responses given by the stakeholders interviewed. The section shows a project sound in its foundation but with some limitations in practice. After presenting the results of the fieldwork, the detailed analysis of the results raised some issues that reinforced the theory previously reviewed, it also considered the problems the project is facing and will face, in particular in terms of sustainability, and questioned the suitability of the initiative in relation to the needs of the area.

9.2 Conclusions

This study has tried to understand the social and economic impacts of CBT projects through the review of the theory and the analysis of the MCT case. Having done so and within the scope and limitations of the study, it can be concluded that DCs in their search for the means of development have to consider all the impacts that tourism interventions can have, and that CBT, if well planned and implemented, could bring real, and not only rhetorical, positive impacts. The case study of this dissertation has revealed a relatively sound project in its theoretical foundations but that may have missed some Community Participation in parts of the process such as the planning. In addition, the suitability of this kind of tourism project to achieve poverty alleviation in the area is certainly questionable. The project has two products performing at different levels and it is facing two main problems in practice: the lack of capacity of some of the trustees and a shortage of tourists for one of its products. However, and bearing in mind the relatively early stage of operations of the project (it only became fully operational with its two products at the end of year 2003), it can be said that the project has brought positive impacts to the community, at least to those members directly involved, although in some cases with lower results than projected. These impacts have been more positive at a social level, such as an ongoing capacity building process and a feeling of empowerment in the community from the recognition of their assets and culture.

The economic impacts of the project offer some potential to directly assist poverty reduction in the short-medium term at a small scale, but it is considered that the impacts at the social level can help to reduce poverty in the longer term through the creation of social capital. Such social capital, produced as a result of training for example, could provide a platform to make further initiatives more sustainable. Finally, the positive conclusions about the perspectives of the project's future are clearly conditional upon the project's economic sustainability and its ability to overcome some of the major problems highlighted, such as lack of capacity among Trust members. This, along with the results of the so-called and expected spin offs, will determine the future success or failure of the intervention.

9.3 Recommendations

From the literature, the feedback provided by the stakeholders and the personal reflections of the author based on the previous information and his own experiences in the tourism field, it has been deemed appropriate to provide some lines or directions that could be taken into consideration for the future of the project and other CBT initiatives in the area.

At a general CBT and developmental level, given that the geographic area faces high unemployment and poverty problems, and in the light of the conclusion that the project, although projected as a poverty alleviation initiative, is unlikely to achieve large-scale impacts, efforts should be oriented to use the platform created by this intervention, at the human and institutional level, for other initiatives that could create jobs at a higher scale, that are more pro poor oriented, and which at the same time would contribute to reinforcing this platform. In doing so, the integration of this project into a broader developmental intervention would be achieved.

At the project level and considering its current problems, the inclusion of the MCT as part of a larger tourist route or area could help to attract more tourists. In terms of improving the MCT's marketing strategy, consideration should also be given to the suggestion made by Forstner (2004) about the effectiveness of developing combined marketing approaches. This kind of strategy could help to overcome the limitations of the scale and effectiveness of individual strategies, and take advantage of the different areas of expertise and experience of the intermediary institutions such as different governmental levels, NGOs, trademarks, etc.

Finally, there is a clear need to continue and strengthen the ongoing capacity building process within the MCT to redress the current lack of expertise and capacity within the Trust.

Appendix 1: Interview questionnaire

Masters Dissertation: Community-based tourism projects. Case study: Mehloding Community Tourism.

Questionnaire for interviews:

Date:

Place:

Time:

Section A) **Biographical data**

1	Name	
2	Sex	
3	Age	
4	Occupation	
5	Contact details	
6	What is your specific role with regard to the project?	
7	How did you get involved?	
8	How long have you been involved?	

Section B) **Project Initiation**

1	Who initiated the project?	84
2	How the concept of the project was first communicated to local stakeholders?	
3	Who was involved in the first discussions on the project?	
4	Who decided on the representatives to these early meetings?	
5	What were the main impacts the project was expected to deliver?	
6	What were the responses of the main stakeholders to the project idea?	

