

**GLOBALISATION, DEVELOPMENT AND
COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM IN DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES: A CASE STUDY OF PONDOLAND,
EASTERN CAPE**

By

Andrea Giampiccoli

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of Environmental Sciences (Geography), Faculty of Humanities,
Development and Social Sciences, Howard College, University of KwaZulu-Natal.**

Supervisor: Dr. V. Moodley

Dr. S. Brooks

2010

Declaration

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Graduate Programme in

Geography, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
South Africa.

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. All citations, references, and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Andrea Giampiccoli

Date

Acknowledgement

The making of this thesis has touched and influenced my life especially for the academic experience that it has brought to me.

A number of people need my gratitude to complete this work. First of all, and most importantly, I like to thank my previous supervisor Dr. Shirley Brooks: the making of this PhD could not been possible without her support and understanding. Her contribution has been fundamental in helping to edit the work. I am also grateful to Dr. Moodley who has been essential in checking and restructuring the final version of the thesis.

Another person that I have to thank for his help in organising the final stage of my PhD, is Prof. Fethi Ahmed (Head of the School of Environmental Sciences). I would also like to extend my appreciation to the previous Head Prof. Roseanne Diab for her support.

My appreciation also goes to Mr. Frank Sokolic who drew the maps and helped with the Tables and figures; to Prof. Christian M. Rogerson for his help during my stay at the University of Witswatersrand; and to Prof. Robert Preston-Whyte who made suggestions on some of my writing. I am grateful to Prof. Nauright that directed me in Scotland's Abertay University at the beginning of my work.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all staff, both academic and non-academic, of the Geography Department and the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science at Howard College, for material, personal and bureaucratic help and suggestions inherent in the development of my work. Everybody has always been incredibly supportive, sympathetic and understanding (especially Ms. Kerry Philp, Mrs. Susan Sheriff, Prof. Johan Jacobs, Mrs. Dawn Bell, Mr. Isaac Abboy and Mr. Eddie Powys).

I would like to thank very much the people who assisted me well beyond the purely academic curricula: the AmaMpondo (Mpondo People) during my stay in Pondoland for my fieldwork, in particular two families: the Somakepu family of Noquekwane, and, foremost, the Mhloluvele family of Ndengane. I would also like to thank everyone who was kind enough to answer my different questionnaires and/or interviews.

My appreciation also goes to my Anglo-cluster friends, to the university colleagues (especially Dr. Oliver Mtapuri) with whom I have had valuable discussions, and to members of the Italian-Southern Africa Development Organisation (especially Mr. Kevin Duke) – an organisation where I am involved, that in different ways have helped me.

Acronyms

ACCODA – Amadiba Coastal Community Development Association

ACP – African Caribbean Pacific

ACTA – Action for Southern Africa

AIM – Academic-Institutional-Media

AMTA – Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities

ANC – African National Congress

APEC – Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation

ASEAN – Association of South East Asian Nation

AWP – Annual Work Plan

BEE – Black Economic Empowerment

CBET – Community-based Ecotourism

CBMT – Community-based Mountain Tourism

CBO – Community-based Organization

CBPT – Community-based Partnership Tourism

CBT – Community-Based Tourism

CM – Chamber of Mine

CT – Community Tourism

CTA – Community Tourism Association

DEAT – Department Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DTI – Department of Trade and Industry

EC – European Community

ECA – Economic Commission for Africa

ECLA – Economic Commission for Latin America

EU – European Union

FDI - Foreign Direct Investment

FTA – Free Trade Area

GATS – General Agreement on Trade in Service

GATT – General Agreement on Trade and Tariff

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GEAR – Growth and Employment and Redistribution Strategy

GMS – Greater Mekong Sub-region

GNP – Gross National Product

HDI – Human Development Index

HPI – Human Poverty Index

HSSA – Haley Sharpe Southern Africa

IADB – Inter-American Development Bank

IBSA – India-Brazil-South Africa

IDP – Integrated Development Planning

IFDA – International Foundation for Development Alternatives

ILO – International Labour Organisation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IMS GT – Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle

INGO – International Non-Governmental Organisation

IUCN – International Union for the Conservation of Nature

MERCOSUL – South America Common Market

MERCOSUR – South Cone Common Market

MIF – Multilateral Investment Fund

MTR – Mid Term Review

NACOBTA – Namibia Community-based Tourism Association

NAD – Native Affairs Department

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement

NGO – Non Governmental Organisation

NIC – Newly Industrialised Countries

NTE – Non Traditional Export

PDC – Previously Disadvantaged Community

PMU – Project Management Unit

PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

REST – Responsible Ecological Social Tour

RETOSA – Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SAP – Structural Adjustment Programmes

SDI – Spatial Development Initiative

SI – Socialist International

SME – Small Micro Enterprise

TCSP – Tourism Council of the South Pacific

TDCA – Trade, Development and Co-operation Agreement

TINA – ‘There is no alternative’

TNC – Transnational Corporation

TNTC – Transnational Tourism Corporation

TTO – Triple Trust Organisation

TWG – Tourism Working Group

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNEP – United Nations Environment Program

USA – United States of America

VBA – Village-based Accommodation

WB – World Bank

WCCTI – Wild Coast Community Tourism Initiative

WCHA – Wild Coast Holiday Association

WCSDI – Wild Coast Spatial development Initiative

WEF – World Economic Forum

WESSA – Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa

WST – World System Theory

WTO – World Trade Organisation

WTO-OMT – World Tourism Organisation

WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council

WWF - World Wildlife Fund

Abstract

Contemporary globalisation in developing countries is circumscribed by neo-liberal development approaches, while community-based development seeks to create alternative development strategies. This thesis brings together research in tourism with theoretical perspectives from Gramscian social analysis in order to explore contemporary conflict between these two strategies in the tourism sector. The purpose is to investigate the influence the hegemonic global milieu has exerted on an alternative community-based tourism (CBT) strategy that was initially formally/institutionally supported. Concepts of hegemony, globalisation and divergence/convergence, together with development theories, are explored and applied to the international tourism sector and CBT in particular. A theoretical structure is proposed in which the relationships between hegemony, globalisation, and processes of divergence/convergence are explicated in relation to the tourism sector, and CBT in particular.

Global-local linkages, conceptualised in terms of the theoretical framework, are explored in a particular geographical context, namely the Pondoland coast of South Africa. South Africa has recently rejoined the global socio-economic milieu after the isolation of the apartheid period and a European Union-supported tourism project in the Pondoland region is studied in detail. The case study serves to empirically substantiate the proposed theoretical framework.

The investigation contributes to 'initiate' a global – local oriented paradigm in tourism study that focuses on the relationship between globalisation processes and a CBT development approach by exploiting and conjoining the correlation of the concepts of the proposed theoretical framework. Globalisation processes are set against a specific and local form of tourism, i.e. community-based tourism. The proposition is a 'new' double level of interlinkage. General and global policies are interlinked and cross each other with specific and local policies to evaluate a CBT project outcome. The study intends to go beyond existing literature of CBT management and project development. This is achieved by providing an investigation on the 'unseen' working mechanisms and influence of globalisation processes in relation to a specific CBT local project supported by a global actor in international cooperation, thus verifying interpretations and commitment on CBT development approaches.

The case study findings elucidate and highlight the final effects of the theoretical proposition at a practical level by clarifying and showing the level of influence on, and re-adjustment of, the case

study end result in comparison with its initial plan. A shift in the case study project development is individuated and commented on in relation to the proposed theoretical framework. The investigation results allow validating the proposed conceptual basis of the study.

Based on the findings, this thesis a proposal is made to construct the interrelationship between development and CBT understanding. A typology and specific nomenclature of CBT approaches is advanced together with their correlation to development concepts. The conclusion also gives further general and specific recommendations by providing possible strategies to permit proper development and better exploitation of CBT possibilities.

Table of contents

	Page
Chapter 1 – Introduction	
1.1 Preamble	1
1.2 Rationale for the study	2
1.3 The global context	4
1.3.1 Tourism and globalisation	4
1.3.2 Tourism and development	4
1.4 The local context	5
1.5 Aims and objectives of the study	6
1.6 Structure of the study	7
Chapter 2 – Hegemony, globalisation and development	
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Hegemony	9
2.2.1 Cultural hegemony	11
2.2.2 Political hegemony	13
2.2.3 Economic hegemony	13
2.2.4 Synopsis: levels of hegemony	14
2.3 Globalisation	14
2.3.1 Cultural globalisation	15
2.3.2 Political globalisation	16
2.3.3 Economic globalisation	16
2.3.4 Synopsis: levels of globalisation	17
2.4 Convergence/divergence	17
2.4.1 Cultural convergence	18
2.4.2 Political divergence	19
2.4.3 Economic divergence	19
2.4.4 Synopsis: levels of divergence/convergence	20
2.5 Development theories	20
2.5.1 Modernisation	21
2.5.2 Dependency	23
2.5.3 Neo-liberalism	25
2.5.4 Regionalisation and its impact on tourism	27
2.5.5 Alternative development	34
2.6 Towards an integrated theoretical perspective	39
2.6.1 The emerge of a global hegemonic power	39
2.6.2 Political-economy and Neo-Gramscian/Coxian approach	44
2.7 Discourse and hegemony	47
2.8 The meaning of development	50
2.9 Conclusion	51
Chapter 3 - Tourism and developing countries	
3.1 Introduction	52
3.2 History of tourism	52
3.3 Tourism research and the development debate	55
3.3.1 Regional tourism research	56
3.4 Alternative tourism development	58
3.4.1 Community-based tourism: definitions and meanings	59

3.5 Tourism entities	70
3.5.1 The private sector	70
3.5.2 Public institutions	72
3.5.3 Civil society organisations	76
3.5.4 A note on public sector, NGOs and private sector	78
3.6 Outcomes of discursive hegemony in the tourism sector	79
3.7 Theorising global tourism in the context of developing countries	85
3.7.1 Diffusionist theories of tourism growth	87
3.7.2 Dependency theory in the context of tourism	90
3.7.3 Linking tourism typology with theory	91
3.8 Conclusion	94
Chapter 4 – Methodology	
4.1 Introduction	95
4.2 Research design	96
4.2.1 Theoretical basis of the research design	97
4.2.2 Theoretical framework and hypothesis	98
4.2.3 Role of the empirical in the research design	99
4.2.4 Research aims and questions	100
4.3 Research methodology	102
4.3.1 Quantitative and qualitative sources	102
4.3.2 Primary and secondary sources	103
4.4 The case study	105
4.4.1 Research methods employed in the case study	106
4.4.2 Problems occurring during the collection of primary data	113
4.5 Data analysis	116
4.5.1 Quantitative analysis	116
4.5.2 Qualitative analysis	117
4.5.3 Discourse analysis	118
4.6 Triangulation, hypothesis verification and research outcome	119
4.7 Conclusion	119
Chapter 5 – The National and International Tourism Policy Environment	
5.1 Introduction	121
5.1 Tourism development and the European Union	121
5.1.1. The case study of EU cooperation in the South Pacific	129
5.2 Tourism policy in South Africa	130
5.2.1 Policy directions Post-1994	130
5.2.2 Tourism, development and community-based tourism in South Africa	133
5.2.3 Introduction to key documents	134
5.2.3.1 The Tourism White Paper	134
5.2.3.2 Tourism in GEAR	136
5.2.3.3 The Responsible Tourism Handbook	138
5.2.4 Partnerships in community-based tourism	139
5.2.5 Tourism policy for the Wild Coast	146
5.3 Conclusion	150
Chapter 6 – Pondoland in perspective	
6.1 Introduction	152
6.2 The history of Pondoland	152
6.2.1 Access to communal natural resources	154

6.2.2 The role of traditional authorities	158
6.2.3 Migrancy	159
6.3 Current changes	161
6.4 Conclusion	168
Chapter 7 – Between the Local and the Global: The Development of Wild Coast Trails Tourism	
7.1 Introduction	169
7.2 Early development of the Amadiba Trail	169
7.2.1 The Wild Coast Community Tourism Initiative and the EU	171
7.3 The Wild Coast development context	173
7.4 The AmaMpondo (or Pondoland) Trails	182
7.4.1 Financial resources	187
7.4.2 Village socio-economic characteristics	187
7.4.3 Training delivery	194
7.4.4 Infrastructural development	197
7.4.5 Debates over ownership and management of the AmaMpondo Trail.	198
7.5 Conclusion	202
Chapter 8 – Local Impacts of the AmaMpondo Trails	
8.1 Introduction	204
8.2 Feelings of ownership regarding village tourism projects	204
8.3 Village-level impacts in terms of income and employment	212
8.4 Private sector involvement	227
8.5 Outcome	231
8.6 A tale of two villages: AmaMpondo VBA Trails and community VBA institutional relations	236
8.7 Conclusion	240
Chapter 9 – Conclusion	
9.1 Introduction	242
9.2 Theoretical framework and case study	242
9.2.1 Hegemony	242
9.2.2 Globalisation	243
9.2.3 Convergence / divergence	243
9.2.4 Tourism development theory and tourism typology	245
9.3 Key conclusions from the case study	246
9.4 Global neo-liberalism and community-based tourism	251
9.5 Concluding comments and recommendations	257
9.7 Concluding remarks	269
References	271
Appendix 1	294

Tables

	Page
Chapter 2	
Table 2.1 Terminology and meaning of globalization	15
Table 2.2 Tourism development under alternative development	38
Chapter 3	
Table 3.1 List of CBT and CBET definitions and meanings	62
Table 3.2 Relation between CBT and holistic development	69
Table 3.3 Limitations to participation	78
Table 3.4 Tourism global structure	88
Table 3.5 Tourist typology and its impacts	91
Chapter 4	
Table 4.1. Theoretical interlinkage	96
Table 4.2. Difference between research design and methodology	96
Table 4.3. Research procedures	110
Table 4.4. Sampling techniques	111
Chapter 5	
Table 5.1 Business Development and Investment Promotion in Tourism in GEAR	141
Chapter 6	
Table 6.1. Would you support the Privatization of common natural resources (land)? Why?	156
Table 6.2. Are you in favour of the proposed Pondoland National Park?	167
Chapter 7	
Table 7.1. Project result areas and actions	180
Table 7.2 project budget	181
Table 7.3. Projects outline	183
Table 7.4. Project terminology	186
Table.7.5. Project cost proportion	187
Table.7.6. Data villages characteristics	189
Table.7.7. Villages characteristics	192
Table.7.8. Villages characteristics	193
Table 7.7 Training in the Wild Coast Tourism SDI	196
Chapter 8	
Table 8.1. Number of job created verified by MTR	214
Table 8.2. Number of jobs created as recognised by the community	216
Table 8.3. Number of tourists	219
Table 8.4. AmaMpondo Lodges trail Projected Income Statement	221
Table 8.5. Community members' income from tourism	223
Table 8.6. Household income in Qaukeni ward 23	226
Table 8.7. Number of Community Trust members	236
Table 8.8. People involved in tourism by management	237

Plates

	Page
Chapter 8	
Plate 8.1 Cooking for tourists in Lijazo during the AmaMpondo VBA trail	231

Figures

	Page
Chapter 2	
Figure 2.1 The linkage between hegemony and convergence/divergence effects	39
Chapter 3	
Figure 3.1 World tourists' arrivals	53
Figure 3.2 Relationship between diffusionism, dependency and alternative approaches	59
Figure 3.3 CBT typology relationship with development theories	84
Figure 3.4 Tourism area Lifecycle	89
Chapter 6	
Figure 6.1. Privatisation of communal natural resources	155
Figure 6.2. Privatisation of communal land.	157
Figure 6.3. Preference regarding Pondoland National Park	166
Figure 6.4. Pondoland Park preference	168
Chapter 7	
Figure 7.1 Wild Coast Development Nodes	174
Figure 7.2. Villages characteristics	191
Figure 7.3. Training needs	195
Chapter 8	
Figure 8.1 Community members' preference and feeling towards CBT and AmaMpondo trail	206
Figure 8.2. Community members' reference regarding management of the tourism sector	208
Figure 8.3. Community members' perspective on natural resources ownership	209
Figure 8.4. Community members' willingness to start own business	211
Figure 8.5. Acceptance towards big tourism establishments	212
Figure 8.6. Jobs created/beneficiaries depending on the documents	213
Figure 8.7. Job created/beneficiaries	217
Figure 8.8. Community feeling about employment status in the AmaMpondo VBA	218
Figure 8.9. Elaboration of data on income of households from tourism	224
Figure 8.10. Income of households other than from the AmaMpondo project	225
Figure 8.11. Income of households other than from the AmaMpondo project	225
Chapter 9	
Figure 9.1. Correlation between development theories and CBT terminology	253

Chapter 1

Introduction

By treating tourism almost solely as a discrete economic subsystem, many revealing links have been missed between tourism and other politically and theoretically important geographic issues which demonstrate the wider role and position of tourism in capitalist accumulation.

(Britton, 1991: 466)

1.1 Preamble

Tourism is today the largest economic sector throughout much of the world. Post-industrial areas and increasingly impoverished urban and rural areas in developed countries try to enter into and offer amenities within the tourist industry in order to overcome economic stagnation or decay (Binns and Nel, 2003; Wyckoff, 1995). Developing countries¹ have also followed this trend by stressing the importance of tourism in boosting their national economies (Binns and Nel, 2002; Werner, 2003; Cater, 1995).

Contemporary tourism as an economic, cultural and social activity is an integral part of the globalisation process and has important political implications. As Michael Hall (1998 in Giampiccoli 2007: 175) says:

[t]ourism development is an essentially political concept. The pursuit by governments around the world of various states of tourist development, and the perceived benefits of such development, raise questions about the economic, social and political manner in which overt and covert development objectives are pursued at the expense of other objectives.

Developing countries that see tourism mainly as a way to earn foreign exchange are particularly affected by global policies and international cooperation processes. Additionally, contemporary tourism in developing countries is often circumscribed by neo-liberal development approaches

¹ There are obviously a number of possible ways to define developing countries. Without entering into this debate, a variety of widely accepted terms is used in the thesis in order to avoid tedious repetition. In this thesis, developing country is defined as a country with a low standard of socio-economic development for much of the population and belonging to was generally called Third World, that is outside either the capitalist or communist blocks.

(Binns and Nel, 2003). So what is the relationship between these approaches and, community²-based tourism (CBT) development strategies which seek to create alternative development strategies? Such strategies may not be readily compatible with the neo-liberal economic policy environment and associated models of social interaction and development. This thesis attempts to shed some light on this question.

The apartheid era in South Africa ended formally in 1994 when the country was fully re-incorporated into the international community. As a consequence of its readmission into the global system, South Africa also became more fully integrated into the contemporary economic framework of 'globalisation' (Binns and Nel, 2002; 2003; Taylor, 2003; Rogerson 2000). This has been reflected in its developmental efforts, which have increasingly involved the whole of South African society rather than operating only to the profit of a white racial hierarchy. In this context, the European Union (EU), which is a major trading partner with South Africa and is recognised as a major international global organisation involved in development contexts in developing countries, has stepped up its involvement in the country. Tourism has been an important focus in post-apartheid South Africa. In 1994, the year of the birth of the 'new South Africa', the country hosted 640 000 international tourists despite continuing uncertainties about the future of the country. Almost 10 years later, in 2003, tourist arrivals in South Africa have been calculated at 6.5 million (South Africa Info, 2004).

1.2 Rationale for the study

This thesis explores the tensions between the neo-liberal global development agenda and more localised and alternative community-based strategies in the tourism sector. The study is grounded in research undertaken in the Pondoland region of the Eastern Cape, one of the poorest, most historically marginalised and under-resourced areas of South Africa. It aims to assess the effects of globalisation on a development project that originated as a CBT project in Pondoland.

Moreover it explores how the processes of globalisation, expressed in particular forms of international cooperation, have interacted with and influenced CBT approaches to tourism

² Community is used here to describe a unit "combining human alliances with local social systems in specifically defined locations" (Mayhew, 1997: 89). While communities can, of course, be of different sizes and are not closed systems, it is because of their common historical-geographic evolution that people forming a community should (in theory) be more able to organise cooperatively within it. The problem of unequal power relations existing within the community is of course rightly recognised. However this thesis posits that the relationship with external influences and power structures may be of greater importance when considering the outcome of CBT projects in developing countries.

development in a developing country context. Specifically, it will examine an European Community (EC) –supported initiative in Pondoland.

Despite their intrinsic weaknesses and problems, CBT approaches are intended to promote holistic and locally-based development processes (Binns and Nel, 2002; Suansri, 2003). This thesis explores the extent to which these aims are being realised in the case of tourism development along the Pondoland coast in South Africa. In order to achieve this, an account is offered of the trajectory of a CBT project, where the original idea was locally derived but where most of the financial backing and the management structures have originated internationally (see Chapter 7).

The purposes of this study are as follows. First it aims to contribute to debates concerning the role of tourism in the development of poor countries. Secondly, it hopes to provide insight into the degree of influence exerted by globalisation at the local level. The research investigates how globalisation affects “alternative tourism” approaches, in this case CBT development. The focus is specifically on CBT tourism as opposed to development based strictly on a global neo-liberal approach. In addition, and to a lesser extent, the study will provide insight into the position of alternative tourism on rural livelihood strategies.

On a theoretical level, the study uses tourism to contribute to a better understanding of the three different aspects of global neo-liberal hegemony (cultural, political, and economic) and how they interact. Insight is provided into the three key organisational entities which participate in tourism and interact with each other: public institutions, private enterprises, and civil society/communities. Finally, by focusing on the influence of globalisation on CBT, the research applies a global-local oriented paradigm to the study of tourism. This paradigm enables the study to explore what happens when globalisation processes are confronted with a specific local form of tourism management, that is, CBT. It is hoped that this will promote understanding of how global development strategies can influence and alter the direction of specific projects and influence their outcomes.³

³ Since this study is based on extensive literature and theoretical backing, including policy guidelines, strategic documents and reports, it has at times been necessary to quote (occasionally at some length) in order to do justice to these influential documents. The hope is this will enable the reader to better appreciate their overall implications and their relationship to the theoretical framework on which this thesis rests.

1.3 The global context

1.3.1 Tourism and globalisation

Globalisation in its different aspects necessarily permeates the current climate in which tourism development occurs. Indeed, tourism can be seen as a typical global industry providing “an example of large international flows of people, with concomitant flows of goods and services” (Hampton, 2003: 85). Tourism development is produced at interlinking geographical levels (global, regional, national and local). Almost any place in the world can offer tourist attractions, and global travel is intrinsic to tourism. Tourism is in fact an export industry, although of a particular kind: you need to import the customer instead of exporting the product, which cannot be seen before it is purchased. Finally, tourism is seen as a ‘new’ industry, capable of creating development where it is needed.

Thus, as noted by Lefebvre:

Capitalism, and more generally, development, have demonstrated that their survival depends on their being able to extend their reach to space in its entirety: to the land (in the process absorbing the towns and agriculture, an outcome already foreseeable in the nineteenth century, but also, and less predictably, creating a new sector altogether – notably that of leisure).

(Lefebvre, 2002 in Giampiccoli, 2007: 179)

Page et al. (2001: 397) assert that “Tourism has been described as a force of neo-colonialism as it may take the form of exogenous development, controlled by overseas interests, with a large proportion of income leaking overseas rather than benefiting the host nation [and] it might be said that tourists have superseded the army of the colonial powers”. This neo-colonial matrix can be evidenced by the fact that most tourism development plans come from Western world based agencies with their specific western based philosophical approaches for tourism development (Page et al., 2001).

1.3.2 Tourism and development

According to Telfer (2002), tourism policies have followed the general debate regarding development theories since World War II. The same author chronologically identifies four main development paradigms: modernisation, dependency theory, alternative development and neo-liberalism. The CBT approach can be regarded as an expression of the more general alternative development approaches. Within the tourism sector alternative development approaches usually provide a form of tourism which is presented as an alternative to neo-liberal strategies: for

example, the provision of small-scale accommodation rather than the establishment of a hotel chain. As Scheyvens (2002: 51) points out: “the dialogue surrounding participation, empowerment and sustainable development [three key words in alternative development approaches] can contribute significantly to our understanding of how local communities can gain benefit and control over tourism in their surrounding area”.

Contemporary globalisation, however, is characterised by discourse produced by and generated from powerful centres; this discourse is influenced by neo-liberal beliefs and is a key means to promote market-oriented development strategies (Apple, 2001; Taylor, 2003). Alternative development strategies, whatever their base, seem unable to escape from the limits set by the overarching structure maintained by global neo-liberalism. Chapter Three considers the specific meanings surrounding the word ‘development’ in order to position the concept of CBT and alternative development issues in contemporary debates.

1.4 The local context

The increased influence of globalisation in South Africa can be seen at the level of government policy in the shift (in the second half of the 1990s) from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR).

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 the 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.

(Pycroft, 2000 in Rogerson, 2000: 397)

Tourism is anticipated to play a major role in this process, as Kirsten and Rogerson (2002: 29) note: “It is widely anticipated that the tourism sector will become one of the key drivers of economic expansion and employment in South and Southern Africa over the next decade.”

In investigating these issues, research for this thesis focused at a local level on the Pondoland coast, the location of several community-based tourism projects centred on ecotourism in the form of low impact hiking and horse riding trails. The decision to use the Pondoland AmaMpondo Trail as a case study is based on Pondoland’s position in a previous South African ‘Bantustan’ or ethnic ‘homeland’, established under apartheid, which is today one of the poorest areas in South Africa. In addition, the area is part of the wider, tourism-focused, and EC-supported Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI).

The main case study is the AmaMpondo trail, whilst a smaller scale study of the villages of Noquekwana and Ndengane, which are part of the trail, is used to explore the characteristics of CBT at local level.

1.5 Aim and objectives of the study

The main aim of the study is to critically assess the outcomes of a CBT project in Pondoland. The aim is to understand the relationship between contemporary globalisation processes as they influence small communities, by investigating local forms and outcomes of CBT in the context of international development projects.

Objectives

- To understand how tourism is configured in contemporary globalisation processes;
- To investigate competing meanings and changing conceptualisations of CBT in the globalisation process, especially in South Africa;
- To assess the response to global tourism as reflected in the formulation of policy at different geographical levels (EC, SADC, South African government, regional SDIs);
- To understand the developing role of the Pondoland CBT projects within the larger EC project; and
- To determine the contribution of the project to local livelihood strategies.

The major theoretical themes are:

- The links between global hegemonies and the production, publicising and management of tourism policies which affect CBT at the local level;
- The question of whether and how these relationships have divergence/convergence⁴ impacts in the way globalisation is experienced; and
- The ways in which CBT is influenced by the dominant neo-liberal policy environment and the consequent impacts on tourism development approaches at community level.

Here the final intention must be to understand the kind of contribution that globalisation processes are making in CBT projects in developing countries, as a result of the impact of contemporary globalisation frameworks.

⁴ Divergence/convergence theory and its relationship to globalisation is explained fully in Chapter Two.

It should be noted that this thesis is not about the practical management of a development project. Rather, it is about the political-economic milieu behind international cooperation in the contemporary globalisation context, and the impact of this on the development of a local CBT project. Consequently the research will not enter into detail regarding the practical day-to-day running of the case study project - but rather seek to evaluate how the hegemonic globalisation milieu has affected the project outcome.

1.6 Structure of the study

After the present introductory chapter (Chapter One), Chapter Two provides a literature review and the theoretical background to the study, as well as proposes a theoretical framework regarding the likely impact of globalisation processes on CBT in local places. Relevant development theories are examined and issues of hegemony, globalisation and divergence/convergence outlined and their interaction explained. The problematic of discourse formation is then highlighted in order to throw light on the globalisation process. Furthermore, the meanings of development are explored in order to allow a greater understanding of the research findings. Chapter Three relates the arguments developed in Chapter Two to the tourism context, probing questions of tourism and development in developing countries. Chapter Four presents an explanation of the approaches used to collect and analyse the data.

Chapter Five is the first of four data analysis or results chapters. Here the reader's understanding of the empirical background to the study is extended and deepened. Tourism policies in South Africa and their relation to globalisation issues are discussed in detail; the policies which form the background to the development of tourism in South Africa are critically analysed in relation to the theoretical framework and the case study is situated within them.

Moving to the case study area, Chapter Six is concerned with the recent history of Pondoland and aims to clarify the nature of the area and its communities. Chapter Seven presents the evolution of the AmaMpondo Trail at institutional level. It begins with an investigation of the background to the project, that is, the project antecedent, the Amadiba trails. The close relationship between the Amadiba and the AmaMpondo trails projects is highlighted and discussed. Specific attention is given to the insertion and role of the EU in the Amadiba and AmaMpondo Trails and their evolution. Chapter Eight deals with the specifics of the AmaMpondo Trail at community level, assessing the actual impact of the project and project outcomes. Issues of project impact with consequential adaptation, ownership, and outcomes are investigated.

Chapter Nine, the final chapter, consists of a conclusion and recommendations. The aim is to suggest a possible new model for the achievement of holistic development through CBT projects in the context of globalisation.

Chapter 2

Hegemony, globalisation and development

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the general background theory in terms of which the research findings will be analysed. The chapter explains the key concepts used to develop the theoretical framework: namely hegemony, globalisation and convergence/divergence effects. The theoretical framework developed relies on the interlinkages between the concepts discussed. The chapter also pays attention to the development of a historical understanding of the contemporary situation, to issues of the origin and management of development discourse and to the meaning of development. An examination of the different development theories is presented. Modernisation, dependency, neo-liberalism and alternative development theories are considered in order to locate the emergence of Community-based tourism (CBT) in the context of alternative development theory. The theoretical framework developed in this chapter forms the general theory on which tourism issues and specifically CBT themes will be inserted and investigated in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 Hegemony

Although some of the earliest concepts of 'hegemony' can be found in the works of Plato (*c.* 427 – *c.* 347 B.C.), who "argued that the citizenry can be persuaded to accept the rule of the guardians only by means of propaganda that promotes a 'noble lie' " (Gordon, 1991: 68), the modern concept of hegemony is usually attributed to the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci who lived from 1891-1937. Gramsci was concerned with the instruments used by a dominant group to persuade other group(s) of the legitimacy of a particular political and socio-economic system (Hubbard et al., 2002). It has been stated that hegemony is "a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class" (Mayo, 1999: 35). A number of geographers and left-leaning social science scholars have found Gramsci's ideas useful in thinking about the workings of contemporary society. For example, Gramsci's conception of hegemony emphasises "cultural leadership exercised by a ruling class" (Ritzer, 2000: 276). This cultural hegemony can be attributed to the role of organic intellectuals belonging to the ruling class (Macey, 2000) and, consequently, to the work of the complexes of academic-institutional-media (AIM) (Peet, 2002: 58) that create and co-operate with the ideas and policies of the ruling group.

Most commentators are aware of the danger of reductionism when viewing the Gramscian message in this way. For Gramsci, "though hegemony is ethico-political, it must also be economic, must

necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity” (1971 cited in Forgas, 1988: 423; see also Giampiccoli, 2007: 177). Hence, hegemony covers the cultural, political *and* economic spheres. From an economic perspective it is possible to assert that hegemony of a social group is “manifested by the intellectual and moral leadership conferred upon a ruling group by its dominance in the realm of economic production” (Macey, 2000: 176). To become truly hegemonic a concept needs to move beyond a restricted educated circle to become absorbed into the popular culture that permeates the whole of civil society (Macey, 2000).

In order for hegemony to work, there must be group cohesion. A group must adhere to common beliefs on the organisation of the state and society as a one whole and ‘democratically’ convince the rest of the society of the value of these beliefs. Such a hegemonic social group, that is, a group which successfully disseminates its beliefs throughout society, is what Gramsci termed the ‘historical bloc’ (Cox 1993: 55). For Gramsci (1971), this historical bloc represents not only an alliance of social forces, but describes the link between the base (physical means of production and social relations) and the superstructure (ideology and political organisations) (1971 cited in Forgas, 1988: 425; Peet, 2002: 56).

As mentioned above, the workings of hegemony need to be analysed not only in the cultural sphere but also in the economic realm. According to Peet (2002: 56) Gramsci claims that economic rationality “responds to material necessity by constituting a complex of convictions and beliefs from which concrete social goals are proposed to collective consciousness.” Three levels of consciousness are thus recognisable in the achievement of hegemony and the formation of the ‘historical bloc’. These are (Peet, 2002: 56):

- Economic co-operation, in terms of the specific interests of a particular group;
- Class solidarity or consciousness, primarily at the economic level but permeating a whole social class; and
- The acceptance of hegemony, which harmonises the interests of the upper and lower classes through a generally accepted ideology.

It is the movement from the first to the third point that allows a particular social group to obtain hegemonic control over the whole of society. According to Cox (1993: 57), Gramsci argues that the movement toward hegemony is a “passage from the structure to the sphere of the complex superstructure.” The stages listed above work together as social forces and through the AIM

(academic-institutional-media) complex, “they serve to cement the existing hegemony, and are therefore intimately tied to the interest of the most powerful social groups” (Mayo, 1999: 36).

Scholars caution, however, that Gramsci’s hegemony is never fully achieved in capitalist societies but it is constantly contested (Jackson, 1992). As Williams (1976: 205), points out, it is important to “emphasise that hegemony is not singular; indeed that its own internal structures are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, that they can be continually challenged and in certain respect modified” (see also Giampiccoli 2007: 183). Consequently a hegemonic group must continuously modify its position and adopt new strategies to maintain its hegemonic position. Gramsci used the term ‘transformism’ to indicate the process by which a hegemonic social group attempts to maintain its leading position by the absorption and co-option of subaltern, counter-hegemonic and allied forces. This was well illustrated in the Italian context by Giolitti, who at the beginning of the twentieth century attempted to build the widest coalition possible, and to unify industrial owners and workers in a common front by adopting protectionist policies (Cox, 1993: 55).

In summary, hegemony theory is not reducible to the cultural sphere. Rather, it has to be accompanied by an economic and political hegemony of the ruling social group and the historical bloc, which must continually invoke processes like ‘passive revolution’ and ‘transformism’ whilst maintaining the status quo.

2.2.1 Cultural hegemony

Cultural hegemony is the starting point of Gramscian analysis. It is because of its cultural leadership that a social group is able to persuade the rest of the people of the validity of its values, norms and beliefs. The cultural hegemony concept proposes that:

... dominant groups maintain power and protect common class interests, namely, wealth and ownership, through the use of cultural institutions and alliances with other members of the elite, not coercion. Cultural institutions, such as schools, political parties and the media, create a compatible version of reality, which favours the elite interests. [Gramsci’s] theory of cultural hegemony posits that the dominant ideologies put forth by these cultural institutions are made to seem natural, or ‘commonsense’, so that we do not even question the assumptions made. The end result is culturally-induced acquiescence to the dominant class’s social agenda.

(Kachgal, 2000)

In the contemporary world, scholars argue that cultural hegemony is maintained and consolidated by the ‘Atlantic ruling class’, that is, the prosperous nations of western Europe and North America, (Taylor, 2002: 192), which act through a neo-liberal capitalist consensus. The ‘Atlantic ruling class’ is formed by the working alliance between the elite class within state administrations, at the capitalist core, and the elite based in the international financial institutions and transnational corporations (Van der Pijl, 1998), acts together with “internationally oriented global merchants and global mass media, who ‘manufacture consent’ on behalf of the neo-liberalist project” (Taylor, 2002: 192). Thus the conjunction of three principal actors is able to produce and maintain global hegemony.

Schematically the three groups are (from Van der Pijl, 1998):

- Elite within state administrations;
- Elite based in international financial institutions; and
- Elite in transnational corporations.

Sklair also defines the group, as follows:

The capitalist-inspired politicians are to be found in increasing numbers in the ruling parties all over the Third World and also in many even more 'globalizing' business-oriented opposition parties. Not all of these people are wholehearted globalizers, but advancement in such parties appears to depend more and more on toeing the line on the central issues of economic policy and the political and cultural-ideological consequences of it.

(Sklair, 1994: 176)

At the present time, cultural hegemony can be recognised in the dogmas of Western neo-liberalism (Milward, 2003). It is the ‘there is no alternative’ (TINA) and ‘end of history’ syndrome that maintains the *status quo*: benefits continue to accrue to the hegemonic class which follows the discourse of ‘Davos culture’⁵ of the annual World Economic Forum (Abbinnett, 2003; Berger, 1997; Milward, 2003). The general traits of contemporary capitalism – captured in the blanket term ‘neo-liberalism’ – can be readily identified following Rojek (cited in Britton, 1991: 453). Rojek identifies four main characteristics of the organisation of leisure in modern capitalism: privatisation, individuation, commercialisation and pacification. It is under these ideological tenets that the contemporary ‘Atlantic ruling class’ (Van der Pijl, 1998) has developed and maintained its hegemonic position by means of and advancing these characteristics.

⁵ Davos Culture, after Huntington (1999,) can be interpreted as a homogeneous set of values based on a belief in individualism, market economy and political democracy shared by those attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Huntington argues that these “people control virtually all international institutions, many of the world’s governments, and the bulk of the world’s economic and military capabilities” (Huntington, 1999).

2.2.2 Political hegemony

According to Todaro (2000: 95), “neoclassicists obtained a controlling vote on the boards of the world’s two most powerful international financial agencies – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.” Since the 1980s the principal international institutions have started to adopt neo-liberal policies conforming to the interests of Western capital. As John Brohman (1997: 142 see also Giampiccoli, 2007) points out, “decisions endorsed as official IMF policies are invariably made by the group of five, representing the permanent members of the executives board (USA, UK, Germany, France, and Japan).” A reason why power is skewed in favour of particular countries is that “decisions at the IMF and WB are taken on the basis of ‘one dollar, one vote’, guaranteeing the dominance of both by the US government” (Green, 1995: 34). Thus “the essence of neo-liberalism, an economic creed that seeks to deregulate markets as much as possible to promote ‘free’ trade [...] rapidly became the economic orthodoxy in the North and was exported to the global South via aid policies and the measures formulated to address the debt crisis” (Simon, 2002: 87). Therefore, global ‘political hegemony’ can be seen as the influence that international institutions controlled by Western countries have on the policies of developing countries.

Contemporary public decision-making institutions, then, can be seen to operate under the ideological framework developed by these neo-liberal elites. Their creed has been able to spread its ideology into a wider geographical sphere and has influenced the development of contemporary public discourse. Of central importance to this thesis is the point that neo-liberal beliefs also exercise a strong influence on policy-making in the tourist industry. International institutions like the World Bank are active in promoting and managing tourism as a development tool shaped by the hegemonic framework.

2.2.3 Economic hegemony

The term ‘economic hegemony’ as employed in the context of this thesis, refers to the contemporary economic position of private capital invested in the global tourism sector, and of public capital under the control of the ‘Atlantic ruling class’. Gramsci (1971 cited in Forgas, 1988: 423) claims that hegemony “must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity.” It is therefore essential to the controlling elite that it retains power over capital and the means of capital accumulation. This hegemonic class must possess the capital necessary to maintain and develop its capacity for hegemony. It will therefore foster a system of accumulation that enables class-based control of capital, both private (private companies, banks, for example) and public (public institutions at different levels). My research focuses for the most part on the use of public capital and funding

within public institutions and, as a consequence of its use, the benefit for private capital. I shall investigate the use of public capital in connection with development projects managed by international organisations that form part of the hegemonic neo-liberal global structure.

2.2.4 Synopsis: levels of hegemony

The three levels of hegemony in the contemporary context can be summarised as follows (from Giampiccoli, 2007):

- Cultural hegemony, which refers to the cultural attitude which claims that ‘there is no alternative’ (TINA) and the ‘end of history’ hedonism which underlies the ‘Davos Culture’.
- Economic hegemony, which consists of the control of private capital (private companies and institutions such as banks) and public capital (public organisations, which make loans and grants).
- Political hegemony, which covers the control of public political institutions and organisations at international and regional levels involved in different ways in development in poor countries.

In short, following Gills (1993: 189) “a *mode of accumulation* consists always of political, ideological, and economic dimensions, which form a unity of inter-linked societal structures.” Finally, in place of a more lengthy explanation of the hegemonic milieu, it is important to remember the words of Gramsci (1971 cited in Arrighi, 1993: 149), who argued that “a social group can, and indeed must, already exercise ‘leadership’ before winning the governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for winning such power).”

2.3 Globalisation

The term ‘globalisation’ has many meanings, depending on the perspective of the user. Here globalisation is understood as the historical process through which an increasing number of geographical spaces are connected with each other for different reasons (Borghoff, 2005). Globalisation has been defined as “the process whereby the various parts of the globe become integrated across a number of dimensions, like political, economic, cultural, information, and military dimensions” (Graaff and Venter, 2001: 80). The globalisation process has proceeded through trade, commerce, migration and, most recently, information and telecommunication technology and reach of international institutions.

Globalisation’s rise in importance took place during the 1980s due to the economic ‘counter-revolution’ led in reaction to post-World War II socialism by the United States of America (USA)

and the United Kingdom (UK). However, the processes of international trade are much older than a mere two decades. The 13th century traveler Marco Polo, for example, was surely ‘international’ for his age, as was the city of Venice in its trade with Asia (Aninat, 2002). The main difference is that in the post-World War II world, and especially during the 1980s, mainstream Western policies have become tied to the supply of transport, communication and information technology. Fundamental changes in organisational and management cultures in conformity with ‘neo-liberal’ ideology also indicate the difference. Following Jan Aart Scholte (2000: 15), different meanings have been attributed to the word ‘globalisation’. Five such meanings are schematically represented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Terminology and meaning of globalisation

Terms	Meaning
Internationalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-border relation between countries. • Growth of international exchange and interrelations
Liberalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Removal of trade and tariff barriers between countries
Universalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worldwide spread of material culture
Westernisation / Modernisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worldwide spread of Western culture
Deterritorialisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social space is no longer limited by distance or national borders

Source: Scholte (2000: 15)

2.3.1 Cultural globalisation

There is a spread of a lifestyle and a value-system originating from the Western, principally North American, cultural milieu. This spread has occurred through AIM complexes which adopt and propagate Western values (Peet, 2002). The consumerist lifestyle pattern is certainly an evident factor; most people across the globe exist today in a global market for global products.

Globalisation is also an important factor in policy-making. The spread of the concepts of ‘TINA’ and the ‘end of the history’ ideology, championed by powerful international institutions, produce a cultural policy-making environment circumscribed by a neo-liberal consensus (Abbinnett, 2003; Berger, 1997; Milward, 2003). The World Trade Organisation (WTO), for example, is seen as a tool “that enhances and consolidates the overriding hegemonic order. It thus promotes the concept of globalisation towards a higher form of saturated consciousness, which both at the economic and the socio-cultural level appears the norm” (Worth, 2003). Significantly:

... the WTO not only serves to provide a forum to maintain and aid the continuity of the global free market, but provides an intellectual platform for free market scholars to construct ideas that aim to demonstrate that free trade is not only the 'correct way', but that properly applied, it can be effectively used for poverty alleviation.

(Worth, 2003)

This suggests that hegemonic power has moved towards a global 'common sense' founded on neo-liberalism (Taylor, 2002 a). The production of this global 'common sense' is fundamental in the establishment of a particular discourse. By common sense is meant conceptions of the world "imposed and absorbed passively from outside, or from the past, [which] are accepted and lived uncritically" (Forgacs, 1988: 421).

2.3.2 Political Globalisation

The concept of political globalisation is associated with the global reach of international institutions, particularly those that are able to influence the policy-making process at the national level of developing countries and thereby erode national sovereignty (Williams, 2000). This process has been taking place since the end of the Second World War, but it has intensified since the late 1980s, shown below:

A historic bloc is consolidating under the post Cold War guise of 'the new world order' via international institutions (GATT, World Bank) that were founded in the aftermath of Bretton Woods and built upon with the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Thus, by adapting institutions that emerged from Bretton Woods under nouveau free trade institutions, the hegemonic world order is transforming towards a more economically liberal set of social norms that can be seen to promote 'globalisation'.

(Worth, 2005: 42)

2.3.3 Economic Globalisation

In the economic sphere, this globalisation process has been associated mostly with the increasing relevance of multinational corporations and their operational framework. Potter et al. (1999: 86) point to the rise of Transnational Corporations (TNCs):

... in 1985 the United Nations identified six hundred TNCs operating in the fields of manufacturing and mining, each of which had annual sales in excess of US\$1billion. These corporations between them generated more than 20 percent of the total production in the world's market economy. Roughly 40 percent of the total world trade now takes place between the subsidiaries and parent companies of TNCs.

It is important to note that globalisation implies that TNCs are able to shift the location of production from one geographical space to another, depending on their strategy (Buckley and Ghauri, 2004). Countries encourage global enterprises in order to attract foreign investment, and in so doing allow TNCs to exploit their bargaining power (Levy and Prakash, 2003). It follows that the most lucrative spaces from the point of view of the TNCs, where labour is cheapest (or environmental legislation weakest), are precisely the most impoverished developing countries which are hungry for foreign investment.

Economic globalisation points to increasing global trade. Thus, the increase in globalisation processes appears from the fact that “the total trade of export and imports accounted for only 28 percent of the world output in 1970, but in 1998, it went up to 45 percent of the world’s GDP” (Chishti, 2002: 228).

2.3.4 Synopsis: Levels of Globalisation

Three different levels of globalisation are recognised:

- Economic globalisation is concerned with the increase in quantifiable global trade and its relevance to TNCs, and with the decreased relevance of geographical localisation in economic activities. This allows large corporations to move their production enterprises between geographical locations, depending on their convenience.
- Cultural globalisation is related to the spread of a global culture, identifiable by Western (mostly North American) patterns of consumption and lifestyle underpinned by the common political-economic creed of neo-liberalism.
- Political globalisation “is regarded as leading to the erosion of the former role and power of the nation state.”

(Potter et al., 1999: 75)

2.4 Convergence/divergence

These theoretical comments on hegemony and globalisation lead us to enquire whether the world is moving towards a more homogeneous (economic, cultural and political) state, or if it is heading towards a diametrically opposite state of heterogeneity. It is valuable here to use the concepts developed by Armstrong and McGee (1985) regarding the different globalisation trends of divergence and convergence (see also Potter, 1993)⁶. Divergence (heterogeneisation) is understood

⁶ Potter includes tourism as one of the sectors examined in his work.

as linked primarily to economic and political issues, while convergence (homogenisation) lies within the cultural sphere. Divergence theory is linked to the Dependency schools of thought (Firebaugh, 2006). Convergence theory mostly follows the Modernisation School in Europe and America in the immediate post-war period and one of the main doctrines of modernisation is that countries will follow development processes similar to those of Europe and America, and are likely to reach equal states of economic development (Brogden and Brogden, 2001).

Armstrong and McGee (1985: 41) use contemporary urbanisation processes to study the divergence/ convergence dichotomy. In respect of divergence, “cities, particularly the large metropolitan areas, act as central places for a process leading to an increasing concentration of financial, commercial and industrial power and decision making.” The principal reason for the divergence trend is attributable to the New International Division of Labour. Potter (1993: 1) explains this in his study of the politico-economic realities of the Caribbean, arguing that “enclave manufacturing, informal sector employment and housing can be all seen as direct reflections of the process of increased global divergence which is attributable to the New International Division of Labour.”

Although the concepts of divergence and convergence relate to urban networks, they are also applicable to different spatial perspectives. The hierarchies are found not only in urban areas but also within a rural context – cities being at the top of the hierarchy in this particular model. Divergence/convergence is not just an urban, city-based concern but also involves nation-states, regions and ultimately, the global sphere and cities are the focal point of the divergence/convergence argument, as the principal geographical spaces within countries, but divergence/convergence effects also have a global reach and affect the cultural, political and economic states and exchanges (Potter, 2002; Potter et al., 1999; Potter, 1993; Renkow, 1996).

2.4.1 Cultural convergence

The global ‘convergence effect’ consists of the ways in which cultural homogenisation works to produce an undifferentiated global culture. Armstrong and McGee (1985: 41) note that cities “also play the role of diffusers of the lifestyle, customs, tastes, fashions and consumer habits of modern industrial society.” Here, modern industrial society may be taken to imply western, or at least westernised, society.

The processes of cultural convergence can appear fragmented and opaque, even if identifiable in its basic underlying structure, as explained by Cochrane (1995 cited in Potter, 2002: 192). In his

discussion of the convergence process, he writes that “[in the process of] cultural change, it may be argued that although the hallmarks of Western tastes, consumption and lifestyles, such as Coca-Cola, Disney, McDonald’s and Hollywood, are available to all, such worldwide cultural icons are reinterpreted locally, and take on different meanings in different places.” These different interpretations may be dependent, albeit only in part, on economic conditions: people can reinterpret the global taste with surrogates or local products.

Lifestyle and consumption patterns are, however, only one side of the cultural convergence process. There exists a second, more fundamental and even more relevant aspect, of which it could be argued that lifestyle patterns are only a consequence. Cultural homogenisation also includes a politico-economic creed, which is part of an individual’s cultural status. Politics in the contemporary moment insists on a convergence between culture and economic conditions, implying a deep and fundamental cultural homogenisation in the policy-making milieu.

2.4.2 Political divergence

Armstrong and McGee (1985: 41) and Potter (1993: 1) recognise that the decision-making process is concentrated particularly in large cities. Consequently it is possible to recognise political divergence, where the decision-making process of countries is concentrated in a few localities and dominated by a few powerful political institutions that either peacefully or forcibly influence the national policies, particularly of developing countries (Engel, 2006). There exists a twofold problematic: first, institutional power is concentrated in a small number of countries; secondly, these institutions have increasing power to influence the policy-making structures of developing countries which have to no option but to conform to decisions made by a minority of powerful structures (Engel, 2006).

2.4.3 Economic divergence

In this thesis, economic divergence refers to the unequal accumulation of capital in a geographic context where the main world urban areas control and promote this phenomenon, which leads to an increase in the concentration of wealth within developed countries (Armstrong and McGee, 1985). Although not alone in this process, the TNCs are major actors.

It is important here to understand the effects of economic divergence by touching on two different situations of capital accumulation. It is, for example, possible to examine the geographical and industrial structure of the hotel industry in developing countries, where there is a geographic divergence effect that favours a country’s historical centre of capital accumulation (Lawerty and

van Fossen, 2001). In the second situation, the concentration of the industry in the hands of fewer enterprises increases, to the point that a small number of companies possess more hotels and hotel rooms (Lawerty and van Fossen, 2001).

2.4.4 Synopsis: levels of divergence/convergence

In summary the three levels of divergence/convergence effect are:

- Cultural convergence is established by the homogenisation of lifestyles and politico-economic creeds and, in relation to tourism, with the homogenisation of the offerings and processes of the tourist industry, although this homogenisation may be linked with some degree of tolerated diversity;
- Economic divergence, that is, the increasing gap between the incomes of rich and poor, is demonstrated by the ever-increasing concentration of wealth and power in fewer enterprises and also in fewer public institutions/organisations; and
- Political divergence consists of the increasing concentration of power in the hands of fewer policy-making institutions, which entails the erosion of political autonomy of developing countries by external policy making institutions.

Armstrong and McGee (1985: 41) have discussed how cities, particularly the large metropolitan areas, by offering advantageous conditions for capital, act as the central places for the process, leading to an increasing concentration of financial, commercial, and industrial power and decision-making. On the other hand, cities also play the role of diffusers of the lifestyles, customs, tastes, fashions and consumer habits of modern industrial society (Armstrong and McGee, 1985). These two processes of centralisation and diffusion are, of course, not contradictory but interlinked: the expansion of markets is a necessary part of growth in the capitalist system.

2.5 Development theories

Martha Honey (1999: 93) underlines that “[t]ourism development is not isolated from, but rather an aspect of, the development process. So the tourism debate has to be situated within the development debate itself.” The following section briefly discusses the conventional four main development theories, that is:

- Modernisation
- Dependency
- Neo-liberalism
- Alternative development

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

2.5.1 Modernisation

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

The origins of Modernisation Theory can be analysed under three different headings: political, economic and sociological. These elements are linked to form the structure of the theory. Political modernisation theory has its roots in the Cold War period. According to Preston (1996 in Potter et al., 1999: 52), modernisation was “heavily influenced by the desire of the USA to combat the influence of the USSR in the Third World.”

Economically its origin can be traced back to classical economics in the form of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Alfred Marshall’s *Principles of Economics* (1890). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* in 1956 (Rostow, 1960) is probably one of the best known examples of economic modernisation literature. The phrase “Non-Communist” is strongly reminiscent of the Cold War era and its advocacy of anti-communist beliefs (Potter et al., 1999: 51). Rostow’s book presents a unilinear model of economic development, which it is claimed would work in any society, and would resemble the historical experience of the Western world. Rostow claims (1960 cited in Todaro, 2000: 79): “It is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimension, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the precondition for the take-off into self-sustaining growth, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption.”

Modernisation as a social theory has its roots in the works of nineteenth-century classical sociologists Emil Durkheim and Max Weber. Durkheim in his 1893 *The Division of Labour in Society* (1964) explains the division between traditional and modern society, arguing for a dual

perspective. Weber, in his 1904 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958) focuses on the social characteristics of Protestantism to explain the rise of capitalist society (Brohman, 1997: 17).

In general modernisation theory argues for the following:

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

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

The following criticisms according to Holden (2005) have been made of modernisation theory:

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

Moreover, according to Binns (2002: 79):

... there was also growing concern that economic growth, which had been the main preoccupation of Lewis, Hirschman, Myrdal and Rostow did not necessarily eliminate poverty and that the so-called ‘trickle-down’ effects of growth generally failed to benefit the poor either in spatial or social terms [...] ‘growth without development’ was the result.

Modernisation Theory as it related to tourism in the 1950s and 1960s tended to be descriptive and uncritical. “A ‘soft’ tourism industry was identified as an important tool for economic development” (Scheyvens, 2002: 23). According to Holden (2005: 119) during the 1960s tourism was essentially equated as economic development as a part of the modernisation process. The stress

was on the ability of the tourism sector to provide employment, due to its growth potential, as well as to facilitate the transfer of knowledge from the west to developing countries, (Clancy 1999). Modernisation led tourism development beliefs were depending on the need of transfer of Western value to developing countries (Holden, 2005). According to Scheyvens (2002: 22) “[A]cademic interest in tourism [was] dominated by economists convinced that the growth of tourism in the Third World was a ‘good thing’ integral to the modernisation of Third World economies and cultures through the spread of Western-style development.” It was thought that tourism development was positively correlated to an increase in foreign exchange earning and employment and that the tourism industry created large multiplier effects (Telfer, 2002). This uncritical view concerning the role of tourism in development under the umbrella of modernisation theory influenced many governments, who “pursued tourism development with a passion [...] by the 1970s tourism had become the major economic sector in a number of small TW countries” (Scheyvens, 2002: 23).

2.5.2 Dependency

During the 1970s Modernisation Theory suffered increasing attacks from the Dependency Theory School. Potter et al., (1999: 63) pointed out that Dependency Theory “became a global force in the 1970s.” At the same time, the meaning of development was also changing, from being associated almost exclusively with economic growth to a more holistic interpretation. Dependency Theory originates from the work of the Latin American Structuralists under the direction of R. Prebisch in the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), which was established in 1947 in Chile (Clarke, 2002: 92). The term structuralism was used “because they focused on the unseen structures which may be held to mould and shape society” (Potter et al., 1999: 63).

Within the structuralist framework there is the convergence of three main elements (marginality, internal colonialism, dependency), all of which are interrelated and which represent the same general position that argues that less developed countries are structurally disadvantaged. It is important to underline that this Dependency Theory was not the product of Western thought, but as Potter et al. (1999: 62) explains, it “had its origin in the writings of Latin American and Caribbean radical scholars.” The theory was an “indigenisation of development thinking” (Potter et al., 1999: 62). Generally, the assumption is that “developing countries are beset by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and caught up in a dependence relationship with rich countries” (Todaro, 2000: 91). Despite its indigenous (for the most part) outgrowth, probably one of the best known and more radical advocates of Dependency Theory was A.G. Frank, a German-born and Chicago-trained economist.

Frank's thesis was "devastatingly simple" (Potter et al., 1999: 63). Frank used P. Baran's influential work *The Political Economy of Growth*, in which he explained among other issues the role of the elite groups in determining underdevelopment (Conway and Heynen, 2002: 97), and the work of ECLA. Frank's "re-writing" of structuralism led him to the conclusion that "economic development and underdevelopment were the opposite faces of the same coin [...] Both were the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of the world capitalist system" (Clarke, 2002: 94). Moreover Frank argued that the stronger the link between a rich country and a poor country, the more constraints on the poorer country's development. Frank's hypothesis is that:

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

(Frank, 1988: 114)

ECLA members, Frank and other thinkers within the Dependency approaches were mostly concerned with Latin American countries. S. Amin and W. Rodney applied the notion of Dependency to African countries. While their research were continent- or country-specific, I. Wallerstein propounded a World Systems Theory which applies the idea of dependency at a "larger global scale, which is useful to understanding the global commercial capitalist relation more completely" (Conway and Heynen, 2002: 110).

Like Modernisation Theory, Dependency Theory has received its share of criticism, of which the following criticisms (from Hettne, 1995: 99) have had most impact:

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

During the 1970s, Modernisation Theory fell out of favour in debates concerning tourism in less developed countries, and, at least at the theoretical level, Dependency Theory gained in popularity (Telfer, 2002). Starting from the 1970s, the study of tourism in less developed countries, especially international tourism, began to be more critical of the impact of tourism on the growth of developing economies (Telfer, 2002). In 1973, J. Bryden's study of the relations between tourism and development on the Commonwealth Caribbean Islands revealed many problems. To

understand this shift and the new tourism debate in less developed countries it is useful to quote some arguments concerning tourism in less developed countries: “[t]he international tourist industry, because of the commercial power held by foreign enterprises, imposes on peripheral destinations a development mode which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries” (Britton, 1982: 355). In 1979 Emmanuel de Kadt wrote: “no development strategy can hope to be successful without restructuring of North-South economic relations [...] major institutional adjustments will be needed in the industrialised countries if the poor nations are to achieve their development goals” (de Kadt, 1979: xii).

These authors give an explicit account of the Structuralist/Dependency Theory. Studies on Dependency often give attention to the role of transnational tourism corporations (TNTCs) and their power structures that among other things decrease the chance of economic trickle-down in developing countries (Britton, 1981 and 1982). In general “Dependency Theory positions tourism as a new form of imperialism, just another way in which the West is exploiting the physical and human resources of the Third World” (Scheyvens, 2002: 28).

2.5.3 Neo-liberalism

Despite the critiques advanced by the Dependency School of the Modernisation theorists, “in the 1980s, the political ascendancy of conservative governments in the USA, Canada, Britain and West Germany brought a neo-classical counterrevolution in economy theory and policy” (Todaro, 2000: 95). This opened the way for neo-liberalism.

The theory opposes eighteenth-century mercantilism, which gives the state an important role in the economy; and also rejects Keynesian influences. Its adherents claim that “the modern welfare state together with trade unions and state bureaucracies have destroyed the market system” (Potter, et al., 1999: 55). Rejecting almost all Keynesian influence present in various ways in previous liberal theories, neo-liberalism adopted a more extreme version of economic laissez-faire. Neo-liberal policy argues that:

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

(Todaro, 2000: 95)

Neo-liberalism attributes failures to develop to the “heavy hand of the State and corruption, inefficiency, and lack of economic incentives that permeate the economies of developing countries” (Todaro, 2000: 95). Neo-liberals believe that the free market should be encouraged and the State should privatise its companies to diminish corruption and inefficiency (Brohman, 1997). The two main countries supporting extreme neo-liberal policies were the USA under Ronald Reagan and the UK under Margaret Thatcher who with the help of their allies, were able to obtain control of the major international financial institutions such as International Monetary Found (IMF) and the Word Bank (WB) (Brohman, 1997). The control of these agencies allowed the advocates of neo-liberalism to distribute aid in a selective manner – to those recipients willing to follow the policies advocated by neo-liberal policy makers and less developed countries were forced, and predominantly still are, to adopt free market strategies in order to be able to receive development aid. Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) were the mechanism, which less developed countries had to adopt (Brohman, 1997). One of the reasons behind the neo-liberal argument is that the implementation of free market strategies produced, it is alleged, clear “success stories” in the newly industrialised countries (NICs) such as Taiwan and South Korea, although “the rhetorically important attempt to annex the development experiences of Pacific Asia to the position of the new right has been widely ridiculed by development specialists” (Preston, 1996: 260).

Much of the critique of neo-liberal theory comes from the observation that “the schedule of reforms inaugurated by the New Right have not generally proved to be successful” (Preston, 1996: 260). Binns (1995: 308) argues that “these policies [SAP] seem to have had a disproportionately harsh effect on poor people.” Due to the general failure of neo-liberal policies during the 1980s the decade became known as the “lost decade.” This was strikingly expressed in an article in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper (Elliot, 2003) where the 1990s are described as ‘a lost decade for the world’s poor’. Referring to the African experience Binns (1995: 308) has written, “not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused on shaping Africa’s economic structure and the nature of its participation in the world system.”

The tourism sector in most countries has for the most part conformed to neo-liberal policies and is generally privatised under the direction of neo-liberal policy makers who guide the international institutions (Telfer, 2002). Neo-liberal policies were generally, but not universally, welcomed by private companies within the tourism sector who saw the opportunity to expand their business under laissez-faire policies (Holden, 2005). As Brohman (1996: 51) points out: “Serving as a centrepiece for the neo-liberal strategy of outward-oriented development in many countries is the promotion of new growth sectors such as tourism or non traditional export (NTEs).”

The expansion of the tourism sector in developing countries under neo-liberal policies seems to favour the tourism companies from the Western world (or in specific cases, such as South Africa, locally based TNCs), given that “their expertise, marketing connections and capital resources give them an overwhelming competitive advantage over local tourism operators” (Cater, 1995 in Scheyvens, 2002: 25). More critical opinions of neo-liberalism were expressed from the mid 1980s to the late 1990s. Neo-liberalism however remained the dominant framework, at least in institutional policymaking, and tourism was seen “as a good way to earn foreign exchange to balance payments and to pay off foreign debt” (Scheyvens, 2002: 22).

2.5.4 Regionalisation and its impact on tourism

Along with the increasing trend toward globalisation since the 1980s, an emphasis on regional co-operation has revived. The trend towards greater regionalism and regionalisation⁷ projects followed the birth, or in some cases the re-birth, of new and old projects in regional co-operation. Six different events were crucial to the increasing importance of regional co-operation (Breslin et al., 2002: 6). These were:

- Implementation of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994;
- Increasing integration within the countries associated to the European Union (EU) since the mid 1980s;
- Creation of the South America Common Market (MERCOSUL) in 1991;
- Creation of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) in 1989;
- Re-launching of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in 1992, which the post-apartheid Republic of South Africa (RSA) joined in 1994; and
- Increased self-confidence in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) during the 1990s.

All these events help to increase the attention given to, and importance of, issues related to regional co-operation.

The role of regional co-operation projects in respect to the globalisation process is now comprehensible and can be seen as a friendly rearrangement of the neo-liberal global system instead of counter neo-liberal strategy (Söderbaum, 2002). Regional co-operation is a strategy in which “the ideological power or even ‘triumph’ of capitalism has established a new context within which regionalisation has to be rethought” (Söderbaum, 2002: 12). It remains essential that an elite

⁷ It is important to underline the difference between the two terms. Regionalism is usually a state driven process, whereas Regionalisation is a market driven process.

class alliance of holders of development capital, based in the west but intervening in less developed countries around the world, be accepted by local power holders. When leftist or politically alternative oriented local elites take power and develop counter neo-liberal development strategies, on the other hand, the structures of international capitalism are generally able to “co-opt the elite and absorb counterhegemonic ideas from peripheral countries” (Peet, 2002: 56). Nevertheless in regional co-operation “there is very little evidence to suggest that new identities are challenging old, or that cultural barriers and stereotypes are being broken down” (Kearns and Hook, 1999: 250).

Regional cooperation continues despite “the growing scepticism among political elites in developing states about the benefit of unregulated contemporary global capitalism” (Breslin et al., 2002: 7). Local elites pursuing different national or regional development strategies must succumb to global neo-liberalism and accept, at least partially, its dictates. It may be the case that “local elites are complicit in the underdevelopment of their states, not as instruments of capital but as a result of the prevailing ideological climate of privatisation and deregulation in which the range of development options available to them has become even more constrained” (Bianchi, 2002: 289)⁸. There is a feeling that within the TINA paradigm, “capital is all powerful; national policy must pay obeisance or pay the cost” (Nattrass, 1996: 34) and that we have reached “[t]he end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989) with the “apparent ending of all political alternatives to liberal democracy” (Peet, 2002: 63).

The current regional co-operation projects can be seen not as antagonistic to neo-liberal international capitalism led by the north Atlantic historical bloc, but as committed to different degrees to approaches likely to insert the region into the global competitive capitalist system. Three main actors are visible in this global/regional/national reformulation. These are states (at regional level), and at a higher level, inter-state global and regional institutions; economic structures (such as TNC and informal sector); civil society (such as different levels of Non Governmental Organisations) (Shaw, 2002: 178).

In tourism, regional cooperation has given increased birth to regional cooperation organisations and/or tourism projects (Ghimire, 2001; Timothy and Teye, 2004). Hence, it is possible to distinguish regional tourism institutions/organisations within the general regional cooperation

⁸ The author believes that deregulation should be interpreted not so much as synonymous with *not-regulated* environments that favour a movement towards assumed egalitarian power in the liberalisation of the world market, but as a movement towards *regulation* in terms of specific rules that give advantage to only some global actors (the ones in a hegemonic position) as opposed to more general egalitarian procedures.

framework (Ghimire, 2001; Timothy and Teye, 2004). Examples are RETOSA (the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa) which works within the framework of SADC policies, AMTA (Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities) within the GMS (Greater Mekong Sub-region) and TWG (Tourism Working Group) of MERCOSUL. Regional cooperation in tourism can also give rise to independent organisations. This is the case of TCSP (Tourism Council of the South Pacific), which operates in twelve countries.

The tourism industry must facilitate the establishment of tourist facilities, such as hotels and resorts, as well as at the same time attract consumers (the tourists) to the same place. It is necessary to develop an attractive environment for both supply and demand in the same physical space. To attract tourist facilities, regional cooperation organisations in their tourism policies place emphasis on involvement in the globalisation framework. ASEAN, for example, believes that “tourism has to keep pace with globalisation trends and market liberalisation to enhance the opportunity for travel business to expand and compete across national borders and attract investments and technology to sustain the long-term viability of the tourism industry” (Ghimire, 2001: 103). Though the reasons offered are different, policies are similar elsewhere: “given the small size of TCSP member countries’ economies, investments in major resorts invariably means foreign investment. The South Pacific competes on a global basis for that foreign investment” (Pookong and King, 1999: 66).

The size of the country, although relevant, is not the main determinant of policies. For example, the major role of Japan within the ASEAN countries has been noted: “all governments in Southeast Asia became accustomed to bidding for Japanese investment capital, illustrated by the massive deregulation of their economies and the lucrative incentives they were willing to grant to foreign investors” (Katzenstein, 2002: 355). The following comment on the Johor province of Malaysia is also relevant here:

... tourism development in Johor, such as the M\$42 billion Desaru resort and a series of golf courses, has been partly funded by Singapore with few instances of trilateral ventures. Malaysia is a large country which cooperates in the IMS GT (Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth triangle) much of the funding has come from outside the region, especially Japan.

(Henderson, 2001: 85)

In Latin America, MERCOSUL “aims at full liberalisation and expansion of trade within the WTO regulations” (Ghimire, 2001: 107). As a consequence tourism will follow the same policies as any other socio-political and economic sectors. In Brazil and Argentina, the leading members of

MERCOSUL, “improvement has been made [...] where privatisation has had a beneficial effect on telecommunications, and where road and air networks have been notably extended and upgraded, often as a consequence of deregulation” (Santana, 2001: 84). It is not clear in the statement above whether privatisation and deregulation have improved the lives of people in areas other than telecommunications and transport networks. In the 1990s the Brazil economy “was opened up” (Santana, 2001: 84), with an increase in hotel rooms “by more than 27% from 89,800 in 1992 to 114,500 in 1996” (Santana, 2001: 86). This change however happened in a way that favoured an increase in unemployment. The role of the tourism sector in increasing unemployment began “at the beginning of the 1990s [when] the [tourism] industry suffered a decline as a result of the process of adjustment and economic stabilisation following the effects of the Mexican crisis” (Santana, 2001: 86). These processes caused the closure of many low-cost hotels and a decline in total room capacity from 108.812 to 68.330 between 1990 and 1991 (Santana, 2001: 86). “After this turbulent period, and with the economy in better shape, growth in the tourism industry was driven mainly by the expansion of large investment in luxury and mid-range categories, led mostly by international hotel companies” (Santana, 2001: 86). Hence, as a result of the implementation of adjustment programmes and neo-liberal policies, many budget hotels closed and TNTCs filled the gap. “Argentina now boasts the largest number of rooms in luxury hotels in South America” (Santana, 2001: 86).

The situation in SADC countries is not very different. Within SADC “it is [...] important to take cognisance of the fact that almost all Southern African countries are engaged in market-oriented reforms aimed at restoring investor confidence” (Jordaan, 2001: 83). Moreover, within SADC, South Africa is without doubt the hegemonic power and has demonstrably shifted its macro-policies from social-democratic to those of neo-liberalism (Carmody, 2002; Peet, 2002,).

Global capital tends strongly to emphasise “the creation of an environment conducive to tourism, business and foreign investment, supported by regional integration and cooperation and improved outward-oriented economic outlook” (Jordaan, 2001: 86). Within the tourism sector, as already noted in the Argentinean case, this policy tends to favor foreign entrepreneurs, especially TNCs. While the “WB [World Bank] argued that trade liberalisation would facilitate the development of indigenous-owned small and medium-size enterprises in labour intensive light industries” (Carmody, 2002: 259), this does not seem to be the case.

In SADC, investment in tourism tends to privilege facilities for international tourism, which are usually the focus of tourism policy aimed at attracting foreign currency, and foreign investors. “The

participation of the private sector, which is seen as crucial in tourism development in the region [SADC], has also tended to concentrate in the international tourism niche market, as much of the investment in tourism has tended to come from foreign groups” (Ghimire, 2001: 107) - or, in the South African case, local Transnational Tourism Corporations (TNTCs). “[I]n many countries, national and local investors remain merely as subordinate partners of foreign investment groups and the limited government attempts to encourage domestic community entrepreneurship has produced few tangible results; this has been, for example, the case of South Africa” (Ghimire, 2001: 107).⁹

As mentioned, in order for tourism to develop it needs to attract and foster, in the same physical space, not just the supply but also the demand. International regions and countries within them are thus in competition to attract visitors. Given that developing countries focus their tourism policies to attract tourists from the western world, their tourism development policies will be influenced by the cultural development of the western tourist’s taste, food being a good example where, “western ‘taste’ has expanded considerably and food has become the basis upon which to structure tourism, as opposed to being merely a pleasurable by-product” (Franklin, 2003: 93). It is predicted that “mainstream tourism or the so-called ‘mass’ tourist market for resorts or general-interest tourism will continue to grow, albeit possibly at rate more modest than during the past four decades” (Cleverdon, 2002: 24). The Tourism ‘2020 vision study’ indicates that discretionary tourism markets are increasingly aimed at:

- Looking for new destinations;
- Wanting to ‘build’ their holiday around the natural and cultural resources of the destinations; and
- Travelling long distances to find such destinations.

(Cleverdon, 2002: 24)

Page et al. (2001: 385) note that, “For the [Western] tourist, developing countries offer a taste of the exotic, an opportunity to encounter different cultures and to experience an unspoiled environment.” Consequently, with the Western tourist’s taste in mind, developing countries find themselves in competition, emphasizing national difference as well as an acceptable similarity in their facilities. Each developing country tries to find a competitive advantage. Examples of such claims of ‘advantage’ are the following:

⁹ It is however important to remember that within South Africa, due to its specific history, there are already a few well-established and rich tourism companies in existence in the tourism sector.

- “Southern Africa would have the best chance by focusing on its ‘natural’ comparative advantage first. The ultimate goal in real globalisation would still be to proceed to its ‘created’ comparative advantage. In terms of their ‘natural’ comparative advantage, initially tourism and related sectors would probably play the leading role” (Jordaan, 2001: 88);
- “The MERCOSUL region undoubtedly has a competitive advantage in nature-based tourism and vast areas of unspoilt nature lead naturally to the development of tourism in this direction” (Santana, 2001: 88); and
- “[T]he potential for further expansion of tourism amongst the [World] Bank’s member countries in the Pacific is substantial, noting that a significant share of its members’ heritage of cultural and natural assets has yet to be made readily accessible to tourists” (McVey and King, 1999: 55).

To write about comparative advantage in tourism for any geographical entity is arduous. Every space on the earth has some features which are attractive to tourists. Although it is true that most tourists are looking for similar features, usually present in developing countries, it is difficult to say that these endowments offer a comparative advantage due to their high density in many different countries. For instance the number of less developed countries endowed with the famous three Ss (Sand, Sun, and Sea) is high. Hence the so-called comparative advantage in the tourism sector could be misleading.

Nevertheless regional policies favouring the marketing of natural/cultural heritages have motivated an increase in nature conservation and the establishment of protected areas, which are two of the main attractions for international tourists. As an example it is possible to show some of the projects ongoing in the SADC. There are six identified Transfrontier Conservation Areas and five of them have memoranda of understanding. Limpopo-Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area is currently being negotiated (SANParks, 2004). The aims of these projects are to protect the natural resources of the areas, whilst allowing development (usually of tourism resources) which is supposed to provide employment. Although to protect nature is laudable in itself, it is important to ensure that the material and financial gain of these ‘revitalised’ natural areas accrues to the long-term inhabitants, rather than solely or mainly to the outside suppliers of capital.

At both national and regional levels, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) tends to be unequal in the amounts it allocates to particular tourist development projects. This inequality is geographically defined. Since tourist activities are included under the service category:

... services have [...] been the most dynamic component of FDI flows. Privatisation and deregulation, together with liberalisation of market access, have encouraged FDI in services, resulting in a 14% annual increase in FDI in service industries in developing countries during the 1980s.

(Cook and Kirkpatrick 1997: 58)

This flow of FDI was not evenly spread through all developing countries, because “capital tends to be attracted to the more developed, rapidly industrialising countries where the returns on investment are relatively high, and tends to by-pass the poorer countries where profits are relatively low” (Cook and Kirkpatrick, 1997: 63). Consequently, although the share of FDI in developing countries has risen from 17% in the second half of the 1980s to 32% in 1992 (Cook and Kirkpatrick, 1997: 62), the distribution has been highly unequal. In fact at a “global level, the distribution of FDI is heavily concentrated in a small number of developing countries, with the ten largest recipients accounting for 66% of all FDI to developing countries” (Cook and Kirkpatrick, 1997: 63). Asia, as a whole, accounts for more than half of global FDI (Cook and Kirkpatrick, 1997: 63). This concentration of investment is also due, perhaps, to its geographical/historical relevance in the context of the Cold War and its geopolitical legacy.

In the tourism sector inequalities in distribution may be even more relevant. According to (Cleverdon, 2002: 16) investment funds, in the tourist sector, “are released in destinations that are experiencing fast growth – not necessarily for projects with sound prospects – the banking community can be notoriously unsympathetic with tourism proposals in start-up destinations, or those that need to diversify or modernise in order to achieve growth.” Reluctance on the part of foreign investors can counter one of the main positive qualities stemming from tourist sector development – the capability of the tourist sector to promote a more equitable degree of development in the different parts of a country or region. In South Africa, for instance, this trend to invest only in destinations experiencing rapid tourism growth means that “only ‘safe’ projects go ahead – a factor that has created oversupply in Gauteng and Western Cape” (Cleverdon, 2002: 15).

2.5.5 Alternative development

Analysis of development theories in terms of their impact on the tourist sector has occurred from several different aspects (Scheyvens, 2002: 22). In this study my principal focus will be alternative development. The 1970s, besides seeing the growth in popularity of Dependency Theory, also witnessed the appearance of a different approach to economic development thinking. This approach rejects all Grand Theory models, and prefers to focus on the content rather than the form of

development. This approach argues that although Dependency Theory was “more explicitly normative and voluntaristic, it did not really consider the purpose and meaning of development” (Hettne, 1995: 176). Alternative development ideas aim to address this.

Alternative development approaches have different sources depending on one’s perspective. The evolution of the goals attributed to development and its accompanying relations to social aspects can be traced back to the work of John Stuart Mill in the mid nineteenth century and later to Dudley Seers (Martinussen, 1997: 293). Theories of civil society which are at odds with the main intellectual trends of the day “may, in the long term perspective, [be] traced back to conservative romanticism and utopian socialism, which were both normative reactions against the emerging nineteenth-century capitalist society and the accompanying centralisation and institutionalisation of state power” (Martinussen, 1997: 294). In the Western tradition of political philosophy there exists an established practice of theorising civil society. This can “be traced back to the Greek city states [and] played a central role for philosophers such as Hegel and the young Marx” (Martinussen, 1997: 294). The centrality of Gramsci is emphasised by Martinussen who also claims that:

... most present-day notions of civil society resemble the conception proposed by Antonio Gramsci. Contrary to previous conceptions of civil society as essentially everything outside the domain of the state, Gramsci in the twentieth century introduced a distinction between the state, the basic economic structures and civil society.

(Martinussen, 1997: 294)

More specifically, Gramsci describes civil society as “the sum of social activities and institutions which are not directly part of the government, the judiciary or the repressive body” (1971 cited in Forgacs, 1988: 420). Hence, civil society is composed of organisations such as “trade unions and other voluntary associations, as well as church organisations and political parties, when the latter do not form part of the government” (Forgacs, 1988: 420). More importantly, with reference to this work, civil society in Gramsci’s conception “is the sphere in which a dominant social group organises consent and hegemony, as opposed to political society, where it rules by coercion and direct domination” (1971 cited in Forgacs, 1988: 420).

This study sees particular relevance in three seminal occasions that shaped alternative development theories. Taken chronologically, the first was the Cocoyoc Symposium of 1974 organised by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). For Hettne (1990) the Cocoyoc declaration signed the start of the

alternative development paradigm in development. One year later in 1975 the Swedish Dag Hammarskjold Foundation published a document prepared for the Seventh special session of United Nations (UN) general assembly and, in 1976, the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) was established, the purpose of which was “to promote an alternative, bottom-up approach to development” (Brohman, 1997: 207).

Alternative development strategies are eclectic and multidisciplinary and do not form a monolithic front. A first distinction can be between structuralist and normative alternative development (Pieterse, 2001). Where “structuralist approaches, such as dependency theory and the Keynesian reformism of the new international economic order, emphasize structural macroeconomic change – just as mainstream modernization thinking does – whereas alternative development emphasizes agency, in the sense of people's capacity to effect social change (Pieterse, 2001: 74). Such approaches are defined as (from Hettne, 1995: 177, see also Telfer, 2002):

- Need oriented
- Endogenous
- Self-reliant
- Ecologically sound and
- Based on structural transformation

Potter (2002) proposes basic needs, neo-populism, ‘another development’, ecodevelopment and sustainable development as different approaches which “may be included in this [alternative approaches] category” (Potter, 2002: 64), while for Telfer (2002: 48) alternative development “is closely connected to the environment and sustainability” together with focusing on people. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted the need-oriented approach, while the countries belonging to the non-aligned movement were particularly involved in the spread of the concepts linked to self-reliance strategies (Hettne, 1995).

One of the major conceptual shifts in alternative development is the stress on the importance of development ‘from below’ instead of development ‘from above’. This is to recognise the variety inherent in world society, as “development from below needs to be closely related to specific socio-cultural, historical and institutional conditions” (Potter, et al., 1999: 69).

According to Pietersen (2001) the “distinguishing element of alternative development should be found in the *redefinition* of development itself and not merely in its agency, modalities, procedures and aspirations [and] Alternative development tends to be practice oriented rather than theoretically

inclined” (Pietersen, 2001: 82). In a more comparative guise alternative development models have tended

...to opt for the antithesis of the orthodox approach [here] urban and industrial bias is replaced with an emphasis on the rural and the agricultural; the top-down directionality and centralised character of development policy is challenged by decentralised, devolved and bottom-up initiatives; capitalism is superseded by socialist ideals; small scale and particularistic development is seen as preferable to large-scale and universalistic approaches; and so on.

(Parnwell, 2002: 112)

One of the most influential theoretical streams related to alternative development approaches was neo-populism. As Hettne (1995: 176) points out, “the more radical alternative approaches have come from neo-populist theorists in the centre.” This approach stresses the importance of empowerment: “Neo-populists advocate that development is about empowering disfranchised group” (Scheyvens, 2002: 52).

Despite the eclecticism within alternative development approaches, it is possible to recognise some general characteristics (from Brohman, 1997: 219):

- A move toward direct, redistributive measures targeting the poor instead of continued reliance on eventual indirect trickle-down effects of growth;
- Focus on local, small-scale projects, often linked with either rural development initiatives or urban, community-based development programs;
- Emphasis on basic needs and human resources development, especially through the provision of public goods and services;
- Refocusing away from a narrow, growth-first definition of development and towards a more broadly based human-centred conception;
- Concern for local or community participation in the design and implementation of development projects; and
- An emphasis on increased self-reliance, to reduce outside dependency and create the conditions for more cooperative, socially and environmentally sustainable development.

Alternative approaches have been criticised, especially for the gap between theory and its implementation. It is difficult to change from top-down to bottom-up participation and when participation occurs it has usually been the local elites and not the masses that gained (Brohman, 1997: 223). Furthermore, the emphasis on small-scale projects has been seen as lacking any

substantial impact, compared with the scale of the problems. In response to these and other criticisms, and the general failure of alternative development strategies in many countries, by the early 1980s, there was a return to a more macro-economic and neo-liberal approach (Brohman, 1997: 224).

Within the tourism sector, alternative development approaches are often incorporated along with alternative forms of tourism. As Scheyvens (2002: 51) points out: “the dialogue surrounding participation, empowerment and sustainable development [key words in alternative development approaches] can contribute significantly to our understanding of how local communities can gain benefit and control over tourism in their surrounding area.” Alternative development strategies can form part of both mass tourism and alternative tourism. Nevertheless, there are a number of characteristics in the alternative tourism concept that may cause a shift in preferences towards this type of tourism as opposed to mass tourism. The relevance of alternative tourism development has been the focus of recent trends in tourism research and the concepts have been linked to issues of sustainability (Telfer, 2002). Different issues of alternative tourism development in developing countries have been investigated such as “indigenous development tourism, local entrepreneurial response, empowerment of local communities in the decision-making process, the role of women in tourism and sustainable tourism development” (Telfer, 2002: 58). Advocates of ecotourism, which is one of, if not the most, important form of alternative tourism, claim that “if planned and managed carefully, [it] can remedy some of the problems caused by mass tourism, but it cannot replace it” (Khan, 1997: 991). This is discussed more fully in Chapter Three.

In a comparative look against other major development approaches (modernisation, dependency and neo-liberalism), according to Telfer (2002), alternative development recognises the relevance of environmental and cultural sustainability and the important role of local communities in the development process. Table 2.2 summarises the specific linkage between alternative development approaches and tourism development.

To recapitulate the main alternative development ideas: tourism (of any type) in developing countries should be a tool which enables local people to have a stake in development in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable way and which does not solely prioritise the development of the tourism sector itself. A key debate is whether alternative development approaches can exploit the “fashion” for alternative tourism, as well as ameliorating the living conditions of poor people, or whether even alternative forms of tourism will continue to “create

dependency and perpetuate unequal power relations between Western and Third World countries” (Scheyvens, 2002: 22).

Table 2.2 Tourism Developed Under Alternative Development

Components of development	Tourism Developed Under Alternative Development		
	Traits	Positive Attributes	Negative Attributes
(A) Scale and Control of Development			
focus	sustainability	environmental protection	difficult to define
scale of development	small	lower impact	lower profits
rate of development	incremental	community adapts	lower profits
economic distribution	local owners	increase local multiplier	lower profits
planning	bottom up	local involvement	difficult to co-ordinate
local involvement	high	local decision making	tourism inexperience
ownership	local	increase local control	tourism inexperience
industry control	internal	local empowerment	reduced global market
role of government	high-low	sustainable guidelines	over regulation
management origin	domestic	increase local skill	limited experience
accommodation type	mix	local resource usage	loss of profit
spatial distribution	dispersed	less environment stress	diseconomy of scale
tourist type	special interest	environmental concern	lower profits
marketing target	independent	environmental concern	lower profits
employment type	in/formal	increase multiplier	lack of training
infrastructure levels	low	low environmental stress	reduced infrastructure
capital input	low	low environmental stress	smaller investment
technology transfer	mix	increase self reliance	reduced global access
(B) local community and Environmental Linkages			
resource use	low	promotes sustainability	reduced multiplier
environmental protection	high	promotes sustainability	reduced profit
hinterland integration	high	use of local resources	unreliability of supply
intersectorial linkage	high	increase local multiplier	unreliability of supply
cultural awareness	protective	cultural integrity	restriction on tourists
institution development	high	stronger institutions	tourism inexperience
local compatibility	high	resident acceptance	demonstration effect
adaptive capacity	low	self reliance	open to market change

Source: Telfer (2002: 67)

2.6 Towards an integrated theoretical perspective

2.6.1 The emergence of modern hegemonic power

The existence of economic and political divergence together with cultural convergence is closely linked to the globalisation process and the hegemonic milieu. A linear consequential connection can be drawn between these three arguments (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 The linkage between hegemony and convergence/divergence effects

Hegemony	Cultural	Pre-conditions	D I S C O U R S E
	Political		
	Economic		
Globalisation	Cultural	Processes	
	Political		
	Economic		
Convergence	Cultural	Effects	
Divergence	Political		
	Economic		

Source: Giampiccoli (2007: 178)

Gramsci (1971 in Arrighi, 1993: 149 see also Giampiccoli, 2007: 178) states that “a social group can, and indeed must, already exercise ‘leadership’ before winning the governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for winning such power).”

The hegemonic social group within the dominant state/s is the leading actor controlling the development process. Therefore, the determining force within an institution tends to be the powerful social actors within it, rather than the constitution of the institution (Arrighi, 1993; Engel, 2006). Hegemony as conceived of here is a historical process through which a social class becomes hegemonic through the silent legitimation and percolation of its beliefs through the wider society (Arrighi, 1993; Engel, 2006). This historical process must be understood globally in relation to an interstate system, that is, “world hegemony is thus in its beginnings an outward expansion of the internal (national) hegemony established by a dominant social class. The economic and social institutions, the culture, the technology associated with this national hegemony become patterns for emulation abroad” (Cox, 1993: 61). Thus, according to Bieler and Morton (2004: 930) “hegemony can therefore operate at two levels: by constructing an historical bloc and establishing social cohesion *within* a form of state as well as by expanding a mode of production *internationally* and projecting hegemony through the level of world order.” That is a hegemonic social group/s

belonging to the hegemonic state/s will become through its/their double hegemonic position (“*within* a form of state [and] as well by expanding a mode of production *internationally*”) the hegemonic global social group (see also Gills, 1993). This was clear to the dependency school when they affirmed that dependence has both an external and internal link. “Dependence arises from the interaction between external relationship and the internal social, cultural, economic and political situation of each nation” (Armstrong and McGee, 1985: 25). Local elites in non-hegemonic states can be both ‘friend and foe’ of the metropolitan elite in hegemonic states. As ‘foe’, the hegemonic elite will try to absorb, co-opt or even forcibly disempower local elites.

It is possible to define world hegemony as regulated not only by the interstate system but also by social forces within each state. It is the balance between internal and external relationships that determines hegemonic power in a particular time of history. This thesis argues that contemporary tourism in developing countries reflects the economic and political divergence in populations, as well as their cultural convergence effects within the structure of world-wide hegemony. To trace this development, it is necessary to revisit the formation of the modern interstate system.

Arrighi (1993) identified three main hegemonic state systems that have led to the emergence of hegemonic global power in the modern era. The modern state system has its roots (after Arrighi, 1993) in the change from medieval feudal states to the Italian city-state configuration. In contrast to the feudal system, “the modern system of rule consists of the institutionalisation of public authority within mutually exclusive jurisdictional domains” (Ruggie, 1983: 275). “The fortunes of the Italian city-states in general and Venice in particular rested primarily on the monopolistic control over a crucial link in the chain of commercial exchange that connected Western Europe to India and China via the House of Islam” (Arrighi, 1993: 158). “Political power in the Venetian republic resided in the hands of an aristocracy that comprised about 5 percent of the population” (Gordon, 1991: 66). Over time, the hegemonic power of the Italian city-states shifted to Portugal and Spain, mostly due to the early process of colonisation inherent in merchant capitalism, specifically in Latin America. After this followed a period of Dutch hegemony. To reach their hegemonic position, the Dutch, during their struggle for national independence from Spain (Arrighi, 1993: 161) “had already established a strong intellectual and moral leadership over the dynastic states of north-Western Europe” (an example of a hegemonic pre-condition).

The rise of the British empire in the 18th century and of the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries meant that these two became global hegemonic powers, to the extent that Britain was probably the first truly global power, its influence stretching across the Indian Ocean and Atlantic

worlds, and even skirting the Pacific with its foothold on the Chinese coastline and the settler dominions of Australia and New Zealand (after Arrighi, 1993). “After the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 England entered a period of development which made her the most powerful and most influential nation in Europe” (Gordon, 1991: 82). Nevertheless, as noted, “the revolution of 1688 was viewed not so much as creating a new political order as restoring one that the Stuarts had attempted to subvert” (Gordon, 1991: 82). This echoes the process whereby hegemony, once challenged, could “be renewed, recreated and defended” (Williams, 1976: 205). Internationally this hegemonic position, at least until 1838, was the result of three main and interrelated components - settler colonialism, slavery and economic nationalism (Arrighi, 1993). Britain also succeeded in becoming to an extent a leader in economic and scientific development and theory (Arrighi, 1993: 174). “[T]he expansion of the power of the United Kingdom served not just its national interest but a ‘universal’ interest as well” (Arrighi, 1993: 174). The system which prevailed under the hegemony of the United Kingdom has been called “free-trade imperialism” (Gallagher and Robinson, 1953).

After the United Kingdom it was the turn of the United States to become the hegemonic world power. Its hegemonic system has been referred to as a free-enterprise system and differs from the previous system in that it “considerably restricted the right and powers of sovereign states. The principle, norms, and rules to which states must submit have increased in number and become tighter, while a growing number of supranational organisations have acquired an autonomous power to overrule the interstates system” (Arrighi, 1993: 182 see also Giampiccoli, 2007: 179). Supranational organisations can be both institutional organisations, such as the United Nations and its agencies, and private organisation such as TNCs.

While Arrighi and Wallerstein (from whom Arrighi explicitly extracted part of his work) at times differ in their interpretations, Arrighi (1993: 153) has stated that “the strength of Wallerstein’s conceptualisation is in its emphasis on the fundamental unity of capitalism and the modern system of rule.” It is this unity that determines that “the modern system of rule has been closely associated with the development of capitalism as a mode of accumulation on a world scale” (Arrighi, 1993: 153). This capital accumulation has clear spatial characteristics, being concentrated in pre-determined states and with its apex in a specified global metropolis. For Wallerstein (1974: 16), economic factors such as economic exploitation “make it possible to increase the flow of the surplus from the lower strata to the upper strata, from the periphery to the centre, from the majority to the minority.” Within the historical process of globalisation (led by different hegemonic social groups depending on time and place), there is evidence of the unequal concentration of intra- and

interstate power. “What we can certainly conclude is that globalisation is much to do with new and perpetuated forms of uneven development” (Potter et al., 1999: 95).

Within this thesis emphasis will be placed on this promotion of an increasingly unequal capital distribution process, occurring as it does at the present time through neo-liberal globalisation. I shall demonstrate that it depends on the existence of interlinked economic, political and cultural factors, and will look at the impact of the tourism sector in particular on developing countries. As already explained, long-term capitalist accumulation is the general framework within which the tourism sector works. According to Gills(1993) this situation of increased unequal capital distribution requires:

(a) an economic nexus based upon a complex international division of labour in which class relations facilitate the extraction of surplus and accumulation; (b) a political apparatus that enforces the rules of surplus extraction and accumulation with the sanction of ‘legitimate’ coercion; and (c) an ideology which conditions historical consciousness to allow accumulation, and social order, to occur in that specific historical form.

(Gills, 1993: 189)

Gills (1993: 189) emphasises the two-fold nature of these hegemonic factors when he writes that these “elements are integral to ‘hegemony’, in so far as it is exercised domestically between classes, as well as globally between states and classes.”

Historically the hegemonic class has formed part of the capitalist class since the time of the Italian city-states, and this hegemony has spread globally. The former British intelligentsia, for example, claimed that the national interest of Britain was a global interest (Arrighi, 1993). Today the capitalist class, until recently, of the west, but increasingly co-opting local capitalists in the developing world, is still hegemonic. Its hegemony lies both within countries and in the international arena particularly since the Second World War. International institutions, like the IMF and the WB, and associations of countries like the EU have formed nuclei of power dominated by the capitalist classes: the G8 Forum is an example of this. Gills (1993: 7) writes that:

... forums like the G8 (and its private counterparts such as the World Economic Forum and the Trilateral Commission) are important also because their existence highlights the vanguard forces, and how they may serve to generate consensus in order to configure what might be called the ‘the pyramid of privilege’ in the world order structures that the G7 rulers seek to bestride.

The control, and therefore the policies, of these international institutions are of fundamental importance due to their relevance in the global supply of finance and investments. As Brohman (1997: 142) points out, “decisions endorsed as official IMF policies are invariably made by the group of five, representing the permanent members of the executive board (USA, UK, Germany, France and Japan).” Furthermore, the strategic control of these international institutions, as Brohman (1997: 142) claims, represents the “domination of the IMF and the World Bank by core capitalist countries [which] permitted the manipulation of policies not only to serve the interest of Northern-based transnational capital, but also to discriminate in favour of or against selected Third World countries for strategic, ideological or other reasons.” Brohman (1997) cites the examples of Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and numerous African countries.

The link between the base (the physical means of production and social relations) and the superstructure (ideology and political organisations) (Forgacs, 1988: 425; Peet, 2002: 56) exists intra-nationally between classes, as well as globally between states and international capitalist classes. For Cox (1996 a: 105):

Social forces are not to be thought of as existing exclusively within states. Particular social forces may overflow state boundaries, and world structure can be described in term of social forces [...] in which states play an intermediate though autonomous role between the global structure of social forces and local configurations of social forces within particular countries.

Paul Baran, more than forty years ago, quoted what is probably a contemporary truth, that “the bonds of class are stronger than those of nationality” (Lord Acton 1955 cited in Baran, 1962: 221). Once the hegemonic social class and the hegemonic state or group of states are established, it is relevant to understand how they ‘conquer’ the trust of the local hegemonic classes and states to spread the prevailing ideology of the international hegemonic bloc. Considering the question of an imbalance in socio-economic development between two areas, Gramsci saw the “economic life in subordinate regions penetrated by hegemonic notions formed in regions that had already undergone social and economic revolution” (Peet, 2002: 56). Thus, it is the hegemonic class in the hegemonic state/s that will absorb or co-opt the hegemonic class present in non-hegemonic countries; it may go so far as to convert a previously non-hegemonic group, which it deems valuable, into itself. Since the Second World War “a hegemonic ideology serves the class interest of capital by stressing that private property and capital accumulation are essential to economic growth” (Peet, 2002: 56).

My analysis in this thesis of the relation of tourism to developing countries will focus on this 'age of free-enterprise'. Tourism only became a valuable sector after the Second World War and especially from the 1960s onwards. In relation to the Caribbean situation, Potter et al. (1999: 92) claims that "tourism has a direct effect on trends of convergence and divergence" (See also Potter, 1993). Understanding this effect in the context of a specific tourism environment is a key aim of this thesis.

2.6.2 Political-economy and Neo-Gramscian/Coxian approaches

According to Crane and Amawi (1997: 4) the concept of political-economy proposes "a focus on phenomena that lie at the crossroads of the fields of politics and economics [and] seeks to explain how political power shapes economic outcomes and how economic forces influence political action." Given the nature of this research the political-economy perspective must be understood in its global dimension, leading to the concepts of international political-economy.

Thus, international political economy "primarily, though by no means exclusively, concentrates upon activities taking place among international actors: states, global corporations, international organizations, social movements and the like" (Crane and Amawi, 1997: 4). International political economy has developed a number of approaches, however, it can be divided into three main streams: Liberalism, Marxism, Realisms (Jeffrey et al., 2000).

The present analysis lies within the ambit of the Coxian/Neo-Gramscian approach from the Marxism school of international political economy. Cohen (2008: 90) clearly exposes the link:

In intellectual terms the most obvious influence on Cox's thought was Marxism, with its emphasis on class relations and the material forces of production. Marxian terminology runs persistently through his writings. Like Marx, Cox insisted that change could only be understood dialectically, with each successive world order generating the contradictions that bring about its transformation. Of particular importance in his perspective was the work of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist of the interwar period, who emphasized the power of ideas and knowledge structures, and how they emerged from the material interests of dominant classes. Like Gramsci, Cox saw the hegemonic control of ideas as central to legitimizing and maintaining a particular social order.

Cox (1996 b: 137) expresses his understanding following Gramsci's notion of hegemony and applying it to the international context.

Hegemony at the international level is thus not merely an order among states. It is an order within a world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of production. It is also a complex of international social relationships which connect the social classes of the different countries. World hegemony can be described as a social structure, an economic structure, and a political structure; and it cannot be simply one of these things but must be all three. World hegemony, furthermore, is expressed in universal norms, institutions, and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries, rules which support the dominant mode of production.

It has been noticed that "the neo-Gramscian perspective developed by Cox broadens the domain of hegemony. It becomes more than simply state dominance" (Bieler and Morton, 2003). In a global perspective as Cox shows, hegemony is the result of three interlinked situations: ideas, material capabilities and institutions. He writes: "No one-way determinism need be assumed among these three; the relationship can be assumed to be reciprocal. The question of which way the line of force runs is always a historical question to be answered by a study of a particular case" (Cox, 1996 a: 98). This research can therefore be seen as a piece of Coxian investigation, within the tourism context. What will be investigated is the role of ideas (cultural hegemony), material capability (economic hegemony) and institutions (political hegemony) in influencing CBT development projects in a particular geographical context.

Cox explains hegemony within a historically structured perspective to show that the three spheres of activity can each be seen as a result of the interrelationship between ideas, material capability and institutions. The three spheres are (from Cox, 1996 a: 100):

- Organisation of production, more particularly with regard to the *social forces* engendered by the production process;
- *Forms of state* as derived from a study of state/society complexes;
- *World orders*, that is, the particular configuration of forces which successively define the problematic of war or peace for the ensemble of states.

Cox (1996 a: 100).continues: "Each of these levels can be studied as a succession of dominant and emerging rival structures [and] the three levels are interlinked."

Within the tourism sector realm the political economy approach, which is seen at international level “is based on the premise that tourism has evolved in a way which closely matches historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency” (Lea, 1998: 10). According to the political-economy approach the tourism sector ‘is so firmly governed by the political and economic determinants of the world trade that little attention is paid to some of its other interesting features” (Lea, 1998: 10). The political-economy approach “probes beneath the surface characteristics of the industry in its search for the causes of problems” (Lea, 1998: 11). The pioneer and major exponent of the political-economy approach in tourism is Stephen Britton (Lea 1998; see also Britton, 1981, 1982 and 1991).

Bianchi (2002) conducted his study on the political economy of global tourism. According to Bianchi (2002: 267):

The political economy of tourism should [...] seek to elucidate upon the antagonistic forces and social relations which give rise to and are encompassed within specific modes of tourism development. By ‘modes of tourism development’ I am referring to the specific combination of technologies and power relations which underpin the organisation of tourism production in any given historical-geographic context.

This approach throws an illuminating light on the subject of this thesis. In the words of Milne and Ateljevic (2001: 371):

Tourism [...] must be viewed as a transaction process which is at once driven by the global priorities of multi-national corporations, geo-political forces and broader forces of economic change, and the complexities of the local – where residents, visitors, workers, government and entrepreneurs interact at the industry [level]. At the global scale tourism’s development outcomes are influenced by broad-based economic change, evolving structures of corporate governance and the unrelenting evolutionary pressures of demographics and technological change. Global institutions, such as the IMF and World Bank, play a vital role in shaping the economic environment for tourism investment and development in much of the world.

It is in this context, and because “[i]nternational development assistance is an important source of funding for global tourism development and management” (Lindberg et al., 2001: 508), that it is necessary to understand the role of international institutions and their influence on CBT projects. It has been remarked that it “is impossible to understand the global–local nexus unless we examine

the prevailing discourse on internationalization and globalization” (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001: 373).

Finally and most importantly, the “central concern for the political economy of tourism is, therefore, not merely whether or not incomes are rising thanks to tourism or, indeed whether or not TTCs provide a decent wage for their workers but, rather, the extent to which different modalities of global tourism are leading to a reduction or increase in the inequality of access to power and resources” (Bianchi, 2002: 297).

2.7 Discourse and hegemony

Central to the spread of ideology that facilitates neo-liberal globalisation is the formation and management of the political discourse. Peet and Watts (1993: 228) provide a useful definition of discourse, as follows: “A discourse is a particular area of language use related to a certain set of institutions and expressing a particular standpoint. Concerned with a given range of objects, it emphasizes some concepts at the expense of others.” As Escobar (1995: 5) notes, “Foucault’s work on the dynamics of discourse and power in the representation of social reality, in particular, has been instrumental in unveiling the mechanism by which a certain order of discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible.”

Foucault in his *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972: 28) asks concerning the analysis of discourse that “we [...] grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlation with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statements it excludes.” Following Foucault, Sheridan (in Ritzer: 2000: 594 see also Giampiccoli, 2007: 180) contends that the *Archaeology of Knowledge* involves the search for “a set of rules that determine the conditions of possibility for all can be said within the particular discourse at any given time.” More practically,

For Foucault each society has its *regime of truth*, with control of the ‘political economy of truth’ constituting part of the power of the great political and economic apparatuses. These apparatuses diffuse ‘truth’, particularly in the modern form of ‘scientific discourse’, throughout the social body, in a process infused with social confrontation. In the poststructural view, truths are statements within socially produced discourses, rather than facts about reality.

(Peet and Watts, 1993: 228)

Following these lines of understanding, Gosovic (2000) writes about the relation between discourse and development. The following quotation is long but is worth including in full here as it is central to the argument put forward in this thesis:

The ‘end of ideology (or history)’, ‘end of conflict’, ‘partnership’, ‘stakeholders’, ‘opportunities and challenges’, ‘no more South or North’, ‘positive or proactive agenda’, etc. are among the frequently repeated buzz words and phrases in contemporary international and development-related discourse. The intention is to defuse issues and preempt any probing questions that may be posed. They are also meant to convey the basic soundness of the system, suggesting that it is the only possible one, the ‘best of all possible worlds’, and non controversial with respect to basic structural issues [...] This redefinition also explains in part the shift of the policy fulcrum and policy implementation to institutions which are under the control of the countries of the North and which have embraced the development terminology and broadened their mandate to include development, e.g. the World Bank and even the IMF, and of late the WTO. A number of political terms which for decades were the mainstay of the UN’s work and social discourse are now frowned upon and have virtually disappeared from official usage. For example, ‘equity’, ‘self-reliance’, ‘public’, ‘exploitation’, ‘land reform’, and even ‘national sovereignty’ (but only with reference to developing countries!) seem all to have been ruled out-of-date and politically inappropriate. At the same time, such new concepts as ‘investors’ confidence’, ‘investment-friendly economic environment’, etc., have moved to center stage and are used as major policy levers by the developed countries. In order to please and be seen to be in line, such politically fashionable and correct phrases are now used frequently in political discourse throughout the South, often, however, without an adequate grasp of their deeper meaning or their implications in the context of North-South relations and global politics.¹⁰

(Gosovic, 2000: 450)

Following Peet (2003) it is possible to link the notion of hegemony with Foucault’s perspective on discourse. It is these interconnections that control the global tourism structure and continue to promote a kind of tourism that works against the wider distribution of benefits. I shall argue in this study that they work against the full development and potential of CBT. The geographer Richard

¹⁰ It is worth remembering that ‘Tourism and Poverty Alleviation’ is the title of the WTO-OMT report in 2002

Peet (2002) has considered this matter extensively, and he is worth quoting at length on the subject of discourse:

My contribution adds a Foucauldian-Gramscian notion of “globally hegemonic discourse.” This term refers to a system of political ideas, derived from leading class interpretations of regional experiences, elaborated in coherent, sequential theoretical statements, as with policy formulations, within internationally recognized bodies of experts. The *hegemonic depth* of a discourse—its intensive regulatory power—resides in its ability to restrict serious, “responsible” consideration to a limited range of topics and approaches or, more generally, an ability to specify the parameters of the practical, realistic, and sensible among linked groups of theoreticians, policy-makers, and practitioners. The regulatory space of a discourse—its *hegemonic extent*—comes from its ability to persuade or coerce others across broad swathes of territory, where practices would otherwise be conditioned by narratives, discourses, and theories deriving from greatly different interpretive traditions applied to diverse regional experiences. Discourses with hegemonic depth originate in political and economic command centers and achieve hegemonic extent by extending persuasion, coercion, and power over spatial fields of influence. Mutually reinforcing combinations of depth with extent create what I would reterm *geographic blocs* of states and institutions exercising power through globally hegemonic discourses. Hierarchies of centers of persuasion organize spatial systems of discursive flows that result in a series of articulations between universal and regional discursive formations.

(Peet, 2002: 57)

As Peet (2003: 17) argues, the “depth of a hegemony resides in the ability of a discursive formation to specify the parameters of the practical, the realistic and the sensible among a group of theoreticians, political practitioners and policy makers [and] where critical discussion is limited to variants of a given discourse.” Thus, in so far as a “GIH [Global Intellectual Hegemony] operates, a great deal has been done through the skilled use of words and terminology both to bolster the dominant paradigm and the current order and to endow it with positive qualities” (Gosovic, 2000: 450). It is possible, using the hegemony-discourse nexus, to conclude that:

... economic policy does not come from science’s ability to mirror the exact structure of social reality in the structure of truthful statements called exact theories. Instead, policy is socially produced by a community of experts who agree, more by convention or political persuasion than factual backing, to call a certain type of thinking and speaking ‘rational’.

(Peet, 2003: 16)

It is this 'rational' thinking that can and does generate great influence on CBT at the local level.

2.8 The meaning of development

The last point to keep in mind is related to the debate concerning the meaning of development. During the post World War II era the word 'development' was mostly associated, thanks to the predominance of Modernisation Theory, to, economic growth. In the late 1960s, however, Dudley Seers's work *The Meaning of Development* opened new perspectives on what development actually meant.

Seers (1969: 3) asks three simple questions to determine whether development occurs or not: "What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?" For Seers, development, to be real had to bring about the decline of all these three elements. On the other hand: "If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it could be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capita income doubled" (Seers, 1969: 3). Seers also later added "to these three conditions [...] a fourth: self-reliance" (Sharpley, 2002: 25). There is a need to break the dependency structures.

The meaning of development therefore depends on a much wider concept than the strictly numerical economic perspective. Goulet (1971) for example gives three elements: value sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom. These are three positives relating to universal human needs and values. Influenced by Seers and Goulet's critiques of the doctrines of the modernist school, as well as other approaches to the meaning of development, the United Nations (UN) has developed the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) (Thirwall, 2002: 44). These take into account a much wider range of data than economic growth to evaluate countries' development.

The concept of development can and must be linked to power relations. Gutierrez has written in relation to the Latin American situation (1973 cited in Goulet, 1988: 480) that "the term development conveys a pejorative connotation [and] is gradually being replaced by the term liberation [...] there will be a true development for Latin America only through liberation from domination by capitalist countries. That implies, of course, a showdown with their natural allies: our local oligarchies." Consequently it is crucial to understand the basic matter of "who gets what, when, where, and how" (Sofield, 2003: 92). Development projects and programmes must give

holistic benefits to those in need and must where necessary support changes in the balance of power.

It is recognised today that economic growth, although important, is not enough to increase human well being. Development is a much more holistic and people-centred concept and it should take into account the specificities of different historical-geographical situations, that is at local grassroots level (Brohman, 1996; Burkey, 1993; Pieterse, 2000). Thus, holistic perspectives on empowerment and self-reliance are basic points to permit the creation of a comprehensive perspective on development. Development is thus intent on individual, group and national levels and focus on an array of issues in the social, political, economic and cultural dimensions (Pino and Wiatrowski, 2006). The empowerment process must be linked to a process leading to an increase in self-reliance and a decrease in economic dependency. Holistic empowerment and self-reliance are seen as promoting development processes in which all stakeholders are involved. In developing the case study and conducting research, these overall developmental parameters have been at the forefront of my mind.

2.9 Conclusion

Using a variety of concepts and theories, this chapter has proposed a theoretical framework in terms of which issues of tourism and community-based tourism will be analysed. Starting from concepts of hegemony, globalisation and convergence/ divergence, different concepts have been explained in turn and thereafter interlinked to develop a comprehensive theoretical model against which to test the case study. In other words, the theoretical guide provided in the Introduction is the lens used to illuminate the processes observed on the ground in relation to the development of CBT on the Pondoland coast. The chapter has also analysed issues of development theories, discourse management and the real meaning of development in order to provide the reader with more insight into the theoretical framework and the thesis development and result.

The next chapter will investigate the tourism sector in developing countries and will continue the insertion of tourism related issues into the general theoretical framework. Community-based tourism is specifically investigated.

Chapter 3

Tourism and Developing Countries

3.1 Introduction

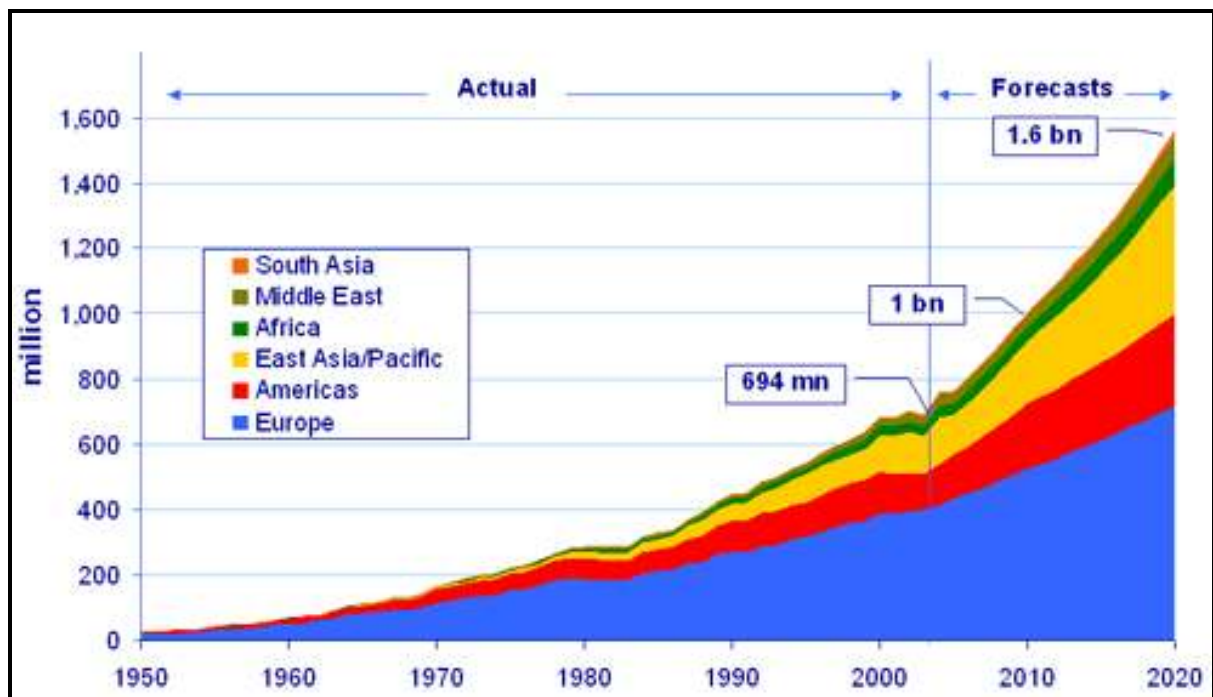
This chapter aims to locate tourism in the context of developing countries' development. This insertion of tourism and CBT issues into the theoretical framework described in the introductory chapter, serves to practically demonstrate, at a general level, the relation between the theoretical framework and the tourism sector in developing countries. A brief historical examination of tourism in the developing world is followed by a discussion of the general relation between development theories and tourism. Particular focus is placed on the analysis of alternative tourism development and CBT issues. The chapter also reviews the role and significance of the three main actors involved in tourism development, namely: the private sector, public institutions and civil society organisations. Finally, some specific comments are made on diffusion and dependency theories of development in relation to tourism.

3.2 History of tourism

The beginning of modern commercial tourism is commonly associated with the first European tour organised by Thomas Cook in 1856 (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Larger scale tourism began to develop in accordance with the general evolution of the economy in most Western countries. Its appearance was "roughly parallel to the development of mass production in the industrial sector" (Harrison, 2001: 9). It is a fact that the first travel agencies, Stangen (1863) and Cook (1864), were respectively German and English, originating from two countries in which industrial development took place relatively early (Oppermann and Chon, 1997: 7). These two agencies, shortly after their establishment, started to organise commercial tours in developing countries. Stangen took parties to Cairo, Jerusalem, Smyrna and Istanbul in 1864 (Gunter in Oppermann and Chon, 1997: 7), while Thomas Cook organised parties which visited Egypt and the Middle East during the 1870s. Only a small, wealthy group of people was at that time able to travel abroad. Since then tourism in developing countries as a general trend has continued to increase, both in terms of number of people traveling and of number of places visited. For instance, "In 1920, the West Indies already registered almost 80 000 visitors and the figure grew to almost 200 000 by 1938" (Blume in Oppermann and Chon, 1997: 8).

According to Oppermann and Chong (1997: 8), “tourism in developing countries is not an occurrence of the post-World War era; it only increased tremendously in the last 30-40 years.” It is this rapid increase of tourists who visited developing countries during the 1950s and 1960s that led to the inclusion of the tourism sector in the economic development debate. International tourism continued to grow from the 1950s, and although the World Tourism Organisation (WTO-OMT) forecast could be seen as too optimistic, it is probably true that international arrivals will continue to grow in the coming years (see Figure 3.1). The data presented in Figure 3.1 demonstrates the growing relevance of tourism worldwide.

Figure 3.1 World tourists’ arrivals



Source: WTO-OMT (2001: 1)

Many authorities and students of the issue have recognised the growing importance of tourism. Box 3.1 provides relevant quotes highlighting the importance given to the tourism sector. The numerical data and quotations, however, although relevant, are only a small piece of the reality. It is not enough to assume that an increase in the number of tourists, both arrivals and receipts, demonstrates the real outcome. At the heart of the problem is the question of who benefits. This is formulated succinctly in the words of Britton (1981: 19): “The emphasis here, however, is not whether tourism is economically advantageous in aggregate terms, but to whom these advantages accrue.”

To evaluate the real gain obtainable from the tourism economic sector, other issues must be considered. Although the spatial distribution of tourism activities is relevant, the problem is to understand who controls and gains from the tourism industry itself, independent of the geographical distribution of tourists and their expenditure in the world. What is meant here is that the territorial distribution of tourism expenditure among countries is only the first, and not necessarily the most important, feature that can determine the overall gain from the tourism economic sector. For example, while Mexico had a large share of the tourist trade (16.4%) in the Americas and a 19.8% share in world tourism in 2001 (WTO-OMT, 2002: 3), its tourism industry is for the most part under foreign control and ownership (Clancy, 1999). In fact the United States and Canada “by 1994 [...] were responsible for 70% of total investment in tourism-related activities in Mexico, even before the effects of trade liberalisation under NAFTA had begun to have an effect” (Bianchi, 2002: 276). The extent to which Mexico and its citizens profit in this situation is doubtful.

Box 3.1

- “There is no doubt that tourism, frequently referred to as ‘the world’s largest industry’, is big business” (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002:vii).
- “Tourism is said to be the largest industry in the world and ... it is growing rapidly” (Scheyvens, 2002: 4).
- “Tourism is, without doubt one of the major social and economic phenomena of modern times” (Sharpley, 2002: 11).
- “Globally, tourism has been one of the fastest growing industries this century” (United Nations, 2000: 71).
- “The importance of tourism as an engine of economic growth and job creation is widely recognized” (De Villiers, 2000: XI).
- “Tourism is now one of the fastest sectors of the economies of many countries, as it assumes a dominant role in the service sector” (Page et al., 2001: XVII).
- “There is an increasing role for international development institutions, such as the World Bank, to play in the tourism industry” (Dickinson in World Bank, n.d., 1).
- “EMBRATUR (the Brazilian Tourist Board) estimated that, by 2005, investment in MRECOSUL tourism would total some US\$24.6 billion and would be creating 745 jobs a day – the equivalent of 2.7 million jobs – or 36% of new working positions, over the period 1995-2005” (Santana, 2001: 82).
- “It is widely anticipated that the tourism sector will become one of the key drivers of economic expansion and employment in South and southern Africa over the next decade” (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002: 29).
- “Tourism is now regarded as the world’s leading industry. By 1987, it recorded US\$2 trillion sales, and employed an estimated 6.3 percent of the global workforce, making it the global premier industry” (Potter et al., 1999: 95).
- “...tourism has also developed into a powerful, world-wide economic force. International tourism alone generated over US\$453 billion in 1998 whilst, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), global tourism – including domestic tourism – is a US\$3.5 trillion industry, accounting for 11% of world GDP and a similar proportion of global employment” (Sharpley, 2002: 12).

It is, therefore, important to relate tourism development to the wider problematic of development issues in developing countries. The next section outlines the role of tourism in the development debate from the end of World War II.

3.3 Tourism research and the development debate

Given the multidisciplinary approaches necessary for research into tourism, especially in the last thirty years, people with different kinds of expertise have applied themselves to the study of tourism. Peter Burns and Valene Smith in anthropology, D.J. Boorstin, John Urry and Dean MacCannel in sociology, and Michael Hall in politics may serve as examples.¹¹

The study of the relationship between tourism and development started mainly after World War II, when many countries were attracted to the idea of using tourism as a quick and convenient way to earn foreign currency. It was, and to an extent still is, also thought that tourism was a 'pollution-free' economic sector (Hall, 1992; Wall, 1997). Within this tradition of a close relationship between tourism and economic gain, it is possible to recognise three main periods, roughly associated with three main development discourses (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). From the 1950s until the mid 1970s tourism was seen as a success story in its relationship to economic development. At that time much of the research was carried out by "planners and economists who worked for organizations, including the United Nation, the World Bank and the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development" (Telfer, 2002: 50). Krapf (1961) and Kassé (1973) were two authors propounding the thesis that tourism is a "good thing" for developing countries (Pearce, 1989).

After this 'golden period' for the tourism-development paradigm, the relationship between tourism and development, especially in developing countries, came under fire. The chief problem was that the relationship was beginning to be seen as a more complex and multidirectional phenomenon than earlier theories had allowed (Scheyvens, 2002). The tourism sector was no longer regarded as an unqualified good strategy, and the negative effects of tourism development were becoming evident and expanding. Notable among the critics were John Bryden (1973), Emmanuel de Kadt (1979) and S.G. Britton (1982). From approximately the mid 1980s to the present day, tourism has usually been seen as a profitable strategy by those supporting the neo-liberal capitalist system. This school was reborn during the Reagan-Thatcher era and emphasised, within the developing countries' context, by the Structural Adjustment Programs sponsored by international institutions and sustained and directed by Western countries (Burns, 2001). International institutions such as

¹¹ This list is far from being exhaustive in terms of either subjects or authors.

the WB and WTO-OMT consequently support the strategy. The director of WTO-OMT stated that “the importance of tourism as an engine of economic growth and job creation is widely recognised” (in De Villiers, 2000: xi).

Other authors are, however, continuing to offer a critical perspective on the relationship between tourism and development, at least, in relation to the contemporary organizational structures in tourism. Examples of these are Anita Pleumaron (1994) and John Brohman (1996). Brohman uses an alternative development perspective, identified in the previous chapter as a fourth development paradigm, which (together with modernisation, dependency and neo-liberalism) began during the early 1970s and focused its attention on participation by people, sustainability and gender issues.

Since the post-World War II era, tourism in developing countries has increased massively. The rapid growth in tourism has meant that research into the phenomenon has also increased and has been more fully included in the development debate. As Agel (1993 in Oppermann and Chong, 1997: 12) suggests, it is possible to historically divide the tourism research literature into three distinct periods from the late 1950s. Agel’s division can be used to summarise the parallels 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. Published research was mainly descriptive. The second period, from the 1970s to 1985, was the “disenchantment period” (Oppermann and Chong, 1997: 13). Critical studies started to emerge and tourism literature covered a wider range of issues than economic effects. Social, cultural and physical effects of tourism were cited in the debate. The third period is called the “differentiation period” (Oppermann and Chong, 1997: 13). Here extreme positions are replaced by more pragmatic approaches; alternative tourism became a subject for research and the ways in which it could promote better environmentally, socially, and culturally more sustainable tourism were discussed.

3.3.1 Regional tourism research

Following the birth or re-birth of projects involving regional co-operation, tourism research has also been studied in a regional perspective. Guilleme Santana (2001) has published a study of tourism in the regional context which explores the tourism sector with the MERCOSUR (South Cone Common Market); Mya Than (1997) and Joan C. Henderson (2001), respectively, have published research on the Greater Mekong Region and the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle. Much remains, nevertheless to be done in this area of research.

Finally, there is an important work on African tourism edited by Dieke (2000 a). As the editor explains:

The views expressed in this book are those of the particular contributors and are not necessarily shared by the editor and publisher. It is also clear that there are many opposing and conflicting conclusions [...] There is a great diversity of approaches rather than any single and consistent message. It is perhaps this that most characterizes contemporary African tourism.

(Dieke, 2000 a: 25)

This reflection on African tourism holds good for tourism in other developing countries. I shall try in this study to contribute to this debate on the relationship between tourism and development in developing countries. Four key quotes serve to underline the basic departure point.

- “Tourism development is not isolated from, but rather an aspect of, the development process. So the tourism debate has to be situated within the development debate itself” (Honey, 1999: 93).
- “[T]reating tourism almost solely as a discrete economic subsystem, many revealing links have been missed between tourism and other politically and theoretically important geographic issues which demonstrate the wider role and position of tourism in capitalist accumulation” (Britton, 1991: 466).
- “There is an increasing role for international development institutions, such as the World Bank, to play in the tourism industry” (Dickinson in World Bank, 1998)
- "The Bank is able to provide the policy, legal, and regulatory framework for the tourism sector, and can counsel countries in developing strategies for attracting investment. It's natural that we would extend this expertise to the largest and one of the fastest growing industry in the world" (Millet in World Bank, 1998).
- “The emphasis here, however, is not whether tourism is economically advantageous in aggregate terms, but to whom do these advantage accrue” (Britton, 1981: 19).

The positional role of Dickinson and Millet (respectively the Vice-President of Policy and Communications at the World Travel and Tourism Council and the General Manager of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency) indicates the increased attention towards the tourism sector by international institutions, such as the World Bank, and how the same institutions can play a pivotal role in investment strategies for tourism development in developing countries. Christie (Consultant, Private Sector and Finance, Africa Region, The World Bank) summarises this issue by stating that tourism should be promoted through the partnership of governments, international

institutions, tourism businesses and finance institutions (Christie, 1998). National governments, international institutions and private tourism business organisations are interlinked to promote tourism development. The previous chapter indicates how these same actors are linked by the same neo-liberal ideology and maintain a hegemonic position in the management of the development process. It is, therefore, exactly because tourism is linked to development policies and processes and it is interlinked with a variety of politically and theoretically important issues that there is the need to verify who gain from tourism development.

3.4 Alternative tourism development

The comments above suggest an urgent need to find alternative development approaches where tourism can be inserted into and give a more valuable and holistic meaning to development. Within the alternative tourism approach a series of common points have been recognised (from Brohman, 1996: 64):

- It consists of smaller-scale, dispersed, low-density developments;
- Ownership patterns in alternative tourism are weighted in favour of local, often family-owned, relatively small-scale business rather than foreign-owned, transnational and other outside-owned enterprises;
- It encourages community participation in local and regional planning concerning tourism and related developments;
- It emphasises sustainability, in both environmental and cultural senses; and
- It should not denigrate or damage the host culture.

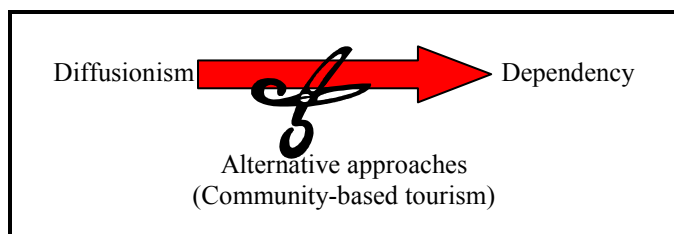
One of the most advertised alternative tourism approaches by governments has been Community Based Tourism (CBT). It is claimed that this form of tourism is well placed to improve the condition of poor communities. CBT can be recognised, amongst others, in three different but related aspects. According to Suansri (2003):

- a) Control: the community owns the resources, means and facilities needed for tourism;
- b) Management: the community manages the tourism sector; and
- c) Empowerment: a consequence of points 1 and 2 is that the community is empowered.

From a tourism perspective, there are also a few basic considerations to be taken into account. Enterprises are likely to be small scale, dispersed and environmentally aware (Brohman, 1996; Suansri, 2003):

All these characteristics could, if properly supported by appropriate legislation and institutional structures, facilitate a break from dependency structured by the neo-liberal diffusionist approach implemented in recent years. Figure 3.2 illustrates this relationship.

Figure 3.2 Relationship between diffusionism, dependency and alternative approaches



3.4.1 Community-based tourism: definitions and meanings

Alternative development guidelines advocate CBT development. The aim of CBT is to produce a development model rooted in local circumstances and involving the greatest possible number of people within the community. CBT should consist of tourism ventures owned and managed by the community members, and thus playing the role of internal facilitators rather than external actors.

The present thesis focuses on CBT in poor communities. It is concerned with those alternative development approaches elaborated during the 1970s which were intended primarily for such communities and suggests that these represent the origin of alternative development intended for poor countries (and, as a consequence, provided the framework of CBT guidelines in developing countries). Following alternative development studies of CBT the concept of empowerment will be emphasised. Empowerment is seen as a key condition for holistic development. Authors such as Scheyvens (2002), Sofield (2003) and Reid (2003) follow this trend. In this regard Sofield (2003: 7) argues that it is difficult to attain sustainable development without empowering communities.

In relation to the empowerment issues it is possible to understand the concept in Gramscian/Freirian terms, and to link it to the broader concept of community. It is about challenge hegemony, collective community conscientisation to transform reality through political struggle (Mayo and Craig, 1995).

It follows that CBT promoting development at its best, involves a community wide involvement in decision-making, ownership and management of tourist ventures as well as the promotion of a

conscientization process at a community wide level - one that would foster community cooperation in the struggle to achieve better socio-economic and political conditions.

Definitions are always difficult to elaborate and most of the time are only partial. CBT has not been immune to these problems, and has been defined in many different ways. Nevertheless it is necessary to propose a CBT definition (which will also have its limitations) to serve as a guiding concept in this research. To do this, it is necessary to review some of the existing CBT descriptions and to elaborate on them with the earlier formulations in mind.

First, as argued above, CBT originates in the alternative development literature within the setting of developing countries with an emphasis on the interests of the poor and marginal. It is the poor communities of developing countries, and the need for alternative approaches which must be considered in any elaboration of the definition of CBT. The definition should also be related to the holistic development of developing countries' poor communities, whilst keeping in mind the problematics of empowerment, self-reliance and sustainability which are core characteristics of alternative development approaches.

A series of definitions needs to be explored to understand what has already been proposed, and a comparison with eco-tourism needs to be made. Different sources collected in the course of this research, such as academic, NGOs, and public policy making institutions, will be used to achieve this. CBT has been (in my opinion wrongly) associated with and even equated to eco-tourism Table 3.1 lists the different definitions.

In Table 3.1 below general and overall definitions have been proposed. For discussion purpose it is also useful to highlight the definition in use in governmental structures in the Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (Eastern Cape Tourism Board, 2003): "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." At a national level, the South African Government's Tourism White Paper (1996) although widely considering the community problematic in the development of tourism, unfortunately does not actually propose any definition of CBT, despite defining eco-tourism, sustainable tourism, responsible tourism and cultural tourism. The White Paper, however, does emphasise at different times the importance of community involvement and CBT projects.

The definitions in table 3.1 are not identical in their explication of the concepts of CBT. All definitions agree that the role of local community in CBT initiatives is paramount, however, the degree of community involvement and possible partnership with external actors lead to different interpretation of CBT. The definitions can be divided in two major groups depending on the relevance given to the extend of community control over the CBT venture: partial or total control of the CBT initiative.

Partial control of CBT is indicated by using the terms involvement, control or benefit and the level of community engagement in CBT by using a series of expressions such as substantial control, greater share or high degree of control. These definitions focus on the level of involvement and control on issues such as profit or decision-making. The indication is that CBT ventures must be understood within a sharing framework where different stakeholders, internal and external to the community, participate in the CBT initiative.

On the other hand there are the definitions that promote a more community centered approach by underlining the concept of ownership and management. These definitions (Sproule in Ramsa and Modh, 2004: 584; Suansri, 2003: 14) state:

- community-based ecotourism is a classic community-based initiative where ecotourism enterprises are owned and managed by the community; and
- it is managed and owned by the community, for the community.

Here CBT ownership and management is under community control and there is no indication of external participants. To note that two definitions (Sheyvens, 2002: 10; Mearns, 2003: 30) have both characterisations, they permit either ownership or a certain degree of involvement or partnership.

Table 3.1 List of CBT and CBET definitions and meanings

Source*	Definitions/meanings
Brohman (A) (CBT)	“...a community-based tourism approach to tourism development which considers the needs and interests of the popular majority alongside the benefit of economic growth ought to be adopted. Community-based tourism development would seek to promote the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the popular majority. It would also seek to strike a balanced and harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of tourism with other components of the local economy; the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally; and the divergent needs, interests, and potentials of the community and its inhabitants” (1996: 60).
WWF – International (NGO) (CBET)	<p>“The International Ecotourism Society defines ecotourism as responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people. This definition not only implies that there should be a recognition of, and positive support for, the conservation of natural resources, both by suppliers and consumers, but also that there is a necessary social dimension to ecotourism.</p> <p>The term ‘community-based ecotourism’ takes this social dimension a stage further. This is a form of ecotourism where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community. How the community is defined will depend on the social and institutional structures in the area concerned, but the definition implies some kind of collective responsibility and approval by representative bodies. In many places, particularly those inhabited by indigenous peoples, there are collective rights over lands and resources. Community-based ecotourism should therefore foster sustainable use and collective responsibility. However, it must also embrace individual initiatives within the community” (2001: 2).</p>
World Bank (PI) and (PS) (CBT)	“Community-based tourism involves residents of a community in the decision-making process and keeps a far greater share of the income generated by visitor in the community...Community-based tourism generates jobs, reduces poverty and has a lower impact on the area’s culture and environment. Additionally, it generates a new sense of pride among residents and provides the funds for maintaining or upgrading the community’s cultural assets such as archaeological ruins, historic sites or traditional craft production” (2000: 2).
Scheyvens (A) (CBT)	“Community-based tourism ventures are those in which the local communities have a high degree of control over the activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits accrue to them. They may also be characterised by local ownership and a low level of leakage” (2002: 10).
Sproule in Ramsa and Mohd (A) (CBET)	“...community-based ecotourism is a classic community-based initiative where ecotourism enterprises are owned and managed by the community. WHO emphasized that community-based ecotourism involves conservation, business enterprise and community development” (2004: 584).
Mountain Forum (The) (NGO) (CBMT)	“Community-based mountain tourism ... [i]n its ideal form, ... is initiated and operated by local mountain communities in harmony with their traditional culture and responsible stewardship of the land. It also works by balancing power within communities so that conservation and communal well-being, not individual profit, are emphasized” (1998: 11).
Suansri, Responsible Ecological Social Tour- REST (NGO) (CBT)	“CBT is tourism that takes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the communities and local ways of life” (2003: 14).

Mearns (A) (CBT)	“Tourism initiatives that are owned by one or more defined communities, or run as joint venture partnerships 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” (2003: 30).
* (A) Academics, (PI) Public institutions, (NGO) Non Governmental Organisations, (PS) Private sector, Community-based tourism (CBT), Community-based ecotourism (CBET), Community – based mountain tourism (CBMT).	

A number of definitions mention the notion of empowerment. It is argued here that the concept of empowerment is very relevant and that development must be understood not in strict numerical economic terms but it needs to be linked to empowerment processes by the control (ownership and management) of the CBT venture. Community ownership and management serve to empower the community beyond the only economic notion of profit by enabling community members to control and participate in all different aspects related to the ownership and management of a CBT venture.

An important point in some definitions is related to issues within the community. This is of great relevance given that a community is not a homogeneous entity¹² but has internal power structures and different human characterizations such as interests, needs and capacities. To be in line with this thesis, CBT should work by balancing power within communities so that conservation and communal well-being are emphasized instead of individual profit (Mountain Forum, 1998). All definitions agree that CBT should respect the different cultural, social and local environmental components to promote sustainability.