Section C) **Project Planning**

1	Who led the project planning process?	
2	Who participated in the detailed project planning?	
3	How were the participants in the planning processes nominated?	
4	What were the roles of the various participants?	
5	What were the key steps of the planning process?	
6	What were the specific objectives outlined in the planning process (scale of project, impact in terms of jobs, sustainability)?	
7	How would you rate the level of participation in the planning process (very good, good, fair, bad, very bad) for each of the main participants? Community NGOs Donors Local government Provincial government National government	Give reasons:
8	How would you rate the capacity building of participants in the process? (same scale rating)	Give reasons
9	How would you rate the quality of the planning material/document/business plan?	Give reasons
Any further comment about the planning process:		

Section D) **Project operations and governance:**

1	How would you rate the technical/operations management of the project since its launch? (previous scale)	Reasons:
2	What have been the key problems encountered?	
3	How were /are these problems being dealt with?	
4	How would you rate communications about the project and its day to day activities to key stakeholders? (same scale)	Reasons:
5	How effective is the governance structure of the project at? (same scale): Representing the views of stakeholders Guiding the management team Ensuring sustainability	Reasons:
6	What is the level of participation in the governance structures (ie do people attend meetings?	

Section E) **Project Impacts:**

1	Do you believe the project has had the impacts that you expected? in terms of: (same scale) Jobs Income Spread of the benefits Empowerment of the community Attracting tourists Capacity building	Reasons:
2	What have been the main positive impacts and why?	
3	What have been the main negative impacts and why?	
4	Do you think tourism was a good solution for poverty alleviation in the area or other sector would have been better?	

Section F) **Future of the project:**

1	How would you rate the future of the project? (same scale)	Reasons: 88
2	What, if any, are the changes the project needs?	
3	Do you think there are any other tourism opportunities in the area?	

Section G) **Personal reflections and further comments:**

Appendix 2: Masakala income and redistribution spreadsheet

MASAKALA INCOME AND REDISTRIBUTION 2003 TO 2005	total income	Nigh t	day visit	CTO staff	CTO levy	Total to CTO	%redistri b			
jul-03	2.055,00	11	15					ALL PAID TO cto DIRECTLY		
ago-03	2.635,00	17			120,00			PAID TO cto DIRECTLY	R 1,64	
sep-03	1.880,00	11						ALL PAID TO cto DIRECTLY		
oct-03	1.230,00	8	5		120,00			PAID TO cto DIRECTLY	R 16	
nov-03	1.992,50	7	15		140,00					
dic-03	1.885,00	13			180,00					
ene-04	0,00	0	0		0,00					
feb-04	1.190,00	6	2		80,00					
Total 2003	12.867,50	73	37		640,00					
mar-04	1.035,00	2	15	110,00	150,00	70,00	330,00	31,88%		
abr-04	1.030,00	4	0	89,70	130,00	40,00	259,70	25,21%		
may-04	1.425,00	5	16	81,50	340,00	112,00	533,50	37,43%		
jun-04	360,00	3	0	47,00	120,00	0,00	120,00	33,33%		
jul-04	1.440,00	8	0	44,00	260,00	160,00	464,00	32,20%		
ago-04	1.530,00	11	0	55,50	440,00	220,00	715,50	46,76%		
sep-04	1.335,00	4	10	198,00	280,00	100,00	380,00	43,29%		
oct-04	2.120,00	14	0	17,00	520,00	120,00	657,00	30,99%		
nov-04	960,00	2	10	73,90	180,00	60,00	313,90	32,60%		
dic-04	2.515,00	17	25	136,60	605,00	320,00	1.061,60	42,20%		
ene-05	940,00	8	0	101,00	270,00	140,00	511,00	54,40%		
feb-05										
Total 2004	14.690,00	78	76	954,20	3.295,00	1.342,00	5.591,20			