Clearly the definition of CBT is multifaceted and has a number of different perspectives. For the purposes of this research it is considered more useful to underline a series of concepts related to CBT instead of a formal definition. These concepts must be understood as closely linked with what is thought to be the original meaning of CBT in the context of the development of poor communities in developing countries (that is, from the original aims of alternative development approaches).

The notions proposed are, derived mostly from the authorities cited in Table 3.1, and are as follows:

- CBT is a form of tourism development that must be initiated, planned, owned, controlled and managed by the local community for the local community.

¹² See footnote 2 page 1.

- It should be concerned with the comprehensive empowerment of the community as a collective, as well as responding to individual requirements, and should promote community needs and wishes.
- It should foster a balance of power within communities so that conservation and communal well-being, not individual profit, are emphasised.
- CBT projects/enterprises should not be detrimental to local heritage, environment or everyday life. CBT should promote the holistic development of the community and enable visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community's way of life.
- CBT must be related to micro and small enterprises, in particular community-wide¹³ type of activities. Community-wide systems of enterprise are seen as true CBT development structures; nevertheless private enterprises at micro level (such as family activities) can be seen positively as long as they follow and remain within the other CBT concepts. Independently from the typology of the development entity CBT structures should be completely owned and managed by local community members.
- CBT should be intended principally to target poor communities and whatever form it takes it must include a formula that directs the benefits towards community wide participation and development. It is important that through CBT development all (the greatest number possible) members of the community benefit, even those are not directly involved in the tourism enterprises.
- External actors in CBT should only have a role as facilitators of CBT development or as a bridge to access the tourism market.

(Brohman, 1996; Mearns, 2003; Mountain Forum, 1998; Ramsa and Mohd, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002; Suansri, 2003; World Bank, 2002; WWF – International, 2001)

The prefix 'eco' in ecotourism also has been an object of contested definitions and meanings. It is not the aim of this thesis to investigate this issue deeply nevertheless a few remarks need to be clarified. Definitions of ecotourism have great differences. Earlier on Laarman and Durst (1987: 5) defined it as "a nature tourism in which the, traveler is drawn to a destination because of his or her interest in one or more features of that destination's natural history. The visit combines education, recreation, and often adventure." This definition does not mention any correlation with local

¹³ Community-wide enterprise here refers to any form of business that includes a formal 'membership' and participation in the various aspects (such as ownership, management, work, benefits etc) by a number of community members. At the same time it must promote and favour the spread of the benefits of such an organisation to the whole community, through, for example, the use of part of the profit in community-wide development projects. Legally these entities can take the form of cooperatives, community trusts, NGOs and so on.

communities living in the area or the possible impact on the environment that the tourist could pose.

Laarman and Durst (Fennel, 2007: 19) also start to differentiate between soft or hard (or deep) ecotourism. According to Accott et al. (1998 in Fennel, 2007: 19), deep ecotourism tends to be more non materialistic and comprise of values; small scale development, community identity and participation. In deep tourism the role and relevance of the local community emerge as an important issue, while soft ecotourism remain more related to the exploitation of nature by tourism companies than to focus on the comprehensive relation between people, environment and development (Fennel, 2007).

Goodwin et al. (1997: 17) define ecotourism as

low impact nature tourism which contributes to the maintenance of species and habitats either directly through a contribution to conservation and/or indirectly by providing revenue to the local community sufficient for local people to value, and therefore protect, their wildlife heritage area as a source of income.

Here again the acknowledgement of issues relating to local community is stressed and can be associated with the deep ecotourism approach. More recently Fennel (2003: 25, see also Gurun and Seeland, 2008: 492) also correlate ecotourism in line with the concept of deep ecotourism by stating that ecotourism is natural resource based local, learning experiences and has a low impact and contributes to conservation or preservation of natural areas.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, because of the difficulties and contesting issues regarding a single definition on ecotourism, Wallace and Pierce (1996: 848) propose a series of concepts on which to base the notion of ecotourism: use that minimizes negative impacts to the environment and to local people; increases the awareness and understanding of an area's natural and cultural systems; conserving and managing legally protected and other natural areas; long term participation of people in decision making on the amount of tourism in every stage; direct economic and other benefits to local people to complement traditional practices (farming, fishing, social systems, etc); and provides opportunities for local people and nature tourism employees to utilize and visit and learn about natural areas. Local community is again relevant in most of the points. The WWF (2001) definition of ecotourism also identifies the local community as a major role player.

In this research CBET may be defined similarly as CBT, except that there is a major emphasis on environmental sustainability and conservation issues. The WWF's (2001: 2) approach where the

“term ‘community-based ecotourism’ takes this social dimension a stage further” as compared to only using the term ecotourism emphasizes the relevance given to local community.

In line with a number of CBT definitions in Table 3.1 this thesis stresses that, in order to qualify as CBT, the CBT venture should remain under ownership and management (that is total control) of the local community and that partnership or partial involvement with external agents should be categorized as partial CBT. That is, a different level of CBT must be individuated (see chapter 9). It could be possible, to draw from the ecotourism terminology, that distinguishes between ‘deep’ and ‘soft’ CBT, where the former entails a full ownership and management of the CBT venture, while the latter sees the involvement of the local community within a framework of shared benefits and responsibilities with other stakeholders. Within the ‘deep’ CBT the links with external entities should only have a facilitative and supportive role and not a share in the CBT venture itself. Strategies that favor independent or government-linked market access and attraction should be, however, favored. According to Ramsa and Mohd (2004: 384) community owned and operated ecotourism activities would reduce discontent, unsustainable resources utilization, economic leakages and other problems.

The following points, taken from the Thai NGO Responsible Ecological Social Tour (REST) (Suansri, 2003) are further important CBT principles (see Box 3.2).

Four main conditions are proposed by Mearns (2003: 30) as prerequisites for sustainable CBT:

- It must be economically viable – the revenue should not exceed the cost.
- It must be ecologically sustainable – the environment should not decrease in value.
- It must ensure the equitable distribution of the cost and benefits among all participants in the activity.
- It must have transparent organisation, recognised by all stakeholders as representing the interests of all community members and reflecting the true ownership by the community.

Below, is discussed how the concept of CBT has been ‘re-formulated’ in the context of neo-liberalism. Here it is important to underline of the fact that because CBT’s original blueprint for developing countries was mostly intended for poor communities, there is a need for external connections, given that most of the time local poor communities lack material and human resources to start and manage a CBT project. The imperative is not just to formulate policies to promote CBT but to establish the institutional infrastructure that will facilitate successful outcomes. In other words, “A characteristic of community-based tourism is that it requires multi-institutional support

structures in order to succeed and sustain” (Anonymous in Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584). This fundamental concept is echoed by Baskin (1995: 112) when he argues that for “small initiative to thrive, institutional support is required.”

Referring to the role of external actors, whether governmental¹⁴, NGO or private companies, in CBT, it is argued here that external entities should only have a facilitative role, to help the community to develop and manage plans and ideas because “[c]ommunity-managed projects attempt to let communities decide what type of growth they would like to see and then help them implement their plans” (Keyser, 2003: 367). According to Sheyvens (2002: 176) governments, NGOs or the private sector can provide information, networking opportunities and capacity building by providing skills training. Additionally facilitation must be understood differently from participation/involvement. According to Giampiccoli (2007) the top down approach by policy makers to community involvement should be avoided and long term empowerment should be considered. Additionally facilitation should encourage diversified approaches so that a community can promote its vision of development.

¹⁴ In this thesis view, government structures, more than any other entities, should be at the forefront and are recognised as central to facilitate the promotion of CBT. It is government that should facilitate people-driven development (especially when poor communities are involved). In addition only government can, by proper legislation, legally define CBT and channel resources and means towards it.

Box 3.2

CBT Principles

- To recognize, support and promote community ownership of tourism;
- To involve community members from the start in every aspect;
- To promote community pride;
- To improve the quality of life;
- To ensure environmental sustainability;
- To preserve the unique character and culture of the local area;
- To foster cross-cultural learning;
- To distribute benefits fairly among community members; and
- To contribute a fixed percentage of income to community projects.

Key elements:

a. Natural and Cultural Resources

- Natural resources are well preserved;
- Local economy and modes of production depend on the sustainable use of natural resources; and
- Custom and culture are unique to the destination.

b. Community Organisations

- The community shares consciousness, norms and ideology;
- The community has elders who hold local traditional knowledge and wisdom; and
- The community has a sense of ownership and wants to participate in its own development.

c. Management

- The community has rules and regulations for environmental, cultural, and tourism management;
- A local organisation or mechanism exists to manage tourism, with the ability to link tourism and community development;
- Benefits are fairly distributed to all; and
- A percentage of profits from tourism is contributed to a community fund for the economic and social development of the community.

d. Learning

Tourism activities and services aim at:

- Fostering a shared learning process between hosts and guests;
- Educating and building understanding of diverse cultures and ways of life; and
- Raising awareness of natural and cultural conservation among tourists and the local community.

Source: Suansri (2003: 15).

Thus, facilitation provides the instruments, whether material or immaterial, to promote empowerment and self-development. Facilitation is a pre-requisite to promote community empowerment and self-reliance. The emphasis here is on supplying what the community lacks, in both the material and non-material realm, and to promote a self-empowerment process that will allow the community to fulfil its needs in a context of self-reliance and of a community-owned historical development process. Local culture must be understood as a contributor and protagonist

of the development process, not as a static and impeding factor (Escobar, 1995). In the context of CBT this should lead to community self-reliance in managing and owning CBT initiatives.

Following Arnstein’s ladder of community participation (Arnstein, 1969) facilitation is seen as the final three steps of the ladder (partnership, delegated power and citizen control) where the local community holds decision making power. The corresponding level of participation in Tosun’s (2006) typology is spontaneous participation of communities which involves full managerial responsibility and authority by the host community (Tosun, 2006, see also Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007). According to Reid (2003: 60), the need is to move “from participation to empowerment.”

Sofield notes that there maybe a break between policy implementation and actual result. To avoid this, ad hoc institutions to facilitate the process should be established, moreover there is the need for sustainable empowerment supported by the state (Sofield, 2003: 222).

The final, but basic, aspect to investigate is the role of CBT in holistic development. CBT, if properly developed, can be a good tool to foster community-based holistic development. The connection between CBT and holistic community development is summarised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Relation between CBT and holistic development

Milieu	Features
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise funds for community development • Create jobs in tourism • Raise the income of local people
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise the quality of life • Promote community pride • Divide roles fairly between women/men, elderly/youth • Build community management organisations
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage respect of different cultures • Foster cultural exchange • Embed development in local culture
Environmental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Study the carrying capacity of the area • Manage waste disposal • Raise awareness of the need of conservation
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enable the participation of local people • Increase the power of the community over the outside • Ensure rights in natural resources management

Source: Suansri (2003: 21)

Later in this chapter, it will be shown how neo-liberalism, as opposed to CBT in its proper form, is actually re-formulating the meaning of CBT in a manner that risks jeopardising its original potential. The next section outlines the major entities involved in the global tourism industry.

3.5 Tourism entities

3.5.1 The private sector

Since the start of modern tourism, the relevance of privately owned enterprise in tourism has increased parallel to the growth of the tourism market itself (Elliot, 1997). While the general structure of the private sector can be divided into many sub-sectors, at a simple level the tourism industry can be divided by company size and by sectoral business within the sector. Thus, following Britton (1982)¹⁵ three-tiered structural model of Third World Tourism, which include headquarters, branch offices and small-scale tourist enterprises, it is possible to suggest the skewed control of the tourism sector that disadvantages many Third World countries. At the higher levels there are the TNTCs, sub-divided by sector (such as accommodation and transport). Smaller companies in the same sectoral sub-division serve more localised markets. Obviously the size factor is important in the degree of control which each can have over the tourist market, but size is not the only factor that determines predominance. The locality of the company's head office is also a very important factor determining the level of its power in the global tourism sector. As noted above, the modern tourism sector began in England and Germany, two countries where the impact of the industrial revolution produced important consequences: in particular, more available capital and increased free time, though for a minority of the population. Today, in a massively increased proportion, the countries supplying the majority of tourists are still the "descendants" of the first industrialised nations. There have also been a few newcomers to Western Europe and North America: Japan and in the recent past, China (Britton, 1982).

Following this historical background, major tourist companies in all sectors are located mainly in three regions: North America, Western Europe and Japan. These localities have important advantages as compared to the position of developing countries. Firstly, direct access to the clients who keep the sector afloat is more easily facilitated by spatial proximity. Secondly, technological advantages and higher managerial expertise are guaranteed by high capital investment in both technological and human resources. These factors give Western-based companies a higher degree of control over the sector as compared to developing companies, allowing them to obtain a higher percentage of market share. The capital gained can be reinvested in the company to maintain and/or increase the position of advantage, widening the gap between Western companies and those based in developing countries. Usually, the bigger the company, the more it is able to exploit these factors (Britton, 1982).

¹⁵ This part relies on Britton (1982) explication of the three-tier structural model of the tourism sector.

This situation can also be noticed in recent years by an increasing in horizontal (across the same sectors) and vertical (across different sectors) integration. Horizontal integration is normally linked to “efficiency related and monopolistic motives, while vertical integration is generally associated with the need to control markets, exploit synergies (or scope economies), and reduce the transaction cost associated with packaging” (Tremblay, 1998: 846). All these factors have transformed the tourist market into a virtual oligopoly, controlled by a few TNTCs based mostly in the Western world. As an example of this oligopoly: “between 1984 and 1988 the proportion of inclusive tour holidays sold by the top five operators (out of a total of roughly 680) in the United Kingdom rose from just 50% to almost 70%, and by 1989 it has reached 77.5%” (Ioannides, 1995: 54). This is a clear example of the global divergence effect within the tourism industry.

At the second level of the hierarchy are the medium size tourism enterprises. While TNTCs are located almost entirely in the northern hemisphere, medium size enterprises are also located and controlled within developing countries. A medium size enterprise based in Western countries has different markets when compared to the TNTCs. Their market is often ‘niches’ and they are more specialised. Compared to TNTCs, these smaller companies have less capital, but have similar advantages with respect to location of markets (Britton, 1982).

Finally, there are the smallest companies. These enterprises have a wide range of activities, and are present both in developing and in Western countries. Their activities range from local car or bike hire to small bars in the tourist area. The main characteristic of this small sector is that within this category there exists also a wide range of ‘companies’ belonging to the informal sector. Their survival often depends upon the TNTCs and/or on medium size companies, because these large enterprises bring the tourists into the operational ambit of small tourism enterprises (Britton, 1982).

Britton’s three-tier model shows the lack of control of many developing countries over their tourism sector and how the tourism sector is controlled by foreign and dominant local companies (Telfer, 2002). Sobania (in Scheyvens, 2002: 185) argues: “Despite moves by smaller ‘alternative tour operators’, tourism is still a mass event and the operations of large TNCs have come to dominate and control most areas of tourism development.” This is especially true for tourism in developing countries.

There are different ways by which TNTCs can participate in tourism in developing countries. According to Mowforth and Munt (1998: 192) these are ownership or equity investment,

management contract, hotel leasing agreement, franchise agreement, and technical service agreement.

Regardless of the form of partnership used, “these forms of participation allow TNTCs to exercise overall or substantial control of tourism activities through some form of contractual relationship while investing the minimum amount of capital in development” (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 191). “Most common are the management contracts, which enable international corporations to parlay their expertise into often lucrative, long-term contracts that give them de facto control over the business without requiring them to put up any money” (Honey, 1999: 38). The policies of TNTCs are biased in favour of developed countries. TNTCs do not have standard management fees. “Whereas hotel management fees in industrialised countries range from 6 to 15 percent and average 12 percent, in developing countries they average 17 percent and can be as much as 23 percent” (Honey, 1999: 38). Moreover, thanks to their superior capital/technological expertise endowments, TNTCs “extract additional fees for advertising and sales services, computerised reservation facilities, and routine inspections and consultations” (Honey, 1999: 38).

With regard to this research, it is important to note that South Africa possesses a number of well established TNTCs which are entities controlling, or having a notable relevance to, various tourism aspects in different African countries. The case of Sun International and of a number of companies specialising in safari are relevant examples.

3.5.2 Public institutions

Public institutions have since the 1950s, when “virtually no public sector tourist planning” existed (Scheyvens, 2002: 172), increased greatly in importance. There has been clear recognition that, “if not fully planned, tourism fails to deliver the economic benefits expected by TW countries” (Scheyvens, 2002: 172). Public institutions involved in the different aspects of tourism development can be at national, regional and international level. At national level governments, along with their agencies, are the key players in the development of tourism.

Government should have long-term tourism plans because “unregulated short-term initiatives which serve to narrow the interests of powerful forces may well jeopardise the sustainability and longer term tourism potential” (Brohman, 1996: 62). General planning is usually, but not always, carried out through established or *ad hoc* ministerial offices or agencies, however, their impact is limited also because the links between tourism and other sectors is often ignored while writing the tourism policies and plans (Oppermann and Chong, 1997). One of the problems concerning these

agencies is the lack of experience in developing tourism plans, therefore, developing countries' governments often need to outsource tourism planning to international consultancies, which, while well equipped as regards tourism development expertise, "have limited insights into the actual problems of the countries concerned" (Oppermann and Chong, 1997: 18).

Regardless of the agencies in charge, the tourism plan should at least include, according to Harrison (2001), a framework of cooperation between private and public sector, legal and regulatory role in environmental and cultural protection, infrastructure development, tourism training and education, and policies and plan for tourism development.

Once the tourism plan is completed, and the tourism projects are up and running, the government has to shift part of its work to the implementation side ensuring that the procedures decided under the tourism plan are executed and that tourism projects achieve their objectives (Harrison, 2001). Nevertheless, often the implementation of policies and plans is not straightforward and a gap between the two occurs (Harrison, 2001).

The government can also intervene to change an ongoing situation judged counter-productive for the country as when the government of The Gambia in October 1999 banned all-inclusive holiday package in its territory because it was concerned with particularly high levels of leakage of tourism revenues from the local economy (Scheyvens, 2002). The ban, however, lasted for just over a year (to December 2000) due to the shifting (mostly by TNTCs) of tourist clients to other developing countries (Scheyvens, 2002: 170). This represents a typical example of private-sector influence which often trumps that of the national government. The example provides a pithy commentary on the power of TNTCs.

Legislation is also very important in creating strategies for wider local participation and can help to promote more community involvement in tourism (Scheyvens, 2002). Development is about the holistic improvement of the masses. In a national strategy, only governments have the capacity to empower local communities. Key policy elements that can support (or enfeeble) local community development lie in the following areas (Scheyvens, 2002: 175): tourism planning and policy, marketing and regulation standards, land use planning, tourism training and licensing, joint ventures between communities and the private sector, information and staffing, park pricing and development, and credit.

The way in which policies regarding these are implemented may determine the success of tourism in local communities. But it is not enough to pass good legislation - governments need to implement it. As Nicanor (2001: 15) points out regarding the Namibian NACOBTA (Namibia Community-based Tourism Association), “the macro-level strategy has been hindered by the lack of active government engagement and its failure to fulfill its promises.”

Governments are in charge of the implementation of the country’s marketing campaign on international markets (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). The country-specific marketing is important because the private sector (represented by TNTCs that have enough capital available) implements product specific marketing, that is government marketing is concerned with geographical areas, whereas the private sector markets use their own brand name, without necessarily regarding it as relevant to the geographical location which they are advertising (Oppermann and Chon, 1997).

Tourists, especially the self-defined ‘real travellers’ going to developing countries are in search of ‘otherness’ (Scheyvens, 2002). Governments in developing countries (and also Western governments) try to create a sense of exoticism to attract foreign tourists, thus countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand try to develop their own ‘otherness’, through the dissemination of a commodified ‘exotic image’ – through the appropriation of, for example, Inuit, Aborigine and Maori imagery (Nauright, 1997: 190). In an African context, it has been pointed out that foreigners “want to see real ‘natives’ and wild animals, as that is what Africa means for them” (Nauright, 1997: 191). The just mentioned examples show the similar approaches to tourism marketing imaginary and how the global competition for tourists include both developing and Western countries.

Internationally, governments can also be engaged at different levels with other public institutions. At regional level, the engagement is often with other governments of surrounding countries with the aim of co-operating in tourism legislation and projects. As Rogerson (2001: 325) points out, “the emphasis on regional economic co-operation is increasingly important.” This regional co-operation should not relate to the “old” regionalism, imposed from outside and part of the colonial heritage, but must “constitute a ‘new’ regionalism that may in fact provide solutions to many development problems of the south” (Hettne, 1995: 158).

Regional co-operation in tourism development, as in other economic, political or social sectors could become a key issue if developing countries try to bypass the global neo-liberalism imposed by Western countries (White, 2008). South-South regional co-operation (for example, between

South Africa, India and Brazil) could help to empower a single country in today's global economic competitive market, although it is debatable whether advantage in a competitive marketplace is better than co-operation (White, 2008). Thus, the opportunity for a more egalitarian and just world lies in changing the global economic paradigm from 'competitive' to 'co-operative', and not merely in exploiting the competitive framework for a better bargaining position.

It is important to remember that the theme of South-South co-operation is not a new issue. Historically "this issue has been especially articulated in the context of the work of the non-aligned movement, Group of 15, Group of 77 and many other forms" (Ghimire, 2001: 100). The "stress on regional co-operation linked to international competitiveness is seen as consistent with international economic trends in terms of regionalisation and globalisation, which are moving towards the formation of a new transnational regionalism" (Rogerson, 2001: 327). Examples of institutional regional co-operation in tourism are, among others, the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) and Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TCSP).

Regional collaboration can develop tourism projects between two or more countries allows for better implementation of tourism projects and also strengthens peaceful relationships among the co-operating countries (Ferreira, 2004). Regional co-operation can also be understood as facilitating or eliminating visa procedures and other common policy proposals to facilitate an interregional tourist movement (Santana, 2001). Even if international tourism is usually regarded as the area from which policies must filter down to national organisations or enterprises, it has been argued that "to look only at international tourism [...] could mean not only to overlook the full scope of tourism potential involving domestic and regional tourism, but also to ignore problems arising from its spontaneous growth" (Ghimire, 2001: 6). Regional tourism should receive the attention of policy makers, because it often needs a different policy framework from that of 'standard' international tourism. Government policy as regards domestic tourism must also be concerned to prevent "the outflow of currency from the country" (Ghimire, 2001: 106). This may also be important at regional level and may offer scope for genuine regional co-operation.

Globalisation issues lead us to consider the relation between international institutions and the development of tourism in developing countries. As discussed earlier, since the 1980s the main international institutions have begun to adopt neo-liberal policies, conforming to the interests of Western capital. This structural situation has also been influential in the tourism sector. International institutions can favour Western capital (directly or indirectly) by putting pressure on developing countries to adopt legislation which encourages Western-style, capital-friendly tourism

(Brohman, 1996; Scheyvens, 2002). “Tourism development is used to justify the creation and promotion of investment opportunities, especially those for TNCs” (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 104). Scheyvens (2002: 25) argues that “indebted countries subject to IMF and WB sponsored SAP, in particular, have felt pressure to earn foreign exchange through the growth of tourism.”

3.5.3 Civil society organisations

By civil society organisations are meant the different kinds of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), or ‘grassroots’ organisations at local, national or international level.¹⁶ To simplify a distinction will be made between NGOs (local and national NGOs) and INGOs (international NGOs).

Before discussing their role, it is important to understand the social milieu within which INGOs operate. Given their usual Western base, their members constitute a majority of Western citizens with cultural perspectives typical of their location (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). In addition, many of these members are usually well educated and belong historically to the middle class (see Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This situation can also lead, despite the professed opposite aim, to a growth in dependency and ultimately in the production of a new ‘colonialism’. Nevertheless, INGOs are of many kinds and differ in their socio-political attitudes; to decide which is “good” and which “bad” probably depends on an individual’s political beliefs and they can be involved in different areas. According to Talāl (2004) these are funding, field work projects, monitoring and evaluation, and political pressure.

INGOs often fund tourism projects in developing countries. Projects to be funded will be carefully selected; often funding is conditional on conformity to Western policies (Talāl, 2004). For example, there can be a preference for capital-intensive projects as opposed to labour intensive projects from which local poor people may benefit, or environmental issues are placed ahead of community development. Mowforth and Munt (1998: 179) mention an ecologist who warned rural Zimbabweans of “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” (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 179). This perspective can represent new imperialist policies. The indigenous perspective should be appreciated in any tourism project, and historical and socio-political issues should also be understood when developing tourism plans (Reid, 2003).

¹⁶ These organisations are most of the time not-for-profit entities.

INGOs bring other difficulties too. They may influence the direction of fieldwork. In this case it will be important not to have a top-down approach: there must be understanding of the different cultures and different development approaches, and local development priorities must be recognized (Lewis, 2001). Political pressure may be involved at all levels of INGOs work and the political direction of the INGO involved is of primary relevance to understanding the kind of development strategies which will be adopted (Lewis, 2001). INGOs can lobby governments to shift towards different development strategies (Lewis, 2001). As already noted, the main characteristic of tourism in developing countries is an emphasis on the 3Ss and wild nature, which is related to the preferences of Westerners.

The aim should be to increase tourism in developing countries so that it embraces the local perspective on development and, within the limits of local people, acceptance, and attempts to satisfy the desires of Western tourists. In this regard Action for Southern Africa (ACTA) with its “People-First” campaign has tried to influence tourist decisions on the choice of hotels, giving priority to those which have links with the local economy (Scheyvens, 2002: 217). Today many Western NGOs and INGOs recognise the relevance of focusing on local people – the priority is to have a better socio-economic and environmentally balanced tourism.

An example of local participation apparently working well in the tourism sector in South Africa occurs in the Tswaing Crater near Pretoria. The Tswaing Crater Museum is an eco-museum where the motto “For the People, by the People” explicitly underlines the relevance of local participation in the project (Scheyvens, 2002: 221). “Community empowerment, along with provision for education, research and recreation at the site are the main emphasis of the project” (Scheyvens, 2002: 221). The local NGO created to support the programme is called the Tswaing Forum (Scheyvens, 2002: 221).

Nevertheless, community participation in tourism, although preferable, has numerous limitations to its effectiveness and success (see Table 3.3 below). When the participation of local people seems to work, empowerment is recognised as one of the most important issues. This is because it is only through empowerment that people can start to participate and to be fully involved in the decision-making process at different levels.

Another type of ‘participation’, depending not on decision-making but on profit sharing – also exists. In this case the strategy consists mostly in the share of the revenue from the tourism projects established and run by an external agent, leaving, however, local people are excluded from

decision-making and they have virtually no control over the tourism project (Scheyvens, 2002). This approach seems to be linked to the old paternalistic perspective where poor people receive the “gift” of profit-sharing but they are excluded from any real decision making, a scenario that perpetuates their structural dependency on external aid and limits them to an effectively powerless position. According to Tosun (2000) these limitations may be seen as an extension of the current social, political and economic structures in developing countries that hinder greater development.

Table 3.3 Limitations to participation

Operational limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralisation of public administration • Lack of co-ordination • Lack of information
Structural limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudes of professionals • Lack of expertise • Elite domination • Lack of appropriate legal system • Lack of trained human resources • Relatively high cost of community participation • Lack of financial resources
Cultural limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited capacity of poor people • Apathy and low level of awareness in the local community

Source: Adapted from Tosun (2000: 618)

3.5.4 A note on the decreased role of the public sector

The role of INGOs and NGOs have greatly increased since the 1980s when the neo-liberal counterrevolution proposed the failure of the state as an active social and developmental actor, leaving the task to the private sector and INGOs/NGOs, contrary to the previous period from the 1950 to 1980s when the state promoted public interest (Kamat, 2004). While the state was adopting a top-down approach NGOs follow a bottom-up strategy to development (Kamat, 2004). Contemporary debate about NGOs “remains trapped within an atheo-retical framework of state versus civil society, in which Left democrats warn of the erosion of state power, and neoliberals herald the same as a step toward democracy” (Kamat, 2004: 156).

According to Igoe and Brockington (2007: 436) a practice associated with neliberalisation emphasised by neoliberal policy reforms of the 1980s and 1990s is the scaling down of state role in development and their capacity to regulate, fostering, instead, an increased role of the NGO sector and the promotion of private enterprises.

According to Kamat (2004: 156) the “globalization of NGOs is reflective of the new policy consensus that NGOs are de facto agents of democracy rather than products of a thriving

democratic culture.” This position is echoed in the sphere of environmental conservation by Igoe and Brockington (2007: 433) by writing that “transnational intergovernmental and NGOs have fostered norms of state responsibility for environmental protection, through the creation of international conventions and by grooming state actors in developing countries to become champions of conservation.”

The result has been a growing INGO/NGO¹⁷ sector fulfilling some or many of the roles that should be covered by state intervention and management. However, while NGOs can have a “potential role to play in transforming society, [it is] vulnerable to co-option by the state into only quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (QUANGOS) and/or commercialisation into (hybrid) de facto market institutions as the two competing dominant institutional models” (Cameron, 2000: 630). According to Kamat (2004: 171) in fact “rather than deepening the gains made on the basis of popular democratic struggles, NGOs are being re-inscribed in the current policy discourse in ways that strengthen liberalism and undermine democracy.”

Today the NGO is a key agent in the development process, instead of just an ancillary sector that complements government work. It is argued here that governments should not delegate or rely on the non-governmental sector (or consider it its substitute), but should regain a central role in social and development issues shifting from neo-liberal to socially oriented state.¹⁸ “Given expanding market economies, and shrinking states, NGOs are stepping in to respond to the needs and demands of the poor and marginalized sections of society” (Kamat, 2004: 156).

3.6 Outcomes of discursive hegemony in the tourism sector

The hegemonic structure of these international organisations gives the advantage to western concepts when it comes to tourism and development in less developed countries. Tourism policies in developing countries have followed ‘technocratic’ models in master plans for tourism. These policies aimed to promote a particular kind of tourism rooted in a Western economic rationality (Bianchi, 2002: 273). The consequence is that to obtain loans, developing countries must respect the conditions imposed by the international funding institutions.

¹⁷ To repeat, INGOs/NGOs have a great variety of approaches, strategy and aims. However much of the sector continues to adopt a top-down neo-liberal approach where a paternalistic view works in alignment with neo-liberal policies formulated by the core hegemonic structure.

¹⁸ In this transition period, the non-governmental sector is however needed to continue to facilitate development programmes and to combat, or at least mitigate, the worst effects of neo-liberal policies.

Currently, the neo-liberal policy trend is widely accepted as the best practice in tourism development in the context of developing countries. This is visible from the policies of the General Agreement on Trade in Service (GATS) under which the tourism industry falls and represents a sub-agreement within the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and its aim is to de-regulate¹⁹ the service industry (Equations, 2002). GATS is said to represent “perhaps the most important single development in the multilateral trading system since the GATT itself came into effect in 1948” (WTO in Equations, 2002: 6). GATS was, however, not a ‘fair play’ agreement because, “[p]ushed in the 1980s by developed countries and their corporate lobbies, it is an agreement in which developing countries have played a marginal and defensive role” (WTO in Equations, 2002: 6). It “opens up signatory countries to 100 percent foreign investment in tourism and services and disallows any protectionist measure” (Honey, 1999: 32). Consequently this “will edge out small, independent enterprises as TNCs and their affiliates, with the advantage of financial resources and technology, muscle their way in to control of the tourist trade in countries in the South” (Pleumaron cited in Honey, 1999: 32). The WTO-OMT states the logic behind the GATS as follows: “in order to do business as effectively as possible, companies need level playing fields so that they can have equal access to natural resources, expertise, technologies and investment, both within countries and across borders” (WTO-OMT, 1995: 1).

The “Millenium Vision” of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) states a parallel view, captured in the following points (from Pleumaron, 1999):

- Governments should accept travel and tourism as a strategic economic development and employment priority;
- Move towards open and competitive markets by supporting the implementation of GATS, liberalise air transport and deregulate telecommunications in international markets; and
- Eliminate barriers to tourism growth, which involves the expansion and improvement of infrastructure – that is the increase of airport capacity, construction and modernisation of airports, roads and tourist facilities.

It is important to note the atypical but important and strategic interrelationship between the tourism industry and political institutions. The home page of the WTTC describes “The business leaders’ forum for Travel and Tourism, working with governments to raise awareness of the importance of one of the world’s largest generators of wealth and jobs” (WTTC). The “UN-affiliated WTO-OMT

¹⁹ See previous footnote on de-regulation.

is the only inter-governmental organisation that allows membership by the private sector” (Pleumaron, n.d.).

Due to its atypical categorisation, almost any economic sector can be connected with the tourism industry. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) reports on GATS policies for Africa said that: “...there may be need for greater liberalisation in all sectors that directly or indirectly impinge on tourism development” (ECA, 2002: 2). As Pleumaron has written concerning the role of tourism in international policy making:

Big tourism-related companies are strongly represented in the World Economic Forum (WEF) – a very powerful and unaccountable body where global political and economic policies are often fermented
(Pleumaron, n.d.).

The above indicates a strong connection between political and economic hegemonies involved in tourism and its correlated sectors.

It is important to remember Britton’s (1981: 19) point: “The emphasis here, however, is not whether tourism is economically advantageous in aggregate terms, but to whom do these advantages accrue.” Moreover the “goal is not just the creation of jobs, but the creation of jobs of acceptable quality. The quantity of employment cannot be divorced from its quality” (ILO, 2001: III). In this regard it is worth paying attention to the peculiarity of the tourism sector in the sense that it can operate with a high level of informality within the formal sector. Informality can be seen in two different ways: flexibility or insecurity. This thesis argues that the formal tourism sector, due its specifics, can be regarded within the neo-liberal framework as a ‘formalised informal sector’ because of its intrinsic characteristics of flexibility, but also because of the insecurity of the labour force.²⁰

This section will illustrate how the neo-liberal dogma embedded in international policy-making institutions, together with selective discourse, can manipulate national and local tourism development paradigms. Within southern Africa, tourism is seen as a new panacea to boost socio-economic development, due to foreign currency earnings. The examples of Zambia and Tanzania will be briefly considered in the context of general tourism policy, before turning to the case study or primary research conducted for this thesis, namely a CBT development programme in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

²⁰ It is interesting to consider here that “recent negotiations within the European Union in the context of the employer-driven search for greater flexibility at work raise the prospect of improved conditions for part-time and fixed-term contract workers” (ILO, 2001: 63).

The Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IMF, 2002) notes that “Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are prepared in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners, including the staffs of the World Bank and IMF.” The tourism sector is described in chapter seven of the document. Four sentences from the Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IMF, 2002) chapter seven are quoted here in order to highlight how the outcome falls strictly within neo-liberal principles. Each is briefly discussed.

1. “For tourism to contribute effectively to the national GDP, and foreign exchange earnings and poverty reduction, there is a need to have a *conducive* environment for private sector participation, environmentally sustainable growth, and governance” (IMF, 2002: 66).

While private capital can boost national GDP and foreign exchange earnings, it is doubtful whether it necessarily has the capacity to foster poverty reduction, which should be the first goal of developing countries. In fact the association between development and numerical measurement of economic growth has since long been under attack, given that it has been recognised that “Growth without development” can be the result (Clover cited in Binns, 1995: 306).

2. “Large-scale investments have economic linkages, which stimulate and strengthen the creation of small-and medium-scale enterprises” (IMF, 2002: 66).

Here the pivot of development remains private capital, emphasising large private capital reflected in TNTCs. However, international tourism literature highlights many constraints on SMME development in the tourism industry. This is due to the dominance of large enterprises in the mass tourism industry. “Unless deliberate policy interventions are made to counter the power of large enterprises and/or to foster positive linkages with SMMEs, the best prospects for SMME development appear to lie with alternative tourism, including ecotourism” (Kirsten and Rogerson 2002: 35).

3. “The process of acquiring land for infrastructure development is slow, thus inhibiting investment in the sector” (IMF, 2002: 68).

Land becomes a main focus for privatisation within the tourism sector, following the trend to privatise the means of production, and also basic needs such as health, education and transport, while “social discourses are now frowned upon and have virtually disappeared from official usage; for example ... ‘land reform’” (Gosovic, 2000: 451).

4. "...the government's policy in the tourism sector is to create an enabling environment for private sector participation; provide adequate infrastructure and legislation for the growth of the sector; and encourage balanced community involvement aimed at poverty reduction in rural areas" (IMF, 2002: 68).

Again the role of the government is to facilitate the profit of the private sector with the balanced involvement of the local community, instead of a focus on the local community and tackling the root of poverty through land reform and community empowerment, where tourism can contribute alongside other sectors of the economy.

The National Tourism Policy and Strategies of Tanzania (2002) follow similar trends. It states the following:

- expand private sector and disengage government from sole ownership of tourism facilities;
- policy for poverty alleviation strategy; and
- government recognizes the importance of the private sector in the tourism sector.

According to Traders (2003), similar practices are implemented in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These examples in different African contexts show how the hegemony-discourse nexus has penetrated the understanding of the tourism sector.


Accordingly, within the concept of CBT, a basic question is whether alternative development approaches can make meaningful use of alternative forms of tourism (CBT) to improve the living conditions of poor people. Alternatively, true questions whether a CBT continues to perpetuate the unequal power relations and structural dependence of poor countries/communities on the strong and developed countries/communities and their private enterprise?

Broadly conceived, the three strands are proposed here as: Community-based Tourism (CBT), Community-based Partnership Tourism (CBPT), and Community Tourism (CT). CBT represents the original concept of community-based tourism within alternative development approaches. CBPT occupies an intermediate position. Here the result depends on the precise relationship or type of agreement in place and, even more importantly, on the degree to which such agreements are respected and honored. CT is completely inside the neo-liberal framework and opposite to the CBT principle.

Using a case study this thesis proposes that a shift within the CBT concept from its original alternative development thrust to its neo-liberal approach. Figure 3.3 below shows how the neo-

liberal environment can re-formulate the original concept of CBT to satisfy the neo-liberal ideology. In the classification, each CBT approach is positioned in the continuum, which ranges from alternative development to neo-liberal approaches. It is important to note that the evolution is not rigid. That is, from a global perspective, there is still room for different approaches to co-exist.

Figure 3.3 CBT typology relationship with development theories

CBT typologies	Basic description	Position within ideological framework
CBT (Community-based tourism)	Community fully own (control) and manage the tourism enterprise.	Alternative approach  Neo-liberalism
CBPT (Community-based partnership tourism)	Community engage private sector in partnership	
	Private sector engage community in partnership	
CT (Community tourism)	Community assets as a private investment.	

Source: Author conceptualisation (2009)

CBT is the typology most closely associated with the alternative development approaches of the 1970s, indeed such approaches explicitly promoted the genesis of CBT. In essence, in a project that is classified as a CBT project, the community should *fully own (control) and manage* the tourism facilities and natural resources on which tourism depends. According to Suansri (2003: 14), “CBT is tourism that takes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life”. Mearns (2003: 29) adds that CBT “should not be seen as an end in itself, but a means towards empowering poor communities to take control over their land resources to tap their potential and to acquire the skills necessary for their own development.”

External actors should participate in CBT *only* as a facilitator/trainer, and should not remain in possession of any material benefits (for example economic benefits) or non-material aspects (for example decision making powers) of the tourism facilities under CBT. CBT should be seen as an autonomous community empowerment/development process. Thus in CBT the community should have full control of the tourism resources and gain full benefit from their use. It is an internal matter of the community to rightly distribute and use the tourism benefits. CBT does not preclude the possibility of individual/family enterprise²¹ development, but it gives priority to community wide options to facilitate the participation of the more marginalized and poor - especially, but not only, in decisions concerning vital livelihood issues such as natural resource use. Finally, CBT is intended as a tool for community development and environmental conservation. For this reason, a 'holistic' view (that is, one that encompasses a complete range of social, cultural, economic, environmental and political factors) to analysis of the community context should be applied (Suansri, 2003: 20).

Scheyvens (2002: 194) notes that "Joint ventures which see community resources being used for tourism in exchange for profit sharing, jobs and other material benefit have also become increasingly popular." I argue that this type of activity is best described as Community-Based Partnership Tourism (CBPT). In CBPT ideas, a move towards a more neo-liberal influence is noticeable as the case study described in this thesis demonstrates. Contemporary tourism policies in many developing countries and in a variety of institutions emphasise the need to create partnerships between communities and the private sector. Two approaches can be identified in CBPT. One approach focuses on setting up the community as full owners (in control) of all facets of the tourism project - that is, a community driven approach that subsequently involves the private sector. The second approach advocates the use of a private sector-driven initiative but ensuring community involvement. The first approach starts from the community and then invites the private sector to participate; while the second, on the contrary, begins as a private sector initiative that will gradually determine the level of community involvement in the project.

3.7 Theorising global tourism in the context of developing countries

It has been argued that the tourism sector is embedded in contemporary hegemonic structures, both nationally and internationally. Referring to the ideas presented in Chapter Two, the relationship between tourism and the hegemonic structures must be understood in relation to the globalisation

²¹Co-operation and self-management concepts do not preclude the possibility of private enterprises participation involving micro and small enterprises such as retail shops, craftsmanship and B&B.

process. In particular, and in conformity with the convergence/divergence effect, the incomes of the globally rich and powerful class continue to increase, and in proportion the incomes of, for example, menial workers in developing countries which continue to decrease, whilst the global culture becomes ever more pervasive.

The previous section illustrated the hegemonic control of tourism and the sector's promotion as a strategy to obtain "global prosperity" (Pleumaron, n.d.). In considering hegemonies in global tourism, it is important to bear in mind the 'hegemony-globalisation-convergence/ divergence' (Giampiccoli, 2007) correlation described in Chapter Two. These hegemonies in tourism are linked to globalisation through, for example, SAPs and TNCs which together influence the distribution of wealth and power.

The argument referred to earlier, that tourism is important as a contributor to global prosperity, needs to be scrutinised. Britton (1981:19) wrote: "The emphasis here, however, is not whether tourism is economically advantageous in aggregate terms, but to whom do these advantages accrue." Moreover the "goal is not just the creation of jobs, but the creation of jobs of acceptable quality. The quantity of employment cannot be divorced from its quality" (ILO 2001: iii). I wish to argue that in the neo-liberal framework even the formal sector of the tourist industry, can be regarded, due to its specifics, as a 'formalised informal sector' because of its intrinsic characteristics of flexibility, and also because of the insecurity of the labour force. This is illustrated clearly by ILO (2001: 59):

The nature of many jobs in the tourism industry creates an atypical employment relationship and special working conditions, such as flexible working time and temporary or part-time work [and] there is a general demand by enterprises for greater flexibility in working relations, so as to increase productivity in the face of the growing international competition which is now only a 'dot-com away'.

Table 3.4 shows a simplified structure of the cultural, political and economic hegemonies are organised through their cultural influence in lifestyle and political-economic creeds (which also shape the tourism demand behaviors) and their political institutions (Giampiccoli, 2007: 182). These three levels of hegemony are, of course, interdependent, but each 'hegemony' is supportive of and supported by the other two in the reinforcement of the inequalities of power in the tourism sector and of global power generally. Moreover, there is also an overlap, since finance capital can belong to both private and public institutions (see previous discussion on economic and political

hegemony). Consequently, these hegemonies are able to direct global tourism in terms of their interests.

3.7.1 Diffusionist theories of tourism growth

Diffusionist theories can be divided into two main 'sub'-theories, namely Development Stage theory and Diffusion theory. The two sub-theories are briefly sketched here. In the development stage theory the concepts in the work of Walter Rostow (1960) are recognised as typical. In this theory "[s]ocieties pass through similar development stages as western countries" (Telfer, 2002: 39). In terms of this theory, tourism studies have provided an analysis of the supposed tourism development stages. According to Batta (2000: 42) the principal "concept underlying the theory [Development Stage Theory] is that the development of tourism follows a unilinear path." Thus, following Rostow's (1960) approach to development "it is suggested that participation of local population in tourism is closely related to the level of industrial development of the economy" (Batta, 2000: 42).

The main point is that "development is inevitable, it occurs in stages and development is diffused from the core to the periphery" (Telfer, 2002: 123). In the development stage model "development of tourism starts with a pioneer resort and multiplication of resorts leads to a hierarchy and a functional specialization of resorts. In the last stage the resorts are evenly distributed across the country" (Batta, 2000: 42).

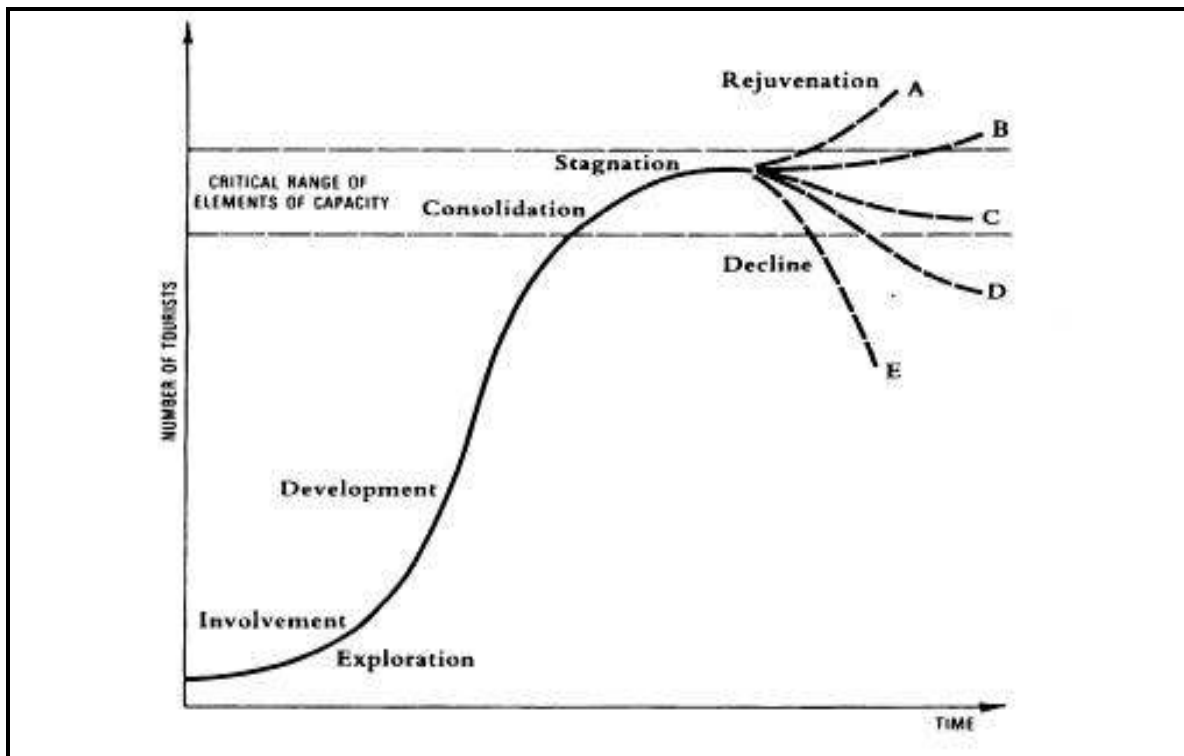
Another use of the Development Stage theory has been formulated in 1980 by Butler (1980) with his development of the 'tourism life-cycle'. In this theory a series of six stages of tourism are recognised: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline and/or rejuvenation (See Figure 3.3). This model, however, seems more concerned with a delimited geographical space. That is, the theories seem more applicable to the evolution of tourism in a particular delimited area and not to the diffusion of tourism development from one area to another.

Table 3.4 Tourism global structure

Hegemony	Context	Outcome	Expressions	In tourism
Cultural	Western thought Development and Environmental paradigms	Neo-liberalism Conservation and commodification of nature	'Davos culture' Lifestyle	Tourism demand
Political	Public Institutions Organisations	International National institutions and Organisations	World Bank World Trade Organisation IMF UN, UNDP, EU, SADC ... WTO-OMT INGOs National Government NNGOs Provincial government LNGOs	Tourism policies programmes and projects
Economic	Private capital 'Public capital'	Multinational national local private capital	Hotels, Tour Operators Airlines... WTO-OMT, WTTC and WB,	Tourism supply

Source: Giampiccoli (2007: 182)

Figure 3.4 Tourism Area Lifecycle



Source: Butler (1980: 5)

The second ‘sub’-theory appears more applicable to the diffusion of tourism development between geographical spaces. The central point of diffusion theory “is that, at some stage in the process of the development of the more developed areas, there will be a spread, a filtering, or a diffusion of growth/development impulses from the most developed to the less developed areas” (Browett, 1980: 65). In this paradigm, it is argued that “this ‘spread’, ‘trickledown’, or ‘filtering’ effect will lead eventually to an adjustment of the regional disparities after initial polarisation”(Oppermann, 1993: 538). Thus it is assumed that development will spread from an established central node to underdeveloped areas. Diffusion theory “argued that in order to eradicate backwardness, growth poles are required to be developed. These growth poles can be some regions or particular sectors within the regions having high multiplier effect” (Batta, 2000: 43).

According to Bianchi (2002: 271) “[i]n the absence of widespread capitalist industrialization, international mass tourism emerged as one of the principal instruments of the diffusion of capitalist modernity into many non-industrialised or less developed countries” (Bianchi, 2002: 271). In relation to the evolutionary structure of the supply side of tourism in the diffusionist paradigm it is fundamental “to note that while initial control of the industry is held locally, eventually larger

multinational firms enter the market” (Telfer, 2002: 123). This last point is critical to emphasise the change in the tourism structure from locally to externally controlled. This model has been criticized because it fail to consider specific local situations and, specifically dealing with tourism. Additionally, it has been pointed out that it does not consider the different urban hierarchies and transport network in relation to resort development between developed and developing countries (Batta, 2000).

3.7.2 Dependency theory in the context of tourism

Dependency theory, which in chronological terms followed the modernisation approach, maintains that capitalism perpetuates the inequalities between developed and underdeveloped countries. Capitalism in the core countries causes and indeed supports peripheral countries’ dependency and underdevelopment. As Britton (1982: 355) wrote: “The international tourist industry, because of the commercial power held by foreign enterprises, imposes on peripheral destinations a development mode which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, developed countries.”

Moreover it has been argued that historically, colonialism and tourism are related. This is clearly sustained by Britton (1982: 355) who stated that the intensity of Third World domination by foreign capital will determine the likelihood of establishing a local tourist industry. In the same vane Lea (1988: 10) states that dependency in tourism closely maintains historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency.

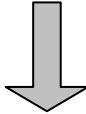
Thus, “dependency model tended to conflate a generalised system of domination between metropolitan and peripheral states with a specifically unequal capitalist mode of (tourism) production” (Sharma, 2004: 66). It important also to remember the three-tier models of the tourism sector proposed by Britton (2002) above which emphasises the structural weaker position of many developing countries against TNTCs. The link between the flow of tourists within economic globalization depends on the role of specific actors of the tourism sector (such as tour operators and hotels), as well as the historical patterns of relationship with market segments (Sharma, 2004). Therefore, it has been highlighted that “TNTCs derive considerable oligopsonistic powers as a result of their ability to negotiate low prices from an undifferentiated mass of local accommodation suppliers in the destinations themselves” (Sharma, 2004: 70). It is important to underline that local elite can also have a major role in the controlling of the tourism industry (Lea, 1998).

3.7.3 Linking diffusionist and dependency theories in tourism development

Various attempts have been made to produce a typology of tourism. Smith's (1997: 12) tourism typology classification is one of the best known. She divides tourism into seven categories. In Table 3.5 (Lea, 1998: 26) shows these categories and relates them to the level of impact caused in each case: "Each of these categories has a corresponding range of impacts on the host society and destination, with progressively more intensive effects being felt in each category down the list" (Lea, 1998: 27).

One point to underline is the change in tourism facilities needed in the host society in order to deal with the different categories of tourist. Each category needs certain kinds of facilities: given that developing countries focus on attracting international (mostly Western) tourists, they need to provide the facilities desired by the tourist group they desire to attract (Oppermann, 1993). The tourist categories attracted are mainly those who desire to have more westernised facilities.

Table 3.5 Tourist typology and its impacts

Tourism typology	Level of impacts
Explorer Elite Off-beat Unusual Incipient mass Mass Charter	Minor  Maximum

Source: Lea (1998: 26)

The following section aims to explore the link between diffusionist and dependency theory and how this is linked to the tourism typology outlined above. Firstly, the link between development stage theories and diffusionist theory seems to be important. The starting points are an exploration of a locality (the central node) and its involvement in tourism. The recognised stages of growth over a specific time-period will then be charted. The more this locality advances in its tourism lifecycle, the more probable it is that other locations will benefit from the node's development.

To a certain degree Oppermann (1993) and Oppermann and Chon (1997). integrates the links between the diffusionist and dependency paradigms. The model distinguishes between the formal and informal tourism sectors and acknowledges the role of western cultural taste, exemplified by the international tourism segment in tourism development (Oppermann, 1993). The role of the local

elite to replicate the western cultural taste in tourism is also reported as a important factor of structural change in the tourism development process (Oppermann, 1993). According to him tourism development occur in five phases, starting from the capital city and large urban area, tourism development expands towards more remote locations. During the process the formal sector based on western style holiday taste, will follow and to a certain extent replace the informal sector. CBT, organised by poor communities with its very low initial human and capital resources must be correlated to the informal tourism structure. Thus according to Oppermann (1993) each new location will eventually follow the same pattern of central node with its correlated change in tourism structure (formal/informal) spreading the same tourism development patterns to more peripheral underdeveloped areas.

The outcome of this parallel is increasing inter-dependency in a wider geographical space which is another important characteristic of capitalism. This is clearly illustrated by (Lefebvre, 2002: 325) who stated:

... capitalism, and more generally development, have demonstrated that their survival depends on their being able to extend their reach to space in its entirety: to the land (in the process absorbing the towns and agriculture, an outcome already foreseeable in nineteenth century, but also, and less predictably, creating a new sector altogether – notably that of leisure ...).

(Lefebvre, 2002: 325)

It is, in short, a way to expand the developed countries' economies.

It is important to reiterate the point that “Throughout much of the diffusionist paradigm literature, the terms ‘growth’ and ‘development’ are used more or less interchangeably” (Browett, 1980: 62) giving the impression of focussing only on quantitative/numerical data. Consequently, because tourism development policies, and development policies in general, follow a neo-liberal approach, the concept of development remains narrow. It is ‘budget’ development instead of ‘people’ development.

There is, then, on the one hand, the conceptual base of a ‘linear model’, passing through the following three stages as illustrated by Lea (1998: 30). These are:

- Discovery: when the new place begins to attract attention in the metropolitan source-countries;
- Local response and initiative: when national entrepreneurs respond to new income-generating opportunities; and

- Institutionalisation: when the industry is taken over by large foreign companies.

On the other hand it has been recognised that different localities can have different development tourism patterns. “When the tourism is induced from outside, the first stage of contact is the most institutionalised, when a wide gap between visitors and host still exists” (Lea, 1998: 31). Moreover, even if it “seems that where tourism is externally induced from the beginning [...] a reverse pattern develops, with groups in the host country attempting to take over and de-institutionalize the industry as they became more familiar with it” (Lea, 1998: 31). Nevertheless, it has been noted that “little real control is likely to shift from the powerful tourism intermediaries to local people” (Lea, 1998: 31). In addition, it must be said that whatever the degree of power shifting that takes place, it is normally the economic-political elite (often neo-liberal allied) that gain and not the people at large.

Thus, repeating what has just been written “[i]n the context of regional development it is important to note that while initial control of the industry is held locally, eventually larger multinational firms enter the market” (Telfer, 2002: 123). It is exactly this evolutionary pattern that transmits the dependency situation through diffusion of tourism supplies through global structures. Oppermann’s (1993) concept echoes similar patterns where the tourism formal sector follows, and a certain degree, replaces the informal tourism sector. The result is in line with contemporary tourism policy – policy that is embedded in an ideological neo-liberal milieu and that perpetuates imbalanced and unequal power relations both between and within countries.

Thus, the thesis relies on the following points. There is an ambiguity in the use of tourism as a development tool for poor communities in developing countries because localities that successively engage in tourism will be inserted in a dependency structure influenced and controlled by global hegemony. This is because underdeveloped areas will progress from “explorer” to “charter” (and from informal to formal) type of tourism. Consequently, each locality will be under pressure to organize its tourist facilities to facilitate the mass/charter tourist type which means, large scale investment and managerial and technological capabilities. This would lead to increased Western style facilities to satisfy the tourists and increase the control by western companies. Thus, the trickle-down effect, *even if* verified as claimed in neo-liberal/diffusionist approaches, does not seem to produce any kind of holistic development, but merely perpetuates unequal power relations. Geographically, this process occurs on two spatial levels: tourism development is ‘internal’ to each locality, in that it follows the stage-theory that fosters increased dependency in each geographical space, and it is ‘external’ in the diffusion process, promoting the spreading of the ‘tourism area

lifecycle' to wider space, which leads to the dependency of one locality on another. This mechanism of diffusion/dependency is the system by which neo-liberal forces, through international western-based actors (framed in the context of hegemony, globalisation and divergence/convergence) are imposed on the tourism sector. Therefore, it is suggested that the area on which the present case study focuses – a region of Pondoland in the Eastern Cape – is today largely in an early phase of the tourism lifecycle, corresponding approximately to the 'off beat/unusual tourist's typology. CBT, organised by poor communities with its very low initial human and capital resources, must be correlated to the informal tourism structure. Consequently the area is in the involvement process in the neo-liberal milieu within the tourism sector²². This involvement can be analysed by investigating the evolution of the case studies, following its reformulation from community-based tourism projects, through to the global hegemonic milieu with the involvement of large tourism companies.

3.8 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to insert the tourism subject into the context of the development of poor countries. Starting from an historical perspective, the chapter has investigated tourism in developing countries and in relation to the three main tourism actors (private sector, public institution and civil society organisations). Specific attention has been placed on the analysis of CBT issues. Finally, the chapter has connected the tourism sector and CBT issues with the previously constructed theoretical framework. The next chapter describes and analyses the methodological approach used in this research.

²² As will be discussed, the Pondoland region has been since long time inserted in the capitalist / neo-liberal milieu in the context of the South Africa migrant labour structure.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Theorising and empirical research together constitute what we would refer to as scientific inquiry or investigation.

(Mouton, 2001: 14)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the hypothetico-deductive model of research to be used in the thesis. It then proceeds to explain the overall research design and methodologies utilised in the research. Starting from a general philosophical perspective, the discussion moves on to explain the specific research procedures used, showing how the different levels of the research framework clarify the overall research structure. The research could be described as following two different but closely related strands: a theoretical modelling followed by an empirical analysis of quantitative and then qualitative research.

Finn et al (2000: 13) have noted that “For many students the role of theory in leisure and tourism research is the most problematic.” This thesis however places the role of the theoretical framework at centre stage. A hypothetico-deductive model of research, such as that adopted here, is “where a hypothesis is derived from a theory in order to test the theory against specific evidence” (Baker, 1988: 42). That is to say that “Deductive reasoning moves from the general to the specific. It comes from (1) a pattern that might be logically or theoretically acceptable to (2) observations that test whether the expected pattern actually occurs” (Babbie, 1999: 23).

In this thesis, an empirical case study is used to investigate the hypothesis. The broad hypothesis is derived from a theoretical framework based on the interlinkage between concepts of hegemony, globalisation and convergence/divergence, which in turn are correlated to development theories. This theoretical schema is tested against specific CBT issues at a local level in the Eastern Cape, the case study. The research tries to overcome the recognised problem of “recurrent difficulty...in relating the uniqueness of the individual locality study to the broader economic and social milieu” (Robinson, 1998: 438). The research thus sets out to test the application of the ‘theoretical framework’ to a specific, real world locality.

The thesis advances a ‘new’ double level of interlinkage. On the one hand the theoretical framework proposes a geographically global and general policy-making situation. On the other hand the case study focuses on a local geographic space - the Pondoland coast - and a specific policy-making area in the form of a CBT. It is through this twofold approach that the research will be conducted. Table 4.1 illustrates this ‘double concept’.

Table 4.1 Theoretical interlinkage

	Theoretical framework	Interaction	Case study
Geography	Global		Local
Policy making	General		Specific

Thus the study, focuses on the influence of globalisation on CBT. It advocates the adoption of a global-local oriented paradigm in tourism studies, where the general globalisation processes are confronted with a specific and local form of tourism development, in this case a specific form of CBT.

4.2 Research design

It is useful at this point to distinguish between research design and research methodology. This is because “researchers often confuse ‘research design’ and ‘research methodology’, but these are two very different dimensions of research” (Babbie et al., 2003: 74). The research design precedes the development of the research methodology, which is dependent upon it. The differences between the two different research dimensions are illustrated in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Difference between research design and methodology

Research design	Research methodology
A plan or structured framework of how you intend conducting the research process in order to solve the research problem. Research designs can be classified according to whether they are empirical or non-empirical studies. Empirical studies or designs can be further distinguished into primary or secondary data analysis studies. Research designs that involve empirical data can also be further classified according to the type of data: numeric or textual data.	The methods, techniques, and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing the research design or research plan, as well as the underlying principles and assumptions that underlie their use.

Source: Babbie et al. (2003: 647)

The research design constitutes the base on which a research question is developed. It represents the foundation of the research structure and it is guided by four elements according to Robinson (1998). These are:

- The formulation of a research question;
- The clarification of a theoretical framework within which the question is to be investigated;
- The choice of a specific research methodology used to inform the collection and data analysis; and
- Consideration of the academic philosophy that binds this process and within which knowledge is constructed.

The following sections expose the different methodology approaches and procedures.

4.2.1 Theoretical basis of the research design

To ground the process of this research and to construct a knowledge base, academic framework of neo-marxism/neo-gramscian theory, was selected. Within neo-marxism a wide variety of approaches are involved. Neo-marxism however describes two basic lines of approach. The first, dependency theory, arose in Latin America. “This line of argument is sometimes seen as a branch of neo-mercantilism because of its strongly nationalistic cast. More recently this approach has been widely employed by scholars to research other regions of the world economy.” The second strand of neo-marxist thought is World Systems Theory (WST), of which Immanuel Wallerstein is the best-known theorist. He advanced “what is best characterised as a macrosociological theory of economic change in the world capitalist system” (Kosuke, n.d).

This thesis argues that we need to go beyond the strict dependency paradigm. There is the requirement to ‘globalise’ dependency beyond “its strongly nationalistic cast” and to broaden its approach further, rather than simply concentrating attention on economic/trade issues. Thus the use of neo-gramscian theories after Robert Cox are seen as a useful tool to overcome the discussed limitations, while at the same time making valuable use of the concept of Gramscian hegemony. For Cox (in Cox and Sinclair, 1999: 103), neo-gramscian hegemony

... is based on a coherent conjunction or fit between a configuration of material power, the prevalent image of the world order (including certain norms) and a set of institutions which administer the order with a certain semblance of universality (that is, not just as the overt instrument of a particular state dominance).

Cox thus assumes a critical theoretical position, one also adopted here. The origins of critical theory can be seen in Marx's famous sentence (in Babbie et al., 2003: 34) that "philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it". A critical theory approach seeks to transform the present ongoing power relation and to change the condition of the poor/oppressed; Habermas terms this a critical-emancipatory science. Moreover, for Jennings (2001) in critical theory the world is seen as complex and organised by both overt and hidden power structures. As Cox (in Cox and Sinclair 1999: 87) remarks, "Theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose" (emphasis in original).

Crucially, research using critical theory is measured by its capacity to reveal the relation of power which exists in society (May, 1997). The critical theory approach represents the activist side of the research approach because it aims to produce research that has emancipatory effects. A useful associated research methodology is discourse analysis, "which involves dissecting the underlying meanings found in various forms of communications" (Babbie, 1999: 56) and serves to elucidate the 'practical' working of Coxian hegemony and its relation to notions of dependency.

While the neo-gramscian approach provides the main philosophical basis for the research, a broader political-economy perspective also informs the study. This serves to emphasise the point that "the political and economic spheres are inextricably linked and so analysis of economy and society must explicitly recognise the role of the state [the public sector institutions in this research] in all its manifestations" (Robinson, 1998: 443).

4.2.2 Theoretical framework and hypothesis

Theory can be defined as "a systematic explanation for the observations that relate to a particular aspect of life" (Babbie et al., 2003: 648). According to Cox (in Cox and Sinclair 1999: 87), "All theories have a perspective". The theoretical framework used in this research follows the above explained academic perspectives. Following these lines the theoretical framework is built on different scales:

- Concepts of hegemony, globalisation and convergence/divergence effects.
- Development theories of modernisation, dependency, neo-liberalism and alternative development.
- Profiles of public sector, private sector and civil society (NGOs, CBOs, etc.) as the three main protagonists in tourism development and management.

With the use of the theoretical framework, a broad hypothesis is advanced. The argument is that contemporary globalisation milieus through international co-operation negatively influence the gain that poor people in developing countries could receive from the tourism sector. It assumes that alternative forms of tourism development to the mainstream neo-liberal private investments focuses, such as CBT, are jeopardised and less likely to succeed. The hypothesis emphasises the conflicting relation between neo-liberal globalisation forces and CBT alternatives - even when the same international co-operation project officially adopts CBT as a starting point. The proposition is that this conflicting relation favours and permits the change in development approach from the initial CBT to tourism private investment by large companies, as advertised and proposed by the neo-liberal ideology.

4.2.3 Role of the empirical in the research design

Babbie et al. (2003) classify research design as either empirical or non-empirical. This research will use both types given that it is recognised that “theorising and empirical research together constitute what we would refer to as scientific inquiry or investigation” (Mouton, 2001: 14).

Robinson (1998: 433), in his *Marxist Analysis in Human Geography*, notes that “whilst this book is one dealing primarily with analytical techniques, the rejection of their use in favour of more theoretical and non-technically oriented work cannot be ignored”. While it is true that in the Marxist tradition the use of theory building is prominent, in the neo-marxist approach, specifically in the political-economy approach, “explicit use is made of analytical methods”, albeit “often as a secondary consideration to theoretical explication” (Robinson, 1998: 443). It is widely argued that neo-Gramscian studies should:

remain engaged with the social world through the unification of theory as practice [...] A neo-Gramscian perspective might therefore analyse empirically how certain social forces have attempted to construct hegemonic projects through neoliberal globalisation and how these have been contested by subaltern classes.

(Bieler and Morton, 2003)

The empirical aspect of this research therefore involves the investigation of a real world case study. This includes the analysis of documents and other forms of discourse related to the development of the specific CBT project under discussion. Discourse analysis is directly linked with the building of theory because it helps to explain the construction and ramification of ideological perspectives. Other forms of empirical evidences are gathered from interviews and questionnaires. Taken as a whole, the case study serves to validate (or not) the theoretical construct or broad hypothesis.

In summary, then, the non-empirical aspect of this research shows how the three above mentioned theoretical milieus work together and how neo-liberal policies at global level are constructed and transferred to the tourism sector. The empirical part of the research analysis shows how these policies, circumscribed by the cultural, political and economic hegemonic milieu, affect the specific milieu of CBT at a local level. Both aspects are crucial in the research process and in interpreting the research findings.

4.2.4 Research aims and questions

The most common purposes of research can be seen in four elements: exploration, description, explanation and evaluation (Babbie, 1990; veal, 1992). “Although a given study can have more than one of these purposes – and most do – examining them separately is useful” (Babbie, 1999: 72). Meeting the research aims of the project involves not only exploration and description, but also explanation and evaluation.

The aim of explanatory research is “to establish causality and one of the necessary conditions for establishing causality is that there be a consistent relationship between the concepts or variables concerned” (Veal, 1992: 32). There are three conditions for the establishment of causality (after Veal, 1992). Firstly, there is the need to structure “a proposition concerning a relationship between one or more concepts” (Veal, 1992: 32) - that is to produce a hypothesis. Secondly, “a further condition for the establishment of causality is the existence of some sort of rationale or theory [because] there must be some explanation of the mechanism” or event phenomenon under scrutiny (Veal, 1992: 33). Thirdly, “when the relationships between concepts are quantifiable a hypothesis or set of hypothesis may be referred to as a ‘model’” (Veal, 1992: 32). In this case, the relationship between concepts is not quantifiable mathematically. However, the aim is to schematically conceptualise the relationships between players and outcomes in the research.

Evaluation is often associated with “*applied* research – intended to have some real-world effect” and it is “appropriate whenever some social intervention occur or is planned” (emphasis in original, Babbie, 1999: 312). In brief, “programme evaluation entails the use of scientific methods to measure the implementation and outcomes of programmes for decision-making purposes ... ‘programme’ is taken to refer to any intervention or set of activities mounted to achieve external objectives, that is, to meet some recognized social need or to solve an identified problem” (Rutman in Babbie et al., 2003: 335).

Evaluative research can be divided into three strands (from Babbie at al., 2003):

- Analysis related to the conceptualisation and design of interventions. This kind of evaluation research focuses on programme objectives and specifically investigates whether the programme is properly designed to address identified social needs adequately.
- Monitoring of programme implementation. It is a tool for accountability and assessing outcomes and impacts.
- Assessment of programme effectiveness and efficiency. This type of evaluation has two separate issues. It considers whether the programme generates the envisaged outcome (impact assessment study) and it evaluates the degree to which the programme produces benefits relative to cost (efficiency assessment).

The present research aims to be both explanatory and evaluative so as to foster as comprehensive an understanding as possible of the phenomenon under study. In summary, the research aim and questions are:

Aim:

- To understand the relation between contemporary globalisation processes and local forms of CBT.

Meeting this aim required investigation in terms of the following objective:

- To study the individual evolution of a particular CBT project in receipt of international “development aid” and to critically assess the evolution that took place following this involvement and consequently in the community benefits.

A number of key questions guided the research endeavour. These are summarised as follows:

Key Questions:

- How is tourism configured in the globalisation process?
- How have tourism policies originated and formulated in the contemporary global world especially with regard to community-based tourism development?
- What is the response of various players at different geographical levels (SADC, RSA, EC) to global tourism policies in respect to community-based tourism development?
- How do global ideas about tourism interact with community-based tourism projects that have a local origin and conceptual basis? That is, how do community-based tourism

projects evolve on the ground in South Africa and how do they receive/respond to global tourism development?

- What is the role of the resulting community-based tourism projects in local livelihood strategies?

Thus the major theoretical themes to investigate are the links between the three hegemonies (cultural, economical and political) and the production, publicising and management of tourism policies that can affect CBT from the global to local level. Ultimately the question asked is how do these relationships lead toward divergence/convergence effects, and in what ways? How does CBT (affected by these policies) shape livelihood strategies? This question is asked because the final intention must be to understand whether or not the contemporary development of CBT in developing countries can contribute to a better holistic development in poor communities.

4.3 Research methodology

This section deals with the choice of the specific research methods that were used to collect and analyse the data to verify the hypothesis built on the theoretical framework. Firstly, the data collection methods are explained and, secondly, the analytical framework used in the thesis is presented.

As already discussed, the methodology integrates theory building and the development of an original case study. “Theory is used as a guiding framework to help explain and understand the research finding, and indicate the types of conditions under which the research has taken place” (Finn et al., 2000: 13). Theory is also necessary to “explain why things are as they are, why people act as they do, or why things develop as they do” (Mouton, 2001: 15).

4.3.1 Quantitative and qualitative sources

According to Dey (1993), qualitative data are associated to meanings while quantitative data are related to numbers”. The following definition is also useful (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003: 38):

Quantitative data is characterised by many of its proponents as objective, representative and most important, specified in number. In contrast, qualitative data is often said to be subjective, not representative and prescribed in text.

Quantitative methodology is often considered more “objective” and it is normally associated with a positivist perspective, while qualitative methodology is associated with an understanding of “uniqueness” derived from a more interpretative perspective (Decrop, 1999). While undertaking the research, it was assumed that “quantitative and qualitative methods are complementary rather than competing approaches”, and that a “combination of approaches can improve the validity of the research” (Finn et al., 2000: 9). Decrop (1999) explains this point by underlying the use of the triangulation approach, that is by using different sources of data, to investigate a phenomena.

Therefore, the approach employed uses both quantitative and qualitative data sources. Quantitative data was obtained from books, documents, reports and so on, including tourism statistics and socio-economic data at different South African administrative levels. The South African Census 2001 is used for this purpose, looking at different statistics from national down to ward level. This data serves to build the socio-economic background of the local area of the research. In addition, but on a more general level, numerical data has been used from the Department of Environment and Tourism to understand the evolution of tourism in South Africa from the end of the apartheid regime to today, or, at least, to the most recently published data available for the research. Qualitative data collection refers to the investigative critical reading of written material to understand the issues related to theory construction.

The information gathered when researching the case study is both of a qualitative and quantitative nature, and this data gathering process is described in detail in a separate section below.

4.3.2 Primary and secondary sources

In the tourism literature, primary sources are usually defined as “the new data to be collected in the proposed research” (Veal, 1992: 24). In more detail, “original data [is that] generated by the new research using techniques such as surveys, interviews or observations” (Finn et al. 2000: 40). In contrast, secondary sources are defined as “secondary data, where the researcher is the secondary user” (Veal, 1992: 24) or “information collected for a purpose other than that of the researcher” (Finn et al., 2000: 40). This division is however complicated by written documents produced by recognised institutions/organisations. I advance that these documents, if not specifically disclaimed in the document, represent the official perspective of the institutions/organisations they represent. They, therefore, are a form of ‘primary’ source produced by the institutions/organisations and are considered as primary sources material for the purposes of this study.

Following the above mentioned classification and for the aim of theory building, the secondary sources used in this thesis consist of documents, reports, policies and so on produced by a large number of institutions/organisations. Consequently, research material has been sourced and investigated from a wide variety of perspectives and geographical contexts - from institutions/organisations from the global to local level. Further, and following the same geographical approach, material has been sourced at the general institutional and government policy level, down to the specifics of a CBT context. The material has thus been collected following the twofold approach proposed at the beginning of this chapter.

More specifically documents have been collected from²³:

- United Nations
- World Bank
- World Tourism Organisation
- International Labour Organisation
- European Union
- New Partnership for African Development
- Government of South Africa
- Provincial Government of Eastern Cape
- O. R. Tambo District Municipality

At the project level, primary sources and documents/reports come from the Amadiba/AmaMpondo project and Village Community people and Trust. Other primary material was collected through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews as part of the case study. The methods involved are discussed in a separate section below.

Secondary sources have been fundamental to consolidate the topic and to lay the foundations for the theoretical framework. These sources belong to the conventional written material such as books and academic journals/reviews. It is worth mentioning here the works of Britton (1981 and 1982) that comprise a foundational body of work in the field of tourism and that concur with the research idea and theories advanced here. In these works Britton applies dependency theory in the tourism context to South Pacific states.

²³ This is not quite an exhaustive list, but does constitute a majority of sources consulted.

Finally, it should be noted that electronic sources (Internet) is secondary material and caution has been exercised to safeguard the reliability of the investigation and not over-rely on this source.

4.4 The case study

This section discusses the case study and associated research in more detail. It is noted that some of the primary and secondary material utilised for the construction of the theory and discussed above, are at the same time data required to explore the specific case study. An example might be socio-economic data obtained from the South African Government but applied to the local, specified area of the case-study, or documents outlining policy for tourism development of the Wild Coast. However, for convenience the case study and means used to collect both primary and secondary data relating to the specific place studied, is dealt with separately in this section.

The decision to use as a case study the linked but contrasting experiences of the AmaMpondo Trail and 'secondary' case study villages of Noquekwane and Ndengane, was made for a number of reasons. First, South Africa is fully (re)entering the globalisation process. Secondly, Pondoland lies in a previous South African 'Bantustan' which is today one of the poorest areas in South Africa. In addition, the area is part of the wider tourism-focused development. Thirdly, the two projects have had the same origins but different development. The AmaMpondo trail community-based project started and was managed with mostly overseas funding and management (MTR, n.d). On the other hand the community-based tourism at village level, while it also participates (and has its origin) in the AmaMpondo project, has had a more autonomous evolution being managed and run on an everyday basis by local people alone without any formal external assistance. Finally, the relationship of these projects to another well established CBT project in the area is of interest and allows comparison beyond a one-dimensional examination and the AmaMpondo trail project was initiated with the aim to follow the Amadiba Trails – a successful project - that has been developed without assistance outside South Africa. Over the period of the research (2004 to 2007) the injection of funding from the European Union fundamentally changed the dynamics of the CBT project.

The case study is conceptualised in two main parts. The first is the working and evolution of the AmaMpondo tourism project – the main focus of the study. The second aspect is the possible evolution of CBT at village level. The life of the people involved in the project is also considered.

4.4.1 Research methods employed in the case study

As noted above, primary sources are considered “original data generated by the new research using techniques such as surveys, interviews or observations” (Finn et al., 2000: 40). To develop the case study and obtain primary data related to it, this research utilises three different techniques, specifically: questionnaires, interviews and participant observation.

- Participant observation

“Participant observation is a specific form of field research in which the researcher participates as an actor in the event under study” (Babbie, 1999: 260). It is “where the researcher gathers information by being an actual participant with the subjects [or objects] being studied” (Veal, 1992: 95). The ‘object’ in question is the research project itself. Thus even if participant observation originated as an ethnographic research method, it is still useful for this research in that it allows for the study and conceptualisation of the evolution of the tourism project from the ‘inside’, and gives a flavour of the ‘lived experience’ for the participants/subjects involved.

This method can employ both an ‘open’ technique whereby the researcher reveals his or her role, or an ‘undercover’ procedure when the researcher remains ‘incognito’ to his subjects. It is also noted by Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 39) that observation can be employed to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. In this case, the aim of participant observation was twofold. On one level it was used to investigate the workings of the tourism project. Secondly, it was used to engage positively with the individuals involved in it.

Participant observation was the first method employed. The researcher physically walked the entire length of the AmaMpondo trail twice. The first time was informally (undercover participation) as a normal tourist, while the second time was more formal in which I explained my role in producing the questionnaires and laid the groundwork for conducting interviews. Moreover, given that research of this kind required a prolonged presence in the area, I spent – in total – many months during 2005 and 2006 in the area, principally in the villages of Noquekwane and Ndengane which are respectively, and geographically speaking, the last and first villages of the AmaMpondo Trail. During the time spent in the field, I followed the normal everyday life of the people involved in the tourism projects in order to understand the working of the AmaMpondo trail and consequently the life situation of the subjects. I boarded with a family in the Noquekwane village and thus contributed in a small way to the livelihood of this family as a tourist/researcher. In Noquekwane I lived with a family actively involved in tourism and one of the members was a AmaMpondo Trail

guide. She also was my translator for part of the fieldwork. In Ndengane my host was also involved in the AmaMpondo trail and one member was an AmaMpondo trail guide. In both cases I was living with them in a separate hut and eating local food. Despite the difficulties and maybe impossibility of breaking with the normal host/guest relations, my relation with the two families became a friendship rather than simply a professional relationship. Even though my research fieldwork is completed I still continue to go to the villages. Thanks to my immersion in the local communities I was also able to attend a number of community meetings, both in Noquekwane and Ndengane, although I was not able to understand everything all the time. I was however able to understand the meeting working strategy.

- Questionnaires

Questionnaires can be defined as “a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis” (Babbie et al., 2003: 646). In addition, it is recognised that “questionnaires can provide both quantitative and qualitative data” (Robinson, 1998: 378) and “can be completed by the respondent [or] the researcher can ask respondents the questions in an interview situation and record answers on a pro-forma” (Robinson, 1998: 378). Another characteristic of questionnaires is their possibility to be developed with open-ended questions or closed-ended questions. In the case of open-ended questions “the respondent is asked to provide his or her own answer to the question” (Babbie et al., 2003: 233). This is in contrast to closed-ended questions, where “the respondent is asked to select an answer from among a list provided by the researcher” (Babbie et al., 2003: 233). Although not an exclusive rule, close-ended questionnaires generally produce quantitative data while open-ended questionnaires are better linked to qualitative analysis.

The research adopted two different formats for the questionnaires. The first format was developed to gain basic information about the local community while a second questionnaire with a different format was developed to engage with people who occupied strategic positions in the CBT story being followed.

The first questionnaire’s (see appendix 1 Village questionnaires) intention was to investigate village-wide issues such as road conditions and households involved in the different tourism endeavours. This questionnaire contains almost exclusively closed-ended questions. In practice this produced numerical data; or at least numerical data was extracted from short answers. The idea was to gain an understanding of conditions in all seven of the villages located along the

AmaMpondo trail. Seven such “community” questionnaires were administered and the questions answered by village members gathered for the occasion. These questionnaires were answered by community members together as were general questions about the villages, therefore, there was not a selection of members but the inclusion of the maximum number of people was searched. Practically speaking, this occurred over a period of about ten days (while on the second trail) with the help of a guide/translator, who was previously instructed and consulted about the questions and other issues related to the research. The need for a translator was due to my unfamiliarity with the Xhosa language, while the translator-training served to accustom the interpreter to questionnaires, research and ethical issues. A pilot questionnaire was conducted first. As Robinson notes, one of the aims of such research is “to test the meaning of questions, by checking whether respondents understand particular terms and nuances, and also to assess the difficulty of particular questions” (Robinson, 1998: 382). The translator was closely involved with the pilot study too, as well as with the interviews (described in a separate section below).

The second questionnaire (see appendix 1 Personal questionnaires) was designed for particular people to answer and contains a mix of open and closed-ended questions. These questionnaires were 33. Many closed-ended questions are organised to give a Yes/No answer, so it is possible to transform these easily enough into numerical data. However, in the case of this second questionnaire it was also considered important to evaluate not just the numerical change in for example income, but also to understand individual opinions or feelings on topics related to the research aims and questions.

A third format of questionnaire (see appendix 3 email questionnaires) was more open-ended and contained a smaller number of questions. The aim of this questionnaire was to interview people occupying positions that were supposed to give them significant and particular knowledge for the development of the research. These questionnaires, which were 8 of which 5 were answered, were conducted via e-mail because of the impossibility of personal meetings. People working in different institutions or organisations involved in the case study project filled in these e-mail questionnaires.

- Interviews

In addition to the formal questionnaires, 6 additional interviews were also conducted. An interview is “A data-collection encounter in which one person (and interviewer) ask questions of another (a respondent)” (Babbie et al., 2003: 643). It is “a mainstay of field research used both by participant observers and by researchers who make no pretence of being a part of what is being studied”

(Babbie, 1999: 260). Interviews can be divided into three main categories, namely: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. Despite the fact that a structured interview “is associated with the survey style of research where a standard interview schedule is designed to answer a series of specific questions on a face-to-face basis” (Finn *et al* 2000: 73) they “are less rigidly constructed than questionnaires, but nevertheless follow a set pattern in asking questions or bringing topics up for discussion” (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003: 41). Semi-structured interviews on the other hand “have specified questions but will allow more probing to seek clarification and elaboration” (Finn *et al* 2000: 73). Finally, there are the unstructured or in-depth interviews. However, “the name ‘unstructured’ is a misnomer as no interview can have a total lack of structure” (Finn *et al* 2000: 75). The comparison of this with the two previous types of interviews is that the “in depth interview provides enough freedom for respondents to steer the conversation, for example, to bring in all sorts of tangential matters, which, for them, have a bearing on the main subject” (Hakin in Robinson, 1998: 417).

This research adopts the methodology of the in-depth interview, in addition to the above mentioned questionnaires, mostly because “at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Seidman in Jordan and Gibson, 2004: 221). Two groups of interviews have been done. The first group consisted in interviewing, with the help of the translator and by means of a tape recorder, a number of local people involved in the tourism project under study or, at least, working in a situation linked with the tourism sector. This first group of interviews could be defined as a ‘brief’ life-history type. “Life and work histories are a distinct methodology in the sense that they are concerned with a particular branch of activity – in this case, all historical aspects of an individual life” (Ladkin, 2004: 236). Moreover, through the life/work history method, it is possible for “the chronology between individual lives and social and institutional structure [to] be examined” (Ladkin, 1999: 38). The aim has thus been to enlarge the perspective and to understand the possible changes in life experience brought about as a consequence of tourism development. It is important to note that the questionnaires were also partly looking for evidence or information on historical data-evolution within households over a time-span of 10 years (1994–2004). The interviews were held in a very informal manner and location, and each was timed to last about 30 minutes.

In addition an in-depth interview has been conducted with a key person (EU project manager) in Pretoria.

Table 4.3 (below) summarises the research procedures (see Village questionnaires, personal questionnaires and email questionnaires samples).

Table 4.3 Research procedures

Method	Number	Specification
Villages questionnaire Appendix 1	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ndengane. 5th December 2004. • Rhole. 6th December 2004. • Cutwini. 8th December 2004. • Mbotyi/Hili. 10th December 2004. • Manteku. 11th December 2004. • Lujazo. 12th December 2004. • Noqekwane 18th December 2004.
Personal questionnaire Appendix 1	33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ndengane. 5 and 6 December 2004 (2 questionnaires). • Rhole. 6 and 7 December 2004 (5 Questionnaires). • Cutwini. 8 and 9 December 2004 (4 Questionnaires). • Mbotyi/Hili. 10 December 2004 (6 Questionnaires). • Manteku. 11 and 12 December 2004 (6 Questionnaires). • Lujazo. 12 December 2004 (2 Questionnaires). • Noqekwane 18, 19, 22, 23 and 28 December 2004 (8 Questionnaires).
Recorded interviews	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ndengane. 5 December 2004 (1 Interview). • Rhole. 6 December 2004 (1 Interview). • Cutwini. 8 December 2004 (1 Interview). • Mbotyi/Hili. 10 December 2004 (1 Interview). • Manteku. 11 December 2004 (1 Interview).
E-mail questionnaires Appendix 1	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European Union PMU. Received 15 March 2005. • PondoCROP. Received 23 March 2005. • European Union PMU. Received 23 February 2005. • European Union. Received 6 September 2004. • PondoCROP. Received 1 February 2005.
Personal interview	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European Union project manager. 17 February 2005, Pretoria.

The collection of data (Villages questionnaires, personal questionnaires and recorded interviews) were conducted in a total of seven villages, the ones involved in the AmaMpondo Trails project. Two villages (Ndengane and, especially, Noqekwane) were more investigated in depth and taken as specific sub-cases studies. Ndengane and Noqekwane represent respectively the first and last villages in the AmaMpondo Trails project.

- Sampling method

The process of “research is always constrained by a lack of time or resources” (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003: 42). Consequently, even if the researcher would like to have the widest possible data, time and resources induce him/her to develop and/or elaborate a sampling method. Sampling can be elaborated by different techniques within the two main categories of non-probability and probability sampling (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). This research adopted techniques within the realm of non-probability sampling: “non-probability samples are common when individuals are interviewed at source, as in visitor attractions, sporting events and so on” (Finn et al 2000: 112). In this case the source is the AmaMpondo trail project. The different kinds of sampling techniques are summarised in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Sampling techniques

Sampling techniques	Basic description
Convenience sample or reliance on available subjects	People are chosen because they are available.
Snowball (or chain) sample	It is when each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing.
Purposeful or judgment sampling	The researcher makes judgments about whom to include in the sample.
Quota sampling	Occurs when people are chosen with characteristics representative of the total population

Source: Adapted from Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 43)

To select the sample this research has adopted a sequential sampling selection constituted by: purposive, quota and convenience sampling techniques. Firstly, the sample has been selected depending on the purpose of the study, that is the people involved in the AmaMpondo Trail, either those who have circumscribed it or in particular those involved in/depending on tourism related activities for their living. The range of people selected is intended to cover the different roles involved in the establishment and management of the tourism project, as well as its impacts on the wider community. Such targeted (purposeful or judgment) sampling methods are commonly adopted in the “case study approach” (Robinson, 1998: 29) which automatically limits the sample within the context of the topic being investigated.

In terms of the community sample a series of issues relating to its selection took place. The village questionnaires (see appendix 1 – Village questionnaire) were general questions related to the village situation therefore a community meeting was organised with as much people as possible.

In relation to personal questionnaires (see appendix 1 – Personal questionnaires) at village level the researcher had to try to understand the different role/ characteristics of the people interviewed. In order to be included in the sample people with characteristics as close as possible to the characteristics of the total population related to the case study were chosen. Therefore, this second questionnaire was used exclusively for the local community members involved in the AmaMpondo trail. People were selected depending on their involvement in the AmaMpondo Trails project. There was a small number of people in this group (33). The guide/translator was also part of this group and this made it easier to individuate people involved in the project in each village (as many are personally known to the guide/translator).

A second issue related to the people's availability and/or willingness to participate. A number of people were unable or did not want to participate in the research questionnaire. The researcher did not force by any means, such as payment or giving presents in kind, to attract anyone to participate. The people that participated did so at their own choice after they were requested and the reasons for the research and informed consent were explained.

The five recorded interviews focused on both people participating in the AmaMpondo project and people working in other tourism related activities. The people were selected by availability and their willingness as in the previous case. The aim was to outline some life history issues related to the general life in the village (livelihood) and when possible to relate it to the tourism and specific AmaMpondo project.

The approach to select the people for the email questionnaires depended on the role of the people and organisations involved. The personnel of the EU and of PondoCrop were specifically selected as they respectively represent the people directly involved in the project from the management side. The EU was the main donor and responsible for the AmaMpondo project while PondoCrop was the main NGO involved in the project²⁴ and the personnel were supposed to specifically work on the ground in contact with the communities. A number of emails were sent because it was impossible

²⁴ PondoCrop was also the NGO that develop from the start the Amadiba trails the predecessor (and example to follow) of the AmaMpondo Trails project.

to meet personally with them. A specific written interview was done with the EU project manager based in Pretoria. The EU representative was easily available and willing to respond personally, consequently a meeting and interview in Pretoria was organised and conducted.

4.4.2 Problems occurring during the collection of primary data

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

Amongst the first category of problems are the various limitations that the researcher has had to contend with during fieldwork. The first limitation would fall under the category of transport, in that I did not have a car and travel between villages was conducted on foot. As a consequence, the material that could be physically carried (for example, the piles of questionnaires) was limited. Secondly, the author had budget constraints to accomplish the research. The length of stay was thus in some cases dictated by financial resources. In addition, part of the research money went into the payment of the guide/translator employed at the usual rate for guides and/or accommodation. The guide/translator received R1000 for almost four weeks work.

This leads to the issue of the language problem. The author is not familiar, at all, with the local language; consequently some limitations in understanding specific issues took place. To avoid the problem a pilot questionnaire test (for training) was done with the local translator/guide. The aim was to specifically understand each other on specific terminology and meaning. Different visits to familiarise with the translator were undertaken to promote a better understanding. The translator/guide was also an AmaMpondo trail guide. In addition I write and speak English as a second language. I however took all possible precautions to avoid any misunderstanding.

The second category regards the participants in the research. Within the local community two main problems/limitations were noted. Local people were interviewed usually in the evening after a full workday - this was not ideal and as a result some of them were fatigued. Sometime, people literally fell asleep although they nevertheless remained and made the effort to conclude the questionnaire. The second problem was that even when they were awake it was difficult to encourage them to speak at length. The answers were usually coherent but virtually always extremely short.

With respect to the officials interviewed by e-mail, most of the time it was very difficult to obtain answers. Of the 13 questionnaires sent by e-mail (in one case the questionnaire was handed over personally) only 5 were answered. Even to obtain this meagre result, the respondents also had to be e-mailed and/or phoned at different times over a period of more than two months to obtain replies. The key official at the O.R. Tambo District Municipality was impossible to contact despite numerous attempts to do so.

- Ethical and political issues

In doing research, especially when investigating people, there are generally a number of ethical issues of which the researcher must be aware of if he/she intends to conduct the research properly at the same time as showing respect for the lives of people under consideration. This was especially true with the subjects of this study considering the previous history of the area in the context of South Africa's recent history. Consequently, the investigator put forward mechanisms to avoid, as much as possible, any kind of ethical difficulty. Because of the locality of the case study in a former Homeland area of South Africa, the specific position of the researcher, as a white, male European, was taken into account. My own general background was deeply in contrast with members of the local community belonging to previously disadvantaged communities and living during the Apartheid period. From the ethical perspective, with respect to the local community, the researcher implemented two strategies (described below) to try to overcome the problem of unequal power relations potentially perceived by members interviewed. It is a matter of fact that, nevertheless, whether felt or not, the unequal power relation did indeed exist and unequal power relations could be aggravated if the researcher behaved in a manner that emphasised and amplified the already existent inequality caused by economy, education and so forth (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). Due to these difficulties ethical issues needed to be properly scrutinised. In addition research needed softness and to decrease the perceived power unbalance (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). The first strategy adopted was informal - the researcher started from the first days of 'undercover' participation on the AmaMpondo Trail to develop a friendship with community members. This friendship developed particularly well with two guides and their families from Noquekwane and Ndengane villages. One of the guides was employed to be the guide and translator when walking the second trail. Within the year between the first and second full length trail, I went a number of times to spend different lengths of time, from a week-end to an entire month, in the households. Secondly, to avoid the perception and/or perpetuation of the above mentioned 'informal' unequal relation power, it was important to behave respectably and conform with the local culture. This meant behaving in a way that did not produce a sense of 'inferiority' in the subject under study. A

classic example was to try to avoid sitting on a chair when everybody else sat on the floor, as this physical-spatial superiority risks emphasising a possible perceived difference in status. The author, for example, was always sitting, within the limits of cultural tradition (that is, separate sides of the room for men and women), at the same level of the person being interviewed, whether on a chair or on the floor. Finally, before I started any kind of “open” investigative activities, I proceeded to meet the headman (village authority) to ask permission and explained the research issues.

Another strategy to avoid ethical problems can be considered formal, making use of formal procedures. These requirements are described by Babbie (1999: 399) and Babbie et al., (2003: 520) as voluntary participation, no harm to the participants, and anonymity and confidentiality. “No one must be forced to participate” (Babbie, 1999: 399). It is a fact that “Social research often, though not always, represents an intrusion into people’s life [...] Participation in a social experiment disrupts the subject’s regular activities [and] often requires people to reveal personal information about themselves – information that may be unknown to their friends and associates” (Babbie et al., 2003: 520).

Consequently, the subject must not be forced to participate in the research by any means. The person(s) under study must, once requested, be free to take his/her own decision concerning their own ongoing participation in the project. It is a consequence of this matter that it was decided, despite acknowledging the critical poverty of some households, not to offer any form of compensation to the people that agreed to participate. It is believed that the possible compensation, for example, in the form of money or presents, could force, by necessity, some people to participate against their will. In addition, any possible payment could have ‘directed’ the answer of the respondent more towards the researcher’s perspective.

Secondly, “social research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteer or not” (Babbie, 1999: 400). Participants must not be harmed or put in danger as a consequence of particular questions. The definition of ‘harm’ of course includes not only physical but also, for example, psychological harm. The point is that investigation techniques towards people should never ask for “information that would embarrass them or endanger their home life, friendships, jobs, and so forth” (Babbie, 1999: 400). In this regard the researcher has done everything possible to avoid danger arising out of the questionnaires and ensured they have remained very case-study oriented. These questionnaires thus do not require very ‘intimate’ answers and do not force anyone to respond to particular questions.

Anonymity and confidentiality issues were also taken into account. These matters are very important because they protect the respondent's identity and protect him/her from possible consequences. Anonymity is when a respondent cannot be identified with a given response, while confidentiality regards the promise of the researcher to not disseminate, if not for the official agreed purpose, the research results. Regarding these issues the researcher, before any interview, gave assurance of anonymity and confidentiality by reading a letter of *informed consent* also requested by the University rules. Specifically concerning the problem of anonymity the researcher employed a code system for the answers: that is the person involved in the investigation is identified numerically, or in the case of 'officials', I have mentioned only the institution/organisation to which they are affiliated. Finally, the author has signed and agreed to the university's ethical document to conform to the institution's ethical norms and policy on the above mentioned issues.

4.5 Data analysis

This section explains how the data collected has been analysed. Here it is less important to consider the type of source (primary or secondary), but rather to discuss the kind of data collected and how it has been analysed. Fundamental for the outcome of the research, it should be remembered that "the essence of any analysis procedures must be to return to the terms of reference, statement of objectives, or hypotheses of the research and begin to sort and evaluate the information gathered in relation to the questions posed and the concepts identified" (Veal, 1992: 98). Bearing in mind the research aims and questions, three analytical tools are discussed: quantitative, qualitative and discourse analysis.

4.5.1 Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis consists of "numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect" (Babbie et al., 2003: 646). Descriptive statistics "merely summarise a set of sample observations [while] analysis involves the reduction of data from unmanageable details to manageable summaries" (Babbie et al., 2003: 641/460).

Thus, the different numerical data obtained during the fieldwork were first summarised in tables. One example is the development of a table showing the number of people involved in tourism within the context of the villages, the AmaMpondo Trail and CBT. It is also recognised that the closed-ended questions (with the Yes and No answers) are most easily translatable into quantitative analysis. All the quantitative data obtained was summarised in tables and graphs, and contributes to

the processes of investigating the validity of the theoretically-derived hypothesis when applied in this case.

4.5.2 Qualitative analysis

As noted by Kitchin and Tate (2000: 11), qualitative analysis “consists of the description, classification, and making connections between the data [and the] process is more iterative than linear”. The three stages of research analysis can be briefly summarised as follows (from Kitchin and Tate, 2000):

- Description concerns the portrayal of data in a form that can be easily interpreted;
- Classification is when the researcher moves beyond data description and he/she tries to interpret and make sense of data; and
- Connection is concerned with the identification and understanding of the relationships and associations between different classes.

Using a building analogy, Kitchin and Tate (2000: 235) explain the process as follows: “Our analysis consists of describing the yard’s material so that we know what we have and why, classifying the various forms into relevant building materials, and connecting the classes together to construct a coherent and stable structure.” It is important to understand the difference between classification and connection that is the core of the analysis. Again using the same analogy:

... whereas classification concerns putting all bricks, frames, glass panes and beams in separate places (and classifying these according to types, size, etc.), making connections concerns how they fit together and relate to one another as a structure such a house.

(Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 235)

Qualitative analysis was used when working with participant observation, e-mail questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, and, indirectly, questionnaires. The researcher followed the above-mentioned process to analyse the qualitative information. Firstly, the data has been ‘described’ through, for example, the transcription of the interview and representation of data in table and/or graph form. Secondly, the information has been classified and regrouped depending on the topic. Thirdly, the connection between classes has been made to assist in the construction of the final results to compare with the hypothesis.

4.5.3 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a particular form of qualitative analysis. The relevant data was found, mostly, in the written primary sources – that is, the reports and figures produced and divulged by official institutions/organisations. These documents belong both to institutions/organisations involved directly, indirectly and even sometimes not at all in the tourism project under scrutiny. The point is to understand how a certain kind of ideological milieu has spread from a general and global framework to shape specific and local situations. The ‘discourse’ that is of interest in this research is the policy making milieu of general/global policy and to CBT and local policy more specifically.

Discourse analysis strengthens theory building by asking questions in relation to the text’s formation and characterisation, thus unifying Gramsci and Foucault:

Gramsci’s notion of "concrete social goals proposed to collective consciousness" might be used to link the theory of hegemony, understood here as a structure of dominant economic policies, with Foucault’s (1972; 1973; 1980) "discourses" understood similarly as carefully rationalized, organized systems of statements backed by recognized validation procedures, bound into discursive formations, and made within communities of experts.

(Peet, n.d.)

This aspect of the analysis was done working with written sources and proceeded in conjunction with the fieldwork. Following Foucault’s *Archaeology of knowledge* (1974: 28) “The analysis of the discursive field [allows one to] grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence; establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excluded.” Or, using the words of Alan Sheridan (in Ritzer, 2000: 594), Foucault’s archaeology of knowledge involves a search for “a set of rules that determine the conditions of possibility for all that can be said within the particular discourse at any given time.”

As Peet (2003: 17) argues, the “depth of a hegemony resides in the ability of a discursive formation to specify the parameters of the practical, the realistic and the sensible among a group of theoreticians, political practitioners and policy makers [and] where critical discussion is limited to variants of a given discourse.” In this case, I agree with Gosovic that in so far as a “GIH [Global Intellectual Hegemony] operates, a great deal has been done through the skilled use of words and terminology both to bolster the dominant paradigm and the current order and to endow it with positive qualities” (Gosovic, 2000: 450). Discourse analysis is, thus, here intended as a tool to investigate the ‘parameters’ and to verify the use of ‘terminology’ in the tourism context.

In the context of this research discourse analysis has been applied at two levels, first by the evaluation of the homogeneity of ideology and consequently of tourism policies within the context of contemporary neo-liberal globalisation. Secondly, it has been applied in examining the different meanings attributed to the concepts of CBT and its specific evolution in the contemporary global milieu. It is by investigating the CBT meanings and understandings expressed by different actors (and reflecting possible bias linked to benefits), that the research outcome was clarified.

4.6 Triangulation, hypothesis verification and research outcome

Finally, once the data was analysed it was processed through triangulation, which is a form of analysis that “means looking at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data” (Decrop, 1999: 158). It follows that “information coming from different angles can be used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research problem” (Decrop, 1999: 158). In addition this methodology “is generally considered to be one of the best ways to enhance validity and reliability in qualitative research” (Babbie et al., 2003: 275).

The research has specifically adopted triangulation analysis in working with the e-mails and interviews from people belonging to different institutions involved in the tourism project. Another means of triangulation has been to trace relationships between institutions and local people. The point has been to utilise more than just one source to verify or reject the research hypothesis.

4.7 Conclusion

Research investigation implies the choice of an appropriate research design and methodology selected from amongst numerous theoretical and fieldwork (practical) possible approaches. The choice of the proper investigation philosophy and strategies is central to the final outcome of the research. This chapter has described in detail the research design and methodology applied in this thesis. Using a neo-Marxist/neo-Gramscian starting point, the thesis aims to answer to a theoretically-derived hypothesis describing the likely interaction between global forces and CBT at a local level. Different source materials and investigative methodologies have been applied in order to elaborate and understand the outcome of the research. The chapter has also outlined difficulties and problems experienced in relation to specific fieldwork issues. The strategies used to avoid, or minimise, them were also described.

The next chapter should be regarded as the first analysis chapter. Using discourse analysis, it provides a critical examination of the tourism policy environment in the context of EU co-operation

and in the country of South Africa. It forms a necessary starting point to understand the policy framework under which the AmaMpondo trail project was first conceptualised and then practically facilitated.

Chapter 5

The National and International Tourism Policy Node Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This thesis views the issue of tourism development at a number of different levels, all of which interact with one another. These are the international level, in this case international cooperation structured within the neo-liberal framework; the national (provincial and municipality) levels, influenced in the contemporary era by the hegemonic global context; and finally the local level, the local communities. This chapter investigates the policy framework of the international and national (provincial and municipal) levels and provides an analysis of tourism policy in terms of the theoretical framework proposed in Chapters Two and Three. In the course of the chapter, EU/EC tourism policies are scrutinised to understand the EU approach to international cooperation in the tourism sector. This will allow for evaluation of the EU strategies both on paper and the ground, that is the actual outcome.

The case study story is significantly impacted upon by both the national (South African) milieu and policies regarding tourism, and by the policies and practices of the EC that since 1994 has played a major role in South African development projects. Specifically, the EU was involved in the widely advertised and highlighted tourism development plan for the Wild Coast core sector of the Wild Coast Spatial development Initiative (WCSDI). This chapter aims to investigate and clarify the policy framework - both international and national - within which a local CBT project is developed. The thesis is particularly concerned to explore what happens, particularly within the current neo-liberal climate, when a major outside influence like the EU intervenes in a locally-based project.

This chapter, therefore, locates the case study within the relevant policy context, both national and international. The chapter begins by considering the EU tourism policy and then moves on to analysing the different policies within South Africa at different levels. Chapters Seven and Eight get down to grassroots level investigating the actual design and results of the CBT project within the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (WCSDI).

5.1 Tourism development and the European Union

In the contemporary world, the role of tourism as a development tool in international cooperation projects has been widely recognised. As Lindberg *at al.* (2001: 508) note, “International

development assistance is an important source of funding for global tourism development and management.” According to Lindberg et al. (2001: 508) the fact that “since 1970 the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has committed \$1.14 billion in loans to tourism, \$10.3 million in non-reimbursable technical assistance (grants), and \$9.4 million in Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) grants.” Also, as above already written, “there is an increasing role for international development institutions, such as the World Bank, to play in the tourism industry” (Dickinson in World Bank, 1998).

Lindberg et al. (2001: 509) argue that this involvement has become increasingly sensitive to small-scale operators, stating that while “historically these agencies and other multilateral banks have primarily encouraged large-scale projects with a high degree of non-local participation [...] they have, to varying degrees, moved in the direction of small and medium sized businesses (SMEs), community development, policy development, and related focus areas.” A primary concern of this research is to investigate whether or not such a change has really occurred, and if so, what its effects have been. The focus in this thesis is on the EU rather than the World Bank or another international development agency, as it is the EU that has provided most of the funding and direction of the project for the tourism venture under investigation here.

The EU is currently a major player in the global milieu and is one of the major actors in providing development assistance to developing countries. Its dominance in the South African context is notable:

The European Union is the most important strategic partner to South Africa. South Africa’s trade with the European Community constitutes over 40% of total trade. Political links with the Community and its member states are well established and date back to times of strong support for the anti-apartheid struggle. This strategic partnership is expressed in the Trade, Development and Co-operation Agreement (TDCA) (which includes provision for a Free Trade Area (FTA), financial assistance and development cooperation, trade related issues, economic cooperation, social and cultural cooperation and political dialogue.

(EU, n.d. a)

It is important to investigate the relationship between the EU and developing countries with respect to tourism policy. The following sections attempt to do this by analysing available EU policy documents. Two primary documents are analysed in depth in the next section. The first serves to underline the EU sectoral development policy. The policy document ‘Development of sustainable

tourism' is easily accessible on the Internet (EU, n.d. b). It gives the general direction of intervention of the EU in the cooperation in developing countries for tourism development (see Box 5.1).

Box 5.1

1) OBJECTIVE

To establish a strategic framework for European Community (EC) activities in the tourism sector in developing countries in order to allow tourism to develop sustainably, thus ensuring the positive contribution of this sector in the long term.

2) ACT

Communication from the Commission to the Council and European Parliament of 28 October 1998: "A European Community strategy to support the development of sustainable tourism in the developing countries" [COM(1998) 563 final/2 - Not published in the Official Journal].

3) SUMMARY

Role of tourism

Tourism has become a very important and dynamic sector both in the world economy and particularly in the developing countries. Its growth affects not only the activities directly linked to tourism (mainly in the private sector) but also other sectors such as transport. It allows jobs to be created for various levels of workers, both skilled and unskilled, and for those often marginalised in the labour market such as women.

Tourism is already an important sector in certain developing countries and will become so for others. The opportunities presented by this phenomenon must therefore be seized. However, it must also be ensured that this sector does not develop in an uncontrolled manner threatening the natural environment and the social and cultural life of the country. The uncontrolled development of the sector risks its future being limited in the long term.

Players

Tourism is based almost solely in the private sector and involves both large enterprises and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). However, the essential role of the public authorities must be taken into account. Political stability, good environmental management, security, etc. are essential factors in attracting tourists and the public authorities are largely responsible for these areas.

As for the European Community, the growth in this sector is reflected in its development policy and it is a significant donor in this area.

Objectives and means

The European Community has examined past activities in this area and has drawn some conclusions, including the following points:

- the activities have been too centred on the promotion of tourism and therefore the environmental and social aspects have been neglected;
- the choice of contacts has been too restricted. The national tourism offices and the national tourism administrations have been the main contacts. The range must be extended by consulting more often the private sector, non-governmental organisations and the players involved at the various geographical levels (regional, local, etc.).

A more comprehensive and coherent strategy is needed.

The main objectives and support of the EC are aimed at:

- **encouraging the sustainable development of tourism**
Helping to establish the conditions favourable to sustainable development which will protect the environment and population. The EC's strategy also tackles the problem of sex tourism involving children;
- **supporting the public authorities in planning and managing their policy in this area and also in ensuring effective monitoring.**
The EC will mainly provide technical aid to help the governments of the beneficiary countries implement policies encouraging the development of sustainable tourism. These will include establishing the necessary legal and institutional framework, supporting the development of human resources, preserving the public heritage and improving infrastructures. Technical aid is also needed to improve the information and commercial organisation of the sector;
- **helping to consolidate the role of industry in tourism in today's open and competitive market economy.**
Cooperation in the private sector must be encouraged and direct support given to the SMEs which make a considerable contribution to this sector.
- **Basic principles for implementing the strategy**
Tourism is a fragmented and complex sector which has close links with other sectors. The EC's approach must be tailored to this complexity and to each country. The beneficiary countries will mainly be the developing countries which have cooperation agreements with the EC including this sector.

The strategy should be based on the following principles:

- **define the support framework for the country in question.**
The development of the tourism sector will vary from one country to another. The strategy for the country will be based on an analysis of the sector aimed, in particular, at identifying the validity of tourist development. The aid must also be targeted according to the level of development in the sector and the needs (short- or long-term aid, aid targeted to a sector or the adoption of a more global approach, etc.);
- **involve different players**
To this end, a partnership must in particular be encouraged between the public administration and the private sector, co-financing agreements must be concluded between the EC and the beneficiary countries and local initiatives must be supported. The intervention of the EC must be from the bottom up in order to involve more players;
- **encourage regional cooperation**
Regional cooperation may be very useful, particularly for the small countries, as it allows economies of scale to be made, common solutions to be found to common problems and it facilitates the exchange of good practices.
- **coherence, coordination and complementarity**
The strategy must be harmonised with other EC strategies and policies and must also be based on the Community acquis in tourism. Coherence must also be ensured between all the donors. However, the EC should assume a leading role as it has a great deal of experience in this area and is the largest donor in this sector.

Source: EU (n.d. b).

The document's objective is clear. It is to establish a structured policy framework to guide EU intervention in tourism development in developing countries. First, it is important to notice the attention given to the tourism sector by the EU. It is clear that the EU views tourism as a key component in its development strategy. The policies underline the relevance of the tourism sector to the possible contribution to development, and the need to establish a proper policy framework within which tourism development in developing countries should take place.

Tourism is seen as particularly effective because of its linkage with many different kinds of industries and its possible capacity to involve disadvantaged social groups, such as women and marginalized social groups in the development process. The document underlines the fact that tourism needs to be developed in a controlled manner and that tourism is based almost solely in the private sector, both large enterprises and SMMEs.

The document underlines more than once the relevant role that the EU has to play in the promotion of tourism: the “EC should assume a leading role as it has a great deal of experience in this area and is the largest donor in this sector” (EU, n.d., b). A second relevant point for the purposes of this study is the fact that the strategy consists in “helping to consolidate the role of industry in tourism in today's open and competitive market economy” (EU, n.d., b). As the EU is one of the main actors of global influence it is well positioned to influence international cooperation in the tourism sector. This study examines precisely the context of international cooperation in the tourism sector influenced by such global actors within the neo-liberal paradigm.

The policy document (EU, n.d., b) recognised tourism as a complex sector that needs to be properly structured in terms of a policy framework. The policies must promote tourism development that is country specific, involves different players, encourages regional cooperation in a context of long term sustainability, is government led and coordinated and private sector driven (“... tourism in today's open and competitive market economy”). This last point is crucial for purposes of this study. For the EU, cooperation in the private sector must be encouraged and direct support given to the SMEs which make a considerable contribution to this sector. The extent to which this (support to SMEs) will practically happen will be analysed in the course of this study.

The EU policy (EU, n.d., b) sees tourism development in the light of long-term sustainable development in a holistic manner and makes mention about jobs creation. Nevertheless, critics of this kind of approach have noted that “with respect to job creation, however, the focus of tourism development programmes generally has not been on reducing the number of people living in extreme poverty” (Lindberg et al., 2001: 508). There is no mention in this policy framework of the public sector or community-based systems playing a possible role in the direct management of tourism structures. In addition, it has to be verified whether support is in fact given to SMEs instead of large companies. Here, the public sector is mainly seen as a facilitator of private sector development and profit. Government must develop the policy framework, the human resources and the physical infrastructure to allow the private companies to succeed. In this context and in relation

to this study it is relevant to verify how the public money of the EU used in the project will be spent. Are public monies spent to facilitate wide and holistic community development, or to assist large private companies to profit?

Nevertheless, it is also important to be reminded that despite policy documents having positive outlines and strategies, as this policy document of the EU (n.d., b) has, a “break may occur between policy implementation and actual result, the so-called ‘implementation gap’, in which a continuing lack of empowerment frustrates effective action” (Sofield, 2003).

The second document analysed here is the “Partnership agreement between the members of the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific states and the European Community and its member states in relation to tourism development.” This document is also available on the Internet (EU, 2000). This document portrays a more comprehensive and at the same time specific picture of the EU and South African tourism cooperative relationship. Section 2.7 of “The compendium on co-operation strategies”, devoted to the “Development of services”, is cited in full in Box 5.2 below:

Different features are visible from Box 5.2 which resemble and reinforce the document in Box 5.1 that resonate closely with the focus of this research. Considering the documents together, there is a notable emphasis on the following:

- Integration into the world economy;
- Open and competitive market economy (encouraging SMEs – but this must be verified);
- Reliance on the private sector;
- Partnership with public-private sectors;
- Helping to write the legal and policy framework of the sector; and
- Link with other sectors of the economy.

Box 5.2

2.7.3. Tourism Development

72. Both parties agree that the development of the tourism sector, given its importance in international trade and in the exportation of services, shall make a major contribution to integrating the developing countries into the world economy.

73. Tourism's contribution to sustainable development is contingent on:

- the ability of local authorities to plan and manage the development of tourism taking account of all the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects and the potential drawbacks; and
- the industry's commitment to adhere to the principles and practices of sustainable development in an open and competitive market.

74. With a view to fulfilling its development objectives, the co-operation shall help create the conditions for maximising the contribution of tourism to the economic and social development of the host country and minimising any actual or potential deleterious effects. Programmes relating to tourism shall, therefore help to ensure that initiatives in that sphere address the following issues:

- fostering the sustainable development of tourism, including sustainable environmental practices;
- helping public authorities in their planning, management and follow-up (supporting the development of the legal and institutional framework, human resource development, safeguarding the public heritage and infrastructure, and information and commercial organisation);
- infrastructure development and expansion;
- product diversification and improvement;
- consolidating the tourist industry in an open and competitive market economy (encouraging cooperation in the private sector and direct support for small and medium sized enterprises – SMEs); and
- the complex and dynamic nature of tourism, coupled with the different degrees of maturity achieved in the sector by different developing countries, mean that there are no typical problems or solutions. Thus, the kind and scale of support shall vary according to the level of tourism development the country has already achieved and specific local needs.

75. The Parties recognise that sustaining the social and cultural fabric as well as the natural and built environment, and promoting competitiveness and open markets, are the guiding principles for developing a viable sector with quality tourism products. In this view, the co-operation shall include support :

- for the private sector in this area will aim at improving the partnership between firms and branches of activity connected with tourism and through cross-disciplinary measures for SMEs in general; and
- to authorities and to governments will focus on establishing a legal and institutional framework, developing human resources and public infrastructure, protecting and developing the natural and cultural heritage and modernising methods and instruments for marketing the destination country.

76. The Parties consider that close consultations shall be promoted between existing public and private sector organisations in the development of policies and strategies.

Source: (EU, 2000 : 28).

The features in Box 5.2 seem to place the development of tourism is in line with the neo-liberal guided world economy. No alternative approaches are suggested. It appears axiomatic that tourism development must remain within the context of the open and competitive market economy based on private sector and public-private partnership. This partnership seems to emphasise the private sector, while the public sector is seen as a facilitator of private sector development and profit. Government must develop the policy framework, the human resources and the physical infrastructure to allow the private companies to succeed.

Other characteristics are identified, as follows:

- Case-by-case situation.

The case-by-case argument refers to the assumed different approach depending on the local situation within a country. The ‘case-by-case’ approach could be seen to disguise what is in reality a homogeneous approach to development.

- Industry ‘volunteerism’ in the commitment to follow sustainable development principles. Private companies are being asked to commit themselves to follow specific guidelines; that is it is a voluntary decision of the private companies not a legally imposed act. The private sector is asked to self-regulate and self-commit to specific “principles and practices of sustainable development.” To what extent this self-regulation and commitment can be efficacious has yet to be seen, especially in a “open and competitive market” economy where the basic necessity for companies is the search for profit, often at the expense of other environmental and human factors.

In addition, the EU sees itself as an expert in this field. This is emphasised by the sentence: “However, the EC should assume a leading role [in coherence, coordination and complementarity of tourism project] as it has a great deal of experience in this area and is the largest donor in this sector” (EU, n.d., b).

In light of the above points and in relation to the argument of this thesis, it is apt to conclude this section with an extract from the *ACP-EU Courier* (2002). This extract captures the EC relationship to the Amadiba Trail, the originator of the case study studied in this thesis. In hindsight, it can be seen as a somewhat prophetic view on the final outcome of the continuation and extension of the project:

The first initiative of this kind in South Africa, Amadiba Adventures is proof that its formula is viable and profitable, both for communities and for the environment. Of course, undertaking such a project can have its difficulties; the distance between the Wild Coast, Pretoria and Brussels, sometimes conflicting ideas and the commercial and industrial pressure do not always make things easy.

(ACP-EU, 2002: 82)

5.1.1 The case of EU tourism cooperation in the South Pacific

In the global context, scholars have critically analysed other EU co-operative activities in tourism in developing countries. The case discussed here also relates to developing countries belonging to the ACP (African-Caribbean-Pacific) group. The case is described in Sofield's (2003) book, which is of particular comparative relevance here.

First of all it is interesting to note that colonialism must be considered an important backdrop. Sofield (2003) writes: "The three areas of colonial domination of the political, economic and cultural may be interpreted as manifestations of dependency theory" (Sofield, 2003: 164). This fits very well with the analysis presented here within the framework of global neo-liberalism. In a detailed account of the consequences of EC aid cooperation with the South Pacific tourism organisation, Sofield (2003) notes that, "the European Community [...] insisted on employing only its nationals for consultancies":

The European Community consultants were also criticised for not appointing counterparts to localise senior positions on the South Pacific Tourism Organisation's Secretariat in its first two years as originally agreed. That took almost five years to rectify [...] The European Community has indicated a reluctance to continue funding the South Pacific Tourism Organisation's marketing and promotion programme and instead will direct assistance to the private sector to undertake tourism development.

(Sofield, 2003: 185)

Sofield's (2003: 184) point is that, in this case, "core-periphery dependence in a new guise is insinuated into the region." It almost seems that because the EU cannot effectively control the South Pacific Tourism Organisation, it decides to divert its funding to private investment, perhaps, as the author suggests, of European companies in the Pacific area.

After explaining dependency theory and neo-colonialist perspectives in relation to the EC aid to South Pacific Tourism Organisation, Sofield notes:

Actions and policies desired by national governments may be circumscribed and the form of their tourism development strongly influenced by the supranational organization that provides the funding. 'Consultations' may be a one way participatory process, passive in nature and designed to get communities to accept decisions already made by others. Not only are these Third World countries the recipients of tourists from the First World whose comfort and enjoyment may take priority over activities of greater benefit to local communities, they are the receivers of first world priorities

about their tourism development. The agenda for their ministerial Tourism Council meetings may thus be pre-determined, directly and indirectly, to a significant extent by the European Community. There is a form of disguised disempowerment masquerading as empowerment.

(Sofield, 2003: 189)

It is interesting that from early on, similar notes of caution were sounded in the context of the Wild Coast tourism project:

...tourism projects totalling more than R1-billion could double the present value of international tourism once the unrealised potential of the Wild Coast is tapped ... [However] SDIs [Spatial Development Initiatives] are tantamount to neo-colonialism of a special kind.

(The *Daily Mail and Guardian*, 1997)

No one disputes that development and job creation are well overdue in the Eastern Cape, particularly in the Transkei. But, it remains to be seen if SDIs can meaningfully welcome communities into the global socio-economic community.

(Holomisa in *The Daily Mail and Guardian*, 1997)

It is recognised that job creation and many other development issues have to be addressed to improve the situation in the Pondoland. Nevertheless it is argued here that the donor-driven model of tourism development currently dominant and discussed in this chapter risks a continuation of dependency and marginalisation, without promoting the self-reliance and empowerment that are seen as two basic features of a holistic development approach.

5.2 Tourism policy in South Africa

5.2.1 Policy directions post-1994

The Republic of South Africa lies at the extreme south of the African continent and possesses a surface of approximately 12 million km² (South Africa Info, 2008). The entry of South Africa into the global system after the isolation during the years of apartheid has attracted the attention of scholars and observers from around the world. Some understanding of this context is necessary in order to appreciate the key aim of the research - that is to understand how global hegemony influences local CBT projects in this particular context.

After the isolated apartheid period South Africa officially re-entered the global arena in 1994. While it has been recognised that the first macro-economic policy (the Reconstruction and Development programme – RDP) developed for the new (post 1994) South Africa was socialist-oriented, a noticeable change in this orientation must be highlighted. An analysis of this change is given in Peet’s (2002) article and served as one of the main starting points for this research, it is worth quoting from the paper’s abstract to effectively capture his points:

The African National Congress (ANC) has long stood for a development policy committed to improving living conditions for black people in South Africa. Assuming power in 1994, the ANC adopted a leftist, basic-needs-oriented Reconstruction and Development Programme as a popular foundation for its economic policy. Within two years, the ANC had switched to a rightist, neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy stressing privatisation, deregulation, and trade liberalization. This article critically examines the displacement of economic policy from socialism to neoliberalism. My thesis is that ANC policy was disciplined by a neoliberal economic discourse formulated by an academic-institutional-media complex with linked centres of persuasion inside and outside the country. The article combines ideas about hegemony from Gramsci with notions of discourse derived from Foucault in constructing a geographic theory of globally hegemonic discursive formations colonising alternative, counterhegemonic discourse.

(Peet, 2002: 51)

Other authors make similar arguments, although with possible different conclusions as to the relationship between the post-apartheid policy shift and globalisation (see Gibson 2001 and Rogerson, 2000). According to Carmody (2002: 225) “when South Africa achieved its transition to non-racial government in 1994, a debate took place about the future direction of economic restructuring. Two years later the Government of South Africa changed its development strategy by adopting an orthodox economic reform programme.” There are numerous critics of the direction South Africa has taken in the post-apartheid period. According to Gibson (Gibson, 2001: 65) despite the South African democratic and open society there is no social and economic justice for Black people. He contends that this was due to strategic forces and an “ideological capitulation to neoliberal policies and marginalization of more radical projects advanced by the South African left.”

Other important issues related to the new black elite in South Africa arises from Terreblanche (2002). He argues that a new black elite has been co-opted by an old white elite. He puts it bluntly:

“The new black elite has been deceived by the controllers of white wealth and privilege into buying into neo-liberalism and globalism, despite the fact that these ideologies and their application in South Africa are to the detriment of the poor” (Terreblanche, 2002: 133, 135).

Bianchi (2002: 289) in his study on the political economy of tourism development notes that it is also possible that “local elites are complicit in the underdevelopment of their states, not as an instrument of capital but as a result of the prevailing ideological climate of privatisation and deregulation in which the range of development options available to them has become even more constrained.” Bianchi (2002) mentions the example of Zanzibar where “for example, this pattern has become evident as a result of the move by the Zanzibari Government to encourage greater involvement of private capital in the tourism sector since 1985.” This point can be linked to the case study where global neo-liberalism focusing on private capital investment is seen in contrast to CBT projects, that is CBT project suffers a reformulation and transformation of its outcome as a consequence of the neoliberal milieu managed by international cooperation.

As stated in Chapter Two, there is a feeling that “capital is all powerful; national policy must pay absence or pay the cost” (Natrass in Peet, 2002: 78). That is, the power of capital is able to reformulate alternative development approaches through its power position in key international actor involved in development. The ideological context is fixed within the TINA (There is no alternative) and “the end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989) framework promoted by the members and promoters of the “Davos culture” with the “apparent ending of all political alternatives to liberal democracy” (Peet, 2002: 63).

In general, it is also probably true that there is a “growing scepticism among political elites in developing states about the benefit of unregulated contemporary global capitalism” (Breslin et al., 2002: 7). For instance Thabo Mbeki, reporting in the *Socialist International*, argued that there is a duty in “opposing the neo-liberal market ideology, the neo-conservative agenda and the unilateralistic approach” (Mbeki, 2004:168). Nevertheless, the extent to which the political and local elites really attempt to find other development solutions has to be tested. At the same time the possible pursuers of different national and/or regional development strategies have, voluntarily or not, succumbed to global neo-liberalism and accepted its influence, at least to some extent.

In relation to this research it is understood that there is a mode of development thinking, mostly organised and managed by a global hegemonic neo-liberal class, that is rooted in a western historical and philosophical tradition which today promotes individualism, competition,

commercialisation, privatisation and pacification (Rojek, 1985 in Britton, 1991: 453). There is also in effect a discursive process of hegemonic co-optation that is able to incorporate developing countries, (using a kind of ‘peaceful-force’ and working through a Gramscian notion of ‘common sense’²⁵) into a global hegemonic framework of neo-liberalism. This does not mean that within developing countries (also in South Africa) the elite (both old and new) are unconsciously/involuntarily complicit. They promote, sustain and possibly deepen a neo-liberal system aligned with the global hegemonic agenda in an international class alliance. The problem is that *even if* there is disaffection with the neo-liberal unilateralistic approach - as Thabo Mbeki wrote (see above) – the international neo-liberal framework is able through hegemonic/discursive and other strategies to align developing countries’ policies with a neo-liberal approach. South Africa experienced just this in the shift from RDP to GEAR.

5.2.2 Tourism, development and community-based tourism in South Africa

This part of the chapter will try to elucidate how the global neo-liberal consensus is situated in relation to the concept of CBT in South Africa. South Africa Info (2004) has showed that tourism in South Africa has increased in the decade of democracy. Tourism is thus an industry that was practically ‘re-born’ in 1994 and has followed the history of South Africa since then.

The ‘re-born’ tourism sector in South Africa follows the directions of South African policies and, for the specific case study, is linked to the Spatial Development Initiatives. The AmaMpondo Trails is a component of one SDI (Wild Coast SDI) therefore falling within the GEAR strategy to re-instate South Africa in the global milieu. Thus, the GEAR strategy which SDIs are relevant components searches for the re-integration of South Africa in the globalization milieu centred on private investment and reduction of state. According to Rogerson (2000) SDIs are a critical feature in reconstruction planning in South Africa and support the GEAR macro-economic programme. This type of thinking is also echoed by the Wild Coast SDI (n.d.) which states that SDIs unlock economic potential using public resources to influence investment from the private sector.

Tourism is identified as a key national sector for economic growth via GEAR and particularly through the Spatial Development Initiative programme, which specifically includes the Wild Coast SDIs (SARPN, n.d.). It is thus recognised that SDIs follow the global parameters of development being inserted in the GEAR strategy. Further to this, it is necessary to understand the role of CBT in the Wild Coast SDI framework, which specifically notes that “The SDI development strategy is

²⁵ Common sense can be defined as “conceptions [that] are imposed and absorbed passively from outside, or from the past, and are accepted and lived uncritically” (Forgacs, 1988: 421).

intended to foster the Community, Public and Private Sector partnerships” (SARPN, n.d.). This concept of partnership is again repeated:

A range of empowerment models in terms of which communities and the private sector can form commercial and mutual partnerships have been developed. Government is committed to invest, and/or facilitate investment by parastatals in strategic infrastructure that supports private sector investment, including roads, water and sanitation, telecommunications and electricity.

(Wild Coast SDI, n.d.)

The following section analyses the Tourism White Paper, Tourism in GEAR and the Responsible Tourism Guidelines that comprise the main documents on which the tourism development policy framework in South Africa is built.

5.2.3 Introduction to key documents

5.2.3.1 The Tourism White Paper

The following section provides a critical discussion of some of the key points made in the Tourism White Paper (see Appendix 5.1). The Tourism White Paper is dated 1996, consequently it relies on the policy environment of the RDP strategy with all that this entails. Point 3.1 of the White Paper clearly situates the tourism sector within the RDP strategy reviewing the basic principles and programme of the RDP approach. The last section exemplifies the role and approach of the tourism sector in the development process of the country when it states: “The tourism industry, more than any other industry, can provide sturdy, effective and sustainable legs for the RDP to walk on” (Tourism White Paper, 1996). Thus, in 1996 the tourism sector is emphasised as a ‘sturdy’ contributor to South Africa development within the framework of the RDP strategy.

Continuing this reading, it is important to point out the vision of the guiding principles (point 4.1) of the document. It remarks again on the leading position of the tourism sector in the development process and emphasises that tourism should be developed “a sustainably and acceptably” (Tourism White Paper, 1996). Point 4.2 of the Tourism White Paper gives guiding principles that the development of the tourism sector should be embedded in. The first two principles illustrate that the tourism sector strategy falls squarely within the normal tourism development approach framework, where the tourism is seen as ‘private sector driven and government led’. That is to say, government must provide the necessary infrastructure, legislation and facilities to establish a favourable private investment climate and to facilitate the working of the private companies.

Point 3 of the policies introduces the need for tourism development to involve community participation (Tourism White Paper, 1996). Although this is a positive point, the dilemma comes when it is put in the context of the previous two. The argument of this thesis, tested in the context of the case study, is that community involvement and therefore real development (especially of poor people) can be put at high risk when the sector emphasises the role of private sector and uses government purely as a facilitator of private sector development. It is argued here that government should be more directly involved in the tourism industry, especially through the establishment of specific agencies that facilitate and support community involvement and ownership/management of tourism facilities. Good policy is not enough if it is not properly supported by specific institutional structures.

Additional sections outline the other guiding principles of tourism development in the Tourism White Paper. Point 4 emphasises the need for tourism to be environmentally sustainable. Point 6, which can be linked to point 3, underlines the need to use tourism as a development tool for poor people and community, especially women. Points 5 and 7 review the need for cooperative arrangements in different situations. First cooperation (or better partnership, using a neo-liberal discourse) should be developed among key stakeholders. It has to be seen, however, how the different stakeholders are actually informed and involved in the tourism development process. Are poor communities properly informed and involved in the tourism development process affecting their life and possessions (land)? Finally, cooperation amongst different countries is looked for. While this point is certainly positive, the problem is to verify the kind of cooperation involved. The problem is not the principles of cooperation but how and in which policy context cooperation takes place. The recommendations section in Chapter Nine will elucidate this argument.

The Tourism White Paper continues by emphasising the need to involve neglected communities, in “entrepreneurial activities” (Tourism White Paper, 1996). While this observation is a positive step forward, as just community involvement is crucial, policy ideals need enabling government intervention to positively result in practice instead of being left to a government facilitated private sector driven context.

The Tourism White Paper suggests the adoption of ‘Responsible Tourism’ as a tourism approach to achieve the Tourism White Paper guidelines and principles – indeed as “the key guiding principle” for tourism development. Responsible Tourism is seen as a proper development approach that can facilitate the positive outcome of the goal of the tourism sector and communities around the country. It is discussed in more detail below.

Different actions are necessary to practically achieve the aims of the Tourism White Paper. The first point made is of particular importance for this study. It states that government needs to “work closely with international funding agencies, the local and international private sectors, NGOs and other relevant partners to define responsible tourism and establish a standard for it” (Tourism White Paper, 1996). Here the groups of actors who will define the tourism development guidelines in the country are identified. In order to properly appreciate the possible outcomes of the tourism development guidelines, it is necessary to be aware of the different, sometime very different, resources and capacities (and consequently influence) that each actor has. Highly respected international institutions, TNTCs, and INGOs will likely have a major influence in the writing of the guidelines compared to the possible input from small local actors such as local NGOs and poor communities - despite the fact that poor communities should be the beneficiary of tourism development and certainly are the ones that will be most affected by tourism development.

The following points in the Tourism White Paper review a number of possible actions that have a mixed approach. They mostly lie within the already discussed approach of private sector driven and government led development and community involvement.

5.2.3.2 Tourism in GEAR

Following the change in policy in South Africa and the consequent change in the tourism sector strategy, it is now important to outline the vision and objective of Tourism in GEAR. First of all it has been noted in relation to tourism policy evolution within the neo-liberal context that “the policy anchors provided by the White Paper, the Department of Environmental and Tourism affairs document, Tourism in GEAR [...] seeks to forge a framework for implementing these policies, particularly within the neo-liberal context of the GEAR macro-economic strategy” (Rogerson and Visser, 2004 a: 7). The vision, underlying principles and actions envisaged by ‘Tourism in GEAR’ are given in Box 5.3.

Box 5.3

Vision:

To develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable and acceptable manner, so that it will contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African. As a lead sector within the national economic strategy, a globally competitive tourism industry will be a major force in the reconstruction and development efforts of the government.

Underlying principles:

These targets and strategies can only be achieved through the establishment of partnerships between the key parties. In establishing such partnerships the following principles pertain:

- Tourism should be Government led. The government at all levels must demonstrate the priority it place on tourism as a growth sector by effecting efficient policies and allocating appropriate funding to the sector in order to create an environment for private enterprises to flourish. Apart from foreign exchange earned and economy generated, the government will directly benefit from such investment through increased tax returns, given the multiplier effect of the tourist dollar in the economy.
- Tourism should be private sector driven. Tourism growth and development should be primarily directed by the principle of demand and supply, which make the private sector a major partner in growing the industry.
- Tourism should be community based. Without the support and participation in tourism by the widest spectrum of the citizens the foundations of hospitality, service and facility standards will remain weak and the sector will not be able to develop sustainably.
- Tourism should be labour conscious. The sector is in urgent need of a service ethic and culture of excellence and the importance of a motivated, skilled and productive labour force should be acknowledged and supported by all parties.
- **Actions** [among others]:
- Increasing private sector investment in tourism by instituting a consolidated package of dedicated financing opportunities.
- Initiating programmes to accelerate community ownership and involvement in tourism, particularly aimed at disadvantaged communities.