Source: MCTT 2005

Appendix 3: MAT income and redistribution spreadsheet

Mehloding Trail income and redistribution dec 2003 to Dec 2004									
				Redistribution					
Chalets	Total Income	Night	day visit	CTO foods	CTO staff	CTO levy	Total	% redistribution	
Malekhalonyane	R 10,454.26	42	42	R 153.50	R 2,960.00	R 908.00	R 4,021.50		38.46%
Makhulong	R 13,442.60	53	36	R 278.60	R 3,695.00	R 820.00	R 4,793.60		35.65%
Maboloka	R 16,466.03	62	4	R 740.20	R 4,255.00	R 1,298.00	R 6,293.20		38.21%
Madlangala	R 12,332.69	50	0	R 298.24	R 3,465.00	R 1,040.00	R 4,803.24		38.94%
Total	R 52,695.58	207	82	R 1,470.54	R 14,375.00	R 4,066.00	R 19,911.54		37.78%
					permanent wages		R 93,600.00		
					total		R 113,511.54		
	CTO food = fresh produces purchased from the villages/ community								
	CTO staff = wages paid to part time cleaners and caterers, guides, and incentive of R10.00/ tourist for the hostesses								
	Permanent wages presently funded by ANDM								

Source: MCTT 2005

Appendix 4: Proposed bussines structure.

Source: MCTT, 2005.
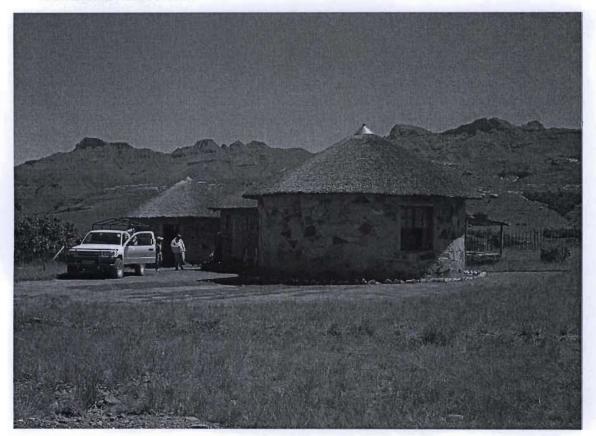
Appendix 5: Plates
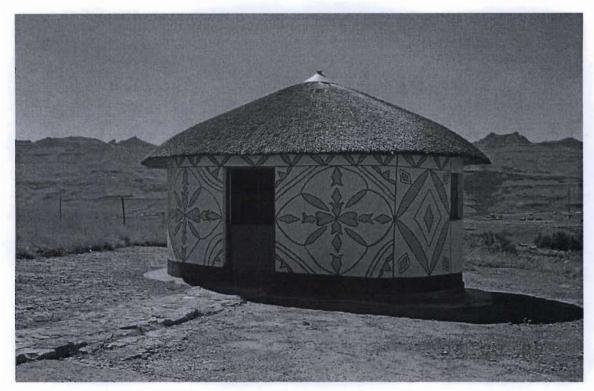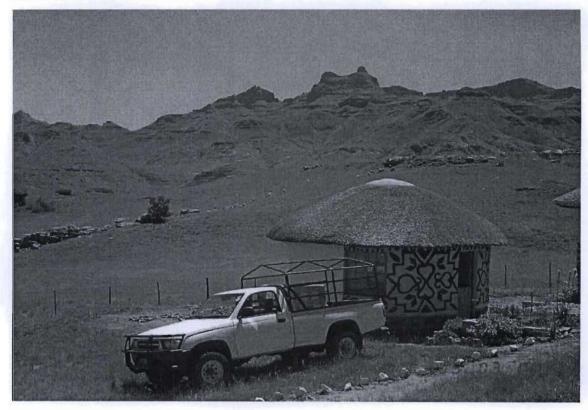

Plate: Masakala Guesthouse

Plate: Trail chalets

Plate: Trail rondavel

Plate; Trail rondavel and backdrop

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