Source: Tourism in GEAR (1998: 4-6)

Again the Tourism in GEAR proposes the usual framework of action. Tourism must be “Government-led, private-sector driven and community-based”. This document also adds the specification “labour conscious.” In the above citations, typical neo-liberal discourse about partnerships, community involvement, global change, private sector, competitive advantage and financing opportunities, is clearly observable and intrinsic to the texts.

As already noted, amongst the actions to facilitate tourism development are “increasing private sector investment [and] Initiating programmes to accelerate community ownership and involvement” (Tourism in GEAR, 1998: 6). As already argued, there is an inherent contradiction between the two actions. It is argued in this study that the facilitation of private investment works against community ownership and involvement, as the private sector seeks profit and poor communities risk being excluded from the tourism development process. This must be understood in the context of the previously highlighted statement that government will “work closely with

international funding agencies, the local and international private sectors, NGOs and other relevant partners to define responsible tourism and establish a standard for it” (Tourism White Paper, 1996).

In analysing partnership and that of CBT involvement, it is clear that the concept of partnership outlined in the South African tourism policy documents discussed above, follows a progression from alternative to a neo-liberal policy framework. The consequences of this progression are elaborated for the Pondoland CBT case study (see Chapter 8).

Overall, it appears that what is being sought is not too dramatic a change in the structure and management procedures of the tourism industry. For example, the WTO-OMT president stated “that the two UNWTO's [WTO-OMT] would work even more closely in the future to ensure that tourism takes its rightful place as a key component of the global services revolution”, and that through "Liberalisation with a Human Face" the tourism sector will “contribute decisively to an equitable and durable trading regime that plays its full part in the fight against poverty” (WTO-OMT, n.d., g). Policies are instead hoping to rebalance the industry within the limits of neo-liberal possibilities. That is, contemporary tourism policies are circumscribed by what Peet (2003: 17) refers to as the “depth of a hegemony [that] resides in the ability of a discursive formation to specify the parameters of the practical, the realistic and the sensible among a group of theoreticians, political practitioners and policy makers [and] where critical discussion is limited to variants of a given discourse.” It is left to the private sector and allied organisations to define the ways in which neo-liberal policy is to be applied in the light of poor communities’ development.

5.2.3.3 The Responsible Tourism Handbook

The above point is made very clear by a reading of the Responsible Tourism Handbook. The document foreword is written by the then Minister of Tourism, Valli Moosa, who stated:

This Responsible Tourism Handbook goes one step further by giving practical examples of how tourism operators can improve their economic, social and environmental practices. We encourage you, as a tourism operator, to use this handbook to help set your own benchmarks – and to truly make a difference to our country’s future.

(Responsible Tourism Handbook, 2003: 3)

The handbook states that “The Responsible Tourism Guidelines *encourage* tourism operators to grow their businesses whilst providing social and economic benefits to local communities and respecting the environment” (Responsible Tourism Handbook, 2003: 4. Emphasis added).

In the Responsible Tourism Handbook the approach appears to leave private enterprises unchecked. The assumption is that they are acting in good faith with regard to how they can involve poor communities in the tourism sector. It is a series of proposed actions that private companies can implement. The extent to which the implementation happens depends on the good will of the private companies, not on forced law. The tourism guidelines are as follows (see Box 5.4):

Box 5.4

<p>Economic Guidelines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assess economic impacts before developing tourism.• Maximise local economic benefits by increasing linkages and reducing leakages.• Ensure communities are involved in and benefit from tourism.• Assist with local marketing and product development.• Promote equitable business and pay fair prices. <p>Social Guidelines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Involve local communities in planning and decision making.• Assess social impacts of tourism activities.• Respect social and cultural diversity.• Be sensitive to the host culture. <p>Environmental Guidelines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reduce environmental impacts when developing tourism.• Use natural resources sustainably.• Maintain biodiversity. <p>Source: Responsible Tourism Handbook (2003: 4).</p>
--

Again, the guidelines aim not at changing the structure of tourism development but on the *voluntary* adaptation of the neo-liberal framework to more socially and environmentally just procedures. Consequently, the issue of the efficacy of the Handbook guidelines lies beyond the appreciation or not of the guidelines themselves. It is the framework within which the guidelines are proposed and elaborated that can jeopardise CBT development, rather than the guidelines themselves.

5.2.4 Partnerships in community-based tourism

Before analysing in detail the meaning of community involvement as articulated in the current policy framework, it is necessary to emphasise the partnership working milieu. As noted, “taken together, the White Paper on tourism and Tourism in GEAR document signal the need for a

collaborative approach within which ‘tourism should be led by the government and driven by the private sector, and be community-based and labor conscious’” (Rogerson and Visser 2004 a: 8).

From the documents cited above, it is possible to recognise the features of the main kinds of partnerships. The first is the public/private partnership. This term, currently in vogue, has however been criticized as “a term that often turns out to be a euphemism for state-provided subsidies and services for the private sector” (Honey, 1999: 18). This is emphasised by the fact that practically none of the policy directions fosters involvement of the state in owning and managing tourism related enterprises (or strongly facilitates community ‘private’ ownership or the development of micro and small enterprises at community level). Consequently, the only involvement can be to facilitate the private sector, given that tourism is recognised as private sector driven. The role of the state is circumscribed to furnish only necessary infrastructure and facilities for the private sector to flourish. The state should “demonstrate the priority it places on tourism as a growth sector by effecting efficient policies and allocating appropriate funding to the sector in order to create an environment for private sector to flourish” (Tourism in GEAR, 1998: 6).

The following Table (Table 5.1), which outlines Business Development and Investment Promotion in the Tourism in GEAR (1998) document, emphasises a series of points. The Table shows by giving different objectives and their associated priorities to the various strategies on tourism business development and promotion the place of tourism policy within the GEAR strategy and the link to neo-liberal policies. Only one aspect – *to evaluate and demonstrate the potential of tourism as a community-based economic activity* – appears to be specifically moving in the direction of CBT development, while all other aspects listed in the Table relate in different ways more to neo-liberal private sector investment, tourism development incentives and promotion packages. Another part of one objective relates to the establishment of ‘dedicated tourism financing and technical assistance programmes’ also to ‘community infrastructure development projects.’ this point goes in the direction of assisting community-based development, nevertheless the issue is to verify how poor communities, where often illiteracy is very high, have the means and capacity to access the institution where technical and planning is available.

Table 5.1 Business Development and Investment Promotion in Tourism in GEAR

Business Development and Investment Promotion				
Objective	Project/action	Role players	Target date	Priority
To establish dedicated tourism financing and technical assistance programmes for SMME's, large ventures and community infrastructure development projects.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate the establishment of dedicated tourism financing facilities within the existing agencies (Khula, IDC, DBSA etc.) Facilitate the establishment of appropriate financing retailer(s) to disburse loans and technical assistance. 	DEAT/DTI Khula, IDC, DBSA, Ntsika	Oct.'97 – March '98	B
		DEAT/DTI Provinces, pvt.sector, Local Business Support Centres, NGO's, banks, development corporations	March '98 Ongoing	B
To evaluate and demonstrate the potential of tourism as a community-based economic activity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish a community entrepreneurship pilot programme in 20 areas around the country, including tourism awareness, planning, financial and technical support 	DEAT/Provinces, DTI, Satour, LBSC's, DACST, DBSA, Khula, Ntsika, retailers, DACST, conservation agencies, private sector	April '98 ongoing	C
To provide appropriate tourism development incentives in order to address market failure in the sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigate tourism incentive needs and identify key requirements Agree on and implement a coherent package of incentives for tourism development, based on the principles of market failure and promotion of sustainability and integrated with existing incentive packages 	Funding and Financing Work Group (FFWG), DEAT (as convenor), DTI, Provinces, private sector, Satour, DF, DBSA, IDC	June – Oct. '98	B
		DEAT, DTI, DF, SARS, Provinces, Satour	Oct.'98 ongoing	B
To effectively promote private sector investment in the tourism sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop an investment promotion plan package, i.e. promotion material, information fact sheets & database of investment opportunities Conduct various promotion initiatives, e.g. investment seminars, workshops, etc. 	DEAT, DTI, Investment South Africa, IDC, DFA, Satour, private sector	Feb. '98	A
		DEAT, DTI, Investment SA, DFA, Satour, private sector	March '98 ongoing	B

Source: Tourism in GEAR (1998: 15)

The priority given to the various objectives also elucidate the main direction proposed by the document. In the priority list the issue specifically focusing on community-based projects is the only one with priority C (the lowest priority) and, also, it seems to be only an experimental project with its 20 pilot programmes. It seems that this objective is quite of secondary relevance. On the other hand the relevance given to “effectively promote private sector investment in the tourism sector” with its specific project of “develop an investment promotion plan package, i.e. promotion material, information fact sheets and database of investment opportunities” is the only with an A priority (the highest).

It seems that the above-mentioned imperatives towards community ownership aimed at disadvantaged communities within Tourism in GEAR relate mostly to a context of private sector investment, and are not community-based in focus. This seems somewhat ironic in the light of the statement that part of the programme is intended to serve to redress/correct market failure. Critics such as Terreblanche (2002: 435) have noted that the “GEAR strategy of 1996 is also the best example of a naïve optimism about the spontaneous ‘trickle-down’ effect of a high economic growth rate on the poor.”

Here it is important to mention the discussion around strategy for the transformation of the tourism sector in South Africa. The relevant report is titled ‘Towards a Strategy to Transform Tourism in South Africa’. The document claims that it “is aimed at defining the broad framework necessary for the formulation of a strategy that would inform the type of intervention needed to transform the industry” (DEAT, 2000: 1). The report states under the section ‘Defining Transformation’:

As outlined in the DEAT discussion document, transforming tourism is defined as: *‘changing the nature of the South African tourism industry from one that is predominantly white-owned to one that is increasingly owned equitably by the majority of South Africans’*. An instrument required to advance the objective of transformation is known as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). The cluster report defines this term as: *‘creating opportunities for the integration of historically disadvantaged people into the economic mainstream. BEE embraces the need to improve the conditions of life and livelihood of previously disadvantaged South Africa, to provide meaningful opportunities for black economic advancement through the equitable distribution of jobs, skills and income ownership of capital’*.

(DEAT, 2000: 1)

The recurring terminology referring to *disadvantaged community* or *people* in Tourism in GEAR and in the above quotation suggests that the change in the tourism sector lies within the neo-liberal framework of private investment policies, using the BEE policy to insert black entrepreneurs into the industry. The problem is that this methodology unfortunately seems not to be touching the poorest part of the population. It has been noted that BEE suggests “socio-economic improvement of the general black population, yet it called for the enrichment of the minority black capitalist class” (Maseko, 1999 in Marais, 2001: 136).

If we put these points against what was mentioned above by Terreblanche (2002), it is clear that the tourism sector in South Africa is well within the ambit of global neo-liberal hegemony, using the concept of BEE to facilitate a kind of development within neo-liberal lines that excludes the majority of black South Africans. Or, as “Bishop Desmond Tutu once said that the gravy train had stopped only [long enough] for the black elite to climb on” (Terreblanche, 2002: 137). Thus the terms *disadvantaged community/people* and BEE seem to relate to a new sort of hegemony/discourse framework elaborated in post-apartheid South Africa, to maintain the structure of society founded on neo-liberal policies and favouring only a minority of newcomers.

Two situations are visible; the first and major emphasis is on building *partnerships* while the second (although pursued less vigorously) is *adoption*. After scrutiny of the tourism policies and documents it is clear that community-private partnership seems to be the real goal in relation to CBT. Nevertheless it should be noted that the marginal and/or poor are usually in a weak position due to the lack of human and capital resources. The marginal thus oppose the private sector. As Scheyvens states (2002: 191). “if the private sector actors have more power, then they will be likely to negotiate an agreement which prioritises their interest” Furthermore it is recognised (Sinclair, 1992 in Scheyvens 2002: 191) that a “stake in ownership of a tourism venture by local people does not necessarily equate with control over the venture’s operations.”

Two factors are of particular relevance in the partnership process, these are the geographical localisation as well as commitment and ethical spirit of the different actors involved in the partnership. A study on an Ecotourism project at Il Ngwesi in Kenya suggests that such partnerships may work in particular conditions: “even if the relationship between the partners is asymmetrical at first and even if the partners approach collaboration with differing goals and levels of commitment. The study suggests that differences can be managed if there is a reasonable level of trust between the partners, especially if both partners are committed to the local environment, or firmly grounded ‘in place’” (Thomas and Brooks, 2003: 10).

In their study Thomas and Brooks (2003: 17) also suggest that “A final key factor in the relative success story of the Il Ngwesi partnership was the point that ‘big business’ or at least exploitative developers were not part of the project. While it may not always be possible to exclude such institutions, this study suggests that successful projects are where the necessary leadership is locally based, with pre-existing relationships, and committed to a future in the area.” Nevertheless Thomas and Brooks (2003: 17) point out that the project investigated in their research “has been hailed a rare success story in a context where many similar integrated conservation and development project (ICDP) initiatives have failed.”

As a consequence of all of these problems, it is only too likely that communities can end up with little economic benefits from joint tourism development. Broader benefits such as skills training will be lacking (Scheyvens 2002: 191).

Stated differently, “A characteristic of community-based tourism is that it requires a multi-institutional support structure in order to achieve success” (Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584). Unfortunately, because the state concentrates its energies in facilitating private sector investment, a lower priority seems to be dedicated to CBT development in South Africa. Private companies use community resources to bring their tourists: “community tourism is becoming increasingly popular, with tourists wanting to experience South Africa in the many rural villages and townships across the country” (South Africa Yearbook, 2002/2003: 528).

This approach can be seen in the policy for the Wild Coast in the OR Tambo District Municipality. The key policy document states:

The development approach is the integrated sustainable rural development in the context of community, public, private partnership initiatives. Key objectives of Spatial Development Initiative as a development strategy, as stated in the Province of the Eastern Cape Growth and Development Strategy is:

- To generate sustainable economic growth and development in the Wild Coast area;
- To generate long-term and sustainable employment for local inhabitants;
- *To maximise the mobilisation of private investment, especially in the context of community tourism development and to lessen demands on government funds for development projects;*

- To exploit spin-off opportunities from tourism investments for the development of SMMEs and for the development of local communities; and
- To exploit the under-utilised location and economic advantages of SDI areas for export oriented growth”

(Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d., emphasis added).

It seems that the ‘community’ is useful “To maximise the mobilisation of private investment, especially in the context of community tourism development and to lessen demands on government funds for development projects” (Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.). This is a key statement, especially if analysed together with the meaning of tourism investment in CBT as outlined in the World Bank consultancy document (see Chapter Three) and in relation to increasingly popular “Joint ventures which see community resources being used for tourism in exchange for profit sharing, jobs and other material benefit” (Scheyvens 2002: 194). There is a concordance in the language and meaning of these uses of CBT which views communities as resources to be exploited or used by private investors.

The other strategy, which is both less common in practice and less advertised, is adoption. This strategy was discussed and advocated in the early South African Tourism White Paper. Point 2.2 II, entitled “Myopic Private Sector”, argued in 1996 that adoption had been very successful as a strategy elsewhere in the world, and that the South African industry should take it more seriously:

Another major problem facing the South African tourism industry is a short sighted private sector. Hotels, and indeed many other tourism establishments, tend to have a rather limited view of the product they offer - only goods and services within their four walls. If a visitor is harassed on the road; over-charged by a taxi driver; the environment destroyed by insensitive development; or schools are dilapidated, it is not considered the hotel's concern. Experience indicates that hotels that have taken a much broader view of their product tended to be more successful:

- Curtin Bluff Hotel in Antigua has virtually adopted its surrounding community. Locals from the village, for example, are provided with opportunities to become tennis pros and many are sent abroad for training.
- Half Moon Hotel in Jamaica has adopted half a mile of highway surrounding its hotel and is committed to maintaining and beautifying it. The hotel is also in the forefront of environmental conservation.

- Hotels in St. Lucia in the Caribbean have pioneered an 'adopt a farmer' programme. The advanced orders that hotels provide farmers with the necessary collateral for them to obtain bank loans to invest in production.

(Tourism White Paper, 1996)

Despite the move of a number of tourism companies in increased community participation the number of companies involved are still the exceptions (Tourism White Paper, 1996). Leaving aside the fact that this methodology and its terminology, seems very paternalistic and dependency oriented, the outcome is strictly one of community involvement dependent on private sector goodwill as demonstrated by the voluntary approach of the Responsible Tourism Handbook previously analysed. The Tourism White paper (1996) admits that “the initiatives are, however, still an exception” showing that when private companies depend on their goodwill guidelines on helping communities at the level of participation is low.

5.2.5 Tourism policy for the Wild Coast

This section looks at the way in which such tourism policies are interpreted at a local (regional level). Looking specifically at the Wild Coast, policy documents note that: “The area was identified, because of its unique position, as providing a model for integrating rural development initiatives based on land and agrarian livelihoods with modern approaches to community driven tourism development” (Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.). The document continues by listing the “key objectives of SDI strategy in the Wild Coast” (from Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.):

- To generate sustainable economic growth and development in the Wild Coast area;
- To generate long-term and sustainable employment for local inhabitants;
- *To maximise the mobilisation of private investment, especially in the context of community tourism development and to lessen demands on government funds for development projects (emphasis added);*
- To exploit spin-off opportunities from tourism investments for the development of SMME's and for the development of local communities; and
- To exploit the under-utilised location and economic advantages of SDI areas for export oriented growth.

This is worth comparing with the terminology of the World Bank in relation to private investment interests. A World Bank consultancy paper written by Christie and Crompton (2001: 37) say: “community-based tourism, which provides access to ethnic groups and the natural and cultural

assets of which they are custodians.” The link between the World Bank consultancy and the Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality can be seen. Thus, from global to local levels there is a similar common approach. The logic of hegemonic institutions that control much of the globalisation process is visibly welcomed and re-proposed along the same lines in a specific locally based approach.

The strategy for achieving these objectives in the Wild Coast context is also familiar: “The development approach is the integrated sustainable rural development in the context of community, public, private partnership initiatives” (Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.). The partnership methodology is again emphasised.

The Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (2003) notes that: South Africa has chosen Responsible Tourism as best practice based on a foundation supported by four pillars.” According to the document, tourism should be (from Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan, 2003): government led, private sector driven, community based and labour sensitive. Considerable emphasis is placed on CBT development (see Box 5.5).

Box 5.5

4.8. Issue 7: Community-based Tourism Development

The Eastern Cape should take advantage of the framework and guiding principles provided in the 5-Year Plan for community based tourism development in South Africa that was prepared by the Executive Committee of the Community Tourism Association of South Africa (CTA). The effective role and functions of community based tourism organizations (CBTs) have been analysed from different countries around the world.

The CTA programme of action and implementation strategy could assist the Eastern Cape with the development of community-based tourism in the different regions of the province. A definition of 'community', is often an issue of heated discussion and debate at workshops. Communities may live and work together but are not necessarily homogenous groups but rather a group of people with different backgrounds, experiences, education, cultures and interests. For communities to effectively work together they need to have a shared vision, commitment to a common interest, and joint ownership of a plan, idea, project or concept. The CTA has accepted the following definition based on a community of interest built on shared understanding:

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.

Although there are no accredited training programmes specifically designed for CBT in South Africa, there is adequate capacity building training material available and no shortage of experienced trainers to develop a course for the Eastern Cape Province.

Source: Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan (2003)

It is important to note that although the definition of CBT properly mentions the aspects in which the community should be principal actors (identification, development, management and promotion of projects), the problem lies in the question of who codifies and articulates such a definition. The Eastern Cape Tourism Master Plan sees CBT positively, however, the policies of the Eastern Cape Provincial Government partner, the Community Tourism Association (CTA), should be scrutinised. The CTA defines itself in this way:

The Community Tourism Association is an independent, self-help group of community tourism organisations, tourism information offices, and District Municipalities which are all involved in the implementation of tourism at local and regional level in the Republic of South Africa.

(CTA, n.d.)

A closer look at its membership list reveals the problems - the association recognises as members many different bodies at 'institutional' level such as West Coast Regional Tourism Organisation, Pietermaritzburg Tourism and Ugu District Municipality (CTA, n.d.). The association is in fact not a CBT association in the sense that that it can foster real community-based philosophy and meaning: the designation "community tourism association" is terminologically misleading as it appears to be an association of bureaucratic apparatus and local business associations. This does not correspond to CBT principles and aims and arguably, in contrast to real CBT, it is well within a neo-liberal system of tourism approaches followed in the country as a whole. It is hard to find real CBT imperatives that are identified, developed, managed and promoted by poor local people. The point seems to be lost that CBT in the context of developing countries comes out of an alternative development approach that was formulated and intended for the poorer part of the population and not for business associations or government offices/officials (see Chapter Three).

The final section of the chapter considers a document which lays out the Tourism Planning Framework for the O R Tambo District Municipality.²⁶ In particular, the goal is to see whether one can identify the theme of an ever closer relationship with neo-liberal policy. A key extract from the document is included in Box 5.6 below.

The document's language is well placed in the neo-liberal framework. It is very much about *brand name, packaging opportunities for investment, the private sector have a very important role to play*, and so on. It seems to be all about increasing private investor confidence in a "negative

²⁶ Note that this document has been written by a private consultancy (Peter Norton & Associates cc) and has been supported by The EU Wild Coast programme.

investment environment” and in promoting private investment. An especially interesting point is that an explicit distinction is made between the original “low key” conception of the Wild Coast Horse and Hiking trail, and the “grander concept” that is now envisaged. Also, it is made clear that “a significant amount of effort should go into establishing more effective working relationships with existing private sector operators (even if they are mostly white) and in developing black entrepreneurs in tourism (as opposed to focusing too much on the community tourism model)” (Norton, 2003: 32).

Box 5.6

- The Framework examines the implications of maintaining the Wild Coast as a *brand name*, and suggests some actions to maintain this character, while still creating opportunities for local communities to improve their quality of life.
- In *packaging opportunities for investment* the trend is to look for outside investors directly. It is important that local entrepreneurs are also given the opportunity to tender, and to look for outside partners themselves. If this is successful, it will ensure that a greater portion of “primary ownership” remains in the District.
- Good progress has been made by the EU Wild Coast Programme with developing the Wild Coast Horse and Hiking Trail, as a much *grander concept than the original low-key Wild Coast Hiking Trail*, and developing strong ownership and participation by communities.
- The National White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa clearly states that tourism development will be “Government-led but Private Sector driven”. In line with this, it is important that the OR Tambo DM guard against creating expectations that tourism will somehow be government-driven. *The private sector have a very important role to play, and a significant amount of effort should go into establishing more effective working relationships with existing private sector operators (even if they are mostly white) and in developing black entrepreneurs in tourism (as opposed to focusing too much on the community tourism model).*
- Over several years the Wild Coast SDI Project has put a substantial amount of resources in attracting investment to the Wild Coast, with extremely limited success. The main reason for this appears to be a *negative investment environment*, with lack of clarity over land ‘ownership’, poor local governance, poor protection of local resources, among others. There should be a targeted project that makes use of private sector expertise, to work on a more positive investment environment, including the establishment of much clearer rules and policy on investment in communal and rural areas.

In addition, it is essential that it is made clear to private sector investors who the overall coordinator of potential investment is, and that even the perception of a “tug-of-war” between local and provincial development agencies or departments is avoided. In other words, the relevant players must get together and agree on who is the main point of contact with potential investors, and from then onwards all queries and negotiations should be channelled through them. It is also essential that all potential players are given the opportunity to invest in tourism, including entrepreneurs who already operate in the Wild Coast area, and that perceptions of ‘special deals’ are countered. For this reason it is not recommended that ‘unsolicited bids’ for tourism investment projects be considered unless there are exceptional circumstances, and only after essentially the same opportunities have already been put out on a more open tender.

Source: Norton (2003: 32). [Emphasis added].

This seems to be the final decapitation of any possible alternative tourism solution, while resonating powerfully within the global neo-liberal agenda with, possibly, the insertion of BEE entrepreneurs. CBT becomes ever more distant in the overall consideration of tourism development, and everything is oriented to favor private companies’ investment, and (ironic in the

case of South Africa) this is “even if they are mostly white”. The extent to which this policy serves to recalibrate the tourism industry along race lines and especially to foster community holistic development has to be seen.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed three levels of policies within the tourism sector. First, the EU tourism policy in developing countries was scrutinised. This has been done because the EU is the institutional actor involved in the CBT development project that forms the case study of this research. A case study of EU involvement in the tourism sector in the South Pacific was discussed (using secondary sources) to give a comparative example. National South African and more locally based (Pondoland coast) tourism policies have been investigated to allow understanding of the current policy context of the case study which is elaborated in the next chapters.

In light of the evidence presented in this chapter, it seems ironic that *The ACP-EU Courier* (No 195, November-December 2002) said in 2002, about half-way through the programme and referring to the Wild Coast project, that:

Amadiba Adventures is a pioneering experiment, part of a wide-ranging programme of community tourism initiatives on the Wild Coast. The programme has received some €2 million in funding from the EU for the period 2000-2004. It aims to protect environmental resources, develop skills and foster community driven economic development. As one of the programme’s managers, Gernott Ott, explains: The aim of the exercise is fairly simple: to improve the quality of life of people living in one of South Africa’s poorest regions by setting up sustainable tourism projects, managed by the communities themselves.

(ACP-EU, 2002)

South Africa Tourism wrote in its guide: “There is a fantastic community project on the northern Wild Coast [...] The entire project is run by the local community, with marketing and management input from a non-profit, non-government organisation” (South Africa Tourism, n.d.). The next two chapters provide a detailed discussion of the actual history of the project and the direction its development took over the period from 2002 to 2006. The discussion of the policy environment presented in this chapter provides important clues to explain the change of direction within the project and the gradual subversion of CBT principles.

It is worth concluding with a quote from Turner (2001: 361) that ends by asking a simple, and uncomfortable, question.

The Wild Coast of South Africa is the scene for one of the country's premier efforts to transform the rural economy and create new jobs. The Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) advertises to the world's investors 'the coast is clear'. As with other SDIs around the country, a government agency is promoting rapid rural and regional development around the construction of major new transport links. Building on a new road through the Wild Coast area, this particular SDI makes much of the area's spectacular scenery and of the potential for lucrative, labour intensive tourism investments. But urgent tourism developments like this are not always popular. The deeply impoverished people of the Wild Coast recall the exploitation and land grabs that have accompanied tourist development in the past. Complaining that the SDI agency has not consulted them properly or clarified how their land rights will be secured, they wonder whether SDI-sponsored tourism will be any different. If the SDI succeeds in attracting new hotels and leisure complexes to the Wild Coast, will they just be islands of privilege in an unchanging sea of poverty?

This is exactly the question to ask. The case study chapters of this research will not have the final answer but will certainly show that the practical outcomes of the CBT project reflect "business as usual" on the Wild Coast.

Chapter 6

Pondoland in perspective

6.1 Introduction

This chapter uses a combination of secondary and primary sources to provide the reader with an understanding of the local context within which the case study project unfolds. First, a history of Pondoland is summarised. Historical issues of communal use of natural resources, the traditional authorities and migrancy are investigated to provide a better understanding of the changing local situation. Secondly, the changing factors such as the Pondoland National Park, the N2 Toll Road, the mining companies and introduction of tourism private companies, are highlighted.

6.2 The history of Pondoland

The geographical area known as Pondoland lies in the south east of South Africa. Today it belongs institutionally to the Eastern Cape Province and the O R Tambo District Municipality. The region has a complex history which will be briefly described here. As Feely (n.d.) notes that the area was formerly occupied by hunter gatherers about 150,000 years ago and by agropastoralists in the 7th century AD leaving a footprint on the environment for centuries.

The area is home to the AmaMpondo, “one of the 12 Xhosa speaking tribes” (Hayward, n.d.). The fact that the AmaMpondo were agro-pastoralist does not mean that their socio-economic system was self-contained. In fact, “Trade between the amaPondo and other Xhosa speakers - where Xhosa tobacco and cannabis was traded for metal - has been dated to 400 years ago. Trade between the Xhosa and Boers was recorded 300 years back” (Hayward, n.d.).

In his *Pioneers in Pondoland* (n.d.) Rev. Godfrey Callaway states that “The Pundos were first mentioned by name as occupying their present country in the accounts of the survivors of the Stavenisse, wrecked in 1685” (Callaway, n.d.: 19). Regarding the people, an inclination towards agropastoralism can again be discerned despite the dated bigoted – such as the ‘very lazy’ assertion - language of the time as indicated by Callaway (n.d.: 21).

This research is about understanding the relationship between global forces and CBT in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Consequently it is necessary to emphasise two further aspects relating to the AmaMpondo. The first is their continuation of traditional forms of living, and secondly – most important to this research – is the historical positioning of the Mpondo in the

capitalist system. The historian William Beinart, in his classic study of the incorporation of Pondoland into the emerging South African capitalist economy (1982), noted:

Contemporary observers certainly commented on the distinctive character of Mpondo society in the 1930s. The magistrate of Lusikisiki ... prefaced his comments on cattle sales in the 1930s by asserting the fact that the Pondos are probably the most conservative tribe in these Territories.

(Beinart, 1982: 162)²⁷

Other commentators have remarked on the continuity of the AmaMpondo lifestyles with the past. Hayward notes that Pondoland has retained its distinctive character despite political changes: with the democratic election in South Africa the Transkei became part of the Eastern Cape Province but still remain as a discrete region with traditional form of land use and government. Modern ideas are also used but integrated alongside traditional process (Hayward, n.d., Emphasis added).

This principle Escobar (1995) states is needed to produce an alternative to conventional development. The principles being: “the defense of cultural difference, not as static but as a transformed and transformative force; and the valorisation of economic needs and opportunities in terms that are not strictly those of profit and the market” (Escobar, 1995: 226). It is important to underline that tradition must not be confused with narrowness and rejection towards new systems but must be seen as part of an open approach of insertion, and possible re-reading/transformation, in the context of traditional forms of living.²⁸

Furthermore, Escobar (1995: 169) writes: “Within the Andean worldview – in PRATEC’s [Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas]²⁹ exposition – the peasant world is conceived of as a living being, with no separation between people and nature, between individual and community, between society and the gods.” This exposition of an approach to living can be equated to *Ubuntu* as a traditional African form of living. “The idea of Ubuntu is the idea of justice not merely in legal terms but in terms of proper relationships between a human person and the universe, between the person and nature, between the person and another person” (Bhengu, 2006: 30). Ubuntu reflects the famous saying, “I am because we are: I exist because the community exists” (Bhengu: 30, 2006).

6.2.1 Access to communal natural resources

²⁷ For a comprehensive, and detailed, exposition of Pondoland’s historical socio-economic situation see Beinart (1982).

²⁸ In the same way as self-reliance “does not imply isolationism, either politically or economically. It means that we shall depend on ourselves, not on others. But this is not the same thing as saying we shall not trade with other people or co-operate with them when it is to mutual benefit” (Nyerere, 1974: 99).

²⁹ Andean Project of Peasants Technology.

One major reason for traditional attachment is the importance of access to communal resources. Quotations from Beinart's (1982) book *The Political Economy of Pondoland 1860-1930*, clarify the Pondoland situation.

The use of communal ownership of land has been important for the majority of people living in Pondoland, even if, chiefs control influenced some specific aspect of land distribution and usage. According to Beinart (1982: 18, 22):

Access to both arable land and pasturage was implied by the tributary relationship; though chiefs and their immediate supporters might secure the best sites and arbitrate in disputes, there is no evidence to suggest that commoners could be excluded from land. Chiefs did, however, exercise more direct control over communal resources such as the major forests. [...] The ethic of community should not disguise the fact that these could be unequal; homesteads with insufficient resources would be dependent on generosity in time of shortage.

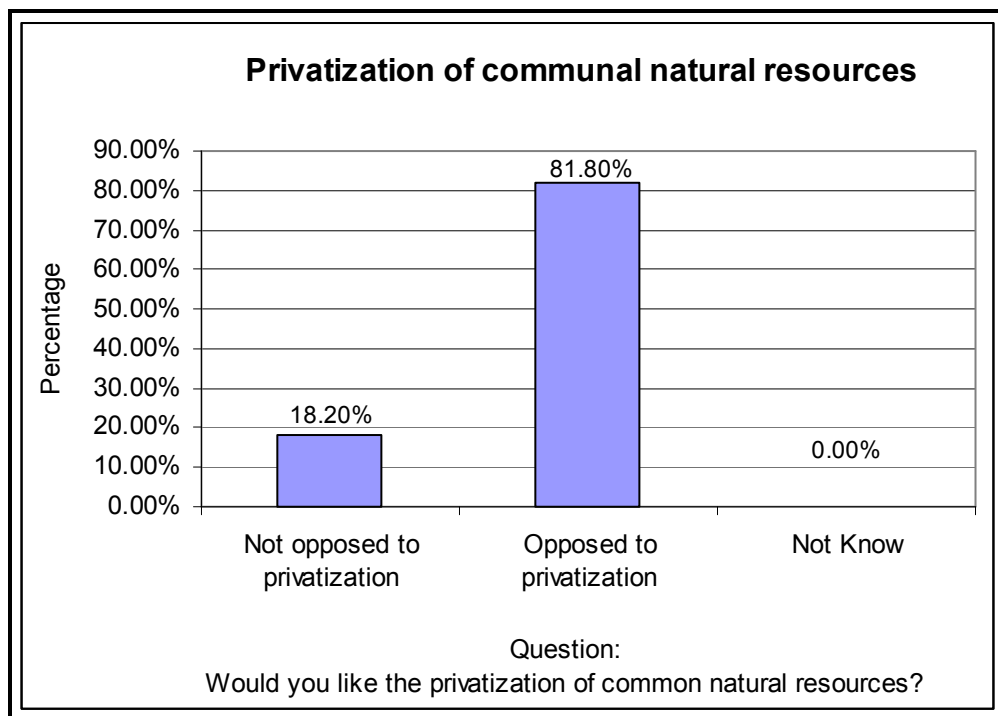
The people in Pondoland and the specific history of the place has been both influential to maintain communal land as a characteristic of Pondoland. Only few areas have been alienated. Moreover, despite major chieftaincy control over communal land the population could always use it for its needs. Beinart (1982: 44,95) writes: "Except for small areas around the magistrate centres, the land in Pondoland remained under communal tenure [...] The triumph of segregationist land policy in the Union [of South Africa] as a whole had the effect of maintaining the *status quo*: Pondoland remained reserved for African occupation under communal land."

The power of the chief was supported by the majority of people against a minority wishing to fence the land to farm land in a more commercial system. It is again Beinart (1982: 126) that can elucidate this situation:

It would be misleading to suggest that communal tenure in Pondoland was defended by the chief alone. A small minority of wealthier, progressive cultivators who wished to fence land, grow winter crops and cash crops, and extend their arable land, found the implication of communal land inhibiting. But for the bulk of the population, communal tenure was their ultimate guarantee to access to both arable plots and grazing [...] the allocation of land through chiefs and headmen, rather than by the state, enabled the mass of the people to exercise some control over land through the political process surrounding local decision-making.

Thus, despite the possible chieftaincy's greater control of communal land the mass of people continued to support its existence. This question of the continuing importance of access to communal natural resources was probed during the period of fieldwork research. As noted in Chapter Four, research was carried out in seven villages and 33 personal questionnaires were administered. Figure 6.1 below shows that the majority of those sampled (81.8%) still regard communal natural resources as inalienable and are opposed to their privatisation. Table 6.1 shows in more detail the reasons given for the position held by the respondents in the different villages.

Figure 6.1. Privatisation of communal natural resources (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

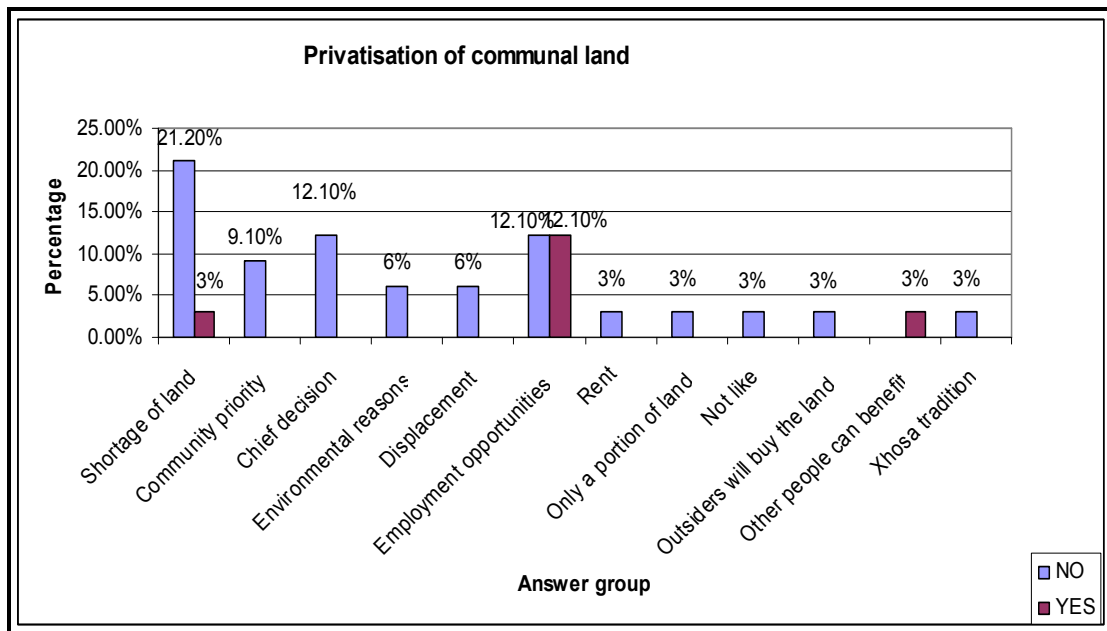
Table 6.1 and Figure 6.2 show different issues. The six positive answers (that is, where respondents indicated that they did not mind privatisation) are mostly linked to the hope that privatizing land would provide access to jobs/employment. It is believed that the privatisation of land might create more jobs for the local communities. On the other hand, for people opposing privatisation the communal land is regarded as a community asset and must consequently be of benefit to the local community. A few people indicated that they would rely on the chief/headman's decision. It is important to realize that the role of the chief/headmen is still, for part of the local population, considered very important.

Table 6.1 Would you support the privatisation of common natural resources (land)? Why? (N=33)

Answer	Reasons
Opposed to privatisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No more land • Will take away opportunities of community • Only rent not sell • Little amount of land • Not private, it is small enough for us • Displacement • Scared of displacement • Too small • Keep land for nature, not to be destroyed • Small land • Small • Shortage of land • Chief decides about land • Not like, community must benefit not other people • Just open something [Open a section of the land] • Doesn't like • Depends on the chief • Will close job opportunities • Chief decides • They want to use themselves • Destroy nature • Outsiders buy land, local lose jobs • It can close opportunities • Only chief can decide, she doesn't like • Will take away the opportunities • Xhosa like the communal land • Will close job opportunities
Not opposed to privatisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If can be employed • Too small • Job opportunities open • More job opportunities • If can be employed • Other people can benefit

Source: Fieldwork

Figure 6.2 Privatisation of communal land (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

Figure 6.2 shows that the shortage of land is seen as a problem. This is especially true in the village of Hili which is very small and positioned in a hill with scarce land on which to farm. It is interesting to observe that employment opportunities in relation to land privatisation are seen from two perspectives. Firstly, it can be inferred that people answering positively see the privatisation of land as an opportunity for investors to invest in the area and consequently open up employment opportunities for local people. Secondly, those who answered negatively see no prospects of employment as a consequence of land privatisation. It seems to suggest that those who answered in the affirmative did so solely in the hope of landing a job as opportunities open up. Divergent views were also given in terms of solving this dilemma. Some respondents supported the idea of receiving rent income from the land while others supported privatising only a portion of the land. The issues of displacement mentioned in the responses can be closely linked to the history of South Africa in which the apartheid regime displaced people at its own whim with impunity.

Two factors are abundantly clear. Firstly, the people of Pondoland have defended their communal tenure of land and natural resources in order to be able to survive. Secondly, although the majority of people were never excluded from the use of communal land and were able to benefit from the communal land, the tenure was controlled by the chieftaincy.

6.2.2 The role of traditional authorities

It is also important to understand the role of chiefs. During white rule the institution of chieftaincy with its system of allies has been considered a key point that enabled the white government to control black people, especially those in the 'native' reserves. Terreblanche (2002: 248) sheds light on the situation when he writes that the "social control system that was institutionalised depended upon maintaining ties of political patronage and clientelism with rural Africans. A close relationship was built with obedient and often corrupted African chiefs who were prepared to act as clients of the white political authorities." The strategy was to co-opt the traditional authority, the chiefs, and align them with the need of the white minority. Thus "in accordance with the principle of the white *trusteeship*, the majority of chiefs of various African tribes were 'co-opted' as a collaborating class during the first half of the 20th century. Many chiefs were corrupted by the white authority with generous form of patronage [...] The only wealthy Africans were collaborating Bantustan leaders and/or chiefs who were co-opted and corrupted by the CM [Chamber of Mines] and the NAD [Native Affairs Department]" (Terreblanche, 2002: 284, 399).

In the words of Govan Mbeki, one of the founding members of the ANC (African National Congress), the Bantustan was a "toy-telephone system" (Mbeki, 1964). As described in "*Our Land...Our life ...our future... A Land Dispossession History*" (Our land..., n.d.), homelands were created based on ethnicity and they were reformulated as to co-opt traditional leaders favoring political control in the homelands. Mbeki (1964) links the co-option and collaboration of the chief with the apartheid regime to the Pondo revolt that occurred between 1960 and 1963. The Pondo people rejected the authority of Pondo Chief Botha Sigcau who was, alongside other chiefs, co-opted by, and became a collaborator of, the apartheid regime. Mbeki (1964) illustrates how the chief, in this case chief Botha Sigcau, was used and rewarded by the apartheid regime. The fact that "In 1953 [Government] tried, through Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, to force the rehabilitation scheme upon Eastern Pondoland" (Mbeki, 1964) despite the opposition of the people show the specific role of the chief between the Government and the people.

The legacy of Bantu Authorities and its effect on the operation of traditional authorities in Pondoland has lived on to the present. In relation to the Wild Coast tourism initiatives studied here, it has been pointed out by other researchers (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003) that the Amadiba project (the precursor to the AmaMpondo Trail), had a problem with the distribution of funds (through ACCODA) and that tribal authorities were involved. For example according to Ntshona and Lahiff (2003: 19-20), reports by different individuals suggest that "R600 was allocated to the chief headman of the Amadiba area for him to visit the King of Pondoland [and] R14,000 was used

to hire a helicopter to transport the King of Pondoland when the chief headman of Mgungundlovu was being installed.” This last point shows that even today possible misuse related to the power position of traditional authority can happen at the disadvantage of resources directed to community development.

6.2.3 Migrancy

A further important issue about the AmaMpondo history, which is embedded in the history of South Africa, is the migrancy factor. AmaMpondo were (and to an important degree still are) migrant workers. Beinart (1982) summarises the complex relation between migrancy and rural societies during the early twentieth century by stating that at the bedrock of South Africa’s early industrialization was migrancy as a form of wage labour. It helped to shape, to some extent, the current political and social landscape and coupled with the resistance of the people, such as the Pondos, to keep their resources gave the regime the leeway to put in place discriminatory policies of the early twentieth century (Beinart, 1982:164).

The apartheid system preferred migrant labour which supplied cheap and controlled labour to the mines and farms, which it later extended to the growing manufacturing sector (Our Land..., n.d.). The Mpondo people have historically been migrants in two sectors of the economy: mines and sugar cane. This is also reported by Beinart (1982: 142) when he writes: “By 1936 [...] migrants in Pondoland remained predominantly mine and sugar-estate workers, and this shaped the particular relationship between wage labour and rural production that characterised the area.” Mbeki (1964) follows the same line, and continues the analysis further in time, saying: “At first most of the labour from the reserves was drawn into work on the farms and mines. Only during the last forty years, and more noticeably since the Second World War, has secondary industry absorbed large numbers” (Mbeki, 1964).

The relationship between mine migrancy and the traditional way of life can be seen in a description of Lusikisiki town by Bulpin (2001) originally written in 1970 which depicted tribespeople adorned in their traditional attire, often riding on horseback as they attended to their business in government offices and those of Kwa Teba (place of Mr. Henry Taberer) who was the pioneer labour recruiter especially for the Witwatersrand mines.

The researcher felt that it was important to try to understand personal experiences of migration in the region. These experiences also show how sugar cane estates and mines were the predominant

searched-for jobs. In the interviews, an attempt was made to probe these personal experiences or oral histories of labour migrancy. The following are some short quotations from the interviews:

I was interested to work in the mine but I went in the office to look for a job but it was full most of the time. I was interested because there was more money at the mines, then I decide to go to sugar cane.

(Interview, Ndengane, 5 December 2004)

Before, I was thinking of working in a mine but now I no more [because of a problem with the eyes].

(Interview, Rhole, 6 December 2004)

Today, despite the changed migration patterns, there is still a strong urge toward migration because of struggles with poverty.

I would like to go wherever there is a job even if it is in a mine.

(Interview, Ndengane, 5 December 2004)

A former migrant who was interviewed living today in the village of Ndengane, highlights the difference between past and present in the following statements. The quotes below are in the second person because they are the words of the interpreter:

...at that time he [the interviewee] just worked in order to drink beer and he was smoking and not knowing what to do with the money, but now when he has money he just buys grocery (Interview, Ndengane, 5 December 2004).

Life is changing for bad than before [...] because now there are some programmes that are run by the development programmes. But now they just employ people to work and then at the end of the day they don't pay for the work done for four months. The workers are told that the money is finished. But before they went to look for a job and worked and got money (Interview, Nedengane, 5 December 2004).

Certainly there are many contradictory situations. Looking at tourism in these areas it is possible to trace a trajectory through apartheid's industrial capitalism on the mines and sugar cane to global capitalism. With neo-liberalism as the 'new panacea' of the tourism industry, the amaMpondo continues to be marginalised and excluded (or rather kept in a controlled dependency situation).

This research will show that in relation to globalisation forces, the current type of involvement of local people is seemingly still primarily as a wage labourers despite the advertised and emphasised “community-based” approach. This is because the community still remains excluded from decision-making and real empowerment. Established capitalist forces, through a mixture of conscious/unconscious (or perhaps voluntary/involuntary) internal and external complicities under the neo-liberal system, shape the outcome of CBT projects and consequently determine the people’s livelihood and degree of participation. Beinart argues that “only when the view from below has been integrated into analyses of the political economy of the country as a whole can the peculiar path of capitalist development in the region [Pondoland] be fully grasped” (Beinart, 1982: 165).

6.3 Current changes

Four changes currently on the agenda in Pondoland need to be briefly outlined to emphasise the ramifications of contemporary capitalist expansion in the region. They are:

- The Pondoland National Park
- The N2 Toll Road
- The mining companies
- Tourism private companies

These issues have to be considered together as they belong to the same development approach that the neo-liberal stream encourages. They are also explicitly linked in policy documents, as the following quotes illustrate:

To realise LED [Local Economic Development] opportunities, to maximise the potential of a conservation area based tourism destination, and to minimise the impacts, it is essential that the Pondoland Conservation Area International Tourism Destination is planned as a parallel process to the planning of the N2 toll road.

(Norton, 2003: 3)

In particular, the building of the N2 is likely to have a significant impact on the area, and inappropriate or uncontrolled developments could close important options for developing the conservation area. At the same time there could be a number of synergies in planning the two projects in tandem. Therefore it is essential that the planning of the N2 and the Pondoland Conservation Area be carried out at the same time.

(Norton, 2003: 18)

It seems that the construction of the N2 Toll Road will be against the development of community 'informal' tourism development thus, favoring the development of more formal capitalist tourism sector that follow neo-liberal development process criteria.

The impoverished local communities have to adapt. This concept seems clear when reading the Tourism Planning Framework for the O R Tambo District Municipality (Norton, 2003: 20):

It is important that the strong emphasis on the nodal development principles of the Wild Coast Tourism Development Policy should be maintained i.e. outside of the nodes only low impact, eco-friendly activities and accommodation should be allowed. In particular, overenthusiastic development of 'restaurants' or other stop-over points by community members should be guarded against, because they could disrupt the trail's 'wild' ambience.

The fact is that in one way or another local CBT is jeopardised and/or the livelihood of people remains confined to poverty without the possibility of improvement, although not – it seems – by old fashioned removals.

In relation to the Limited Development Zones, as a consequence of the 'nodal' development approach it appears that development is to be severely limited. In this regard the gazetted Wild Coast Tourism Development Policy made a strong case for 'nodal' development as opposed to 'ribbon' development all along the Wild Coast. The principle of nodality attempts to limit development to identified nodes in order to prevent inappropriate and sprawling development along the length of the coast (Norton, 2003). It is important to underline that the concept to nodal development is not against development, "On the contrary, it is to encourage essential economic development, but to make sure that the key economic driver, tourism, is made sustainable by concentrating the development in nodes, and protecting sufficient opportunities to have the essential "wild" experience that defines the area" (Norton, 2003: 13).

Norton (2003: 13) writes that there is a huge demand for infrastructure such as water, electricity, telecommunications and shops however emphasis should be placed on identified nodes on the coast and on villages that are at least 5 km inland. Certainly it looks strange that so much emphasis is given to environmental issues but at the same time pressure is exerted to build the N2 Toll road in a center of endemic biodiversity and an area of great environmental significance. The consultant's statement that the "development of 'restaurants' or other stop-over points by community members should be guarded against" (Norton, 2003: 20) is particularly striking.

Clearly, it is true that development must be coordinated in a manner that considers the environment as a high priority, but this does not explain why, as this research shows, private companies can easily invest, while CBT is, in one way or another, arrested. The cultural hegemony of neo-liberalism is visible in prioritisation of the environment over the development of communities, and external private companies over community owned cooperatives or micro- and small locally owned tourism establishments.

However, it is not possible to ignore the development needs of communities altogether. This is clear from the following “compromise” suggested under the section of Limited Development Zones which states there is need to roll out a programme agreed to at all tiers of government that identifies ‘Limited Development Zones’ which will support the ‘Wild Coast’ brand name by deliberately restricting developments on the coast so that it maintains its ‘wild’ character. This will however entail that some homesteads will not enjoy the benefits of development such as electricity and water but will have to be given options for alternative livelihoods while ensuring that they benefit from tourism (Norton, 2003: 23).

It seems clear that local communities living in specific areas allocated to tourism development will have difficulties (or will be unable) to obtain basic services such as electricity. Local people desiring to better living standards and infrastructure will have to move in order to get them as “some communities or homesteads would not be allowed to get the electricity, water and telecommunication infrastructure that they aspire to” (Norton, 2003: 23) and the need to maintain the wild environment and traditional culture (“the wild atmosphere”) intact for the tourists. Alternative solutions to improve their livelihood are suggested through “carefully planned programme[s]”. While CBT development is surely a possible alternative solution, nevertheless the conclusion of this research will show how the “carefully planned programmes” do not seem to change the historical exclusion of local people, and continue to jeopardize the possibility of a holistic development framework emerging. The concluding sentence of the quote is illustrative. The outcome is that local poor people living in tourism attractive areas are pushed to move in other places in order to gain better infrastructure, but at the same time they are excluded from the benefits of tourism development. They are not properly included, through a holistic development strategy, within the tourism development process.

In relation to community versus private investment it was reported in 2004 that the Amadiba Trails has been persuaded by Wilderness Safaris to have camps along the strip, whereas the DEAT approved in the press for the Umgazi Bungalow type developments (WESSA, 2004). By 2006 it

was reported that Wilderness Safaris had concessions to upgrade tourism facilities at Mtentu and Mkambati for about R35 million but the delay in getting the necessary long-term leases Wilderness Safaris brought to a halt these projects (Enslin, 2006). As will emerge, also the AmaMpondo Trail, that is the following of the Amadiba Trail, will also experience the involvement of TTNC involvement. The outcome in this case was even more concerning. It is suggested that mining is explicitly linked to the failure of tourism development in the region (Enslin, 2006).

The EU is not without blame here, as a revealing letter by a community member in 2005 shows that there were allegations of missing millions earmarked for the development of the area with the writer challenging the EU to come clean on the issue particularly regarding the leases which were being signed without the knowledge of local authorities and the involvement of communities (Dispatch, 2005). The response from the EU mentioned that there was a special Task Team which was set up jointly with the relevant national, provincial and local authorities including the OR Tambo and the Amathole District Municipalities which was overseeing the implementation of the Wild Coast SDI Pilot Programme to deliver tourism enterprise in the area and subsequent to that a Consultative forum was also set at the local level (Dispatch, 2005). The resident of Port St. Johns (Dispatch, 2005) illustrates how the local community seems to be left out of all process. The resident of Port St. Johns (Dispatch, 2005) – as Enslin (2006) – also raises the issue related to “millions of rands [...] unaccounted.” Concerning unaccounted funds Ntshona and Lahiff (2003) also wrote about it in relation to some spending through ACCODA.

The answer of Dave Arkwright Wild Coast SDI Pilot Programme Manager (Dispatch, 2005) does not give any indication about the issues raised by the Port St. Johns resident only that the matter will be discussed in future meetings. The only mentioning of the Wild Coast SDI Pilot Programme Manager seems to be the explication of the new working structure of the project. Furthermore, it does not specify who the stakeholders of the Consultative Forum are and what should be the link with the local community. Moreover, the word Consultative seems to imply that the participating stakeholders do not have real decision-making power.

Thus, looking at the Wild Coast in relation to mining and tourism, the title of a WESSA article seems prophetically appropriate that mining and tourism are competing for the Pondoland coastline (WESSA, 2004). The problem is that local communities are out of the process most of the time and, it seems, not properly informed on what is going on.

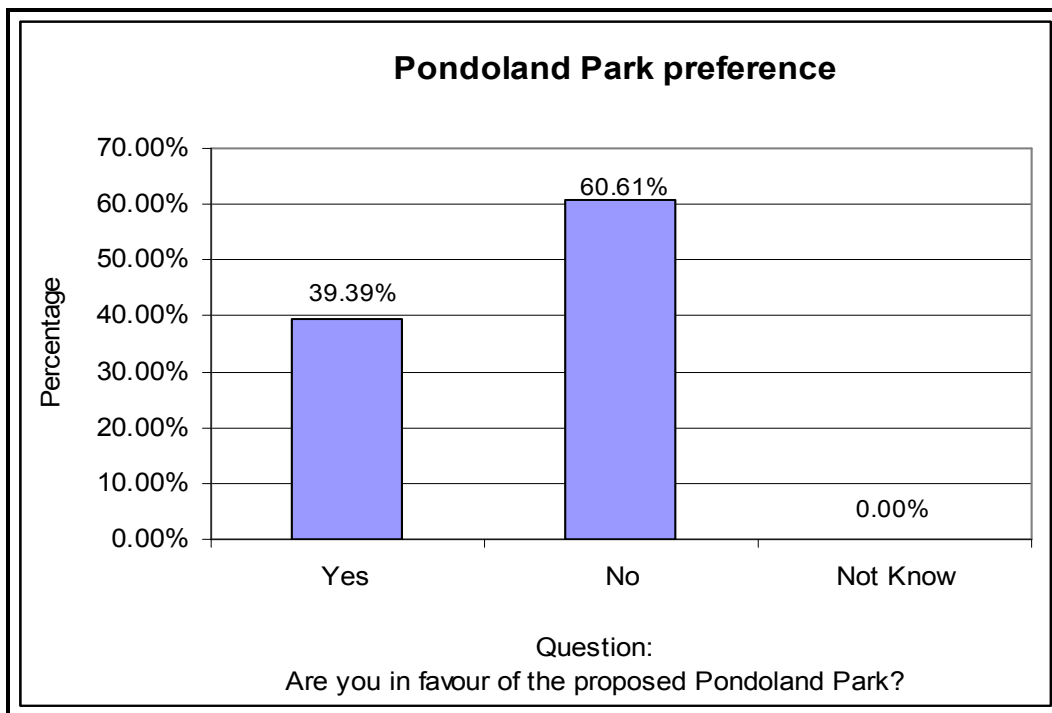
The lack of involvement of local people transpires also in relation to the proposed Pondoland Park. The government is studying the possibility (the project is in the study/development phase) to establish a Pondoland National Park. The proposal was announced by the then Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Valli Moosa in June 2000 as an anchor project for the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (Nel, 2003). The area of the proposed park lies along the Pondoland coast, defined as an area with vibrant biodiversity, low population and high diversity and endemism in the marine area lying between the Umzimvubu and Umtamvuma Rivers with a lot of potential for conservation-based developments (Knight, n.d.: 5)³⁰.

In relation to the park development strategy, the Director of the proposed park project says: "What is so special about the way we hope to establish this park is that we don't intend moving people or changing any aspect of their lives unless it is extensively discussed, says Cooper" (Nel, 2003). Nel (2003) states that local communities, the DEAT and South African National Parks (SANParks) support the creation of the proposed Pondo Park, while provincial and local authorities have accused that has not been properly involved in the prorojet. The proposed park, at least in the 'work in progress' document, also rightly exposes and addresses some relevant issues concerning impact on local communities. As most of the rural households' livelihood is based on the use of natural recourses the development of Natural Park should not reduce rural people accessibility to these same resources and development alternative, such as eco-tourism and conservation, should guarantee community members benefits (Knight, n.d.).

As the proposed park is of relevance to future tourism development in the area, during the course of the personal questionnaires, respondents were asked whether or not they supported the idea. The results were as follows: 60.6 % of the respondents said that they were in favour of the park, while the remaining 39.4 % were against it (see Figure 6.3). This makes it appear that there is fairly strong support for the park locally.

³⁰ This document represents a 'work in progress' document not a final plan.

Figure 6.3 Preference regarding Pondoland National Park (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

However, if the answers are further analysed a relative ignorance of the topic is revealed. Table 6.2 below suggests how weak, in reality, the involvement of local communities has been in the planning of the park. First, almost all respondents mention animals, despite the fact that the Pondoland Park does not propose the introduction of new animals into the area. Secondly, most of the positive answers are based on the hope of getting a job or gaining money from the Park. Clearly, local people have not been properly involved in planning the establishment of the Park, and this poses a threat, with the risk of possible antagonism developing when issues that are currently camouflaged emerge. Local people should be properly informed and should concentrate their effort on more realistic and predictable problems such as benefits for people, livelihood pattern change, infrastructure development and even possible removals.

As suggested above, the construction of the N2 toll road must be seen in relation to the neo-liberal process of the re-insertion of Pondoland into the capitalistic system. Historically Mpondo people were forced to insert themselves in the capitalist framework by migrancy to mines and sugar cane estates. Today migrancy has changed patterns but is still relevant. On the other side it is now the capitalist system that 'migrates' to the Mpondo people. Through the proposed toll road, based on a public-private neo-liberal partnership led by government, private companies (mining or tourism),

these forces gain access to unexploited areas (in this case, raw materials in the context of a former labour reserve).

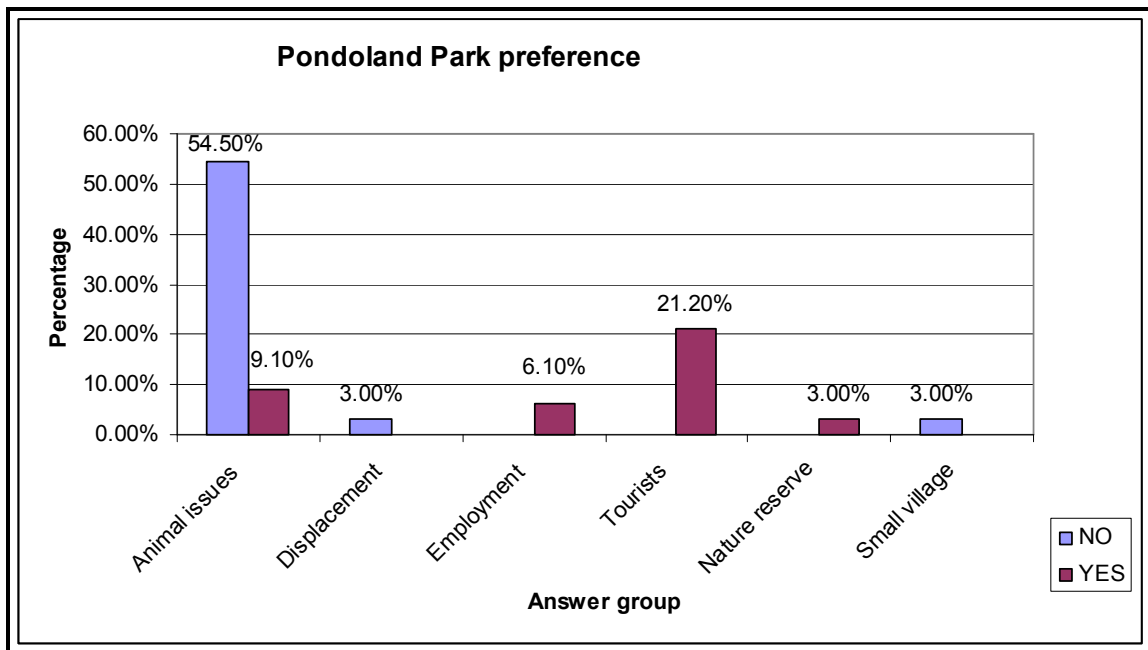
The above answers illustrate how the issue of animals is the main reason to be against the Pondoland Park. People are scared that the establishment of the park entails the introduction of wild animals. This assumption seems understandable from the community members, however, it shows how there has been improper explication on the Park development from the authority. In fact the author did not find mentioned anywhere about the possible introduction of wild animals in the Pondoland Park area. A number of people see animals, however, as a positive welcome to attract tourists. The increase in tourists is the main reason for positive answers. Local people see the establishment of the Park as a chance to attract more tourists in the area. It seems possible to conclude that local communities welcome the Pondoland Park as far as there is no introduction of animals in the area, which is the main reason to oppose the Park.

Table 6.2 Are you in favour of the proposed Pondoland National Park? (N=33)

Response	Reasons
No	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More disease brought by animals • No place for animals • No place for animals • No place for animals • Scared of animals • No of animals (Big 5) otherwise yes • Illness brought by animals • Afraid removing, displacement • Problem with animals • Animals • Afraid of animals • Animals • Animals eat village animals • Animals bite children • Animals scare children • Small village, for people staying here • Afraid of animals • Scared of animals • Problem with big animals • Big animals
Yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, if employed • Yes, if employed • Like her children to watch animals • Pay money to enter, not the same animals as in the zoo [unclear?] • Tourists pay money to watch animals • Tourists come spend money • Here no reserve [?] • Yes only without wild animals • Yes without animals • More tourists • More tourists • More tourists • Bring more tourists to see animals

Source: Fieldwork

Figure 6.4 Pondoland Park preference (N= 33)



Source: Fieldwork

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the reader with important information regarding the history of Pondoland as well as current challenges. In addition, the nature of land tenure, the role of traditional authority and the historical migrancy patterns have been described in relation to capitalist development. The chapter also outlines the current changes happening in the area. The proposed Pondoland National Park, the N2 Toll Road, the mining companies and tourism private companies, have been highlighted and investigated in relation to the contemporary situation of the area.

The next two chapters (Seven and Eight) analyse the course and final outcome of the AmaMpondo trail project. Chapter Seven centres its attention on the investigation of the AmaMpondo lodges trail, while Chapter 8 is focused on the AmaMpondo VBA and community VBA (see chapter 7 for terminology explication). The impact of the AmaMpondo project on villagers is also analysed.

Chapter 7

Between the Local and the Global: The Development of Wild Coast Trails Tourism

7.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the development history of the AmaMpondo trails. The research starts by investigating the background of the project and its antecedent, the Amadiba trails. The chapter will point out the close relationships between the Amadiba and the AmaMpondo trails projects and it will emphasize how the Amadiba project was recognized as the model to follow in the development of the AmaMpondo trails. The trails have a particular character as, in the case of both, tourists travel through communal or former “tribal” land. The Amadiba trail is well known locally (in South Africa) as an innovative CBC project. Specific attention is given to an investigation and analysis of the insertion and role of the EU in the Amadiba and AmaMpondo Trails development. Finally, this is contrasted with the emergence of tourism initiatives in Noquekwane village during the fieldwork period (late 2004 to 2006).

7.2 Early development of the Amadiba Trail

Amadiba Adventures has created a blueprint for further expansion of community ventures on the Wild Coast.

(Wild Coast community tourism initiative, n.d.)

Amadiba Adventures is a community-based tourism initiative.

(AmaMpondo Trails Brochure, n.d.)

Before writing about the case study researched in detail for this thesis – the AmaMpondo Trail and the Noquekwane CBT – it is necessary to see where and how the idea developed. As explained below, the Noquekwane CBT is derived from the AmaMpondo Trail, a more comprehensive tourism project dating back to the late 1990s on the wave of the Amadiba Trail which was widely hailed as a success. The results of this study suggest that because of its community appropriation the Noquekwane CBT project has had a different, more widespread and empowering, impact on the local community in proportion to the limited constraint of local community resources.

Different sources concur on the fact that the AmaMpondo Trail has its roots in the Amadiba Trails. This has been declared by several different sources, for example:

- “It was the Amadiba trail Model...” (Answer to e-mail questionnaire)
- “The idea was to develop more the Amadiba project style south of Mkambati” (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005)
- “Given that Amadiba is the Flagship Project ...” (MTR³¹, 2003: 172)
- “Amadiba Adventures, has provided a blueprint for further expansion of community tourism ventures in the Transkei” (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n. d.).

According to the AmaMpondo Trail Brochure (n.d.), the Amadiba Trail on which the AmaMpondo trail was modelled has been highly rewarded with positive comments by entities such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Fair Trade Tourism Initiatives, while the South African DEAT judged the Amadiba Trail the “most significant operating community tourism project in South Africa” (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n.d.). Importantly, the Amadiba trail is highly rated as a model for community-centred tourism (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n.d.).

The Amadiba project started in 1997 with the participation of the Amadiba people and the local authorities leveraging the support of Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency³² (Wild Coast Community Tourism Initiative, n. d.). The trail, which is under the overall control of the Amadiba Coastal Community Association (ACCODA), was initiated with the assistance of an NGO, Pondo Community Resources Optimisation Programme - PondoCROP (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003).

The idea and principles of the Amadiba trails development are clearly stated in the publicity material. The community-based nature of the project is key. The Amadiba project represents an alternative to large-scale resort development in which community members meaningfully contribute to the decision-making process. Communities own and manage tourism facilities and services by means of micro-enterprises and part of the profit is reinvested in community-wide projects (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n.d.).

In addition, the commitment is to a particular type of tourist, one interested in an alternative to mainstream tourism, perhaps best described as an “ecotourist”. According to Ntshona and Lahiff (2003: 3), “the aim of the Amadiba trail is: to introduce a particular type of tourist to the region – someone who was genuinely interested in meeting the people and learning from them, in coming to understand the environment and history of the region, and in leaving spiritually and culturally

³¹ Mid-Term Review.

³² Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency is a South African government agency.

enriched.” According to the AmaMpondo Trail Brochure (n.d.) , “the core principle of the initiative is respect. Respect for people, for place and for the relationship between the two” (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n.d.).

7.2.1 The Wild Coast Community Tourism Initiative and the EU

It was following these guidelines that the Amadiba trail was adopted as a pilot project for the Wild Coast Community Tourism Initiative (WCCTI). This programme is intended to foster participation of local communities in all aspects of tourism in the north-eastern region of the Eastern Cape. It aims to improve the lives of a poor region by introducing tourism (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 3).

The origin of this new phase of the project is explained in the Mid Term Review (MTR) commissioned by the EU. This document mentions immediate problems such as that benefits “did not materialise on the ground”, the fact that the requirement for management be based on the Eastern Cape Province was removed from the final version. The MTR also discussed the situation of sceptical local communities and argued that the project “does not fully take into consideration the complex socio-political environment that existed in Eastern Cape” (MTR, 2003: 5).

It is apparent that from the beginning changes were already occurring. As noted in the critical MTR, the importance of local context was not properly taken into account even if it is said that the project took two years of planning. The project officially started in March 2000 and PMU (Project Management Unit) started its work in September of the same year, that is six months later. The EU was heavily involved in the restructuring of the Amadiba trails, the blueprint project on which the case study, the AmaMpondo trails was based. Ntshona and Lahiff (2003) explain that it was a programme that advances community participation in all facets of tourism.

The EU was inserted in the Amadiba project once this was already well established. However, the EU’s involvement in the established Amadiba Trail and creation of the new AmaMpondo Trail started to shift the project’s original idea by acknowledging a partnership between communities, local government bodies and the private sector (Wild Coast community tourism initiative, n.d.).

Despite the original development approach it is already possible to see changes in the initiative. It is no longer a project where “all facilities and services are entirely owned and operated by local people...” (AmaMpondo Trail Brochure, n.d.). Instead the private sector starts to appear to set up possible partnerships and synergies with the local community. The following section will show the complete shift in approach. As one informant explained in relation to the AmaMpondo trail: “It was

the Amadiba trail model and it was followed as it was planned by PondoCROP, but eventually it was changed by the Funders, instead of Community driven Tourism, it turned out to be Private Sector driven development” (email questionnaire).

This quote resonates closely with the theoretical approach adopted in this thesis, which shows the effect of global influence in reshaping (even turning upside-down) a community-based project, converting it into a private sector project. Thus the original Amadiba project has experienced the global hegemonic influence of neo-liberalism. Ntshona and Lahiff (2003) noted that the reorganization of the Amadiba project originated from external (mostly EU) funding, which includes the insertion of exogenous, mostly private business approaches in the management of the project and it worked in favor of multiple individual businesses instead of community-wide enterprises.

The author maintains that the insertion of external concepts of management and organisation, as reported by Ntshona and Lshiff (2003) has been ‘forced’ onto a different socio-cultural context. Different forms of management and organisation are excluded and not allowed to prosper. According to alternative development principles (Escobar, 1995), each socio-cultural context should be allowed its own form of management and organization, especially at community level (with limited geographical impact) and not pushed to adopt external systems that could result in lack of clarity and in the project practically not functioning as desired by the external project implementer. On the contrary a local system of organization should be understood and exploited to better facilitate community development. Only in this way will a local poor community with a weak skills base and material resources be able to be part of the development process. A community evolves through the understanding of the process of development, not by the insertion of foreign development models that are unclear and do not fit within the local context. Of course, at the same time, local cultural difference must be understood “not as a static but as a transformed and transformative force” (Escobar, 1995: 226).

The Ntshona and Lahiff (2003) report also notes that the jargon and discourse has undergone a distinct change. For Ntshona and Lahiff (2003: 42), some “changes within the trail are largely symbolic, as in the switch from ‘staff’ to ‘service providers’, and from ‘project’ to ‘business’, reflecting a change in attitude rather than in substance.” I argue, however, that the change is not only symbolic but, on the contrary, helps to articulate a key shift in thinking. For example, the promotion of a neo-liberal discourse of ‘business’, which is a neo-liberal buzzword, instead of ‘project’, is highly significant. Ntshona and Lahiff (2003: 42) also warn that the “top-down manner

in which the restructuring process was initiated and implemented adds weight to the opinions of ‘service providers’ that they now work for a conventional business over which they have little control.”

7.3 The Wild Coast development context

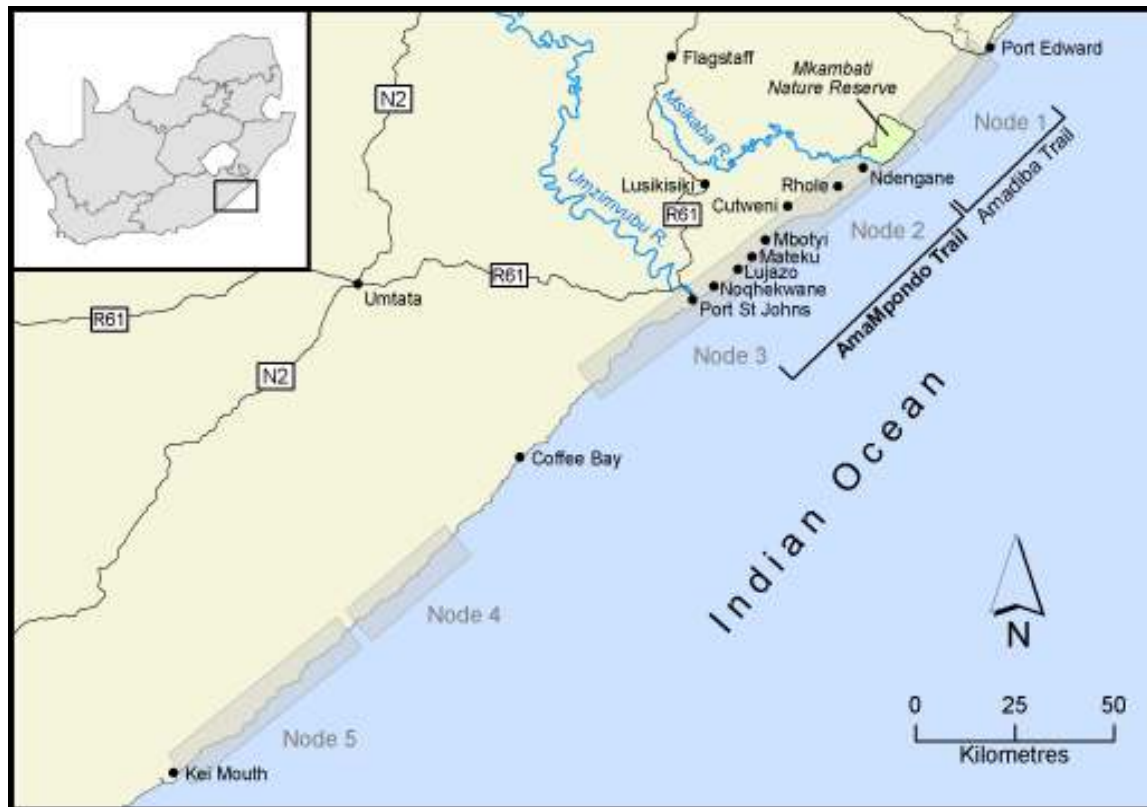
Before turning to a discussion of the AmaMpondo trail in particular, this section locates it within the wider development projects of the Wild Coast. The AmaMpondo Trail lies within a much wider development project – ‘Support to the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative Pilot Programme’. It is crucial that the contours of this larger project are understood before describing the finer details of the AmaMpondo Trails. The Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative Pilot Programme is, as already mentioned, funded by the European Union (almost in its entirety). According to the Mid-Term Review (MTR) document “The purpose of the project (SA/99/B7-3200/8019) includes activities aimed to increase the level of income and employment of previously disadvantaged communities (PDCs) and to empower them through their improved participation in the tourism industry in the Wild Coast Pilot area” (MTR, 2003: 2)³³. The programme is based on the development of five development nodes, around which the central projects pivot. The MTR survey noted the importance of the Amadiba project as well as the Pondoland project. Figure 7.1 below shows the location of these nodes within the Wild Coast and the position of the Amadiba and AmaMpondo Trails.

The official MTR (2003) done by an external consultancy gives a good idea of how the general programme of institutional development has been conducted and organised. It is necessary to consider the key points of this institutional framework in order to see how the AmaMpondo Trails have been inserted within the global hegemonic structures described in the theoretical framework.

An initial statement about the general programme written in the MTR (2003) gives the general aim and institutional foundations of the programme. The MTR (2003) aim is to evaluate and verify the effectiveness of the Wild Coast SDI Pilot Programme and compare it with the projected results on the basis of the indicators formulated in the project logical framework. The main aims of the project were to empower and boost the income levels of previously disadvantaged communities (MTR, 2003).

³³ The Mid-Term Review (MTR) team was appointed to review the “Support to the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative Pilot Programme”. The review was conducted in January/February 2003 with a mission team fielded by GOPA Consultants from Germany. At this time, nearly 75% of the project time had passed. Other documents used in this section are derived directly from the programme work or consultancies employed by it.

Figure 7.1 Wild Coast Development Nodes



Source: GIS Geography Department elaboration

A brief account of the project evolution is summarized also introducing the different actor involved in the project. The account states that the programme started in 2000 and involved the EU, the DEAT, NGOs and the private sector (MTR, 2003).

The actors/institutions originally involved in the programme can be divided into four main categories: public entities, NGOs, communities, and consultancies. More specifically, the actors/institutions are:

- Public entities: EU, RSA Gov. (Dept. of Environmental Affairs and Tourism), Eastern Cape Provincial Government, O.R. Tambo District Municipality.
- NGOs: WWF SA, Triple Trust Foundation and PondoCROP.
- Communities: all the communities of the villages interested in the projects.
- Consultancies: Mostly CHL Consulting (the PMU), Gopa consulting (the Mid term Reviewer), Haley Sharpe Southern Africa (for tourism advice and recommendations, specifically for the area where the AmaMpondo Trails were initiated) and Harber and

Associates, Architect, urban and regional planners (for the designing and building of the campsites of the AmaMpondo Trail).

While the other actors have their roles, the EU role is highlighted and prominent, mainly due to its leading position in terms of its financial contribution to the project. It is, in fact, a key point that the EU seems able to take action without consulting other parties involved in the contracting of the PMU (that is the organ that would practically manage and operate the project). This is understandable by the fact that the EU separately issued an international competitive tender to institute the Project Management Unit (PMU) that would supervise the Programme (MTR, 2003).

The MTR was awarded to a European consulting group, avoiding once again South African realities. It is in this context that it is worth remembering that the Amadiba Trails (which is the model) was developed entirely *without* external expertise. The Amadiba Trails was planned, started and developed by local and national entities until the involvement of the EU. The aim of involving foreign development agencies such as the EU was surely the need to increase resources to enlarge the project - not to change the project's parameters and the actors involved.

The MTR noted that the general approach of the project and the SDI as a whole has been severely criticised due to “the manner in which it was implemented in the Province i.e. top down and its approach being to focus on large tourism investments as the most appropriate approach to be followed in the area.” (MTR, 2003: 18). The MTR team noted that it had been “led to believe that elements of this top down approach has continued, making the acceptance of the Support to the Wild Coast SDI Pilot Programme at Provincial, District and Local level problematic” (MTR, 2003: 18). In a footnote, the MTR team added that in its opinion ideally the top-down approach in the SDI should have been corrected within the EU programme and that the SDI focus embraced community-driven approaches although it placed emphasis on huge tourism projects and what is critical, is the initiation of models that can easily be replicated (MTR, 2003).

Some attempt was made to mitigate the effects of this top-down approach by conducting several meetings and workshop with the different actors involved. More specifically meetings were held between DEAT, Provincial Governments, the NGOs and the EU between March 1999 and the final signature of the Financing Agreement (FA) in March 2000 (MTR, 2003). In February 2000 five workshops in 5 nodes were held to carry out joint activities. This resulted in the PondoCrop proposal (MTR, 2003). This procedure favours striking a balance between the top-down with bottom-up approaches with the outcome that “top-down and bottom-up approach” were married

together during the preparation process in which the EU consultant entered into direct negotiations initially with PondoCROP (represented by Eddie Russell) and Triple Trust Organisation (TTO, represented by James Thomas), and at a later stage with the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF, Lesley Richardson)” (MTR, 2003). However, as reported, this did little to change perceptions that the Programme was ‘parachuted’ by national government department (DEAT) directly into local communities (MTR, 2003).

It is important to note that there is no mention of consulting community members in the development of the projects. Therefore, the community has to participate in something organised and developed outside of their control and collaboration. According to Ashley (cited in MTR, 2003: 19) “The SDI approach has been widely criticised and many explanations given for its failure to deliver.” The various reasons of failure are specified in the following points (Ashley in MTR, 2003):

- It sought to transplant a model for an urban industrial zone to an underdeveloped rural area. For example, the N2 highway wasn’t commercially or physically appropriate in the geography of the Wild Coast;
- It pursued a top-down technocratic plan without adapting to local conditions, or garnering support from local institutions – such as Provincial Government. Thinking was removed from reality’ (local development consultant, December 2001);
- It sought to fast-track, a large scale approach to investment which is not suitable or commercially viable for the Wild Coast. For example, it proposed a high-tech computerised development with a golf course. Even if the money could be raised, they would be inappropriate for the Wild Coast (Ashley cited in MTR, 2003);
- It tried to by-pass land issues, thus ignoring a key issue for communities, and failing to resolve a key source of uncertainty and risk for investors;
- The underlying assumptions were wrong: that a small public investment would leverage a large one, and that the private sector would fund infrastructural development. The failure of the N2 highway proposal, which had reached an advanced stage of planning, is the key example – though this has now come back to the drawing board; and
- It was incapacitated by institutional failings, management weakness, and competition within and between parts of government.

Furthermore it has been noted (Ashley Cited in MTR, 2003: 20) that the programme “caused disruption in the process [and] the livelihoods of those that invested in hanging on to land or other assets that they expected to be involved in the developments that never materialised.”

Many of the typical features of the neo-liberal global milieu are apparent here:

- Top-down technocratic approach
- Fast track large-scale approach
- Large infrastructure development with supposed trickle-down effect
- Urban/industrial bias and
- Ignoring specific community/localities issues

The heart of the challenge was to increase human and capital resources without changing the project’s conceptual understanding and approaches. That is to say that the project’s initial idea, the community-based approach, ought to have remained within its first “community” conceptual framework, which framed the original Amadiba project, and not to have been changed in accordance with neo-liberal conceptual and ideological influences towards the increasing trend in private sector involvement. It is striking that the MTR, while critical of implementation, recommends on more than one occasion that private sector involvement should be increased, thus embedding itself further within the neo-liberal framework and, as will be explained below, mirroring the ideological framework of the EU. It is worth quoting a few examples of the approach towards more private sector involvement (from MTR, 2003: 5):

- There has to date been limited interaction with the private sector to develop alternatives;
- Its failure has been the lack of engagement with the private sector and the disconnect ion between the Programme and the economic, developmental and spatial planning initiatives at a provincial level;
- ...the lack of clear roles of Project Development Officers and Community Co-ordinators in relation to the NGOs and the lack of engagement with the private sector; and the
- Programme failed to adequately engage with the existing private sector, and has been slow to work with new entrants.

Ideological differences are recognised in the MTR document, but ultimately the idea of community-led development is abandoned as naïve and not able to evolve in an autonomous sustainable development. According to MTR (2003) without private sector engagement sustainability will depend to a certain extent on NGO/donor support (MTR, 2003).

Thus, the MTR (2003) carried out by a German Consultancy Company (GOPA Consultants) rightly identifies two different approaches concerning CBT that were followed by different project actors. One approach focuses on setting up the community as full owners of all facets of the tourism project, that is, a community driven approach that then involves the private sector while another approach outlined in the financing agreement advocates the use of a private sector driven approach that ensures optimum community involvement (MTR, 2003). The two approaches are almost antithetical. The first starts from the community and then proposes the private sector's involvement. The second, on the contrary, begins from the private sector which then subsequently determines community involvement in the project.

The author maintains that a third approach of CBT, not mentioned in the Mid-Term Review, is to generate a tourism venture that is fully owned and managed by the community without the pre/post intervention of the private sector but is autonomous and/or linked with public structures or, if no other solution is possible, with external private entities (but the local tourism products and services remain fully owned and managed by the community)³⁴ (Sproule cited in Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584, Suansri, 2003: 14). This last more radical approach is seen here as more closely linked to the original concept of CBT, having its source in the alternative development approaches of the 1970s.

The clash between two recognised CBT philosophies is documented within the Mid-Term Review. It was stated that the “developing operational partnership with the private sector is a key element within the overall PMU brief” (MTR, 2003). The Mid-Term Review expressed disappointment with the levels of engagement of PondoCROP with the private sector.

The PMU has developed a close relationship with the Wild Coast Holiday Association (WCHA) [...] The WCHA is made up of twenty-one members. In discussion with Mr. Clive Berlin, Chairman of WCHA, in Umtata, it was noted that collaborative relations with PondoCROP as the community enterprise development NGO, was weak. This seemed to be related to an under-appreciation of the role of the private sector in the community-based enterprise development approach being undertaken by PondoCROP.

(MTR, 2003: 42)

Here a clear link between political and economic hegemony seems to be at work. A common ideology is shared between the EU-contracted Irish Consulting Agency (the PMU) and the WCHA, the private sector association of the region. This is contrasted with the vision of PondoCROP, and

³⁴ See section 3.4.1.

this is a division that is set to remain even if the programme agrees to start using as a blueprint the Amadiba Trail model. In fact, and ironically, this model was initiated and developed by PondoCROP in 1997 and was recognised as successful by the same project developers (e-mail questionnaire, Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003 and AmaMpondo Trails Brochure, n.d.).

These arguments about the private sector, community and different ideologies clearly show the line of approach followed by private consultancies managing and evaluating the projects. Clearly, the EU is neo-liberal/private sector oriented. While the MTR mentions the fact that “the community-driven approach has been successful in the area” (MTR, 2003: 25), the real ideological differences are obvious.

The following quote continues to illustrate the clash between community and private actor roles:

With respect to private sector engagement, it is suggested that greater strategic management intervention on the part of the PMU [should occur in order] to re-gear this Programme as a private sector development initiative based in communities, rather than the other way around.

(MTR, 2003: 42)

A footnote puts it clearly that conflicting ideologies were driving the programme, namely a community-driven project involving the private sector against a private sector-driven approach that guaranteed optimum community participation (MTR, 2003). This could be seen as corroboration of the findings of Ntshona and Lahiff’s (2003) investigation into the influence of EU funding on the Amadiba Trails. The restructuring of the trails has come about “under the influence of external developments, in the form of very substantial EU Funding” and that “it has ... put pressure on the trail to conform to certain standards, drawn largely from the world of private business” (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 41). The financial contribution of the EU has been substantial. According to the MTR, “the EU contribution was €12.8 million (excluding the South African Government contribution of approximately €1.8)” (MTR, 2003). The following Tables (7.1 and 7.2) respectively explain in detail the specific interventions/activities funded and the general budget of the programme and it is possible to understand the amount allocated to each operation.

Result area number five is of particular relevance for this study because it specifically concentrates on the business activities identified and implemented that should be owned and managed by community members. The MTR (2003) identifies problems with this area.

Table 7.1 Project result areas and actions

Result Area	Activity
1. Support structures for Community Development established in five anchor areas of the Wild Coast	1. Establish Programme Management
	2. Establish Programme Steering Committee
	3. Establish Field Unit in each anchor area
	4. Contracts with Implementing NGOs established
	5. Implementing NGOs Co-operation Agreement signed
	6. Framework of Co-operation.
	7. Business/Community/Government partnerships confirmed in each anchor areas.
	8. Community co-ordinator recruited in each anchor area
2. Community members trained in Business Skills and Enterprise Development.	1. Assessment of business training needs in the 5 anchor areas
	2. Assessment of specialist skills needs for Community Projects
	3. Identification/selection of pertinent participants for training
	4. Set-up training centres with anchor areas
	5. Delivery of Training and Learning materials – Business
	6. Delivery of Training – Specialist training
	7. Follow-up of trainees
3. Community members trained in Natural Resources Management (NRM). Community multi-use/interpretation centre established.	1. Assessment of training needs in Natural resources management within Communities, local Authorities, and Provincial Departments.
	2. Design appropriate training package for each category
	3. Deliver training
	4. Follow-up trainees
	5. Identify multi-use centre sites
	6. Set up Centre management committee
	7. Train Community members (centre staff)
4. Community and Private Sector Partnerships established.	1. Assessment of business capacity for learner-ship
	2. Identification learners from communities
	3. Placement learners
	4. Follow-up of learners
5. New community business activities identified and implemented.	1. Identification of community business projects
	2. Appraisal of community business projects
	3. Selection of projects
	4. Monitoring of projects implementation
	5. Marketing
6. Community and state co-management established in six nature reserves.	1. Analyse existing structures.
	2. Establish a reference group for each biome
	3. Make recommendations for appropriate co-management for each of the 6 sites.
	4. Obtain consensus of State and Communities for implementation strategy for each site
	5. Implement strategy of co-management for each site
7. Policy / Institutional support to Government (National, Provincial and Local) established.	1. Provincial Action Plan for Tourism established.
	2. Provincial Action Plan for Nat. Res. Man. Established
	3. Code for responsible tourism established.
	4. Replication of Pilot Project
	5. Marketing of the Wild Coast

Source: MTR (2003: 7)

Table 7.2 Project budget

Result Area	Percentage of total budget	Financing Agreement Budget	Financing Agreement Budget less CHL Contract	CHL Budget	Total Expend AWP 1, 2 3 (Q3)	Balance	Balance	Percentage Utilisation
		Euro	Euro	Euro	Euro	Euro	Rands	
1	47%	6,108,516	3,691,516	2,417,000	677,860	3,013,656	29,805,058	49%
2	11%	1,457,290	1,457,290	-	585,648	871,642	8,620,539	60%
3	10%	1,251,258	1,251,258	-	436,323	814,935	8,059,707	65%
4	6%	715,065	715,065	-	142,842	572,223	5,659,285	80%
5	19%	2,395,162	2,395,162	-	1,299,889	1,095,273	10,832,250	46%
6	3%	375,290	375,290	-	175,228	200,062	1,978,613	53%
7	4%	577,419	577,419	-	234,382	343,037	3,392,636	59%
	TOTAL EU Grant*	12,880,000	10,463,000	2,417,000	3,552,172	6,910,828	68,348,089	54%
	Exchange Rate	6.2	6.2					
	GRAND TOTAL*	14,664,824	(Including Government, NGO and Private Sector Contributions)					

Source: MTR (2003: 10)

A few points are worth noting from the MTR (2003: 12). Firstly, the statement that “[the] comparatively small number of jobs created in relation to the time and money spent means that this has been a very expensive exercise.” Second, the financing proposal indicates that “communities are expected to contribute the equivalent of 100 projects over 300.” The MTR (2003: 57) team notes that “there has been no concerted effort to get communities to establish/fund these 100 community projects and must question the rationality behind such a suggestion in the first place. Assuming the same cost of R65 000 per project communities would need to contribute some R6.5 million which in a depressed and poverty-ridden [area] is impossible.” This shows that not only was the result negative but also that the initial assumptions seemed illogical. It is thus underlined how the general neo-liberal influence has clear authority in changing and developing the project and how proposed targets and assumptions made as to the result of the overall project were not achieved and indeed not achievable.

7.4 The AmaMpondo (or Pondoland) Trails³⁵

The tourism project of the AmaMpondo Trail lies on the stretch of coast within node 2 and 3 of the overall project (MTR, 2003) and comprises the area between the villages of Ndengane in the north and Noquekwane in the south. Figure 7.1 shows its location along with its original proposed features.

The AmaMpondo trails are sub-projects located within the new Pondoland Coastal Horse and Hiking Trail (MTR, 2003). The latter is a series of independent trails that can also be proposed as multiple day-activities, and it was to be added to the established Pondoland Trail Network (originally the Amadiba trails, described above). To understand the general business aspect of the Trail it is worth quoting in full the first page – the executive summary - of the business plan (PondoCROP, 2002). In order to clarify the different projects mentioned, a simple outline of the projects is first given in Table 7.3.

³⁵ Note that the trail has various sub-divisions. The trails as a whole are referred to as the Pondoland Trail Network.

Table 7.3 Projects outline

Projects outline	
Projects	Development process stages
Amadiba Trails	<p>(PondoCROP) initiated the trail in 1997 in consultation with the Amadiba community, the elected local council and the tribal authority under Headman Sigidi, supported by a grant from Ntsika Enterprise Promotions Agency</p> <p>The trail began operating in June 1998.</p> <p>[From 2000 EU involvement in the context of the general Support to the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative Pilot Programme].</p>
<p>Support to the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative Pilot Programme – Four nodes ,</p> <p>Project in case study area:</p> <p>Long trails:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pondoland VBA Horse & Hiking Trail • Pondoland Coastal Horse & Hiking Trail <p>Localised trails:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Msikaba Localised Horse Trails • Mbotyi Localised Horse Trails • Poenskop Localised Horse Trails³⁶ 	<p>The start of the design process followed on from the “White Paper on Tourism” developed in 1996/97 and the “Tourism in GEAR” paper developed in 1998.</p> <p>These papers identified the Wild Coast SDI as being a suitable area for EU intervention, and in June 1998, the first national workshop was held to flesh out the Programme.</p> <p>Field work was undertaken by an independent consultant that culminated in the Financing Proposal being finalised in early 1999.</p> <p>Collaborative meetings between the EU, DEAT and three NGOs were held between March 1999 and March 2000 when the Financing agreement entered into force.</p> <p>The Programme was initiated in March 2000 but the PMU only came on board in September 2000, suggesting that the process was rushed, even though it took two years in planning.</p>

Source: MTR (2003) and Ntshona and Lahiff (2003: 2)

The PondoCrop (2002) business plan summarises the different sections within the AmamPondo Trails projects:

The three trail products are distinct from one another in terms of the section of Pondoland coastline that they traverse, namely: Msikaba to Mbotyi (or vice versa) is a 4 day trail that includes 3 overnight stays at Port Grosvenor, Luputhana, and Mfihlelo trail camps; Mbotyi to Port St. Johns (or vice versa)

³⁶ Poenskop is known locally as Noquekwane.

is a 3 day trail with two overnight stops at Manteku and Ntafufu trail camps; and then an overarching 7 day trail that stretches from Msikaba through to Port St. Johns that includes overnight stays at all the above trail camps as well as Msikaba trail camp.

(PondoCrop, 2002: i)

For purposes of this thesis, a distinction is made between two elements of the project, village-based accommodation (VBA) and lodges. The Pondoland Village Based Accommodation (VBA) is recognised as an element within the developmental project of the general trail. As noted in the business plan, “the projections indicate that this [The Pondoland Coastal Horse and Hiking Trail] will be a major project including the Pondoland Village Based Trails, the Pondoland Coastal Trails, the Msikaba Trails, the Mboyti Horse Trails and the Poenskop Trails” (MTR, 2003: 80). The Pondoland VBA Trail refers to the trail where visitors sleep in local houses (mostly traditional huts) and eat traditional food. On the other hand the Pondoland Coastal Horse & Hiking Trail envisages using the proposed new lodges as infrastructure. The initial plan comprehends the development of both kinds of trails plus localised trails in the villages of Msikaba [Ndengane], Mboyti [Hili] and Poenskop [Noqekwane] (PondoCrop, 2002).

In reality, the only trail in existence (up to December 2005) is running on village-based accommodation (VBA) because up to December 2005 only one campsite was working (for the start of the 2005 Christmas holidays). It is difficult to talk meaningfully about local jobs in the new lodges, given that the lodges either do not work or do not exist (mostly do not exist). The jobs created up to now are consequently mostly all in the VBA trail, excluding a few very temporary construction jobs.

The development of the VBA Trail has however suffered major interruptions. Participant observation by the author’s long stay in the villages involved in the project indicated that very simple things such as open toilets and showers were initiated but not completed. Furthermore, the VBA Trail has not been a success and has been formally abandoned. Nevertheless, despite the practical letdown and complete formal collapse of the project (even if a few visitors do in reality keep coming and do stay in VBA) with resulting disappointment among the communities, the VBA has in fact given a positive outcome. Members of the local community have begun to exploit the starting of the VBA organised by the EU on their own. In other words, local people are starting to informally (or rather, formally according to local institutions) manage the VBA with its own resources. This is an important finding of the

fieldwork. It is what I will call in the next chapter (Chapter Eight) CBT at village level. A community Trust is the body that now manages most of the local VBA. This CBT came out from the initial stage of the general EU supported project. A distinction is therefore made in Chapter Eight between the Noquekwane village project, and the AmaMpondo trail (by which is meant the formal VBA managed by the EU supported project).

To explain further, a number of local people directly or indirectly involved in the formally organised VBA, once they realised the essential termination and/or failure of the formal VBA project, started to 're'-organise the project with their own capacities and resources. The village of Noquekwane has been by far the most able to propose its own VBA development. The author suggests that this could be because the closeness of Noquekwane to Port St. Johns which has exposed the community to many years of interaction with the tourism sector allowing them to better understand and relate to the tourism sector presently. The basic point to underline is that the initial VBA was formally organised with the EU supported project, and that it was taken up by villagers and changed into a more suitable local form. When local people are equipped with proper material and intellectual resource they do have the capacity and, in many cases, willingness to propose and foster their own self-development. Chapter Eight will describe in detail the specific outcome of the VBA idea.

In relation to the lodges envisaged for the Pondoland Coastal Horse and Hiking Trail, the main characteristics, objectives and projected results of the project are clearly spelt out in the business plan, as indicated above.

Three main points are of key interest for this thesis:

- Ownership and management of the trail.

This is related to the concepts of community-based tourism, but in this context it has to be understood in terms of the relation between globalisation forces and local community development (see Chapter Three).

- Local impact.

Here it is important to verify the final socio-economic impact of the project on the community. A livelihood survey was carried out as described in Chapter Four, and the results are presented in the next chapter.

- Infrastructure to be built.

This aspect needs to be considered in order to show the reach of the project not just in a human perspective but also in terms of material change.

A schematic distinction of the three situations is given in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Project terminology

Terminology distinction		
AmaMpondo (Lodges)	AmaMpondo (VBA)	Community (VBA)
<p><u>Formal terminology:</u> Pondoland Coastal Horse & Hiking Trail.</p> <p>AmaMpondo trail to be developed with the development / construction of infrastructure (lodges).</p>	<p><u>Formal terminology:</u> Pondoland VBA Horse & Hiking Trail.</p> <p>AmaMpondo trails formally organised and managed by the EU supported project.</p>	<p>VBA trails born out from the disappointing result of the AmaMpondo VBA and informally 're'organised by the local community exploiting the structures originated or initially set-up by the EU supported project.</p>

Source: MTR (2003) and PondoCrop (2002)

In Chapter Eight the focus will be on the difference between the AmaMpondo VBA and the Community VBA and the emergence of the latter. However, it is recognised that the AmaMpondo (lodges) trail remains very important for the development of the local communities. The author is of the opinion that it is the lodges more than the VBA trail that have potential to attract larger numbers of tourists who can pay high accommodation fees and have, at the same time, the ability to produce more community empowerment. These points, which are fundamental to properly advance community development, are supported by Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) when stating in relation to their study on Namibia:

A major CBT focus became the development of a new model of community-based enterprises, known as the 'Community Lodges'. This was based on the fact that small-scale community enterprises such as campsites had generally generated little financial return and that joint venture approach with commercial partners, while being financially rewarding, created few opportunities for communities empowerment.

(Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007: 457)

Chapter Eight discusses the lodge trail outcome in relation to the globalisation process, using the specific final outcome of the AmaMpondo VBA trails and its 'successor' the community VBA as a comparative situation that can highlight key issues regarding the local community's self-development and empowerment. The remainder of this chapter sketches out the parameters in terms of: the specific financial resources available for the project, the socio-

economic context of the villages, training provided and infrastructure built. Debates over ownership and management issues are also outlined.

7.4.1 Financial resources

As explained, the overall programme includes different kinds of expertise (the PMU, EU personnel, NGO personnel and RSA government personnel at different levels), totaling an amount of more than 14,664,824 Euros or 90,921,908.8 Rand at the Used exchange rate of 6.2 Rand per 1 euro (MTR, 2003: 61). The business plan for the AmaMpondo or Pondoland trails proposed a final cost of Rand 2,961,995, thus representing a very small part of the overall budget.

Table.7.5 Project cost proportion

Programme	Cost (in Rand)	% of total
Wild Coast General programme (as in MTR,n.d., online)	90,921,908.8 (14,664,824 Euros)	100
Pondoland Trail (as in PondoCROP, 2002 Business Plan)	2,961,955	3.26

Source: MTR (2003: 61); PondoCrop (2002: 14)

With a wide range of personnel expertise and at a cost of an almost irrelevant 3.26% of the total programme, there seems no reason why the project should not have worked well: problems in the development of the project cannot be related to the lack of funding and/or expertise. However, the PondoCROP business plan seems related to the development of the ‘practical’ project without considering consultancy fees, and salaries at various levels.

It is important to underline that the “problem was not the lack of money” (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). Nevertheless, it is also important to add that “there is evidence of not following the procedures and financial problems. There is now a financial investigation of the NGO” (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). This problem of financial disturbances will be mentioned again later.

7.4.2 Village Socio-Economic Characteristics

The Trail development comprises seven village/communities. Data from the fieldwork elucidate the characteristics of each village, all of which are rather similar to one another (see

Figure 7.2 and Table 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8) All villages are characterised by a lack of electricity and piped water and are reachable only through gravel roads which are sometimes difficult to navigate especially during the rainy season. The villages are deficient or completely lacking in basic institutional infrastructure. Clinics/hospitals, government offices, or a post office do not exist in all villages. There are schools in 3 of the 7 villages. Cutwini has a school for pupils up to standard 7; Noquekwane has schools up to standard 6 while Manteku has an adult school. In all villages there is a community trust. The land tenure in 6 villages is communal, while in one village (Noquekwane) tenure is 95% communal and 5% government-owned. The people of all villages use taxis as a means of transport to go to the main town (2 villages also have a bus service) while maize, batata, beans and dumbe are the main crops in the villages. Government projects such as CoastCare, are very important for the villagers' cash earning capacity and has been indicated in 5 villages, while tourism (2 people in 1 village, Hili) and tea plantation (in 1 village) has been indicated as a formal income earning opportunity for community members.

The participant observation reinforced by questionnaires show that from a socio-economic perspective, people do not rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, thus they portray a mixed picture of livelihood patterns (see Table 8.8 for data). In other words, a mixed situation of income sources can be observed through, for instance, different kinds of government interventions and informal sector activities (see Table 7.3). This is in line with what was already mentioned in Chapter Six about the level of income diversification by the households. If the past was characterised mostly by mining and sugar cane activities, today there is a broader array of diversified activities prevalent in the area.

Table 7.6 illustrates the geographical marginality of the villages. All villages have access to the main local town (Lusikisiki and Port St. Johns) by means of gravel roads. In some cases the road is quite irregular and in case of rain can become very difficult to travel on. Some villages have been connected by a gravel road only in the last few years. Except for the case of Hili, which relies on the touristically relevant Mboyti, none of the villages have close access to electricity, organised water points and so on.

Marginality is also visible from the general lack or weakness of government structures. The few schools are in general very poorly equipped and maintained. No village has a post office or any other government office. Interviewees mentioned that government has a travelling office that goes in the villages or neighbouring area on a regular (sometimes irregular) basis. The travelling office is mostly dedicated to the payment of government grants.

Table 7.6 Data village characteristics (N=7)

Characteristics					
Population		<500	501-1000	2001-4000	4001-6000
Villages		3	2	1	1
Percentage		42.8	28.6	14.3	14.3
Distance from main city (City)		<10Km	>10Km		
Villages		1	6		
Percentage		14.3	85.7		
Mean of transport		Taxi	Taxi, Bus		
Villages		5	2		
Percentage		71.4	28.6		
Road condition		Gravel			
Villages		7			
Percentage		100			
Infrastructures/institutions in the village		Children School	Adult School	Churches	
Villages		2	2	3	
Percentage		28.6	28.6	42.8	
Traditional authority		Yes	No		
Villages		3	4		
Percentage		42.8	57.2		
Elected authority		Yes	No		
Villages			7		
Percentage			100		
Major land tenure		Communal			
Villages		6			
Percentage		100			
Community trust		Yes	No		
Villages		6			
Percentage		100			
Electricity		Yes	No		
Villages			7		
Percentage			100		
Piped water		Yes	No		
Villages			7		
Percentage			100		

Source: Questionnaires and participant observation (2004)

From field observations, three factors are particularly relevant in explaining the contemporary weakness of infrastructure in the villages under study:

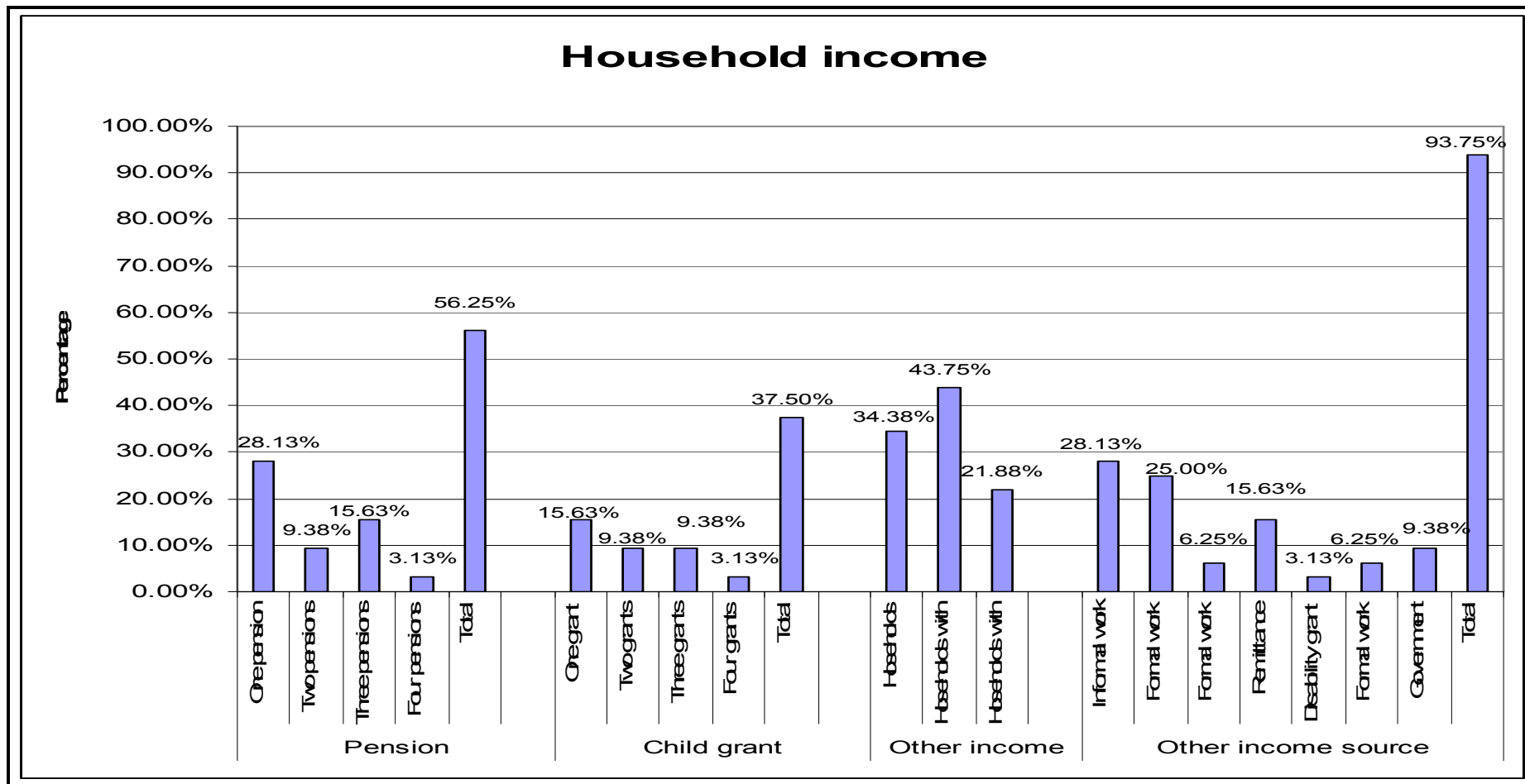
- Belonging to the previous homeland where development, if not deliberately obstructed by the apartheid government, was certainly jeopardized;
- The relatively small number of people living in the villages (except maybe for Noquekwane); and
- The poverty of the local population.

These last two points make it difficult to bring infrastructure to the villages, particularly at a time when government enterprises also decide on their investment priorities depending on their return in an environment that is very much private- and economically-oriented instead of people-oriented. Certainly, it does not seem a priority to spend millions of Rand to bring electricity to few poor people (that arguably could not afford to pay electricity fees).

Finally, from practical observation of the villagers' life during fieldwork, plus the data collected, it is possible to describe the villagers as having a mixture of small plot agriculture, mostly for self-consumption, and external income coming from the following situations (see Figure 7.2 for data):

- Government grants (child grant, disability, pension) – very common;
- Outside labour remittance – has decreased over the last 10 years;
- Local formal employment – very rare. Includes sometime temporary formal employment in Government project (ex. CoastCare); and
- Local work in informal sector (a great variety of activities) – common.

Figure 7.2 Villages characteristics (N=33)



Sources: Questionnaires and participant observation (2004)

Table.7.7 Village characteristics

Villages	1 - Ndengane (Msikaba)	2 – Rhole	3 - Cutwini
Municipality (Wards)	Qaukeni (23)	Qaukeni (23)	Qaukeni (24)
Population	501-1000	<500	501-1000
Distance from main city (City)	>10 Km (Lusikisiki)	>10 Km (Lusikisiki)	>10 Km (Lusikisiki)
Mean of transport	Taxi, Bus	Taxi	Taxi
Road condition	Gravel	Gravel	Gravel
Infrastructures/institutions in the village	Church, Community Trust	No	3 Churches, schools St. 7
Traditional authority	Yes	No	Yes
Elected authority	No	No	No
Major crops	Maize, potato, dumbe, batata	Maize, batata, dumbe, beans	Maize, dumbe, batata
Major animals	Cattle, sheep, chickens, goats	Cattle, sheep	Sheep, goats, cattle
Major activities	Temporary jobs (ex. CoastCare)	CoastCare	Tea plantation, CoastCare, Working for water
Major land tenure	Communal (100%)	Communal (100%)	Communal (100%) (Tea plantation is private but in community land. Community start to claim back the land).
Community trust	3 people (2001)	5 people (2001)	started 6 people (2003) now 4 people

Sources: Questionnaires and participant observation (2004)

Table.7.8 Village characteristics

Villages	4 - Hili (2Km - Mbotyi)	5 – Manteku	6 - Lujazo	7 - Noqekwane
Municipality (Wards)	Qaukeni (25)	Port St. Johns (1)	Port St. Johns (2)	Port St. Johns (2)
Population	<500	2001-4000	<500	4001-6000
Distance from main city (City)	>10 Km (Lusikisiki)	>10 Km (Lusikisiki)	>10 Km (Port St. Johns)	8-10 Km (Port St. Johns)
Mean of transport	Taxi, Bus	Taxi	Taxi	Taxi
Road condition	Gravel	Gravel	Gravel	Gravel
Infrastructures/institutions in the village	Yes in Mbotyi	Adult school	No	Schools grade 6, 4 churches
Traditional authority	Yes in Mbotyi	No	No	Yes
Elected authority	No	No	No	No
Major crops	Maize, batata, dumbe, beans	Maize, potato, beans, Batata	Maize, beans	Maize, beans, banana/oranges, cabbage
Major animals	Cattle, goats, sheep, Horses	Cattle, sheep, goats	Cattle, goats	Cattle, chickens, goats
Major activities	2 people tourism job in Mbotyi	Projects (CoastCare, Working for water), Nursery (community project)	CoastCare	Construction, fishing
Major land tenure	Communal (100%)	Communal (100%)	Communal (100%)	Government (5%), communal (95%)
Community trust	1 person join Community Trust of Mbotyi of 15 people (2001)	8 people (2001)	6 people (2001)	10 people (2001)

Sources: Questionnaires and participant observation (2004)

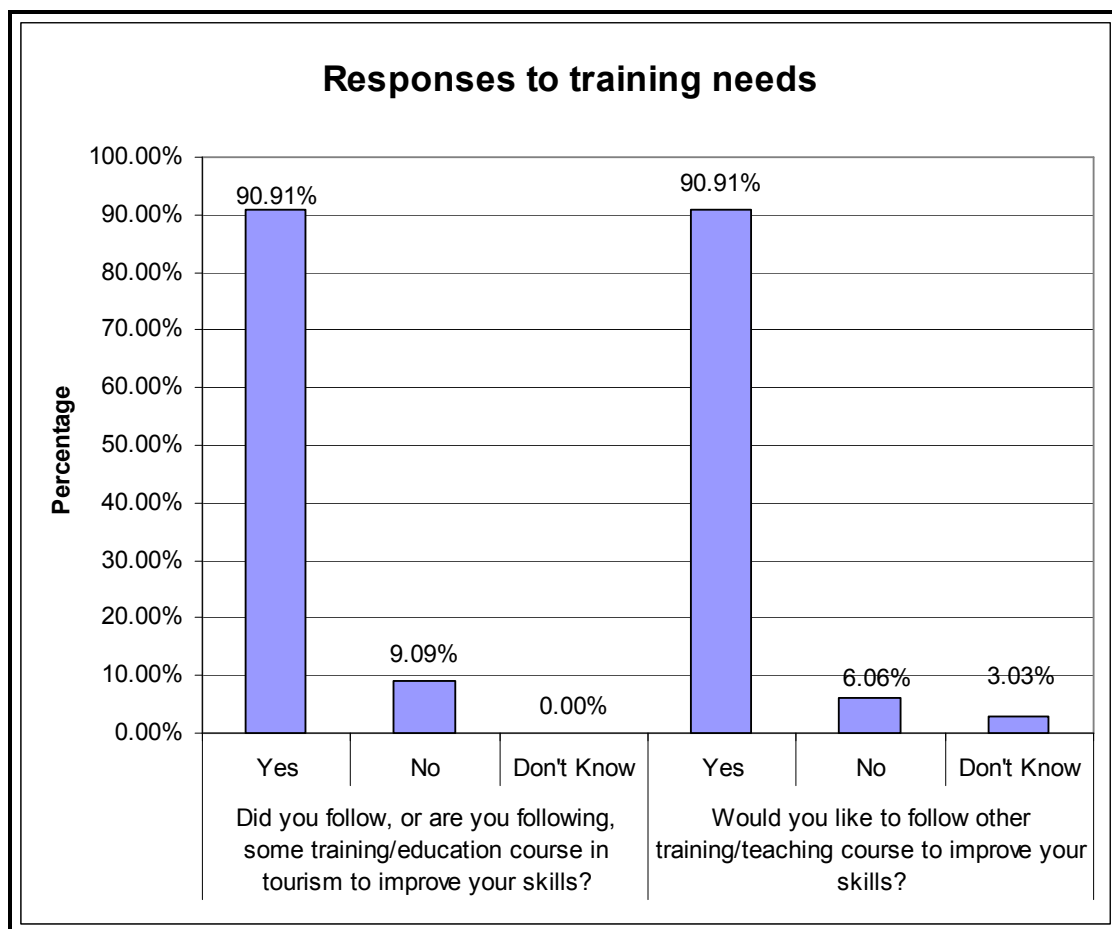
7.4.3 Training Delivery

Figure 7.3 shows the training situation in the village. The AmaMpondo project delivers a number of training courses, although there are issues of quality, appropriateness and time scheduling. For example, an NGO involved in training has “used a commercial business skills training package” (MTR, 2003: 98) to promote business skills development amongst school children. Nevertheless, despite all the difficulties, a good number of people have been trained. The community would like to enlarge the village CBT but is failing to do so due to difficulties arising from resource (especially financial) constraints.

Another demonstration of community willingness and eagerness to learn is the fact that 90.91% wish to pursue further training, for years if necessary (see Figure 7.2). The MTR (2003) notes the several shortcomings regarding Adult and Skills Training. For example: PondoCROP did not timeously provide information regarding the types of training required. PondoCROP cited the fact that it would take as much as 18 months to identify the tourism-related training needs. Concerning training related to Horse and Hiking Trails, no research was conducted focusing on training strategies, norms and standards and the appropriate training providers (MTR, 2003). This led to delays in developing the training strategies. Without inputs from PondoCROP, TTO (Triple Trust Organization) embarked on training programmes within their area of competence in areas such as sewing, business plans, garment and leather manufacture with 893 people participating under AWP1 and AWP2³⁷. Although skills were imparted, it is evident that the training was not related to community-based tourism (MTR, 2003).

³⁷ AWP – Annual Work Plan.

Figure 7.3 Training needs (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

Table 7.9 from the MTR (2003) shows that the majority of the training consists of short courses/workshops. It has to be recognised that, in addition, 13 (equivalent to 3.5% of the total number of people trained) people were able to follow long courses (at least 1 year) leading to the attainment of qualifications.

Table 7.9 Training in the Wild Coast Tourism SDI

Course	Service Provider	Number Trained	Period	Nodes
Certificate course in NRM (Skills)	SAWC	3	2001 (1 year)	4
Certificate course in NRM (Skills)	SAWC	7	2002 (1 year)	2, 3
SNBTD (Skills)	SAWC	20	2001 (3 months)	1,2,3,4
SNBTD (Skills)	SAWC	20	2002 (3 months)	1,2,3,4,5
Train the Trainers: Traditional & Elected Leaders (Skills)	UND	10 (2001 SNBTD trainees)	2002	1,2,3,4
Traditional & Elected Leaders (Awareness)	UND (facilitated trainees in delivery)	131	2002 (1 week being followed up in AWP3)	1,2,3,4,5
Train the Trainers: Environmental & Tourism Awareness	SAWC (module within SNBTD course)	16 (2002 SNBTD trainees)	2002 (1 week)	1,2,3,4,5
Diploma on NRM	SAWC	3 (2001 certificate trainees)	2002 (2 years)	
Estuary Management (Awareness)	INR	137	2002 (4 days)	2,3,4
Integrated approach to strategic planning and management for protected areas (Skills)	SAWC	23	2001 (2 weeks Being followed up in AWP3)	State forests and Nature Reserve managers (Silaka, Dwesa, Mkambati, Hluleka) and regional managers (Umtata, Kokstad, Kingwilliams Town, East London)
Train the TTO Trainer: Incorporation of environmental issues into training programs	UND	5	2002 (5 days On hold because TTO training was stopped by PMU)	

Source: MTR (2003: 107)

It is clear that good training, not just for a few hours, should be prioritised when needed in development projects of this nature. The development project should be ‘introduced’ by providing its overview, goals, roadmap and end goals so that when the project reaches the moment of implementation, people are keenly involved and fully embrace it. If properly done, the 4-5 year time framework of a project can be sufficient to permit the local community to manage their project in a sustainable and productive manner. A project such as this should have two critical areas of focus. The first is to prioritise proper training and the second to

develop the project in such a way as to engender involvement of the people. Data from the MTR (2003) in relation to people training show a good number of trained people (375 people were trained up to 2004 in specific sectors, see Table 7.7), even if, only a very small number (13 or 3.5%) have undergone better long period training.

7.4.4 Infrastructural development

The element of the Pondoland Trails named ‘Pondoland VBA Horse and Hiking Trail’ was different from the ‘Pondoland Coastal Horse and Hiking Trail’. The latter was a tourist trail where the project’s purpose was to build a series of campsites owned, managed and operated by the communities.

An Environmental Scoping Report was carried out. The Environmental Scoping Report of the Wild Coast Horse and Hiking Trail “considers the impacts at a series of specific sites as well as the trail itself” (Environmental Scoping Report, n.d.). The sites, listed from north to south, were:

- Kwanyama: Part of the existing Amadiba trail
- Msikaba: Part of the proposed Pondoland trail
- Port Grosvenor: Part of the proposed Pondoland trail
- Lumphutana: Part of the proposed Pondoland trail
- Manteku: Part of the proposed Pondoland trail
- Ntafufu: Part of the proposed Pondoland trail

Importantly, the report (Environmental Scoping Report, n.d.)³⁸ states that the “intention is to establish a community owned and managed coastal trail network” where community trusts will be responsible for the ongoing management and administration of the tourism venture and part of the profit will serve the wide community project. The area is well suited to have low impact tourism and to favour income generating opportunities for local community members (Environmental Scoping Report, n.d.). Again the communities are specified as owners and managers of the whole Pondoland Trails system.

Regarding the Wild Coast Horse and Hiking Trail, the Environmental Scoping Report (n.d.) discusses community involvement in the process of constructing the campsites and specifies, by reporting the different meetings held in various villages, that local communities have been part of the process from the start.

³⁸ The Environmental Scoping Report also features the development of the campsites in detail

7.4.5 Debates over ownership and management of the AmaMpondo Trail

As earlier mentioned, questions about ownership and management are at the heart of the research and will be discussed again in the following chapter. The thesis is about how the globalisation milieu affects local circumstances, and its aim is to shed light on the interplay between contemporary globalisation processes and local forms of CBT. This section addresses these issues.

First of all, it is important to recall the project's original philosophy. Secondly, it is important to understand the general structure of the tourism situation in the different villages participating in the project, as well as the number of people involved and their roles/jobs. The project was initiated in 2000 as a CBT project in which the community was to become the owner and manager of the tourism venture. Starting from the model and moving to the business plan, the concept of the project was to keep it as a community-based project where the community would own and manage the tourism infrastructure. It is important to note that the AmaMpondo Trail Development Community Trusts were formalised and legalised thorough the EU project. In other words, it was the EU project that helped to constitute the community trust as a legal entity. This, in itself, was a milestone and this deserves commendation as it was in line with the original philosophy of the project as well as fitting in with the community-based approach to tourism development.

The *ad hoc* external consultancy report for the AmaMpondo trail geographic area was prepared for the "EU-DEAT Programme Management Unit for Haley Sharpe Southern Africa (HSSA) to provide specialist tourism development planning advice and recommendations based upon our knowledge capital, structured research and *in situ* analysis of the Qaukeni Coast portion of the Wild Coast in the Eastern Cape" (HSSA³⁹, 2004: 1). The report is dated 24 November 2004 (perhaps rather late considering that the project was already in its fourth year and nearing its end!). The geographic area is also incorrectly identified because in reality the report is about both Qaukeni and Port St. Johns Local Municipality. Significantly, the report focuses on the same villages of the AmaMpondo Trail studied here.

It is important to also critically consider the advice and recommendations of the consultancy in relation to community tourism in the area, particularly, in regard to the evolutionary approach of the project. In relation to the village of Ndengane (Msikaba) the consultancy (HSSA, 2004) suggests to link the proposed community owned and managed tourism facility

³⁹ Harley Sharpe Southern Africa.

with the private sector and, in addition, to establish a luxury lodge/camp as a joint venture between community and private sector with future operations transfer. The suggestion for the area of Port Grosvenor (the village of Rhole) has a similar approach for the community owned and managed tourism facilities, which does not give any suggestion for a proposed private tourism development (HSSA, 2004).

In terms of this consultancy report, there are three main points to consider. Firstly, the consultancy acknowledges the fact that as initially planned the community must own and manage the tourism ventures. Secondly, the consultancy considered it necessary and vital that there be a link between these community ventures with the private sector for them to be sustainable. However, at the end of the consultancy report, the report emphasise the fact the community issues are not relevant in the writing of the report but emphasis be given to private intervention priority instead of community ownership. In particular, the consultancy report says its thrust was not to assess community ownership and participation in the product but issues of product and service quality which have a bearing on the marketing image of the destination and the local economy. To achieve that end, it was recommended on commercial grounds to either link all Trails Camps to a single operator for operational and marketing purposes or combine one or more camps with an existing local operator to each Trail Camp with a proviso that skills development and transfers should take place and the eventual 'operational' transfer should take place within 5-10 years (HSSA, 2004).

The consultancy gives two options for the management of the CBT campsites. The first is to "contract all of the Trails Camps to a single operator in some form of marketing and operational agreement." The second is to "link one or more camps to existing local operators in close proximity to each of the Trail Camps." These are two different levels of private involvement. No mention is made regarding public institution or parastatal involvement or, in an extreme case, to external private links continuing to foster CBT as a fully owned and managed project. This is despite the fact that, as previously noted:

A characteristic of community-based tourism is that it requires a multi-institutional support structure in order to have success and be sustainable.

(Anonymous in Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584)

There exists, therefore, a push towards private sector involvement as enunciated in the MTR (2003). However, while an external linkage support can be understood and accepted, especially at the beginning, the overall contract seems to undermine and reverse the aim of the project with regard to ownership and management. It is evident that pressure is exerted from

different directions to increase the involvement of the private sector. As one respondent (the EU project manager) stated:

I was surprised by the model that has been followed. In Christmas 2001 I went to do the Trail and I found that it was poorly managed. Consequently I asked the NGO (mostly PondoCROP) to engage more with private sector to change but this did not work. Consequently it has been done and the MTR and the programme manager has been changed. The idea was to develop more the Amadiba style south of Mkambati but also Amadiba is not sustainable even if better than AmaMpondo. If the EU goes in a very short time the project will collapse. The project model was followed but did not work.

(Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005)

Since the start there has appeared to be a difference between PondoCROP and the EU. As explained by the respondent:

PondoCROP believes that the private sector in the Wild Coast will be exploitative of people and environment. Therefore, the community should operate the tourism project. While the EU and others are for more private involvement in running the tourism operations.

(Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005)

It is a fact that PondoCROP, like the other NGOs, was excluded from the project by the end of 1994. Specifically, all three NGOs initially working in the project (PondoCROP, TTO, and WWF) were excluded, by not renewing the agreement by the PMU. An interviewee explained the situation:

The decision not to renew the contracts rested with the PMU and was finally supported by the EU and DEAT. The reason for not renewing was that the NGOs had produced very little or no product. It is not to say that they were incompetent (this is another debate) but the direction of the project was such that there would have been absolutely no results had dramatic action not been taken. Due to this, there was no need to contract the NGOs as they had little or no skills in interacting and mobilising the private sector.

(E-mail questionnaire, 2005)

The Noquekwane community trust has a similar opinion by stating that the EU changed the NGO involved in the project and excluded PondoCrop because did not maintain the promises without asking them (the community) (Noqekwane, 18 December 2009). The villagers acknowledge the good relationship (and closeness) of PondoCrop with the community but it

recognises the weakness of PondoCrop in the delivery of some of the promises (Noqekwane, 18 December 2009).

These few lines clearly underline the level of local people's involvement. Involvement is seen as occurring in the usual top-down manner. Local people are not involved in the project development process but are seen as objects of development. The local community seems to receive the briefing and news of what is developed, organised and happening outside, without the possibility of influencing it. The author maintains that real development/empowerment starts from involving local people in the development process as an active subject with their opinions, needs and wishes.

A last point is worth noting. The community trust feels that the only project going on is the Amadiba Trail while the AmaMpondo trail project is 'finished'. This feeling is not unique, another community – the village of Ndengane – has a similar understanding. During the village questionnaire the community response was at the time of the interviews (5/12/2004) was that the village was no longer receiving tourists from the AmaMpondo Trail office since May/June 2004. Thus, they consider them as no longer involved in the project (Ndengane, 5 December 2004).

The involvement of the EU in the project has brought about two significant changes. Firstly, it has increased the resources available to the project, and secondly it has promoted a radical shift in the project approach given that the EU wants more private investment in tourism using a market driven strategy (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). Thus, the role of the EU can be seen as twofold: increasing the resources and changing the development approach. Other actors involved in the project as shown in the excerpt below corroborate this. The excerpts are taken from e-mail responses to the questionnaire.

The EU are making major changes to the initial PondoCROP concept and with PondoCROP now out of the picture they are completely changing the focus to private sector involvement.

(E-mail questionnaire, 2005)

It was the Amadiba trail model that was followed as it was planned by PondoCROP, but eventually changed by tenders. Instead of community driven tourism, it turn out to be Private Sector driven development [...] There was new management in PMU, that influence that decision [to not renew contract

with NGO] they were worried that the programme was not in their hands [EU hands but] in the NGO hands. They felt that community driven thing was a waste of time. They wanted to bring investors full-time to drive the process, not NGOs, who were trying to bring locals involved.

(E-mail questionnaire, 2005)

Additionally, a respondent was of the opinion that:

The models have evolved over time. At the beginning PondoCROP held the vision for enterprise development and the PMU just provided administrative support to the NGO. The PondoCROP model was community owned and operated tourism enterprises with ongoing NGO/government support and mentorship in the short term. Lessons learnt have shown that tourism is a sophisticated industry and rural communities require private sector investments, joint ventures and support in the long term (probably at least 10 years). Ownership can always remain in the community but operations require partnership with experienced private sector role players. The model has also evolved to allow local government participation so that they can meet their development mandate in term of law [...] The programme 'extension' was also very different to the original programme and the NGO roles were essentially made redundant by new strategies and targets.

(E-mail questionnaire, 2005)

These sentiments from different sources seem to agree that the project's basic philosophy has changed over time from a community-based approach to private sector involvement. It is important to understand just how much private sector involvement, that is, to clarify the degree and final outcome of the project's outlook regarding private sector involvement (as against the community driven approach). What has been the actual practical outcome in terms of results? This is the focus of Chapter Eight.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the history and evolution of the AmaMpondo Trail. In the main, this has been a bureaucratic institutional journey looking at how the EU has been involved in the project and how this involvement has influenced the project development and the philosophy at its core. Starting from its origin and the model it set out to follow, the chapter has followed the evolutionary path of the project. Specific issues such as ownership,

infrastructure development and training were also considered. The next chapter will investigate the result at community level and will show the final outcome of the project.

Chapter 8

Local Impacts of the AmaMpondo Trails

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the development and impacts of the Village-Based Accommodation trail⁴⁰. For the purposes of this analysis, there are in fact two trails: one under the management of the EU supported project (AmaMpondo) and the other under the management of local people (community). This chapter addresses the actual impact of the project and project outcomes at local level. Issues of project impact with consequential adaptation and sense of ownership are investigated. Specific examples of community adaptation to the failure of the EU sponsored project are scrutinised. It is argued that these examples support a form of alternative development and indicate that genuine CBT development is possible.

8.2 Feelings of ownership regarding village tourism projects

One of the key indicators of successful CBT is whether or not people feel a sense of ownership with regard to the projects. In the villages, there are three different entities running the tourism sector. The tourism structure by people involved in each village, more than four years after the inception of the project, was as follows:⁴¹

- People involved in the AmaMpondo VBA or AmaMpondo (trail). VBA formally organised in the EU supported project;
- People involved in the community VBA or CBT. VBA informally 're'organised by local people; and
- People autonomously setting up own private sector project (only 1 person).

The number of people involved in the community VBA (and private sector) were validated during the fieldwork by the village questionnaires answered by the various communities. Community trusts (and community members in general) have the ability and motivation to involve more people than those directly involved in the AmaMpondo Trail. That is, more people benefit from tourism (community VBA) per visitor compared to when the community followed the organisation and management structure planned in the formal AmaMpondo VBA. This happens for example by giving tasks (such as washing of linen, repairing horse's

⁴⁰ Note that the AmaMpondo Lodges trail has never started. This was the case in December.2006.

⁴¹ The project started on 16th March 2000 (MTR, 2003). The village interviews were conducted in December 2004 and fieldwork continued in 2005, with further visits in 2006.

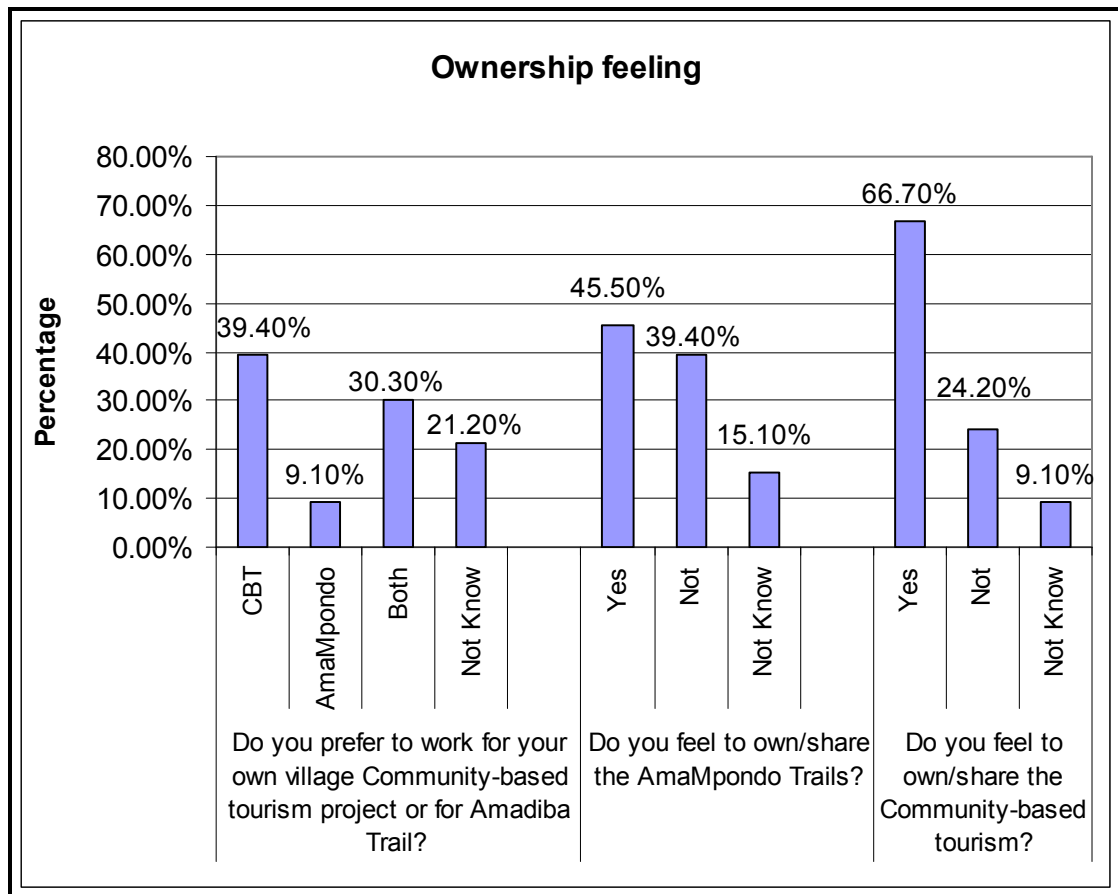
equipments and so on) to more people not involved in the formal AmaMpondo VBA. In addition the community trust tries to engage more people in the more typical tourism activities such as accommodation, especially when there are more tourists. Community management thus facilitates and enlarges the possibilities of people's involvement in the project. In short, if the communities are institutionally supported, they are able to produce more benefits and engender the involvement of more people in the ventures. In fact, each village community tourism (community VBA) activity, which is usually overseen by the community trusts without the direct/formal help of the AmaMpondo VBA project (or only in so far as the project has assisted to establish the original legal and organisational structures), has been able to involve more than 50% of the sample (55 out of 90) as established during fieldwork when questionnaires were administered in the various villages.

There exists in the community a self-potential development, often with a more community-wide reach. However, the challenge is to properly facilitate the initial stage of tourism development. This should be the role of external development actors such as NGOs or, in this case, the institutions involved in the whole Pondoland project. Only when the initial stage is able to appropriately facilitate community development in a manner that the community feel it owns, and that will allow the long-term community self-development and empowerment, will progress be made.

Figure 8.1 reflects the feelings of the respondents concerning the two main tourism entities, that is, the AmaMpondo VBA Trail and the village CBT. Figure 8.1 shows that only 3 people out of 33 (9.10%) prefer to work for the AmaMpondo Trail. The highest number (13 people or 39.40%) prefers to work for the village CBT while 10 (30.30%) people are happy to work for either. Seven people were non-committal as they did 'not know'. The other two questions confirm the trend concerning the preferences of the respondents about CBT and AmaMpondo Trail. Fifteen people (45.50%) feel they own/share the AmaMpondo Trail as opposed to 22 (66.70%) who feel they own/share the CBT. In fact while the feeling of shared ownership of the AmaMpondo Trail is almost the same (45.50% against 39.40%) suggesting near equilibrium or neutrality among the respondents, the feeling regarding ownership of the CBT project is very different, with 22 (66.70%) people against 8 (24.20%) suggesting closeness to CBT. This result shows how local people feel about their involvement and the control they exercise over the local CBT. This does not suggest that they do not like the AmaMpondo Trail, but merely underlines the fact that people feel more confident in controlling (at least influencing) the local CBT. In particular, the respondents emphasised that the village CBT

tends to give more direct benefits to the community. For instance, tourists pay directly to the people without any kind of ‘infrastructure’ or intermediary between them and the tourists.

Figure 8.1 Community members’ preference and feeling towards CBT and AmaMpondo trail (N=33)



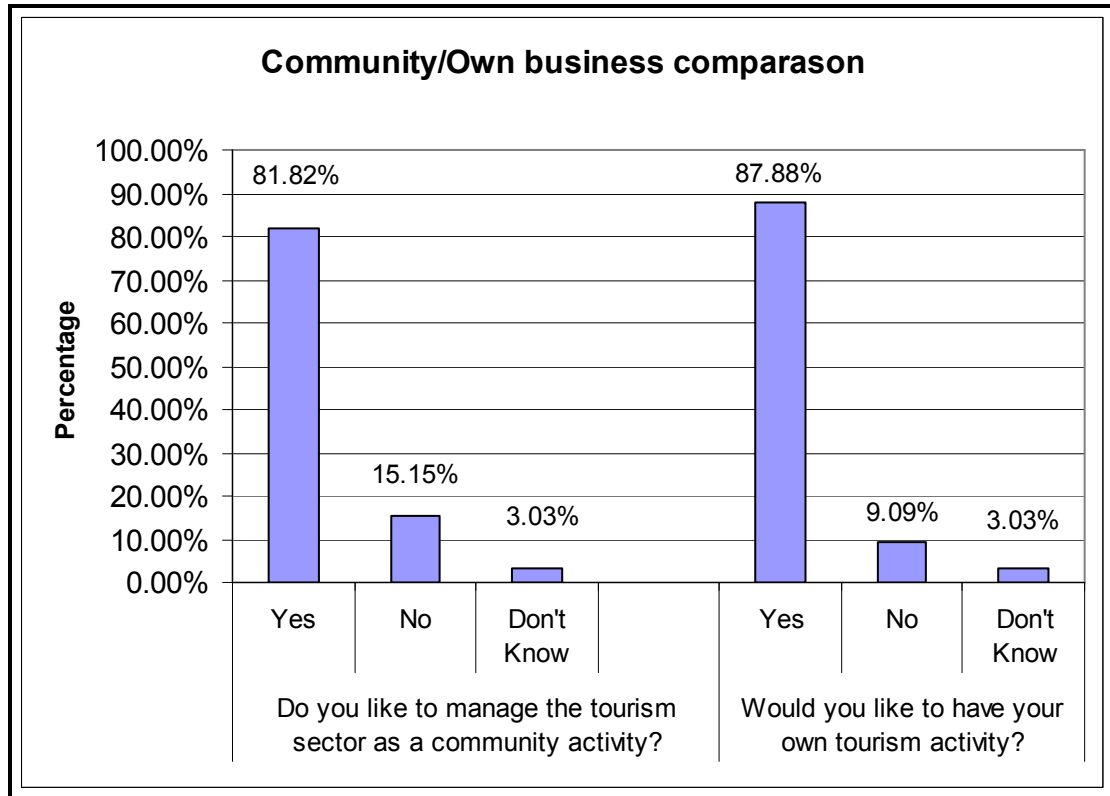
Source: Fieldwork

The argument being made here is not to argue against the concept of the Pondoland Trail as a multi-village CBT. However, the researcher has serious reservations about how the project has been carried out because local people feel that they have less control over the AmaMpondo Trail than they would like. Their role and local participation has been mostly limited to outsiders explaining to them what is happening, and there has been little opportunity to make things happen in the way they want by exerting their own form of management. In fact, this is the reason why local people prefer to work for the village CBT, because it affords them the opportunity and possibility to take control and make decisions on what and how things should be done.

As already stated, the EU intervention has contributed to “put pressure on the trail to conform to certain standards, drawn largely from the world of private business” (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 41). A process that is still continuing presently. It is argued here that CBT should follow, at least initially, an indigenous form of organization to facilitate community participation and control. The insertion of bureaucratic models adopted from culturally foreign (mostly western world) realities work against the community’s proper participation and understanding of what is happening. Moreover, external bureaucratic models can risk inserting concepts and perceptions not understood in the sense of not considering it necessary. For example, a great variety of “paper work” considered normal in some organisational/bureaucratic traditions, and proposed or ‘forced’ on communities for the proceeding of a development project, is not necessarily understood and/or welcomed in different cultural contexts. CBT, and community-based development in general, should start from the local organizational tradition and from there evolve. As already mentioned, cognizance needs to be taken of “cultural difference, not as static but as a transformed and transformative force; and ... the valorisation of economic needs and opportunities in terms that are not strictly those of profit and the market” needs to be understood (Escobar, 1995: 226). The workings of cultural hegemony are evident here, where western-based management models are introduced in different cultural contexts as the only possible (or the superior and best) ones.

Respondents were asked about their preference regarding management of the venture as a community, or undertaking individual private initiatives. Figure 8.2 below shows the responses on the matter. The responses seem to indicate some ambivalence as they show that local people have much the same feeling concerning the management of tourism as a community activity, that is, CBT or as a private individual venture. On the other side this can be interpreted as a desire for development of the whole community but simultaneously having the desire to establish their own private activity. It seems that people see their possible private initiative in direct relation to wider community development; the private initiative must be in the context of maintenance of the historical communal understanding of development. It seems very much in line with the proposition of Ubuntu spirit when saying “I am because we are: I exist because the community exists” (Bhengu, 2006: 36).

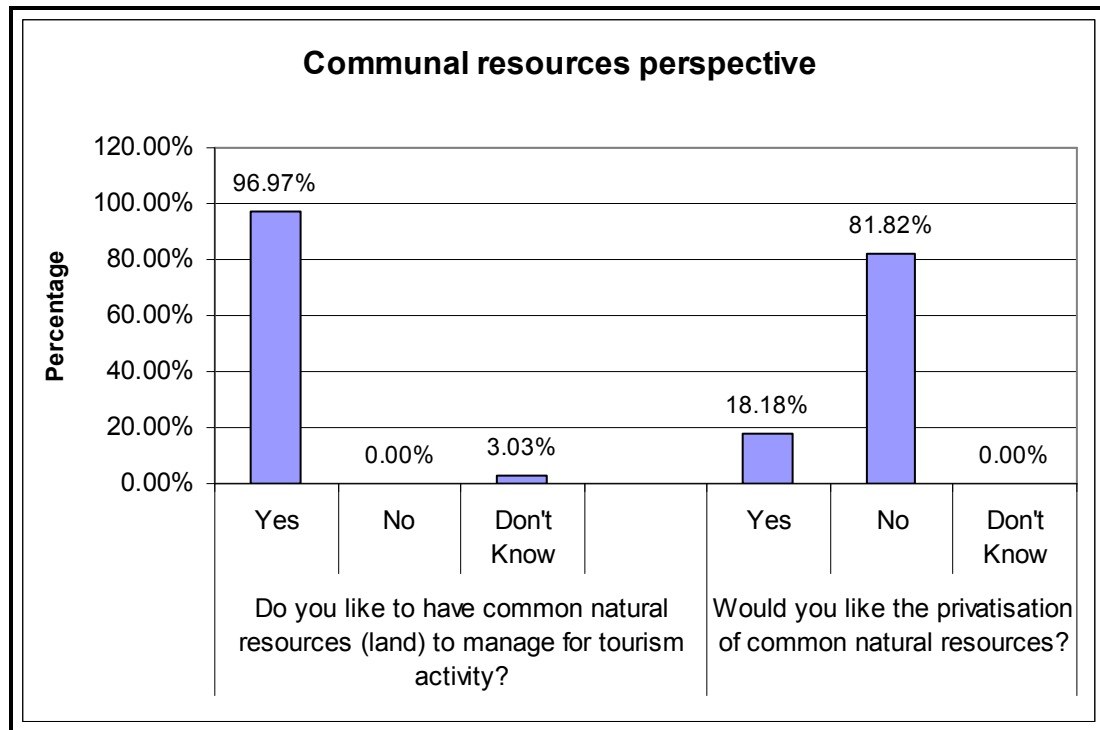
Figure 8.2 Community members' reference regarding management of the tourism sector (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

It is against this background that the local community prefers the maintenance of communal natural resources as opposed to wholesale privatisation (see Figure 8.3). Figure 8.3 indicates a widely held view that common ownership of natural resources must be the bedrock of the desired ownership pattern and upon it everything else must develop.

Figure 8.3 Community members' perspective on natural resources ownership (N=33)



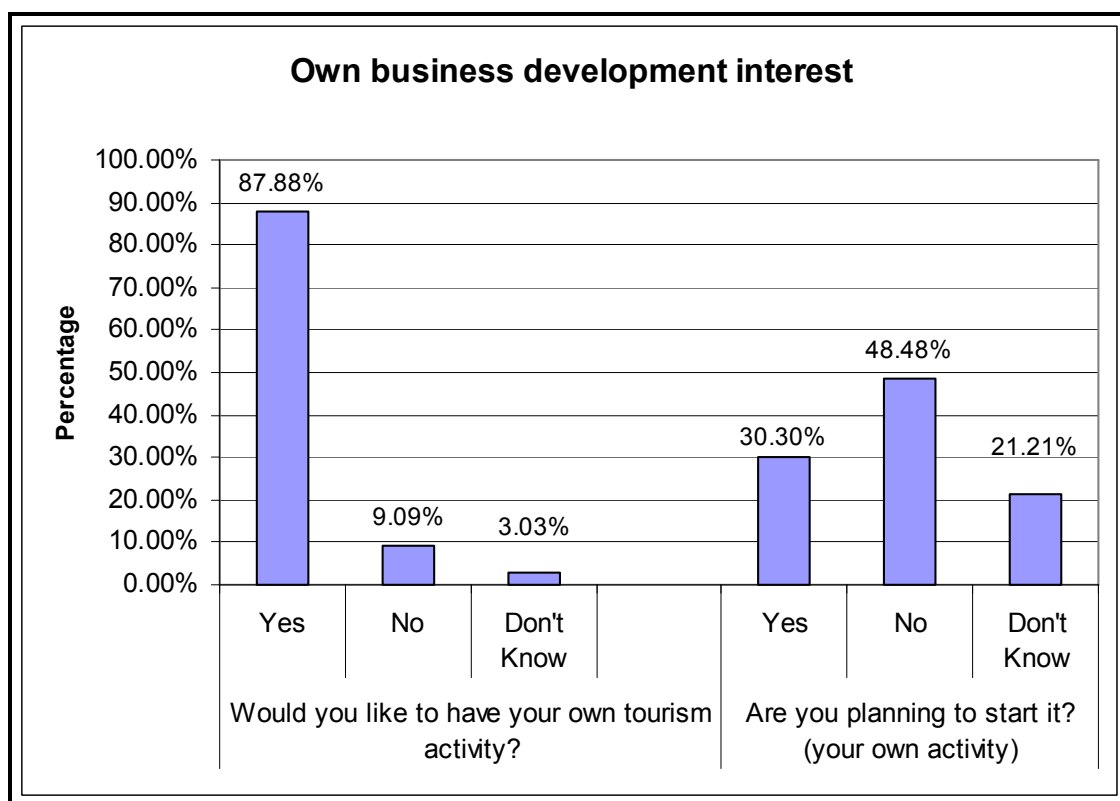
Source: Fieldwork

As the above results show that community members strongly agree (96.97%) to use the common natural resources for tourism activities. Community members also decisively oppose (81.82%) the privatisation of the natural resources. Common natural resources, such as land, are still seen inalienable and their use should benefit the whole community. It is worth mentioning that communal resource ownership in the context of co-operation and self-management concepts does not eliminate the possibility of private enterprises and initiatives. The basic premise is that land and other resources remain communally owned. For instance, small plots of land and small family owned and run private enterprises such as retail shops and craftsmanship can be integrated within a concept of cooperation. The aim is to achieve self-reliance from within and this is in line with what Nyerere (1974: 99) posits: “The doctrine of self-reliance does not imply isolationism, either politically or economically. It means that we shall depend on ourselves, not on others. But this is not the same thing as saying we shall not trade with other people or co-operate with them when it is to mutual benefit.” In this case (specifically the AmaMpondo lodges trail), however, as the research shows, the focus is on the involvement of *external* private companies in community-based tourism projects as opposed to full ownership by the community.

Perhaps it is not the usually supposed lack of entrepreneurial spirit that undermines locally owned private sector development initiatives, but rather the lack of resources, both material and non-material. Lack of resources, especially finance, has been a major hindrance for practically everybody wishing to start his/her own initiative. The CBT concept developed in this research proposes and promotes the development of SMMEs as an integral part of CBT tourism (as long as SME development remains within the other general concepts of CBT). Thus, for the CBT to thrive, there is a need to provide proper infrastructure and resources, which facilitate the growth of sustainable private initiatives rather than attracting external private players. Figure 8.4 below shows that while, as previously noted, many people would like to have their own tourism venture, only about one third (30.30%) is planning to start one. Certainly the lack of resources, especially material resources, is central in holding back most of the people trying to start private business.

Following the same argument it is necessary to recall that the local communities are extremely poor and what they want ultimately is a job and money to eke out a living. This is why, at the same time and to a large extent, almost everyone interviewed is ready to work for big tourism establishments even if a number of the people prefer that this establishment should not be built in Pondoland (but many agree because they hope for a job). The poverty factor does not give people a choice but in an enforced obligatory situation of looking for and accepting any job. Most people want jobs to earn money to sustain themselves and their families. It is in this context that it is necessary to locate Figure 8.5, showing responses to the suggestion that people might work for big tourism establishments.

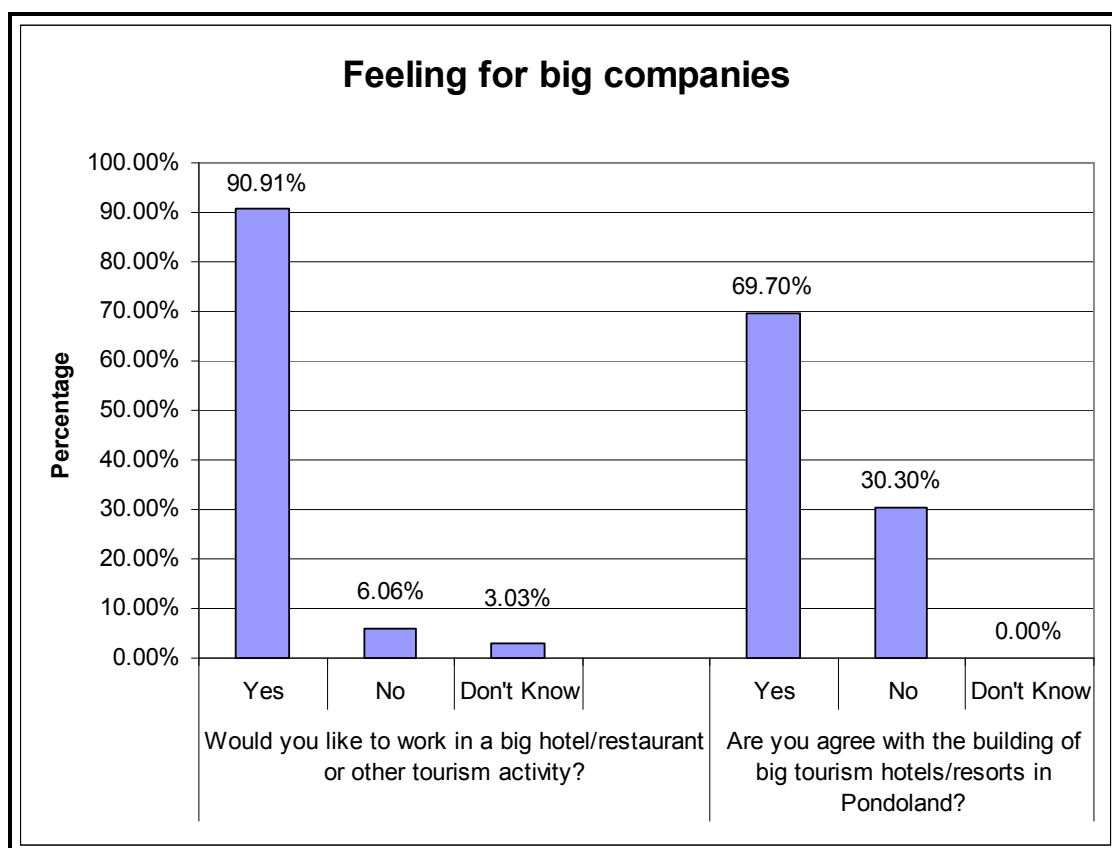
Figure 8.4 Community members' willingness to start own business (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

At the same time local community members need of income is visible by the fact that the great majority (90.91%) would like to have a job in a big tourism activity. Certainly the need for income makes people search for jobs. It is for this reason that 69.70% of people were in agreement that big tourism infrastructure should be built in Pondoland. Here 69.70% of people agree (Fig. 8.5).

Figure 8.5 Acceptance towards big tourism establishments (N=33)



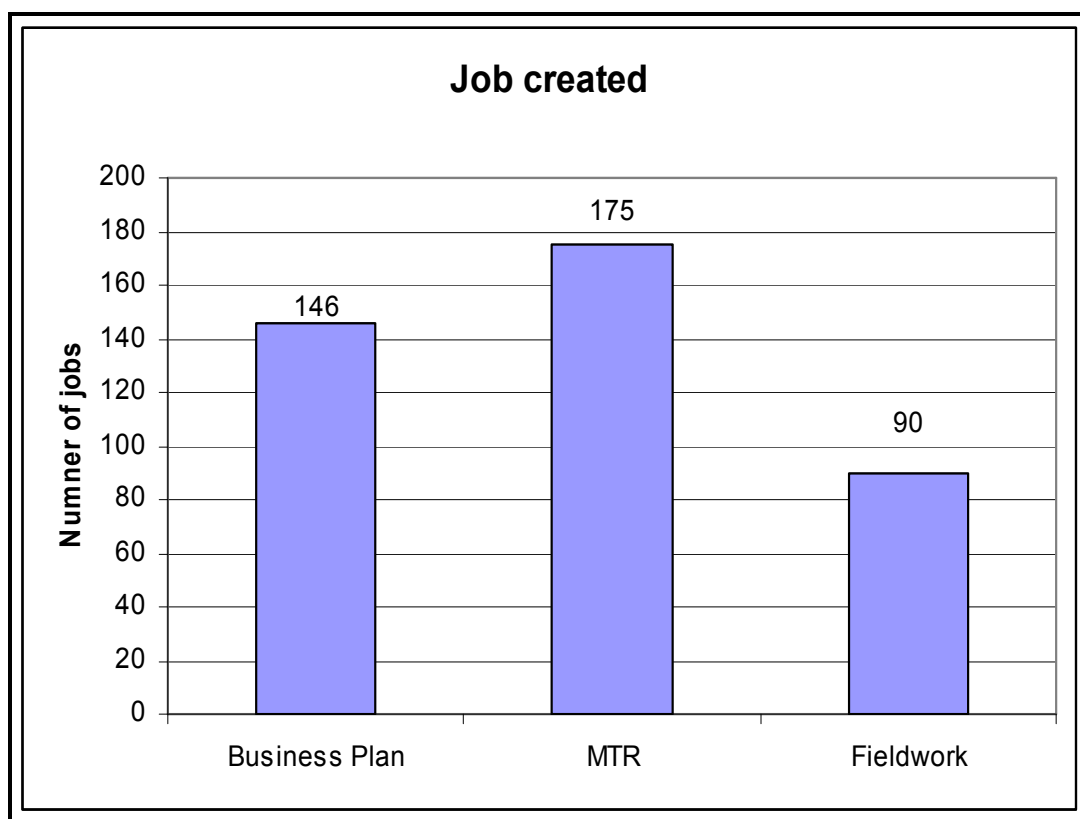
Source: Fieldwork

8.3 Village-level impacts in terms of income and employment

This section is concerned with assessing the actual results of the formal tourism project (the AmaMpondo VBA). The impacts will be analysed firstly at the village level and secondly at a personal level, that is, the impacts for the people directly involved in tourism.

Figure 8.6 shows the number of people benefiting from the AmaMpondo VBA. The figure shows a significant difference between the three sources of information. It should be noted that the fieldwork results reflect what the community members really recognise in terms of the number of beneficiaries/jobs created, as opposed to the number in official documents. The discrepancy between the community view and the two official documents is evident. In addition, given that the fieldwork data has been collected from December 2004 almost four years after the start of the project and close to its termination, the situation can be considered quite conclusive in relation to jobs created on the ground. The community assessment of the number of people benefiting/jobs created from the AmaMpondo VBA project is far less compared to the documents' initial vision.

Figure 8.6 Jobs created/beneficiaries depending on the documents (N=33)



Source: PondoCROP (2002 a)⁴², MTR (2003) and Fieldwork

Even if we subtract the people linked to the AmaMpondo Lodges trail (people who should be employed when the campsites are built and operational) the number still remains substantially higher than what is recognised by the community as people benefiting from the AmaMpondo project. That is the community identified a smaller number of people benefiting from the AmaMpondo project than the one supposed to take place based on the business plan. Table 8.1 shows the jobs created as outlined in the MTR (2003) report.

⁴² In the business plan (PondoCrop, 2002 a) the real number of job is, however, less as a number of people perform more than one task. The author calculates the effective number of people e involved is 137.

Table 8.1 Number of jobs created verified by the MTR

Node 2										
	Pondoland VBA Trail		Mbotyi Trails		Mbotyi Campsite		Mbotyi bakery		SUBTOTAL	
	Ents	Jobs	Ents	Jobs	Ents	Jobs	Ents	Jobs	Ents	Jobs
FULL-TIME										
Business Mng Unit	7	7	1	1					8	8
Guides	6	15		2					6	17
Horse Coordinator		4								4
Camp management					1	2			1	2
Camp Careteker						2	1	5	1	7
Camp Security										
Village Guest Hosts	6	36							6	38
Village Careteker										
Crafters										
Subtotal	19	62	1	3	1	4	1	5	22	74
PART-TIME										
Trustees									1	12
Backup Guides		15								15
Horse Owners	3	6							3	6
Transport (Taxi, etc)	3	36							3	38
Backup Village GH	1	2							1	2
Catering		54								64
Food inputs										
Craft inputs										
Entertainment										
Other										
Porters										
Subtotal	7	113							8	125
TOTAL	26	175	1	3	1	4	1	5	30	199

Source: MTR (2003: 81)

The first column, the Pondoland VBA Trail, shows a total of 175. It is worth noting that the Pondoland Coastal trails (AmaMpondo Lodges trail) and the Msikaba Trails have not created any jobs (MTR, 2003). The MTR (2003) and the Business Plan show the creation of many jobs. However, it must be remembered that several different jobs can be done by a single person, for instance a person can be both guide and accommodation host. In aiming to determine the real number of jobs, the fieldwork focused on determining the actual number of people who were currently engaged in the projects. The researcher is satisfied that during the

period of fieldwork the actual number of people involved in the projects was around 90 persons. Perhaps, in the overall context, the involvement of 90 people cannot be seen as a negligible impact in terms of job creation. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that tourism alone cannot be the panacea to the area's unemployment situation as many may be tempted to suggest. The 'giving out' of the lodges to external companies also jeopardises possible community profit that could have been used in community-wide projects and in other jobs linked with the lodge.

Table 8.2 shows the number of jobs created as determined by the fieldwork. It represents what the community members really consider as jobs created by the AmaMpondo VBA. This data will be later compared with the jobs created by the evolution of the community VBA. This comparison is one of the key issues in evaluating the community's own capacity and strategy of promoting development.

The non correspondence between the number of each column with its total is for the reason that more than one job can be done by the same person. Therefore, sometime the total number of people involved is less than the total number of jobs. Figure 8.7 shows the relevance of job categories.

The accommodation sector, which represent 52.22% of created jobs, seems to be the most relevant. It is therefore the accommodation sector that seems to have the greatest impact on jobs creation. Security jobs are relevant as the area, although peaceful, has been occasionally theatre of attack on tourists thus community gives security for tourist a high priority. Horse related jobs and tour guides are perceived to be less relevant in number. With the exception of one (1.11% of the jobs) recognized administrator there isn't any non 'manual' jobs making it difficult to support self-reliant CBT as no managerial skill are developed.

Table 8.2 Number of jobs created as recognised by the community

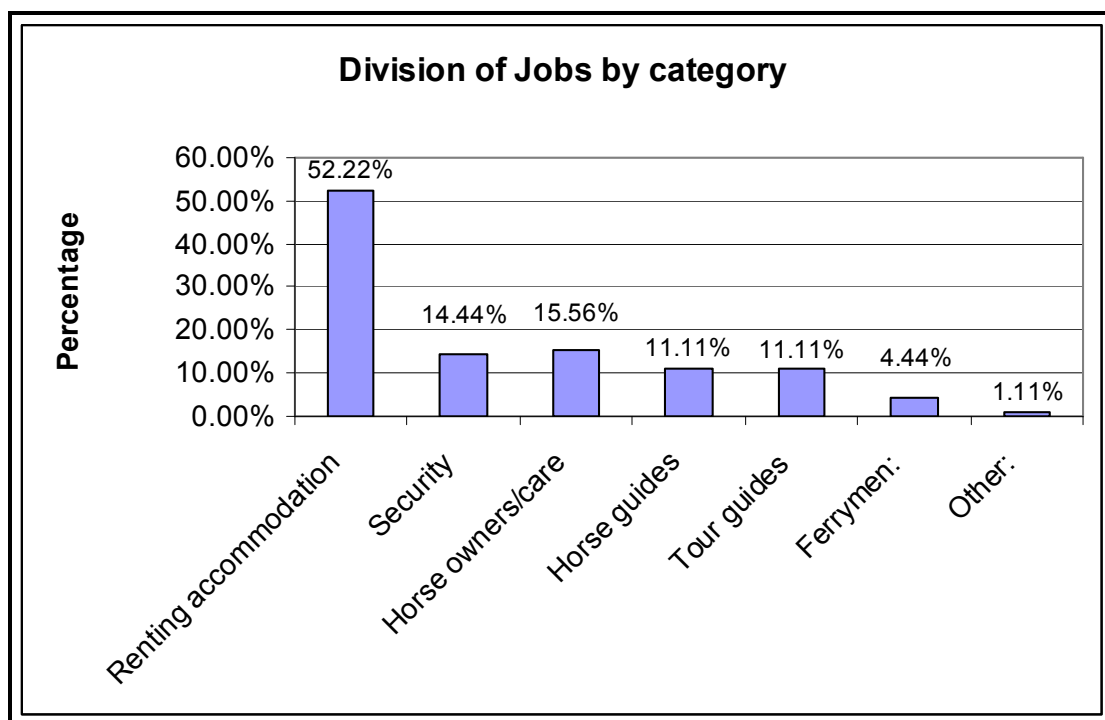
Villages	2 – Rhole	3 - Cutwini	4 – Hili (Mbotyi)	5 – Manteku	6 – Lujazo	7 - Noqekwane
AmaMpondo Trail:						
Renting accommodation (Hut OR similar):	10 (irregular)	10	8	5	4	10
Security:	8			5		
Horse owners/care:	8	3	3			
Horse guides:	1	2	3			4
Trail guides:	1	2	3	1	1 (from Manteku)	4
Ferryman:						4
Other:						1 (administrator)
Total	27	15	14	11	4	19

Source: Fieldwork

Note:

- At the time of the interviews (5/12/2004) the village of Ndengane was no longer receiving tourists from AmaMpondo Trail office since May/June 2004. Thus, they consider them as no longer involved in the project.
- The number indicates the number of families involved in the activity.
- Trail guide and horse guide if not differently specified are the same person/family
- The traditional authority is usually involved but does not directly participate in the tourism activities.
- If not differently specified families that provide accommodation also provide catering services.
- The village of Hili's work is associated with Mzimpunzi.

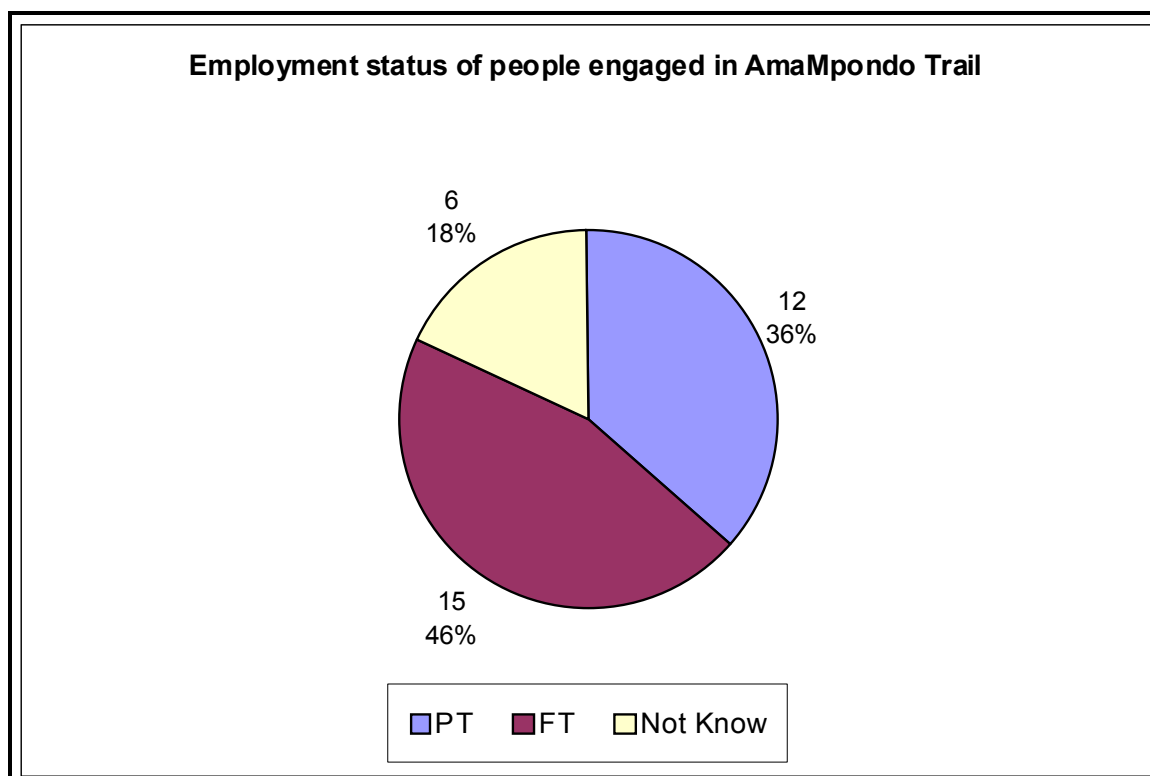
Figure 8.7 Jobs created/beneficiaries (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

It is also imperative to unpack the type of employment people are engaged in. The MTR (2003) figures show that most of the jobs are part-time. Indeed there were 125 part-time jobs as against 74 full-time jobs reported for the project. The feeling of the people involved is shown in Figure 8.8. In the fieldwork survey, 46% of the people employed by the project consider themselves to be working full-time (FT) while 36% described themselves as part-time (PT) workers. Interestingly, a relatively high percentage (18%) did not know whether they were full-time or part-time workers (Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.8 Community feeling about employment status in the AmaMpondo VBA (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

Two other issues are important to evaluate the outcome of the AmaMpondo VBA project (remembering that the AmaMpondo lodges trails practically never existed under community ownership and management). Firstly, it is important to know the number of tourists attracted by the project and secondly, as a consequence of the first, the quality of jobs provided. This matters, particularly the income derived, on the premise that the “goal is not just the creation of jobs, but the creation of jobs of acceptable quality. The quantity of employment cannot be divorced from its quality” (ILO, 2001: III).

First an attempt was made to determine the number of tourists patronising the trails. It is worth comparing two different situations linked to different document sources. Firstly, the Table below (Table 8.3) shows that 44 tourists went on trails during the period June-December 2002 (seven months)⁴³ according to the MTR (2003: 83).

During fieldwork, data were also collected on this issue. Figures were obtained from the villagers themselves using a visitors book of tourists visiting one VBA in Ndengane for the period 18 December 2003 to 20 December 2004. The results are presented in Table 8.3.

⁴³ The data start from June 2001 but the first trail operated in June 2002. Considering the period from June 2001 and June 2002 as a preparation time the author included the figures from June 2002 only.

During this 12 months period, ninety eight (98) registered tourists were recorded and did the trails in the Ndengane village (Msikikaba) which is the first village of the Pondoland Trails.

Table 8.3 Number of tourists

Tourists in Msikaba doing the Trail	
Date	Number of tourists
18/12/2003	2
21/12/2003	2
27/12/2003	3
27/12/2003	7
01/01/2004	5
03/01/2004	2
04/01/2004	7
15/02/2004	2
18/02/2004	2
26/02/2004	2
27/02/2004	4
14/04/2004	2
27/04/2004	8
07/05/2004	4
22/05/2004	16
15/06/2004	2
26/06/2004	6
14/08/2004	7
17/07/2004	2
20/09/2004	2
11/10/2004	2
17/11/2004	2
22/11/2004	5
21/12/2004	2
Total Tourists (18/12/03 - 21/12/04)	98

Source: Ndengane (Msikaba) home-stay accommodation visitor book

If we calculate the number of guests that should be present in 12 months, assuming a figure of 44 visitors in 7 months, it is possible to calculate that over 12 months about 75 guests should have visited. On this basis, there is in fact an increment of 23%. These figures are probably an underestimate, as the local people involved do not always remember to ask the tourists to sign the book. From personal observation it became apparent that the count could be increased by 20-30%.

It must be kept in mind that the fieldwork data comes from a single accommodation visitor book and it is possible that other VBAs hosted tourists in the same period in the same village. It is important to note also that while the MTR (2003) document registers only the visitor that

did the AmaMpondo VBA trail through official booking, the homestay visitor book also includes visitors who spontaneously arrived or for whatever reason did not necessarily pass through the official AmaMpondo VBA booking system. It could be said, therefore, that the visitor book better represents the number of visitors that did the trail, registering everyone and not only the 'official' AmaMpondo VBA trails. Even if slowly, the number of visitors seems to be increasing. This fits perfectly with the general concept of CBT that views development as a long-term sustainable initiative within a wider development scheme. Unfortunately, the AmaMpondo VBA has jeopardised its future development by not completing the project – it was evident during the fieldwork that this part of the scheme has been 'forgotten' or rather not considered by the main office.

It is important to observe that for a few households the impact can be seen as ameliorating the adverse impacts of un/under-employment. At R25 per person per day and R75 per person per night, about R9800 could go to community members. When the visitors arrive by booking at the AmaMpondo VBA, part of the money of course remains as an administration cost. Nevertheless, in a very poor village economy where most of the people live on a single pension and children's grants totalling R1000 and a few informal jobs (hardly any formal) this means a lot, even if it certainly does not reverse the general poverty in the area. Moreover, it must be considered that activities related to tourism can also be beneficial, especially when the lodge facilitates cooperation and involvement with the local community. The selling of arts and crafts are a good example of possible other income when sold to the tourist in the lodge.

It is relevant to briefly highlight the issue of the AmaMpondo Lodges Trails. As explained in Chapter Seven it is the AmaMpondo lodges trail more than the AmaMpondo VBA trail which has greater potential for improving the local situation. The ideal, however, would be to develop both products, AmaMpondo lodges and VBA together, in a cooperative manner. Table 8.4 shows projected income statements from the business plan (PondoCROP, 2002), ie the different magnitude in number and possible community benefits that could be achieved if the AmMpondo lodges trail was completed and was owned and managed by the community, as was initially intended.

Table 8.4 AmaMpondo Lodges trail Projected Income Statement

		Five Year Projected Income Statement				
		Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
INCOME						
Hiking Trails						
Msikaba-Mbotyi		R 20,736	R 31,104	R 43,546	R 58,061	R 74,650
Mbotyi-PSJ		R 15,552	R 23,328	R 32,659	R 43,546	R 55,987
Horse Trails						
Msikaba-Mbotyi		R 175,104	R 196,992	R 214,502	R 227,635	R 236,390
Mbotyi-PSJ		R 131,328	R 147,744	R 160,877	R 170,726	R 177,293
TOTAL INCOME		R 342,720	R 399,168	R 451,584	R 499,968	R 544,320
PAYMENTS						
Tour Operator Commissions	6.00%	R 20,563	R 23,950	R 27,095	R 29,998	R 32,659
Trust Contribution	10.00%	R 17,136	R 19,958	R 22,579	R 24,998	R 27,216
Agency	15.00%	R 34,272	R 39,917	R 45,158	R 49,997	R 54,432
Trail Service Provider Fees						
Horse Owners		R 44,928	R 50,544	R 55,037	R 58,406	R 60,653
Horse Organisers		R 3,456	R 3,888	R 4,234	R 4,493	R 4,666
Guides		R 20,160	R 24,192	R 28,224	R 32,256	R 36,288
Camp Keepers		R 10,800	R 12,960	R 15,120	R 17,280	R 19,440
Catering		R 10,800	R 12,960	R 15,120	R 17,280	R 19,440
Camp Security		R 25,200	R 25,200	R 25,200	R 25,200	R 25,200
Trail Consumables		R 30,240	R 36,288	R 42,336	R 48,384	R 54,432
Maintenance		R 36,000	R 36,000	R 36,000	R 36,000	R 36,000
Communications		R 48,000	R 48,000	R 48,000	R 48,000	R 48,000
BMU		R 5,040	R 6,048	R 7,056	R 8,064	R 9,072
Local Trail Admin. Office						
Administrator Wages		R 42,000	R 42,000	R 42,000	R 42,000	R 42,000
Rent		R 12,000	R 12,000	R 12,000	R 12,000	R 12,000
Bank Charges		R 3,600	R 3,600	R 3,600	R 3,600	R 3,600
Stationery		R 3,000	R 3,000	R 3,000	R 3,000	R 3,000
TOTAL PAYMENTS		R 367,195	R 400,505	R 431,759	R 460,956	R 488,098
Profit		-R 24,475	-R 1,337	R 19,825	R 39,012	R 56,222
<i>Dividend</i>		<i>R 0</i>	<i>R 0</i>	<i>R 0</i>	<i>R 0</i>	<i>R 0</i>
Retained Income		-R 24,475	-R 1,337	R 19,825	R 39,012	R 56,222

Source: PondoCROP (2002: 17)

Table 8.4 financials for five years seem to be quite optimistic if compared to actual results. The project was supposed to have a total income of Rand 342,740 in its first year and to start to have a positive retained income in its third operational year. It is also noticeable that, not understandably, administrator wages and rent is kept unchanged for the all five years raising

doubt on the total retained income forecast. This is because wages, rent and bank charges were suppose to increase over time. However, the MTR (2003: 82) put Rand 48,400.00 as the total revenue after six operational months and Table 8.5 shows, from data collected by personal questionnaires during the fieldwork, the personal income of people working in the AmaMpndo VBA. Two facts are obvious, first the general situation is that of a very low income (so that even a small amount of money can be of great relevance for very poor families) and the second is the great irregularity (51.52%) of income. This second situation is typical of the tourism sector in many circumstances and is widely recognised. As a result, the tourism sector should always be considered not alone but in conjunction with other development sectors. It is very difficult and risky to propose a plan of development uniquely based on tourism development, especially when not properly supported with a long-term locally based strong tourism development strategy.

According to the survey, income from tourism was noted to be irregular. This view was shared by a majority (51.52%) of the local people. This irregularity is of course typical in the tourism sector everywhere (although to differing degrees), and thus is not unexpected. The main weakness can be identified as the low level of income coming from tourism, resulting from low tourist volumes and surely also attributable to the fact that the campsites had not been built. In their responses to the questionnaire survey, local people emphasised the irregularity of the income and the catchword “it depends” was repeated, often highlighting the unpredictability of the sector. Even in the ‘tourist season’, at times the income still remained extremely low. Thus most households largely depend on old age pensions, children’s grants and migrant remittances. Income from tourism augments these sources and allows the buying for instance of livestock such as goats and other expenses such as repairs to the house.

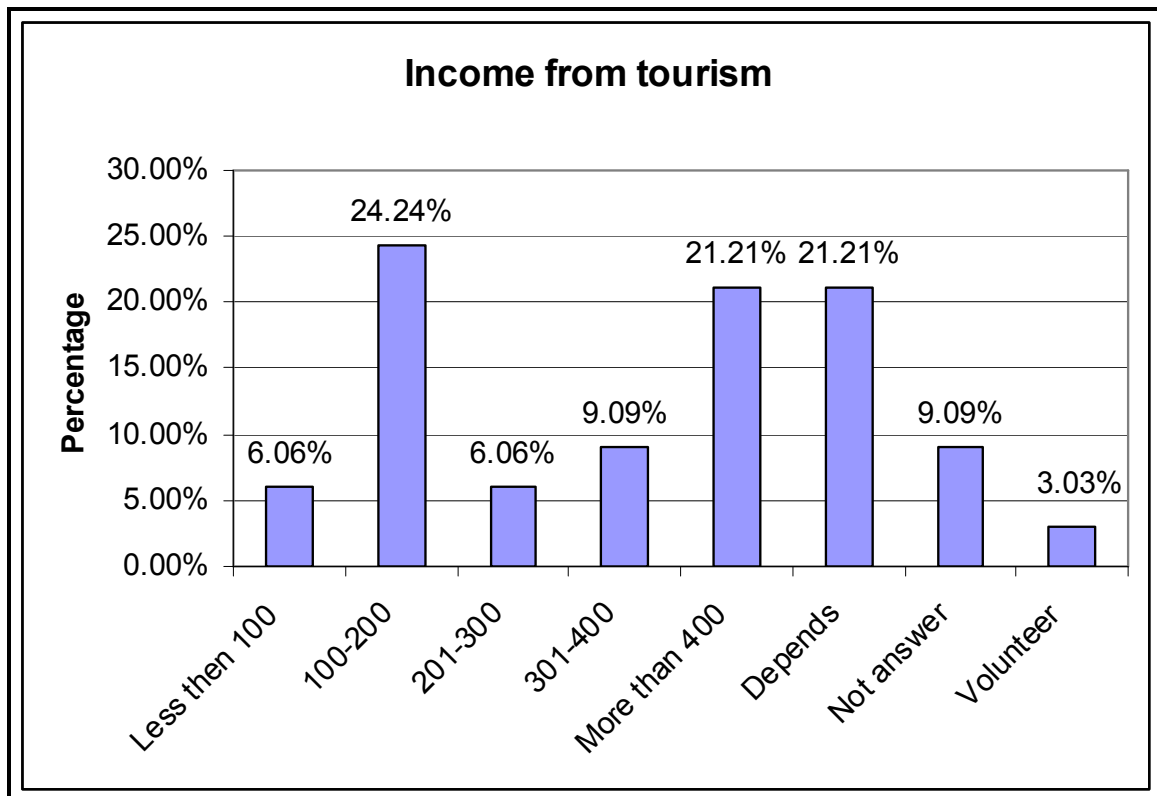
Figure 8.9 must be read in conjunction with Table 8.5 to understand the real value of the tourism income. Thus, despite the possible, although small, positive impact that could be seen in the percentages of Figure 8.9, Table 8.5 shows that most of these incomes are very much irregular or a once off situation. In fact the feeling of people toward tourism income is clear as a total of 51.52% see the tourism income as not stable (27.27% answer depends, 15.15% answer irregular and 9.09% answer that it was a once off occurrence).

Table 8.5 Community members' income from tourism (N=33)

Responses	Villages						
	Ndengane	Rhole	Cutwini	Hili (Mboyti)	Manteku	Lujazo	Noquekwane
Less then or about100 Rand	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%
About 200 Rand	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	50.00%	12.50%
About 300 Rand	50.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
About 400 Rand	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
More than 400 Rand	0.00%	0.00%	75.00%	16.67%	0.00%	50.00%	25.00%
Depends	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	66.67%	0.00%	12.50%
Not answer	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%
Volunteer	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Changes a lot	0.00%	0.00%	0.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Source: Fieldwork

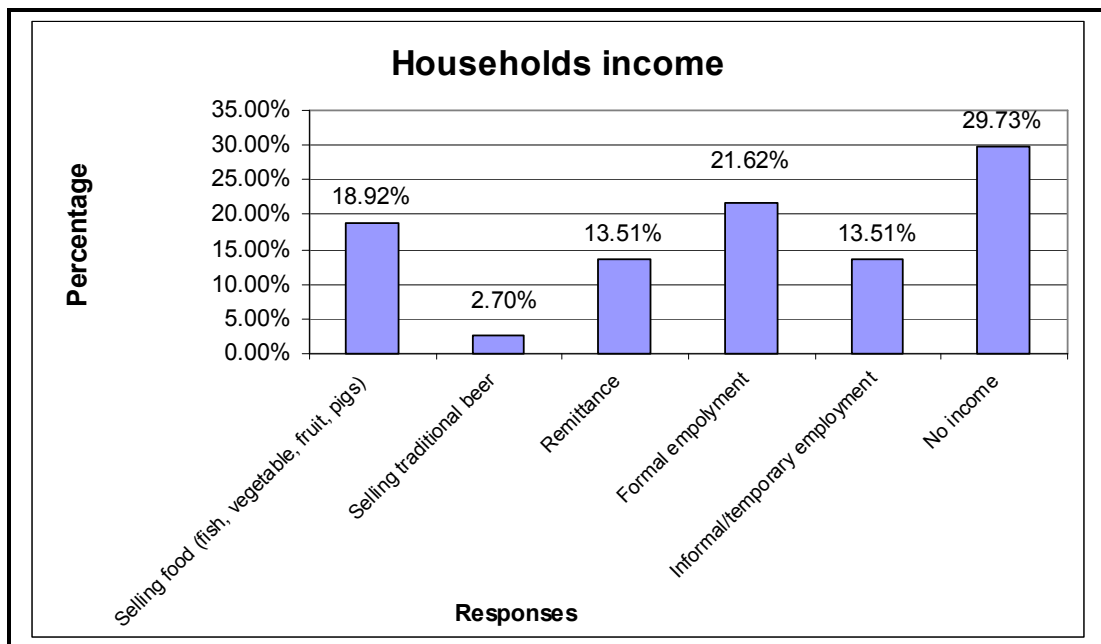
Figure 8.9 Elaboration of data of income on households from tourism (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

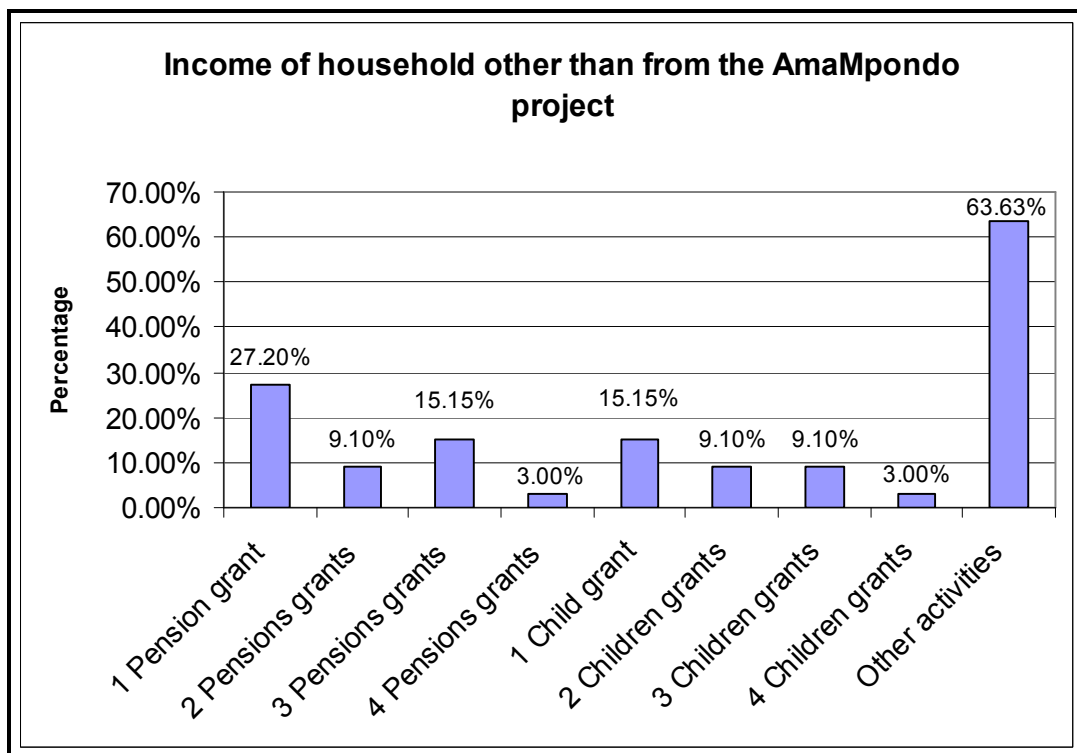
Figure 8.10 and 8.11 must be read in conjunction with Table 8.5 and Figure 8.9 to understand the real value of the tourism income. The elaboration of the data gathered during the fieldwork personal questionnaires shows the following (see Figure 8.10 and 9.11). Although the data may not be entirely accurate due to people's reluctance to reveal completely their own income, the general picture seems clear. Government pensions and children's grants form the survival income for many families.

Figure 8.10 Income of households other than from the AmaMpondo project (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

Figure 8.11 Income of households other than from the AmaMpondo project (N=33)



Source: Fieldwork

To better support the data and as an official example of the local situation the data from the South African census (2003) can serve to verify the situation. The data from Qaukeni Ward 23, that comprises, amongst others, the villages of Ndengane and Rhole (the first two village of the AmaMpondo trail) show that 10362 (86.89%) people or 51.72% of households (see Table 8.6) have declared to have no formal income. The main picture of the ward shows that 80.14% of household are of a traditional type, that only 22.94% of the recognized labor forces is employed and that people over 20 years old (45.26%) have no schooling and 26.43% have only some primary schooling. These limited data clearly shows many deficiencies in the studied area.

Certainly people are also able to raise a little money through a myriad of small activities. However, it is evident that the population is highly impoverished and the possible new tourism derivate income has created expectations and hope amongst individuals.

Table 8.6 Household incomes in Qaukeni ward 23

Households income	2001	Percentage of households
None	1128	51.72%
R1 – 4800	177	8.12%
R4801 – 9600	528	24.21%
R9601 – 19200	216	9.90%
R19201 – 38400	72	3.30%
R38401 – 76800	45	2.06%
R76801 – 153600	9	0.41%
R153601 – 307200	3	0.14%
R307201 – 614400	3	0.14%

Source: South Africa Census (2003)

It can be observed that if the total revenue of R48,400 was divided by the number of jobs (175) and divided by the 6 months of operations, the average wage rate would be R46 per month. This is hardly sufficient to create any form of economic growth and most certainly cannot be regarded as sustainable. Granted, this is a simplistic calculation but if the programme is to lay any strong claim to having created 175 jobs, this must reflect also in vastly improved income levels.

As previously stated (see section 7.4) the lodges could have a better impact on the local community. However, up to December 2005, only one campsite was operational. In this regard, it is probably not possible to judge the result of the project as it stands. Difficulties occurred at its inception when the seeds of this failure were sown, such as by not putting up and developing the necessary infrastructure for tourism. Surely lodges and campsites were the main pre-conditional infrastructure necessary to develop tourism in the area?

In terms of the relevance to the main argument of this thesis the next section is crucial. Here the final stage evolution of the AmaMpondo lodges trails is investigated.

8.4 Private sector involvement

The perspective taken in this thesis is that the private sector can also be involved in supporting CBT, but not with the intention of taking over control of the CBT itself but as an external partner to bring tourism activities which are fully managed and operated by the local community. This is the opposite of what is occurring in the case of the AmaMpondo trails. The findings of the research demonstrate how the contemporary economic and political context has the ability to influence a local CBT project. This is clearly shown in the events that unfolded in the study area during 2005 and 2006.

A document, which concludes with procedures for bidding, received by (some members of) the community on 9 May 2005 from the EU/DEAT Support Programme, and addressed to the Wild Coast SDI administration office, stated the following:

Background information for private parties interested to apply for pre-qualification as potential bidders to complete construction of and operate camps between Msikaba and Port St. Johns in Pondoland on the Wild Coast.

(Prospectus Wild Coast Camps Pondoland, 2005)⁴⁴

Bidding went ahead and the company Drifters Adventures (with the concessionaire Main Street (PTY) LTD) was awarded the bid. Until this point, Drifters Adventures was not involved in any way in the development of the Pondoland project. Its role was exclusively at the end of the project, when bidding involved private companies. Although the company played no role in producing this outcome, Drifters took advantage of this particular set of circumstances to gain from the neo-liberal outcome produced by the EU intervention. As Greg Butt, Drifters Adventures operation manager explains:

The trails had originated as a European Union-funded project that had gone “a bit foul” [...] A lot of money went missing and people didn’t really know how to make this thing work [...] so we were approached to bid for the new tender programme by the Eastern Cape Government – the deal was, they wanted someone with professional ability to come in and actually make this thing work.

(Yeld, 2006)

⁴⁴ Note that this document was not the final one. On the first page the reader is cautioned: “Please note this is a draft document for comment and discussion only. It should not be distributed or cited as an official document until the discussion process has been completed. The final document will be thoroughly proofread. Place names and maps will be modified during the discussion process” (Prospectus Wild Coast Camps Pondoland).

This summarises the story. Originating as a European Union project intended to be a CBT project, events combined to create an outcome in which the project of the AmaMpondo trails (lodges) was given out to a private sector tourism venture. The successful company explains its workings and philosophy as follows:

Our [Drifters] philosophy is based on one of SUSTAINABILITY – the long-term assurance that whatever activity we conduct in any specific natural area must contribute to the conservation and to the well-being of the inhabitants of that area, thus ensuring that future generations will be able to visit those same areas and enjoy the same experience as did their parents before them [...] *we [Drifters] employ large numbers of local people in all those countries. Clients can therefore feel assured that a percentage of their tour fee is in fact going directly to all those local communities.*

(Drifters, n.d.) [italics added]

This excerpt shows that, at least on paper, Drifters' intention is to combine natural resource conservation with people's well-being. However, there are a few things to note. First of all, it has been noted that "international conglomerates have, time and again adopted the 'eco' label for their mass tourism resort projects" (Honey, 1999: 38). Secondly, and concerning the well-being and benefit to local communities, it has been argued that "if the private sector actors have more power, then they are more likely to negotiate an agreement which prioritises their interest" (Scheyvens, 2002: 191). Furthermore, it is recognised (Scheyvens, 2002: 191) that having a "stake in ownership of a tourism venture by local people does not necessarily equate to control over the venture's operations." She concludes that communities may receive only token benefits from joint tourism ventures (Scheyvens, 2002).

Third and finally, "Most common are the management contracts, which enable international corporations to parlay their expertise into often lucrative, long-term contracts that give them de facto control over the business without requiring them to put up any money" (Honey, 1999: 38). One example is the often cited, and currently in vogue, Public-Private Partnerships, "a term that often turns out to be a euphemism for state-provided subsidies and services for the private sector" (Honey, 1999: 18).

This seems to be exactly the case under discussion here, where public money (European Union and South African) intended for community development through CBT serves instead to facilitate the insertion and future profit of a private company (even if under a partnership condition with the local community). These cautionary statements does not preclude mutual beneficially partnerships between private companies and local communities, but they do speak to the general pattern of

behaviour that private enterprises are likely to follow. Only time will show where there is any real benefit to the local people.

In 2006 the Drifters representative, Butt (2007)⁴⁵, said they hoped to have the trails operating in the coming year but confirmed that the company was concerned about bureaucratic delays around approvals especially regarding the Environmental Impact Assessments for the overnight camps. This was primarily because of the proposal to increase the number of beds from 12 to 24. Butt remained positive: “We're obviously a little concerned about that, but being a positive company we're putting our heads down and we're going ahead - we believe we can do this and we want to persuade everyone else that we can do it” (cited in Yeld, 2006: 15). A key focus is thus the need to increase the number of tourists. Drifters Adventures claims that: “We would like to expose it and put some people through here and generate money in a way that benefits the local communities” (Yeld, 2006: 15).

If one pays attention to the detail to the concession contract (2005), difficulties seem to arise from the proposed community benefit proposal. The first point on equity sharing underlines the fact that each community trust will have 25% (5% per trust) instead of 100%, as should have been the case. Secondly, the employment equity projection seems quite optimistic. In fact the concession contract (2005) writes about employment for 5 local managers, 20 camp attendants, 10 guides, 100 porters, 4 ferry men and 6 taxi drivers. This number seems strange as, for example, local guides are not compulsory under the Drifters model: “The trails will be either guided or non-guided, depending on demand, and the local communities will also supply porters for those who prefer to walk less encumbered” (Yeld, 2006: 15). Drifter provide local maps and only if required by tourist will supply a guide (Drifters Adventures, Brochure, n.d.). Thus, the guide is not compulsory included in the trails package. In reality, the actual employment of local guides seems to depend on the tourists’ willingness to hire a guide rather than being an essential component.

In addition the concession contract (2005) proposes that almost 100% of the workforce should be recruited locally except for the general trail manager and after one year local people should be shareholder on Board. As today (November 2009) the local manager for the Ndengane lodge is not a local resident (participant observation).

Moreover local people will not provide meals but Drifter supply all kitchen equipment required and suggest buying the needed food and drinking supply in the nearest town (Drifters Adventures, Brochure, n.d.). This statement actively encourages clients to source groceries elsewhere instead of using the services

⁴⁵ In November 2007, the Drifters trail is still not fully operational.

that rural village communities were keen to provide to gain income such as meals (or supplying basic foodstuff such as vegetable), affecting the proposed emphasis on preferential procurement. To actually suggest to tourists that they should buy their food in a city supermarket before coming to the area, makes it clear that any proposal to meaningfully use local production (for example through a community food garden) has little chance of success.

Skills development is another important issue. The private companies in charge propose (Concession contract, 2005) to facilitate the skill improvement of three people per year (a rather low number), through a 16-day learnership programme run by the same company (Drifters). This appears very much a token gesture, undertaken in relation to the bidding programme and not really to empower community members. The concession contract (2005) also mentions that the private companies will assist (if applicable) skill managerial development for the trustee.

Plate 8.1 below exemplifies the ethos of participation and management of a truly local and community-driven income-generating tourist project. It shows a woman cooking for tourists during the AmaMpondo VBA trail (The author was one of the guests). This may well disappear in the future if the stance being taken by private players such as Drifters Adventures prevails in the AmaMpondo lodges trails - if the AmaMpondo VBA is no longer facilitated and is left out of the picture, as appears to be the case currently.

This change in approach has serious implications. For instance, it may mean a change in the price charged for a trail. According to Drifters Adventures, the costs would change from about R1000 to R2800. This increase in price, without meals, has the effect of attracting the high value tourists which the companies are targeting. Yet despite this, Drifters Adventures still claims that: “The involvement and co-operation of the local community ensures the safety and long term viability of this venture for all parties” (Drifters Adventures, Brochure, n.d.), giving the impression that it is concerned about holistic empowerment and self-reliance in the trails venture.

Plate 8.1 Cooking for tourists in Lijazo during the AmaMpondo VBA trail



Source: fieldwork (author photography)

The above paragraphs raise serious questions about the creation of greater community involvement and benefits. The project currently seems to be undertaken in a manner that may lead to continuing marginalization, exclusion and especially dependence, of local people, instead of promoting empowerment and self-reliance. The researcher does however note that it is premature to make any final judgment since private sector involvement has just started. Only with time will it be possible to verify the impact and possible benefits of the private company involvement. This research is about why and how a cooperation project focusing on CBT has undergone such a radical shift in development approach, and it is not the intention of the author to investigate the theoretical and practical behavior of a private company in the conduct of its business. Further research will be needed to investigate the outcome of this new tourism venture. Time will show if the community will benefit from the involvement of the private company.

8.5 Outcomes

The main point to understand is why, despite the original objectives of the project which anticipated a CBT situation, the outcome was altered leading to the insertion of a tourism private multinational company which now enjoys control of the main structures of the project (the campsites) when these would be expected to be run by the local villagers. It must be emphasised that the way the project has been run up to now has had a low economic impact on local communities. VBA tourism has prospects for tourism development and growth, but offered in isolation, these potentialities tend to be low. A much greater tourism market can be found and

attracted with the construction of the lodges, lodge-camps and campsites that should be controlled and managed as a CBT and not as a private investment. Lodges can be more profitable than VBA. Thus the control of the campsite is very important as a key determinant of the form and content of the project, as well as the impact the project can have on the community in terms of the number of people employed and positive concomitant factors such as community empowerment and the economic benefits derived.

In considering why the outcomes of the project (AmaMpondo Lodges trail) went against the original plan, it is necessary to view the outcome in the context of the theoretical framework reviewed in this thesis. A few key points must be highlighted. First is the difference in approach between private sector players and NGOs in such initiatives. On one side, and initially, there was a seemingly genuine CBT approach which was attempted, despite errors and difficulties that were encountered⁴⁶, on the other side, there was the call for more private sector involvement. This manifests itself as a movement from the alternative development approach to mainstream neo-liberalism as shown in Chapter Three. A few justifications were put forward to explain this change. The main one was to blame NGOs for poor service delivery, poor management of their tasks and possible financial irregularities as well as local community incapability. However, surely if NGOs or any other organisation/institution involved in a project fails to deliver and/or behave properly, the solution would be to change the NGO or organisation/institution and not to change the entire project philosophy and approach. It seems that with the excuse of the NGO management problem, the actor in charge of the project decided to change the project's underlying philosophy instead of changing the actor⁴⁷.

At the same time, part of the blame was placed on local people who were supposedly not able to manage the new tourism ventures. As one of the actors stated in an interview: "CBT does not work. Partnership is better. Especially the management [of a tourism venture] for private sector involvement" (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). Certainly this is arguable. It is precisely the project itself that needs to help in the training of the people involved in the venture. And the informal outcome of community VBA in this case study seems to show exactly the opposite – that the villagers in this case were able to take an initiative and manage tourism ventures.

Overall, the involvement of the EU has had serious implications in the conduct and outlook of the project. On the one hand, it led to the increase of financial resources, apparently a good thing.

⁴⁶ It is important to remind the reader that the project model was the Amadiba Trails, which were recognised as highly successful (and proposed as a model to follow). These were developed by local actors and through a national (South African Government agency) financial contribution.

⁴⁷ Refer to chapter 7 for discussion reference of these last issues.

However, at the same time it also promoted a shift in the project's approach as the "EU and others are for more private sector involvement in running the tourism operation" (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005) and the EU is "trying to move to a market development approach for the continuing development of the project" (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). Thus, the role of the EU can be seen as twofold: increasing the capital outlay and resources, and changing the development approach the project was pursuing.

An EU representative interviewed as asked to evaluate the quality of the relationship of the EU (funders) to the other actors (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005). A summary is provided below:

- RSA (national) government: close relations with EU;
- Eastern Cape (provincial) government: previously no relationship, but now and in the last few years getting much better;
- O.R. Tambo municipality: At first very hostile to the EU, now and in the last few years getting much better;
- PMU: It has changed. With the new programme manager now better, especially in the last two years;
- Tourism board: No relationship;
- Community: No formal relationship, only with a local representative. EU representatives made two official trips in two years to local sites; and
- NGOs: Relationship deteriorated when EU started demanding performance from them. They were not performing both on paper and in the field. For instance, there is evidence to show that they were not following procedures and created financial problems. Now some financial investigations have been instituted against the NGO (PondoCROP).

The community has been found responsible for being unable to run the campsites. It is imperative that local communities get proper training and support. The EU representative expressed the following points with reference to the role of the community in the project (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005):

- They should own as much as possible of the assets;
- Workers should increasingly become managers with time (for example in 5 years the project should have local managers); and
- Community must be the main beneficiary of the project.

It is hard to understand the final outcome. After five years, which is the time recommended for proper training to be completed and for the project to be up and running, the community is deemed unable to manage their campsite. Yet the campsites were not actually built! It is curious

that Drifters, a private company and therefore presumably conscious of financial imperatives, is itself employing local villagers as managers of the different Lodges sites.⁴⁸ This is in clear contrast with the EU proposition of local incapability. The EU assumption regarding local villagers' ability to manage a village campsite seems, thus, to be faulty. It can be interpreted as an excuse, and is certainly an attitude remote from a genuine community assessment and understanding.

The 2004 consultancy report explicitly did not take on issues around CBT as it mentions that local participation and ownership was not taken in consideration in compiling the report (HSSA, 2004).

The consultancy responsible for this report appears to be promoting what may be called "external partnerships" by facilitating association with the private sector (HSSA, 2004). That is, a link is established with outside structures, in this case private companies. The consultancy did, however, and quite rightly, underscore the point that training and skills development needed to be enshrined in the agreement. "Whilst it is understood that this camp will be owned and operated by the local community, a linkage to the private sector operator of the proposed up-market rustic lodge should be established for the purpose of hospitality skills development training and marketing benefits" (HSSA, 2004). From this report, it is clear that even for the consultancy the role of the private sector was envisaged as an external link and was not intended to be a complete 'take over'. However, in the final outcome, the community became an outsider to the project with a concomitant shift towards a neo-liberal persuasion.

The same change of tone and thrust can be seen at a policy level as well (see Chapter Five). Here a quote from the Tourism Planning Framework for the O R Tambo District Municipality is sufficient to make the point. The framework background stated:

In late 2002 the European Union Wild Coast Programme was requested by the O R Tambo District Municipality to assist with tourism planning as part of their Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process. A special request was made to include the whole of the O R Tambo District, including the inland areas, and not just to focus on the narrow strip of the Wild Coast. This was approved.

(Norton, 2003: 6)

Regarding the role of the private sector, and consequently of local communities, the framework document concludes by stating:

⁴⁸ This involvement must not be confused with a CBT situation, that is genuine community ownership and management of the lodges.

The private sector have a very important role to play, and a significant amount of effort should go into establishing more effective working relationships with existing private sector operators (even if they are mostly white) and in developing black entrepreneurs in tourism (as opposed to focusing too much on the community tourism model).

(Norton, 2003: 32)

This policy shift, assisted by the consultant who wrote the District Municipality report, has resulted in more private sector involvement - regardless of what and who the private sector companies represent - and less community involvement. As a consequence, these private companies have the ability to exploit the situation. As described above, a TTNC was awarded the tender to run the campsites of the Pondoland Trails, giving it power and advantage over the community. This approach is strongly supported by the shift in policy.

Here it is necessary to describe the final relationship between the private sector⁴⁹ and the local communities in regard to the AmaMpondo lodges trail. A concession contract has been stipulated and drawn up (by a Johannesburg based attorney firm). The contract is written in highly technical legal language which it is doubtful local people can understand, let alone verify. It outlines in detail the concession agreement. The intention of this research is, however, not to enter into the merits or otherwise of the concession agreement, but simply to underline the fact that the community is no longer the sole controller, as it should be, of the tourism infrastructure. In particular, “The concession rights are granted for a period of 15 years from the Operational Commencement date, subject to renewal in terms of clause 6, and termination in accordance with the provision of this Agreement” (Concession contract, 2005: 12). In relation to equity, “The Concessionaire hereby offers and the Trust accepts 25% of the issued share capital in the Concessionaire. This equity stake will be distributed equally between the Trust so that each is a holder of 5% of the issued share capital in the Concessionaire. The Parties record that Drifters will hold the remaining 75%” (Concession contract, 2005: 13). Thus each community trust holds 5% and Drifters 75%. Provision is made for the trust to purchase an additional 24% of equity, making a total of 49%. Even if this occurs, Drifters will always retain control with a remaining 51%.

⁴⁹ As a matter of clarity, Drifters is the tour operator but a third company (the Concessionaire) Main Street 369 is responsible for “the direct day to day running of, and costs related to, the Improvements, including, but not limited to: the concession fee; salaries and wages; and other operational costs and consumables such as maintainance, gas, electricity etc.” (Concession contract, 2005: 15). However the signatory on both the Drifters and Main Street 369 contracts is the same person.

The Concession contract (2005) includes a *Minimum Concession Fee* of Rand 300 000 Rand per year⁵⁰ (to start from the first operational year). If, as it appears, the private company is ready to give a relatively high minimum concession fee, it might be asked how much the company expects to make in terms of income on the AmaMpondo trail. It could be that a very high profit is foreseen. From the point of view of the community trust the control of its own lodge has changed from 100% as initially envisaged, to 5%. In addition the concession contract will last, initially, for 15 years.

8.6 A tale of two villages: AmaMpondo VBA Trails and community VBA

In analysing the relationship between the AmaMpondo VBA Trails tourism project and the community VBA (or village CBT) managed by the community, it is useful to study in more detail the local-level experiences of two villages, Ndengane and Noquekwane.⁵¹ The choice of the two villages rested upon the fact that they, respectively, are the first and last along the AmaMpondo Trail. It is argued that the results of this analysis – in contradiction to the EU and now dominant tourism policy position discussed above - illustrate the real possibilities of developing and growing a genuine, village-managed CBT.

As described earlier, the Pondoland tourism project was the main medium through which every village within the trails area managed to obtain legal registration as a Community Trust. The project properly facilitated and helped to establish the legal entities needed by each village community to in future be able to own and manage the structures the project was supposed to have built for them within the general Pondoland Trails programme. The establishment of the Community Trust was facilitated by one of the NGOs working in the project that is by the general concept of the AmaMpondo project. In Ndengane and Noquekwane villages the number of people in the community trusts was as shown in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Number of Community Trust members

Village	Community trust members (Registration date)
Ndengane	3 people (2001)
Noquekwane	10 people (2001)

Source: Fieldwork

⁵⁰ This is the equivalent of 50000 Rand for each Community Trust.

⁵¹ The village of Noquekwane has been investigated in more detail.

At village level, it is necessary to verify the number of people who are actively involved in tourism. It is important to make a distinction between the people involved in the AmaMpondo VBA Trail and those involved in the village CBT tourism, in order to understand the different levels of impact and potentialities of the two scenarios. The village CBT effectively represents the capacities and potentialities of the community to manage tourism projects independently once support and facilitation processes have been delivered. Figures 8.9 and Table 8.11 below show the distinction between the people involved directly in the AmaMpondo VBA Trail (those that receive money from the main office) and people who benefit from the village managed CBT.

Using the survey data, Table 8.8 shows the structures of tourism ventures by village. In this regard, ‘community VBA’ relates to the tourism managed directly (or at least supervised) by the community trust (ie the trust legalised by the EU sponsored project that allowed and helped the community to organise themselves). The village CBTs use the facilitation and infrastructure provided by the AmaMpondo VBA project as a facilitative resource to implement their own tourism development. Two factors have been fundamental to allow the community to foster their own community development.

Table 8.8 Number of people involved in tourism by management

Villages	Community VBA	AmaMpondo VBA	Private
Ndengane (Msikaba)	18	0	0
Rhole	27	27	0
Cutwini	28	15	0
Hili (Mbotyi)	20	14	0
Manteku	18	11	0
Lujazo	4	4	0
Noqekwane	30	19	1
Total people	145	90	1

Source: Fieldwork

The first factor is the resources both material and non-material initially galvanised by the AmaMpondo project. The second factor in the development of village CBT has been the perceived ‘dying out’ of the AmaMpondo project, especially the impacts on the AmaMpondo VBA. It has been this double situation that has pushed some of the people initially involved in the tourism AmaMpondo VBA, to informally ‘re’organise the project using the resources of the community. This reorganisation has also allowed the community to foster its own approach in managing the VBA. One difference is that the community tends to involve as many people as

possible in receiving the benefit, contrary to the formal AmaMpondo VBA that kept a more technical or formal approach. Looking at the different levels of local involvement in the two types of initiatives, it is noticeable that the village CBT ‘employs’ more people. The implication is that given initial facilitation by means of sound institutional, infrastructure and human capabilities, communities are able to cope with developmental problems, solve them and chart their own developmental course.

The fact that the Ndengane community does not feel deeply involved in the AmaMpondo VBA trail because receiving no more tourist, as said by community members during the village questionnaires in Ndengane suggests that local people were not properly involved in the project and gives point to their feelings regarding who is the effective manager of the VBA. The village of Ndengane declares to involve a total of 18 people in their self-managed community VBA. As the AmaMpondo seems to involve nobody it appears that community members have taken charge, as they can, of the village community based-tourism. The issue of weak involvement is also highlighted by Kepe’s analysis of the project, cited in the MTR (2003): “‘it pursued a top-down technocratic plan without adapting to local conditions, or garnering support from local institutions – such as Provincial Government. Thinking was removed from reality’ (local development consultant, December 2001)”. This lack of involvement also mirrors what was already noted in Chapter Seven concerning the Amadiba Trail where analysts argued that the “top-down manner in which the restructuring process was initiated and implemented adds weight to the opinions of ‘service providers’ that they now work for a conventional business over which they have little control” (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 41).

In Noquekwane the local community set to 30 the number of people involved in the community VBA, while the AmaMpondo VBA was employing only 19 people. The community VBA has spread its reach to involve people that the AmaMpondo VBA has not reached such as a lady that washes the tourist linen and the ‘reserve’ people that is people that are involved by the community in a number of task when there is need. The issue of ‘new entries’ into the tourism sector at village level is worth noting. The village committee uses two selective factors: principally the socio-economic status and skills of the incumbent. Using these two factors, potential operators are identified. From deliberations with the Community Trust of Noquekwane the author observed that generally the community looks for the poorest person who is capable of doing the required job. It is clear that the community recognizes the economic status of the person as a basic relevant factor that determines its possible involvement in the VBA system. The aim seems to be to decrease the economic gap within the community instead of increasing it as globalisation processes seems to do. Most of the candidates who are involved in village CBT by the community are unlikely to be formally trained. This is certainly a weak point, but strengthens the conclusions and

recommendations of this research. What is needed in projects is mostly education/training and material infrastructure, in one word *facilitation* on various issues, after which the community can create external linkages with government structures, NGOs or private sector organisations, and operate its own tourism sector development.

The village of Ndengane feels it is in practice the sole manager of the tourist patronage it receives from those who pass or stay in the village. The author's personal observation shows that - both in Ndengane and Noquekwane - the villagers operate by promoting, as much as possible, income distribution amongst the people involved in tourism, and this is centered on promoting accommodation turnover. As much as possible the communities promote an alternate system of tourist accommodation. For example the village of Ndengane has 5 households recognized as available and properly organized for guest accommodation. The same is true in Noquekwane village. It is pertinent also to note that when a family has a foreign guest, any new guest will be referred elsewhere in the village irrespective of the availability of a vacancy. Not that possible jealousy and difficulties do not from time to time arise, but the fostering of better/equitable benefit distribution and the maintenance of social cohesion and community values of sharing (Ubuntu) still maintain strong values.

A further recommendation is that support to the Noquekwane community should include the construction of the campsite and training of two or three people to manage it. Noquekwane would like to have its own *in village* campsite (not planned by the AmaMpondo Lodges trail project), but resources are lacking. The community should be able to manage the campsite, following a period of at most 2 years' in-house training. In the village of Ndengane, a campsite was envisaged by the AmaMpondo Lodges trails project, but as noted, a private company (Drifters) took it over.

These arguments regarding the capacity of villagers are supported by the fact that, for instance, using the horses obtained through the AmaMpondo Trail project the village CBT was able to build a relationship with external private companies in the town of Port St. Johns. Private companies that provide tourist accommodation are now delivering tourists to Noquekwane for horse trails around the area as well as meals and it has been working well. The author personally witnessed a number of tourists coming from a backpacker lodge in Port St. Johns linked to the community VBA of Noquekwane. The backpacker lodge brings the tourist to the horse trail (or, if they have less time, the hiking trail) managed by the Noquekwane community VBA. The community VBA offers the tourist the agreed trail and, if they want it, a local meal.

Villagers of Noquekwane show great understanding of the tourism sector.⁵² For example, the Community Trust of Noquekwane village is thinking of putting a daily entry rate for tourists' cars entering the village. The village is well renowned as a fishing spot and many cars entering the village have not been leaving any kind of income. Consequently, this will bring some income from the utilization of the village natural resources.

Communities need support to be able to properly develop their own sustainable CBT ventures. For example, the AmaMpondo trail project gave a lot of legal advice, materials and training assistance. Using this help, the community is now able to promote and manage its own CBT. What they also need is an external link to some structure, public or private, to increase the number of tourists. In the view of the researcher, the link with a possible public structure is preferable. The idea of a network of village trails was a good one, but it is necessary to be critical of the outcome. Inter-village trails are a very good solution providing more tourism products other than just staying in a single village; however the challenge is to give the community the structures, resources and training to run it. The fact that the AmaMpondo lodges trail project failed to build basic tourism infrastructure and the AmaMpondo VBA has been 'forgotten' along the way has no justification except within the context of contemporary neo-liberal thinking.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the different evolution and outcome of the different products within the AmaMpondo trail project. As shown, the AmaMpondo VBA and community VBA have been interrelated in their origin. Their different outcomes have been discussed in detail and the final outcome of the AmaMpondo lodge trail has been also analysed.

The investigation has revealed two basic points in relation to this research. First, the final outcome of the AmaMpondo trail (lodges and VBA) has suffered major alteration from its conception to its current form. The AmaMpondo lodge trail has been transformed through a private investment process away from its original CBT approach. This can be clearly seen in the final take over of a private company of the proposed lodges that were originally intended to be owned and managed by the local communities. The author identifies this change in strategy of the AmaMpondo lodges trail as a visible example of how the globalisation process embedded in the neo-liberal framework is able to change any possible alternative development attempt and to channel it within the homogeneous development thinking influenced by the neo-liberal framework.

⁵² This tourism knowledge is mostly derived due to the proximity of the village to the touristically relevant town of Port St. Johns.

At the same time the AmaMpondo VBA has suffered a major setback. The project management appears to see the AmaMpondo VBA as unworthy of building up or development. The AmaMpondo VBA still exists (or was existent until the end of 2006 when fieldwork was concluded) – at any rate on paper – but in practice, for a long time the development process of the project has suffered a kind of marginalisation in relevance. For example the building of toilets has been started but never completed. Again a possible alternative development approach has been jeopardized and seemingly left to its own destiny. Alternative possibilities are marginalized and not properly supported. The global neo-liberal milieu seems once more to prescribe the limits of possible development processes.

The last key finding in this chapter relates to the way in which villagers have nonetheless grasped hold of their own destiny. The chapter shows how the local community, contrary to what is apparently felt by the AmaMpondo project management, is able if properly (and honestly) assisted, to propose their own form of self-development and empowerment. The AmaMpondo VBA project has been quietly taken over and ‘re’organized by the local community. Using the initial material as well as non-material help from the initial stage of the project, the different villages were able (some more successfully than others) to move forward and administer the VBA tourism sector on their own. The chapter shows how the community, despite their marginalization in the formal structures, have been able to advance their own more community-wide inclusive and distributive model of VBA. Specifically the village of Noquekwane, where proximity to Port St. Johns has provided more exposure to the tourism sector, has been able to link with external entities to reach the market. The final chapter of the thesis provides a comprehensive conclusion to the research and offers some recommendations for the possible development of CBT in the contemporary global context.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The chapter begins by drawing out the main findings from the case study in relation to the theoretical framework. This is followed by a more general discussion of the relationship between hegemony, globalisation and convergence/divergence effects in relation to CBT, and in particular in relation to the research findings presented here. Thereafter, recommendations are provided together with suggestions regarding conditions for the development of CBT in poor communities. The thesis ends with some concluding remarks about the contemporary globalisation framework.

9.2 Theoretical framework and case study

This section serves to elucidate the main findings in relation to the theoretical framework proposed in this research. Four key theoretical ideas derived from the general theory are examined and correlated to the case study findings. These four issues represent the backbone of the theoretical framework used in this research.

9.2.1 Hegemony

The workings of global hegemony have been evident at all levels. The CBT project under investigation was initially proposed as a project fully controlled and managed by the local communities. However, the involvement of the EU, serving as a global hegemonic actor driving globalisation, has caused a great shift in the initially proposed CBT development. The workings of economic hegemony are evident in the fact that it was the EU that provided almost all the finance necessary for the CBT project - whereas the previous antecedent CBT project (Amadiba Trail) was fully sponsored by South African institutions.

Political hegemony can be seen in the fact that the EU made a number of key unilateral decisions, such as the appointment of the consulting firm in charge of the project and the 'firing' of the three NGOs that were previously contracted to manage and assist with the project. It is strange that some of these NGOs, in particular PondoCROP, were the very ones that had, along with the local communities and South African institutions, successfully originated and developed the Amadiba Trail.

Cultural hegemony has been evident in the change in project philosophy. The involvement of the EU has facilitated a shift in approach from genuine alternative CBT to a market-driven development approach characterised by private sector dominance. A typical approach to

development has replaced a possible alternative strategy - which, curiously, was initially recognised by the same actor (the EU) as a successful strategy and one to be emulated.

The EU regards itself as a leader and expert in the field of tourism: “The EC should assume a leading role as it has a great deal of experience in this area and is the largest donor in this sector” (EU, n.d. b). Thus the economic capacity of the EC together with its political clout, its self-endorsement regarding expertise and the hegemonic cultural creed it espoused, constitutes the background that led to the particular development outcome in the case study. Everything became a ‘business as usual’ project where cultural hegemonic (bureaucratic) thinking, backed by economic and political hegemony, did not allow or try to appreciate a possible different development alternative – one which, ironically, had earlier been officially recognised as a positive model.

9.2.2 Globalisation

The case study result shows how the EU hegemonic milieu has been able to shift and insert or co-opt more locally organised alternative tourism development to the global mainstream approach on tourism development. The study shows how the impact of a particular economic, political and cultural hegemony has been spread, through an international development project, to an area of the world that was instead evolving as a possible alternative model to the mainstream development strategy in tourism. A one-way movement from global to local is clearly visible at policy level (see for example Norton, 2003 on community-based tourism or the Wild Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.). The policy framework also configures the practical outcome of development, leading to conformation with global policy. A process of homogenisation is clearly visible despite the supposed ‘case-by-case’ approach.

9.2.3 Convergence / divergence

The link between hegemony and globalisation has brought about a convergence/divergence effect in relation to the case study. *Cultural convergence* is visible as it pushes people to think that the final approach adopted to the CBT project is the right one. As it is facilitated by the EU, a self-endorsed expert or ‘think-tank’ institution, the final development approach becomes the only possible outcome in the specific situation, or ‘TINA’ (There is No Alternative).

Political divergence is visible in the fact that, in practice, there has been little or no grassroots involvement at the policy-making level. Decisions have been elaborated and delivered without the necessary connection to and input of the local community - the one that ultimately experience the tourism development results. For example, during the fieldwork it was found that the representatives of one village did not know if the project was still on or not, and they finally were

forced to consider themselves out of the project. The management of the project did not try to involve or give more practical decision-making power to community members at village level (the people affected most by the tourism development project), but it only facilitated the establishment of the various community trusts. This was a positive first move, but management failed in the second level of facilitation - that is the inclusion of the trusts (and village members as individuals) in the decision-making sphere. Community involvement or participation was limited to informing the village members what was going on, after the fact – and sometimes not even then.

Economic divergence is clearly evident here. The result of the case study shows that the AmaMpondo VBA has been mostly forgotten and the necessary infrastructure was never completed. Particularly striking is the fact that the AmaMpondo Lodge Trail has never started. Almost nothing was built in five years. It must be repeated that it is the lodges more than the VBA trail that have potential to attract larger numbers of tourists who can pay high accommodation fees. It is trails based on lodges rather than those based on homestay that have the potential to bring major economic gains to the community. In addition it is essentially the lodge system that allows for the reinvestment of part of the profit in community-wide projects. It is also the lodge based trails that would allow for a more high-level skills development in the tourism sector by the local people involved. Instead, a TNTC has been involved in the lodge system producing a skewing effect with regard to profit (the profit should go entirely to the community) - thus favouring an increment of the economic gap between rich and poor actors.

The researcher maintains that the best scenario showed consist of a combination of both approaches (lodges and VBA). The VBA, understood as a Small and Micro Enterprise (SME) development within the framework of CBT, offers possibilities of personal self-achievement and would increase, at a personal and household level, the self-development capacities and ideas of people involved. In addition, an increase of income at the household level would also be facilitated. Instead, at the end, the AmaMpondo Lodge Trail was put out to tender to private or professional tourism operators. In the tender agreement, a partnership (Concession Contract) was stipulated between the local communities, the tourism company that was awarded the tender, and a third company.⁵³ It remains to be seen whether the agreement will be respected. It should be borne in mind that in any such joint venture, partnership or similar contract arrangement, the consequences can be negative:

⁵³ To note that the signature name of the tourism company (Drifters) and the third company (the Concessionaire – Main Street 369) is the same.

... without adequate support, communities can end up receiving only token economic benefit (e.g. employment in menial positions) from joint tourism development rather than broader benefits, such as equity in the venture or training for skill development ... community partners will, thus, typically need strong support in negotiating and managing such partnerships over the long term.

(Scheyvens, 2002: 191)

In this way, a clear economic divergence process is facilitated. Instead of properly developing a CBT project aimed at facilitating improvement in the livelihoods of local poor people and generating economic benefit for them, a multinational tourism company now oversees and manages the lodges. Most income/profit will then go to the multinational company instead of poor people, increasing the gap between rich and poor locally and globally. This must certainly be understood as a general trend at work in contemporary tourism development processes.

9.2.4 Tourism development theory and tourism typology

This section locates the working mechanism through which the Pondoland area has become involved in the contemporary globalisation process through and by the tourism sector. The tourist typology of the area under study seems to be at the level of tourism ‘off-the-beaten-track’. Referring to Figure 3.4 in Chapter 3, it is possible to show that the area is located between *involvement* and *development* in regard to the development stage of tourism. The stage of initial involvement in tourism is usually associated with the development of locally owned and controlled tourism facilities to serve the ‘first’ incoming tourists. This was the case here in the 1980s and early 1990s, thus the area seemed perfectly positioned to develop a CBT approach. However, something very different happened. Such projects are currently located within a globalisation milieu that through the international cooperation of specific actors pushes a form of tourism development favourable to external tourism companies. Analytically, this is viewed as a forced shift from a possible locally grown tourism sector to an externally introduced tourism sector that, because of its greater endowments and capacities, is able to easily substitute and marginalize local realities. In this specific context the word “external” should also be extended to include the national TNTCs, often controlled by white South African business and reflecting the historical control of the tourism industry in which resource endowment and capacity have been closely correlated.

In short, a clear link is visible between the different hegemonic levels that work in conjunction with the globalisation process to push towards convergence/divergence. The changes brought about by the involvement of an internationally hegemonic actor through the international

cooperation framework facilitated the insertion of a TNTC, leading to the increasing of cultural convergence and political and economic divergence. The EU involvement shifted the project towards favouring the insertion of a TNTC and an increased wealth and power gap instead of, as initially intended, facilitating the spread of wealth and decision-making power through the CBT to poor community members.

9.3 Key Conclusions from the case study

This section relates the specific findings of the research to the aim, objectives and questions proposed in the methodology chapter. The reader will recall that the aim of the thesis was to understand the relation between contemporary globalisation processes and local forms of Community Based Tourism (CBT). Meeting this aim required the pursuit of the following project or main objective: To study the individual evolution of a particular CBT project in receipt of international “development aid”, and to critically assess the evolution that took place following this involvement and consequently the community benefits.

A number of key questions guided the research endeavour. These are summarised as follows:

Key Questions.

- How is tourism configured in the globalisation process?
- How are tourism policies originated and formulated in the contemporary global world? (Especially with regard to to community-based tourism development);
- What is the response of various players at different geographical levels (SADC, RSA, EC) to global tourism policies? (Especially to community-based tourism development);
- How do global ideas about tourism interact with community-based tourism projects that have a local origin and conceptual basis? That is, how do community-based tourism projects evolve on the ground in South Africa and how do they receive/respond to global tourism development? and
- What is the role of the resulting community-based tourism projects on local livelihood strategies?

Thus the major theoretical themes to investigate were the links between the three hegemonies (cultural, economical and political) and the production, publicising and management of tourism policies that can affect CBT from the global to local level. The research was interested in how and in what ways these relationships led toward divergence/convergence effects. A final question was how does CBT (affected by these policies) shape livelihood strategies? The ultimate intention

must be to understand whether or not the contemporary development of CBT in developing countries can contribute to a better holistic development in poor communities.

The case study investigation required in response to the main aim has shown contemporary globalisation processes and local forms of CBT as contrasting, even in opposition. In practice, the CBT concept has been re-elaborated to conform to the propositions of the hegemonic power leading the globalisation process. The study has shown how both at a policy level and at a local level on the ground, the experience of CBT has been corrupted in the process of development or change. Policies at both global and local levels demonstrate the great difference of understanding in using or exploiting the concept of CBT.

The following quotes serve to remind the reader of the contemporary interpretation and role of CBT at a global level and reaching down to the local level. At a global level a consultancy paper for the World Bank describes community-based tourism as a powerful mechanism to “provid[e] access to ethnic groups and the natural and cultural assets of which they are custodians” (cited in Christie and Crompton, 2001: 37).

At a local level, in the Pondoland case, the current vision is clearly articulated by the consultant:

The private sector have a very important role to play, and a significant amount of effort should go into establishing more effective working relationships with existing private sector operators (even if they are mostly white) and in developing black entrepreneurs in tourism (as opposed to focusing too much on the community tourism model).

(Norton, 2003: 32)

The tourism plan for the Wild Coast aims “to maximise the mobilisation of private investment, especially in the context of community tourism development and to lessen demands on government funds for development projects” (The Wild Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality, n.d.).

Interestingly, the new Community-Based Tourism directory put together for Southern Africa shows the different level of interpretation given to CBT by hegemonic institutions. The directory (Community Based Tourism – Southern Africa, n.d.) has been created to favour small community-based tourism ventures in the Southern Africa region and it is a project collaboration between Regional Tourism organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA), United Nations World Tourism organisation (UNWTO), and Geosavy Development.

This directory, clearly laudable as a basic idea, shows the various conceptual dimensions to CBT as conceived by hegemonic actors. First under the heading ‘What is Community-based tourism?’ more attention seems to be given to the tourists’ travel experience instead of the hosts’ condition. Secondly, the options included under the heading of ‘community-based accommodation’ seems to give a great deal of variability and, consequently, accommodate different concepts of CBT. The directory uses different concepts of CBT and it describes them as follow (Community Based Tourism – Southern Africa, n.d.):

- located within a community (e.g. on communal land, or with lease fees paid to the community); or
- owned by one or more community members (i.e. for the benefit of one or more community members); or
- managed by community members (i.e. community members can influence decisions made with regards to running the business).

These concepts parallel well the proposed CBT terminology and concepts proposed in Chapter 3. It should also be noted that while agreements are written on paper, they may not be respected on the ground and these things should be checked. For example, are lease fees to communities always paid? Can community members, on a practical basis, really influence decisions made with regards to running of business?

It is revealing that the Drifters Lodges of the AmaMpondo Trails are present in the new community-based tourism directory for Southern Africa. The research undertaken for this thesis suggests that this shows the real appropriation of the CBT concept by hegemonic actors. First, Drifters is a TNTC having operations in a number of countries in Southern Africa. Second, it is still too early to say whether the ‘agreement’ with the community will be respected. Thirdly, as discussed in Chapter 8, Drifters publicity seems to generate the division (or at least not increase the involvement) between the Drifters tourism facilities and the communities. Far from finding and inserting new solutions to facilitate greater community involvement and benefit, this version of ‘CBT’ includes communities simply as an add-on or unfortunate obstacle in gaining access to community-owned land. In general, a deliberate vagueness and malleability in the concepts of CBT put forward by the new community-based tourism directory for Southern Africa, seems to actually nullify the concept of CBT – in part through its hegemonic appropriation by specialist institutions.

The factor of communal land is also of central importance. Instead of continuing with the trend towards effective privatization of land through long-term leases to private companies, why do public institutions not cooperate with the local community to extend and improve the communal

management of community-owned land (twinned with a real land reform)? The existence of such communally owned land remains a valuable cultural and material asset, one which has mostly disappeared in the developed world. This could increase the possibility of a more integrated approach where tourism, as part of wider livelihood strategies, could help to increase the base for socio-economic development. In the case of Pondoland, where the fieldwork shows that most community members are against the privatization of land, there still exists an acceptable community vision in line with the spirit of 'ubuntu'. In such a case, this strategy should surely be prioritised. Nevertheless, in the current context global neo-liberalism is able to extract a profit greater than the one destined for the community.

The fact that land is owned by the community, and it is not possible to fully privatise it, has not helped to change the basic result of the project, as the private company has agreed to a long-term lease. It seems that external forces will inevitably develop systems that are able to extract as much as possible from the local situation. Because it is not possible to actually privatise the land, the lease has emerged (In the project case study the initial concession is for 15 years). The landowner remains by law the community, but for the next 15 years the right of use of the infrastructure on that land remains the concessionaire's - that is, the control of the tourism facilities is under the tourism company. The community has lost the practical day-to-day and full profit link to tourism development. The top down approach, with almost nil community involvement, and the knowledge gap (whether perceived or real) between local community members and project management staff results in this 'forcing' of a contract agreement on the community. This strategy is also supported through a culturally elaborated and proposed 'TINA' strategy (telling communities that 'There Is No Alternative').

The research shows that it was precisely the involvement of a hegemonic actor, by means of international cooperation, that initiated and ultimately finalised the change in the CBT approach. The result was a dramatic shift from the conspicuously emphasised conceptual origin of the project - that is the recognised successful CBT project known as the Amadiba Trails, developed by local and national actors. The shift was supported by the insertion of a flexible and reformulated meaning of the concept of CBT.

The line of evolution described in this thesis is reflected in the concepts outlined in the new community-based tourism directory for Southern Africa. This is perhaps logical given that the institutions involved subscribe to the same hegemonic cultural milieu. The flexible concepts of CBT perfectly accommodate the elaborated shift and final result of the AmaMpondo Trails project. A TNTC is allowed to present itself as a CBT enterprise and is accepted as such within the CBT concept framework elaborated by the new community-based tourism directory.

Tourism policies at a global level are organised by and elaborated for the benefit of hegemonic actors. In this case, the re-organisation of the concepts of CBT serves to support the insertion of hegemonic actors in the tourism industry (such as TNTCs), and to ‘dispossess’ the local community of the *full* benefit associated with CBT. The strategy is carried out in a subtle manner that appears unforced. There is no struggle. This is because the original concept of the AmaMpondo Trail has been corrected in line with global hegemonic wishes. This emphasis on control through peaceful means is a basic concept in Gramsci, who shows how hegemony and control is established through persuasion of the subaltern class by the dominant one.

CBT concepts are elaborated at the global level and transmitted to local level by means of international cooperation projects. For example, the Tourism Planning Framework for the O R Tambo District Municipality has been written by a private consultancy (Peter Norton & Associates cc) and has been supported by The EU Wild Coast Programme.

The case study shows how CBT development at local level seems to be in contrast with the concepts proposed by global forces. Tensions related to contrasting CBT philosophies immediately arise between the actors involved in the antecedent of the AmaMpondo Trail project (the Amadiba Trail) – in particular, PondoCROP - and the EU management. The result in the end was that the project was made to conform with the wishes of EU management. This situation was clearly described by the interviewee when stating that according to the NGO PondoCrop the private sector will exploit local people and the environment and therefore the community itself should operate the tourism project (Personal interview, Pretoria, 2005).

The case study also shows how at grassroots community level CBT is understood in a contrasting way to the global hegemonic strategy. The case study has shown that local people, if properly equipped with material and cultural resources, are able to propose and initiate their own CBT development, one that also appears more genuinely inclusive of the poorest sectors of the community. While global processes propose a top-down approach, local people search for a bottom up or facilitative approach that helps them to promote their autonomous self-development.

In the final analysis, it is argued in this thesis that the result of the project has been a failure when seen in the context of the holistic development of a poor community. The tourism project has not been able to shift the ‘business as usual’ development approach, and the livelihood strategy of the communities involved has been touched only very marginally. On an emotional level, there has been a shift from initial hope to final sadness and disillusion with the promises made. Village level CBT seems to give more hope in the long term, despite the general lack of resources and the

longer time needed for it to properly succeed. Communities are currently frustrated due to the lack of genuine support and facilitation rather than by a lack of awareness and understanding about CBT development. CBT in developing countries if not genuinely and properly supported by local structures seems to emphasise what Natrass (in Peet, 2002: 78) proposed: “capital is all powerful; national policy must pay absence or pay the cost.”

9.4 Global neo-liberalism and community-based tourism

This section serves to propose a conceptual framework derived from the research findings regarding the current relationship between globalisation processes, development theories and CBT. Three different strands of understanding of CBT approaches can be identified within the contemporary hegemonic neo-liberal framework.

Following the proposition of section 3.6 the case study described in this thesis can be best classified in its final outcome as CBPT, not as genuine CBT, and in it the second approach described in Figure 3.3 was the one finally adopted. This shift was observed in the project Mid-Term review when asserting a noticeably different approach within the project (MTR, 2003). One approach proposes the community as a sole owner of the CBT ventures that then can involve the private sector, while a second strategy advances the a private sector driven plan that promotes community involvement (MTR, 2003).

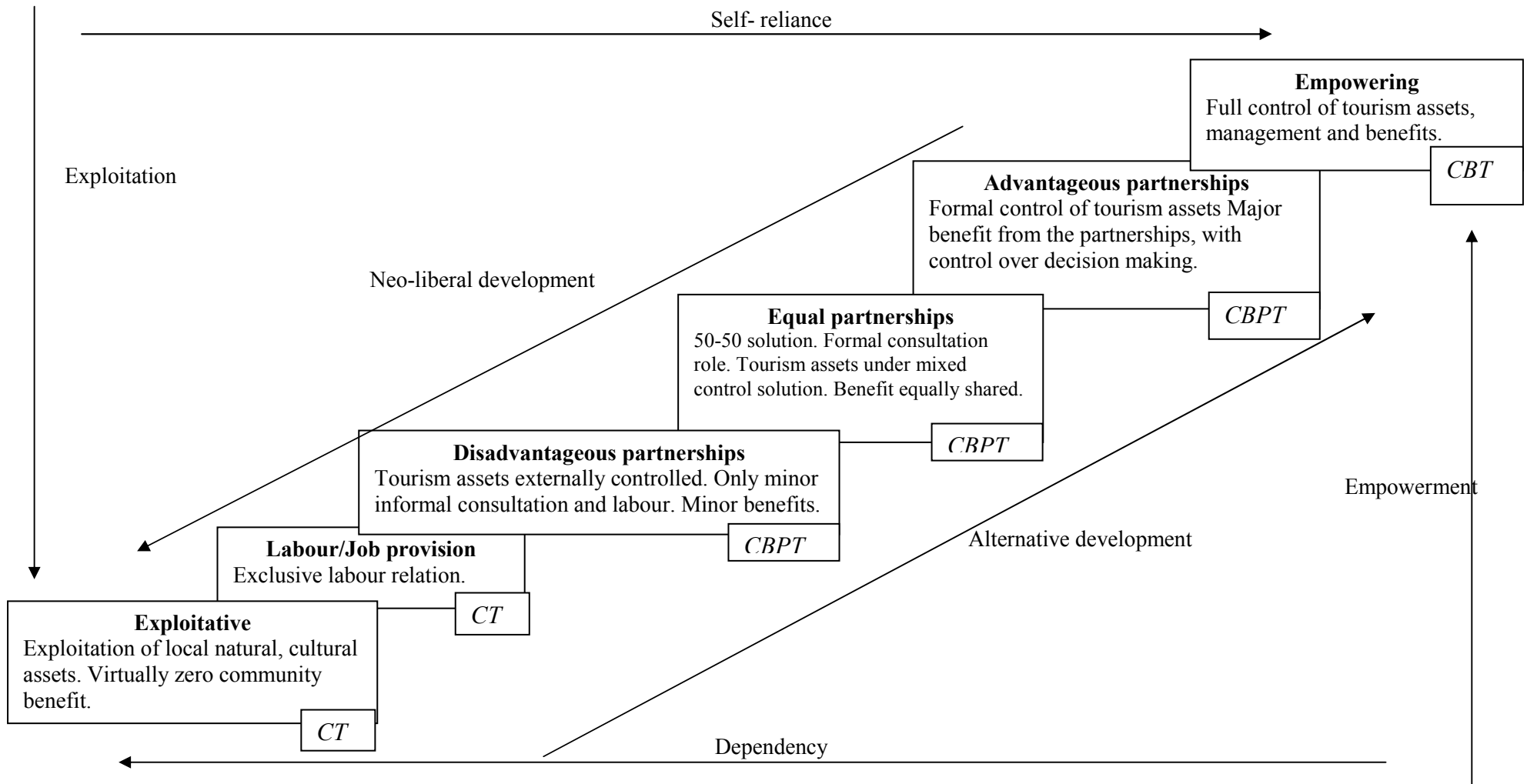
The African Union (AU)/New Partnership for Africa (NEPAD) Tourism Action Plan shows the desire and interest in developing countries to develop both CBT and CBPT by adopting various strategies that include, amongst others, promoting partnerships and building capacity for community-based tourism projects (AU/NEPAD, 2005). Many scholars including Gosovic have identified the use of ‘partnership’ as one of the “repeated buzz words and phrases in contemporary international and development discourse” (Gosovic, n.d.).

The third broad approach can be characterised as “Community Tourism” (CT). While often marketed as being “community based”, this thesis argues that such a characterisation is not correct. This approach possesses all the characteristics of normal private investment and can be seen as a simulated form of CBT initiative. A clear example of ‘misunderstanding’ is enshrined in the consultancy document of the World Bank where it is noticeable how the hegemonic discourse of neo-liberalism is able to ‘re-evaluate’ the original meaning of CBT and transform it into CT. According to Christie and Crompton (2001: 37) private sector investment can be directed, by proper policies, towards, amongst others, “community-based tourism, which provides access to ethnic groups and the natural and cultural assets of which they are custodians.”

It is argued here that this CBT approach does not resemble the original concept of CBT, thus the author prefers to use a different terminology. The term “Community Tourism” is proposed. In this context the term CT seems more appropriate and follows similar common currency terminology such as beach tourism, nature tourism and so on where tourists gaze on and exploit or “consume” natural resources. Here tourists, organised by private companies, can gaze on communities having “access to ethnic groups and the natural and cultural assets of which they are custodians” (Christie and Crompton, 2001: 37). The impression is that the notion of CBT is just a product of consumption in which private capital can invest. Here the concept of CBT has been completely taken over by neo-liberal hegemonic doctrine and does not have any contact point with the original concept of CBT. In a context that desires to foster community empowerment and self-reliance, the original meaning of CBT needs to be retained.

It is also useful to propose and draw a conceptual framework derived from the research findings on correlation between the three main schools of thinking on development (neo-liberalism, dependency, and alternative development), the basic concept of empowerment and self-reliance, and the different concepts attributed to the terminology that has been proposed - CBT, CBPT, and CT. (Figure 9.1). This classification shows how the shift in concept from CBT to CT decreases the possibility of community empowerment and development.

Figure 9.1 Correlation between development theories and CBT terminology



Source: Author's conceptualization of correlation between CBT typology, development theories and community development

It is evident that labour/job provision forms and more exploitative forms of development are correlated to the concepts of CBT found in the World Bank consultancy paper – concepts which are considered here more properly to fall under CT. In contrast, CBPT belongs in the middle range of Figure 9.1. It is important to note the possibilities that partnerships provide, but what is critical to understand is the balance of power between the community and the private sector in that arrangement. It is obvious that usually the poorer the community, the weaker it is in negotiating within partnership agreements. As many authors have argued, this is typical of most poor communities in developing countries for which CBT concepts have been prioritised and proposed as a tool to enhance development. They lack human and capital resources as opposed to the private sector, and it is obvious that “if the private sector actors have more power, then they will be likely to negotiate an agreement which prioritises their interest” (Scheyvens 2002: 191). Furthermore, Sinclair in Scheyvens (2002: 191) notes that a “stake in ownership of a tourism venture by local people does not necessarily equate to control over the venture’s operations.” Consequently, as already noted, Scheyvens (2002: 191) observes that “without adequate support, communities can end up receiving only token economic benefit (e.g. employment in menial positions) from joint tourism development rather than broader benefit, such as equity in the venture or training for skill development.” She concludes (Scheyvens, 2002: 191) that “Community partners will thus typically need strong support in negotiating and managing such partnerships over the long term.” This support should be underpinned by policy legislation and institutional support in the form of dedicated offices to deal with the matter. The public sphere should be the relevant actor to support community interests in the face of private capital.

The top level of Figure 9.2 shows the concepts of CBT fully materialising. Here the community fosters its own development through a process of empowerment and self-reliance. It is at this stage that the community, if properly supported, can undergo an empowerment/development process. With particular reference to Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET), Ramsa and Mohd (2004: 583) state that sustainable development through ecotourism should be based on CBT ventures which are owned and managed by community members.

In a people oriented alternative development approach, the facilitation process should come from government structures beyond mere policy development. Thus, in an ideal case, Governments have a key role to play in facilitating, co-ordinating and providing advice to communities regarding community based tourism initiatives so that they can succeed and become sustainable. Such cooperation allows the government together with communities to conserve both natural and cultural resources in a win-win situation in which local institutions are capacitated and poverty is alleviated. Thus support of a multi-institutional nature is critical for people-centre community based ecotourism ventures (Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584). Unfortunately, at a practical level on the ground, government involvement in the community based development approach is often absent, weak or is hidden.

In the case of the AmaMpondo Trails project this research can be clearly positioned in the resulting model. In its initial stages the case study project has to be seen as CBT in line with the alternative development approach that is the CBT where the community fully owns (controls) and manages the tourism enterprise. The Amadiba Trail was essentially a CBT project in the same line. However, with time the case study project has shifted towards a neo-liberal approach. Analysed against the conceptual framework presented in section 3.6 the case study development outcome has positioned it as a more neo-liberal CBPT where the private sector engages the community in a partnership. In this specific case, the component facilitating this project outcome was the tendering out of a key component of the project, and facilitation of the formation of a partnership with the private company. In this context the result was a shift down two levels towards a neo-liberal approach - that is, a shift in line with the contemporary neo-liberal globalisation framework.

When investigated in relation to development issues, the result shows in more detail the problematic associated with the shift towards neo-liberalism. The results of the research seem to position the case study at the level of disadvantageous partnerships that imply tourism assets being externally controlled. Only minor informal consultation, labour and benefits are given or derived. Legally the tourism assets are owned by the community, but practically it is the private partner that controls and manages them. The position of the partnership shows a shift downwards four levels, compared with the alternative development level. Four levels have been lost in favour of neo-liberalism, exploitation and dependency, as against alternative development, empowerment and self-reliance which could have been outcomes. The initially proposed CBT that could promote empowerment and self-reliance has been verifiably jeopardised and altered.

Empowerment and self-reliance seem to be jeopardised, even if the concession contract is honoured. There has been a shift towards promoting continuing dependency instead of pushing towards empowerment and self-reliance. Community control of the Lodge trail has been minimised and the official VBA has been lost along the way. The result is that the concession contract favours a number of measures that should promote community development but in fact do not. The focus on equity sharing, employment and extremely basic skills development remain more in the context of external dependency relations instead of working towards forms of independent development. Local people continue to depend on the 'good will' of external actors who control the development process, rather than on their own development efforts (even if externally facilitated). Had the CBT outcome been as initially proposed, local people would have been able to participate more actively in the management of the CBT. Together, the control of the Lodge trail and the development of the VBA had a good chance of promoting empowerment and self-reliance. The VBA was crucial because it was a strategy to allow more people to be actively involved, developing independent thinking at an individual level

regarding household tourism management. The village level case study shows that local community members, if properly facilitated, do show sufficient inventiveness and capacity to promote and benefit from CBT. While it is conceded that the private company's commitment to fulfilling its mandate could partly reverse this currently final outcome, only time will verify this issue.

This section has tried to summarise the link between the different concepts of CBT and development theories. The interrelation between the three development schools (neo-liberalism, dependency, and alternative development), the basic concept of empowerment and self-reliance, and the different concepts attributed to the CBT terminology were explored. The proposal is that different terminology should be used to describe the different forms (CBT, CBPT, and CT). Overall, this thesis argues that the original concepts of CBT fosters empowerment and self-reliance, while CT favours the continuing of exploitative forms of community involvement. CBPT lies in the middle and its results depend on the quality of the partnership agreement.

It is, thus, emphasised here that the original concept of CBT is most appropriate to foster community development, especially to enhance empowerment and self-reliance processes which are at the core for long term community sustainable development. A further and crucial aspect is that physical assets such as community-owned campsites/lodges can foster community cohesion as well as poverty alleviation. Assets provide benefits to communities at the individual and community levels such as positive psychological and social effects which foster community cohesion and this in turn creates conditions which are necessary for social inclusion supported by an asset redistributive policy in the interest of justice (Mtapuri, 2005).

As this thesis has clearly demonstrated, the neo-liberal ideological framework risks damaging the possible good outcomes of proper CBTs. Referring back to the hegemony-discourse nexus discussed at the beginning of this thesis, Peet's observation is useful here: ie that "economic policy does not come from science's ability to mirror the exact structure of social reality in a structure of truthful statements called exact theories. Instead, policy is socially produced by a community of experts who agree, more by convention or political persuasion than factual backing, to call a certain type of thinking and speaking rational" (Peet, 2003: 16). I argue that this 'rational' thinking could endanger the future pro-community-based tourism policy at a local level as well as the role of tourism in alternative development in general.

Within CBT, it is very important to support procedures and processes that allow the community to pursue and satisfy their own needs and wants. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that there is a need for a paradigm shift from an involvement/participation approach to a facilitation approach. The involvement of local communities is often under the direction of outsiders and/or more powerful

people who usually adopt a top-down approach while communities try to catch up in pursuit of alien and external instructions on how to develop. Current globalization processes have emphasised and strengthened these tendencies. While philosophies of involvement/ participation favour a process of homogenisation within a context of 'forced' involvement in the main development ideologies that are advanced, facilitation encourages the diversity of approaches where each community can promote its own vision of development.

As in the case discussed in this thesis, a "break may occur between policy implementation and actual result, the so-called 'implementation gap', in which a continuing lack of empowerment frustrates effective action" (Sofield, 2003: 191). Here it is necessary to establish *ad hoc* institutions that can facilitate the process. Public institutions should be at the forefront. I agree in stressing "the need for empowerment to be based on a constitutionally recognised right [and] the nation state as the key actor required to create an environment conducive to ensuring that the community has the capacity to act upon its decisions and sustain them" (Sofield, 2003: 89).

As a final comment, it should also be noted that the final outcome of the project could lead communities to support the mining companies which are proposing mining as the best alternative for the area (especially along the Amadiba Trails route). The loss by community members of control over the CBT project as initially promised, could eventually facilitate a reverse effect towards people favouring mining over ecotourism.

9.5 Concluding comments and recommendations

This thesis argues that the tourism sector is particularly well equipped to enhance development in particular historical-geographic contexts, and to facilitate intercultural change and understanding. Nevertheless, as demonstrated here, the hegemony-discourse bond - which is regulated under the umbrella of policy-making institutions influenced by neo-liberal beliefs and connected with private capital and its allies in the public sector - critically undermines progressive approaches to tourism development. The conclusion of this modest contribution on the role of tourism in development in developing countries, is that contemporary tourism, managed and organised within neo-liberal logics, is perpetuating or increasing the gap between rich and poor (both between and within countries). This is equally valid for traditional mass tourism and for alternative tourism, a form of tourism that is often seen as more 'redistributive'. As Honey noted regarding a major form of alternative tourism, ecotourism: "Ecotourism is far from fulfilling its promise to transform the way in which modern, conventional tourism is conducted; with few exceptions, it has not succeeded in moving beyond a narrow niche market to a set of principles and practices that infuses the entire tourism industry" (Honey, 1999: 394).

Yet it is important to emphasize that “hegemony is not singular; indeed that its own internal structures are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, that they can be continually challenged and in certain respects modified” (Williams, 1976: 205). While alternative solutions could in the past come from co-operation between developing countries, today this is not enough. It seems also necessary to disarticulate part of the structural milieu in which developing countries are located.

To enable this process to occur, an alliance must exist of the ruling class within and between countries. Even when oppositional local elites take power and develop counter neo-liberal development strategies, the metamorphic hegemonic capitalist power structure is often able to “co-opt the elite and absorb counter-hegemonic ideas from peripheral countries” (Peet, 2002: 56). Consequently and despite “the growing scepticism among political elites in developing states about the benefit of unregulated contemporary global capitalism” (Breslin et al., 2002: 7), local elites pursuing different national and/or regional development strategies find that they have succumbed to today’s global neo-liberalism and accept at least partially its dictates. In Bianchi’s assessment, “local elites are complicit in the underdevelopment of their states, not as an instrument of capital but as a result of the prevailing ideological climate of privatisation and deregulation in which the range of development options available to them has become even more constrained” (Bianchi, 2002: 289).

This seems the case in the instance described in this study. The fact is that before the involvement of the EU, the national and local institutions, comprising elite and other levels, were able to positively contribute to the development of the Amadiba Trails - a community fully owned and managed tourism project which won numerous awards for its results. It was the EU that slowly started taking advantage of its hegemonic position to shift the CBT approach previously developed. Local situations will tend to follow these new directions, voluntarily or not. Consultancies and national policies will be constructed in line with global hegemonic thinking, and end up supporting the shift from CBT project to the control of a TNTC.

Reporting on the SI (Socialist International), South African President Thabo Mbeki wrote that there is a duty in “...Opposing the neo-liberal market ideology, the neo-conservative agenda and the unilateralist approach” (Mbeki, 2004: 168). And the article “Refocusing its intervention” (Eastern Cape Province, 2004: 155), written by the Eastern Cape Province, echoes President Mbeki correctly noting in the last line that “Shifting power relations is at the heart of poverty eradication.”

Thus, the author suggests that a more radical shift may be needed. It is proposed here that five key mechanisms are needed, as a background or backbone, at both international and national levels, in order to shift towards an environment more conducive to facilitate the growth of CBT. These are:

- movement from competition to cooperation;
- reinsertion of government role;
- promotion of community-wide and micro/small locally owned and run enterprises such as retail shops, craftsmanship and B&B;
- change in policy framework governing private companies; and
- facilitation.

These five changes must be seen as interlinked and should be developed simultaneously in conjunction with one another. They should be seen as the “recommendations” derived from the study.

- **Movement from competition to cooperation**

The monolithic ideology promoting neo-liberal values, such as privatisation, individuation, commercialisation and pacification (Rojek cited in Britton, 1991: 453) must be challenged within the cultural, political and economic framework. An alternative diversified approach is needed where cultural, political and economic actors cooperate within the characteristics of local circumstances, and emphasising local knowledge and resources, that guide the development process. In this context strong support should be given to the establishment of a cooperative system of production and services.

Internationally, regional co-operation should be built as an alternative, in multilateral fora where the development discourse is re-examined in light of alternative approaches and solutions. Interventions should be investigated which better fit the local realities and where there exists a more democratic arrangement in terms of the power relations within the newly formed institutions. These parallel institutions should push towards abolishing competition among countries, competition that forces a race towards poverty. The favoured case-by-case neo-liberal policy approach should be questioned in order to put a common limit on social, economic, political and environmental milieus so as to control the development process from within. It seems that the case-by-case or sector-by-sector approach has been developed, not to favour a different approach in the treatment of the ‘case’ or ‘sector’ but it is used to improve bargaining power within the same policy framework.

Within the tourism sector the policy documents, such as those analysed in Chapter Three, developed by international organisations show how the homogeneity of policy-making represents a clear modernist style that does not represent any real shift. It gives the impression that the so-called ‘post-modern’ (case-by-case) shift has been (and it is) exploited by modern homogeneous policy making institutions. Thus rich countries push toward a post-modern exploitable division amongst developing countries (with for example competition between one another to attract investments in poor countries).

At the same time developed countries apply homogeneous policies needed for the geographical expansion of tourism in the developing world, in order to continue the growth of the tourism sector and thus of developed countries' economies.

Nationally emphasis should be placed on the co-operation (or, using neo-liberal discourse, "partnerships") between public structures and communities, thus by-passing the focus on private capital investment, whose main aim is personal profit and not holistic development approaches. A public-community alliance should be remodelled in a bottom up approach where the decision making process moves up from the 'bottom' of society, and the powerful act as a facilitator/translator of people's resolutions. In the neoliberal-private framework the tourism sector is too *ad hoc* and private investment oriented. Instead, for real (tourism) development the public sector can deliver, parallel to the community managed tourism project, other basic infrastructure needed for a holistic development.

As Ife (2002: 134) notes, "The dominance of competition in modern society has led to the commonly held view that it [competition] is both natural and desirable, but each of these contentions can be questioned" (Ife, 2002: 134). Two points can be underlined in relation to community development. Firstly, "Challenging the competitive ethic, and basing social and economic structures on principles of cooperation, is an important component of community development" (Ife, 2002: 134). Secondly, "The challenge is to extend the cooperative concept beyond the economic (which has been the basis of the most formal cooperatives) to incorporate social, political and cultural dimensions" (Ife, 2002: 135). These strategies are paramount to support the shift in development thinking that can facilitate CBT.

- **Reinsertion of government role**

Generally, it is recommended that there should be a reinstatement of the role of government in controlling and providing social services and facilities such as energy, water, education, health, basic food service provision and so on. The government should also increase its involvement (or become re-involved) in the ownership and management in the industrial sector and in logistical infrastructure recognised as key conditions for the development and well-being of the country's population, including poor people. Tourism is of course recognized in many countries as a key economic sector.

The government role in tourism should be to develop good policies, regulate and in general to favour a good climate for tourism development. There is however a contradiction. Advocating an influential government, where strong policies and laws are enforced, runs counter to the contemporary globalisation climate that pushes towards always more liberalization (de-regulation). A strong state should give advantage to local (especially poor) people, while the globalisation milieu does the reverse and gives the advantage to external actors or possibly to local elite.

The possible role of government structures, and its difficulties, in tourism development in the context of globalisation, has been clearly expressed by stating that “it is governments that have the power to establish policies which can determine whether a country follows a path of tourism development dictated primarily by overseas interests and capital, or one which seeks to achieve economic gains for local people and state while preserving the integrity of social, cultural and environmental features of their country” (Scheyvens, 2002: 165). However, it has been remarked also that “Policy makers can only proceed from what already exists [...] and that is a powerful and still growing, highly integrated, international tourism industry. How to coax that behemoth into less (self-)destructive behaviour is the main task ahead” (de Kadt, 1992 cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 165).

The already emphasised quote: “A characteristic of community-based tourism is that it requires a multi-institutional support structures in order to succeed and sustains” (Anonymous in Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 584) underlines the specific need for CBT to properly function and be sustainable. In the case of CBT a structure such as a CBT organisation or association should be developed with the support of government agencies to formalise and promote empowerment and, importantly, self-reliance of the various CBT projects in the countries allowing independent development at community level. The new organisation should oversee and control, taking the side of poor community people in CBT development, particularly with regard to the following aspects (from Scheyvens, 2002: 175):

- Tourism planning and policies
- Tourism marketing
- Tourism regulation/standards
- Land use planning
- Tourism training and licensing
- Joint ventures between community and private sector
- Information, staffing and extension
- Park pricing and development
- Credit

It is crucial that CBT receive the support of government, not only on paper, but practically. Only governments have the capacity and power to develop and implement policies and programmes that could facilitate CBT development in poor communities. In South Africa such specific support to CBT seems to be lacking or extremely weak. Different levels of government structures have a number of programmes or agencies (such as the Poverty Relief Fund) which specifically promote or include CBT. Nevertheless, it is because of “disappointments associated with the national SMME support programmes that the DTI [Department Trade and Industry] has been leading a review of the former

approach to supporting SMME development in South Africa” (Rogerson, 2004: 258). The CBT examined in this thesis seems to be in favour of everything but poor community CBT development. The South African government should develop a genuine CBT organisation, a ‘one stop shop’ that works exclusively for poor community CBT projects.

The research has demonstrated that at community level when people are properly facilitated and supported, they are able to develop their own understanding of CBT and to practically organise it (see the example of Noquekwane village). However, poor communities need to be facilitated in the process as it is difficult for poor communities, who are often also geographically marginalized, to be able to know and ‘apply’ to government programmes when local resources are very low (for example in terms of access to knowledge and information- often most members of the community are illiterate, at least in English). Consequently government programmes, or other organisations, should insist that their personnel go into the field in order (in line with development and tourism plan) to, ‘discover’, contact and facilitate poor communities in suitable areas wishing to develop their own CBT.

- **Promotion of community-wide and micro/small local owned and run enterprises**

Alternative development approaches promote development strategies that mostly distance them from big business involvement. The promotion of community-wide and of micro/small business is certainly a strategy that should be more widely employed. Taking for example the legal entity of the cooperative as a possible form of community-wide enterprise, it is interesting to note that “Despite [...] difficulties, the lesson from the cooperative movement is that cooperative structures are indeed feasible, in a wide variety of social, economic, political and cultural settings. The community-based alternative would most likely incorporate some if not all aspects of the cooperatives movement” (Ife, 2002: 135).

Community-wide enterprises can also be understood as an individual bridge to gain expertise and confidence to facilitate the start of micro/small enterprises. Community-wide enterprises are more suitable to be developed by the poorest and marginalized population strata that need the conjunction of a number of individuals’ resources to be successful and they are more inclined, because they are controlled by the community members, to follow local traditions. The concept of a strong community bond can fit in well in the African context, for example the one in which the research for this thesis was carried out. Without overly romanticizing the concept, it is possible to note that the African concept of Ubuntu gives high relevance to community bonds promoting cooperation among its members.

Based on her book case studies and examples, Scheyvens (2002) notes that when are based on local skills and resources small-scale tourism can have a positive effect on people participation and

empowerment. Additionally, small-scale tourism is recognised to have a more positive effect on wealth distribution, especially with governmental structure support, and to reduce the economic leakages. As noted by Timothy (2002), small-scale tourism ventures have the potential to involve marginalized groups such as women especially if they are based on local skills and resources particularly in circumstances that allow for keen participation and empowerment of communities (Timothy, 2002: 158).

Small-scale development is one of the pillars of an alternative development approach within which CBT lies. It emphasises the possibility and capability of small-scale ventures to be established and managed by poor community members facilitating, as a consequence, poor people's self-reliance and empowerment.

- **Change in policy framework governing private companies**

It is only within the context of the above mechanisms and paradigm shift (SME development within the CBT concept) that private companies in general should be allowed to flourish. The problem is that the underlying concepts/principles and working systems of the globalisation process give further advantage to TNC or historically advantaged classes (with a extremely limited number of selected new entrants). However, these companies are managed by people and can be changed by them to oppose the neo-liberal ideology which has led to the increase in inequality and general injustice between people/societies.

The necessary change in policy framework governing private companies, in conjunction with the promotion of a cooperative system and the reinstatement of the government's role, relates not to abolishing the private sector in its entirety, but to a transformation of the general framework in which private sector companies work. In addition, private companies should be kept away from or allowed only limited roles in specific sectors such as water, energy, health, education and so on. The policy transformation should occur in a variety of policy arenas, such as labour, environment and investment in the direction of a more equitable framework between people and/or societies.

In the case of CBT development, if it is not possible to avoid the involvement of major tourism companies, the ideal limit has been clearly stated by Ramsa and Mohd (2004). "In this partnership private sector will bring in the tourists while the community manage their own facilities and activities" (Ramsa and Mohd, 2004: 587). Had this model been followed in the current case study, the campsites/lodges would have remained under the total control and management of the community and could have been linked with an external company for marketing and procurement of tourists only. This is very different from a complete change of control over the campsites/lodges themselves, as in fact happened in the AmaMpondo case.

Here it is important to underscore the fact that because the original CBT concept for developing countries was intended for poor communities, there could be a need (especially with the lack of proper government support in organizing a specific agency) for an external connection. This is the case given that usually poor communities lack the necessary material and non-material resources to start and manage a CBT project, especially since they have no resources for marketing. In this regard, it is imperative to formulate policies to promote CBT and provide the institutional infrastructures that facilitate better outcomes of CBT.

- **Facilitation**

Referring to the role of external actors in CBT, it is argued here that external entities should have only a facilitative role, that is, they should help the community to develop and manage their plan and their ideas. “Community-managed projects attempt to let communities decide what type of growth they would like to see and then help them implement their plans” (Keyser, 2003: 367). Consequently it is necessary to ensure a facilitative approach within the context of institutional support structures. This strengthened function of facilitation is a key recommendation arising out of the research undertaken for this thesis.

Crucially, facilitation must be understood differently from participation/involvement. The involvement of local communities is currently mostly under the direction of outsiders and/or more powerful people who usually adopt a top-down approach, as was seen in this study. Facilitation provides the instruments to promote empowerment and self-development of communities. As has been stated in reference to government’s ideal role in CBT: “It is important for governments [and for other possible actors such as NGO] not to dictate the conditions of the tourism project or micro-manage the plan, but simply to support the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the community” (Reid, 2003: 135).

Historically, the focus on private capital does not seem to have enhanced developing countries’ development. In fact, as Khan pertinently asks, “if mass tourism promotes economic growth and development, then how come many tourist-receiving Third World countries such as some of those countries in the Caribbean, South America, Asia and Africa are suffering from foreign dependency along with persistent poverty, economic inequality, and destruction of cultures and communities in the name of tourism development?” (Khan, 1997: 989).

Instead of continuing with the privatization of land or with privatization-like changes, why do public institutions not cooperate with the local community to extend and improve the communal management of land (twinned with a real land reform)? Such communally owned land remains a valuable cultural and material asset in many developing countries. This could increase the possibility of a more

integrated approach where tourism, as part of wider livelihood strategies, could help to increase the base for socio-economic development. This is clearly the case in Pondoland, where the fieldwork shows that many people in the community oppose the privatization of communal land,

As Mashinini (2003: 91) argued in the case of Lesotho, “it has to be borne in mind that the current emphasis on privatisation and private sector-driven tourism militates against wider community participation in preference for individual private initiative which is championed for efficiency ...[consequently] it is also necessary to re-visit privatisation in tourism planning and management” (Mashinini, 2003: 91). The same has been noted in this Pondoland study, where the EU clearly favoured private rather than community-based enterprise: “... the programme is planning to stimulate multiple individual entrepreneurs running discreet projects rather than large multi-faceted community enterprises” (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 41).

There are also of course problems related to the involvement of public institutions. The challenge is not just to “involve” the community in a top-down manner where the limit of involvement is pre-determined by policy-making institutions - but how to make CBT meaningful. Mere involvement is not enough. Involvement in tourism should be a cooperative evolution of intentions and processes between the public sphere and the community, not an exclusive external dictate. The role of public institutions should be to provide the socio-economic infrastructure as a precondition for generating genuine involvement in the tourism sector, and contributing to the shift towards a more balanced structure of power. The motto for development officials or consultants involved in CBT should be: facilitate CBT by working *with* the community *for* the community.

Keeping in mind the above described ‘backbone’ or general structural shift required, a number of issues need to be tackled in facilitating CBT at a local level as a way to promote holistic community empowerment and self-reliance.

Briefly these points are:

- Safety/security

It is a matter of fact that most tourists prefer to go to safe and secure places. It is possible to divide the security/safety issues into two main groups: on one side, the issue depends on the ‘behaviours’ of people; and on the other hand, on the influence of natural/biological circumstances. Criminality and war belong to the first case, while malaria, yellow fever or natural disaster are example of the second case.

- Skill resource.

In regard to the presence of specific skills, it has been recognised that there is a dearth of skills in community-based tourism because of newness of the concept such that the lack of proper training of tourism officials has impacted negatively as a barrier to community involvement and this goes against the benefits that can be derived from the development of community tourism (Timothy, 2002: 161).

Specific and strategic training should be organised for staff involved in the promotion and planning of CBT. Especially for the poorest strata of the population (which CBT should include), it is necessary to exploit the skills already present and to promote, congruently with local culture, the available skill support and its enhancement. CBT as a bottom up approach needs to start from what is available (resources, skills and so on) and from there build up, rather than externally 'forcing' a development that originated from a different cultural tradition and that requires skills not currently present – skills that themselves originated from a different tradition. This point is of basic relevance to increase the likelihood that a development project in a poor community will survive after the departure of the facilitator, such as an NGO.

- Tourism resources

It seems obvious that to promote and develop a tourism project in a certain place some form of attraction, whether natural or human related, is a fundamental need. Tourism relies on natural or human features able to attract tourists to a specific area.

- Sustainability

It is not the intention of this thesis to enter into the sustainability debate. Clearly, in the tourism sector "the term 'sustainability' can be and has been hijacked by many to give moral rectitude and 'green' credentials to tourist activities" (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 84). The concept is used here simply in order to highlight the four different areas that must be taken into account in tourism planning so as to promote long term positive effects of CBT development. The four different aspects of sustainability comprise: cultural, economic, environmental and social issues. CBT planning, as a key form of alternative tourism, should be aimed towards sustainability: as de Kadt (1995: 56) suggests, "making sustainability the focus of Alternative Tourism may possibly be the most productive way forward."

- Self-development/reliance

Policies and planning processes for CBT must emphasise and support the use of local resources, capacities and culture. Self-reliance means the use of the *self*, conceived at a community level, as a conceptual base upon which to build the CBT policies and plans - that is, using resources that are locally available as well as local cultural backgrounds and frameworks. For instance, it is necessary to use the local knowledge and capacities, and the local traditional community organization, as a pivot on

which to build any CBT project. At the same time the promotion of self-management, developed through projects that are locally managed and controlled, and self-esteem to promote community esteem and pride, must be also kept in mind in order to properly promote CBT development.

9.6 The Pondoland case study

Returning to the Pondoland case study, a few comments can be made to finalise the practical outcome of the research study. First of all, it seems that there was no cooperation between the people in charge of the project and the local communities. While there was fair understanding and cooperation between institutional actors at least for some time (at the start), this was not sufficient. The involvement of local community members must be understood, from the start, as a cooperative input towards the understanding and development of the project; it must be a bottom-up approach. The situation in the project was clearly top-down. The local community was not involved in the project plan but, as emerged strongly from the fieldwork, it was only informed about what has been done or it was going to happen.

The same top-down approach permitted the project management to shift the approach, at a theoretical and also at a practical business level, away from the community-wide cooperative vision. The involvement of the EU in the Amadiba Trails, for example, “stimulate[d] multiple individual entrepreneurs running discreet projects rather than large multi-faceted community enterprises” (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003: 40). In the AmaMpondo Trail the shift was even more severe. The final outcome was not simply the change from community-wide to multiple individual entrepreneurs – entrepreneurs who if not community-wide could still fit the concepts of SME development in the context of CBT, but a move to involve directly a TNTC in the project.

It is striking that the Amadiba Trail development was born from exactly this kind of institutional and local community cooperative environment. The Amadiba trail was developed with the financial support of a government agency assisting local communities and facilitated by a local NGO to develop a CBT. All actors involved before and later see it as a good model to follow. The local and national government should have been more directly involved in the AmaMpondo project, and should have been the actors that controlled and maintained the initial vision of the project. Local government needs to be both more involved in the development processes and more independent from external forces.

Importantly this is not to suggest that local actors would not have implicitly concurred with or at least accepted (consciously or unconsciously) the change in the AmaMpondo CBT project approach and outcome; but it certainly underlines the point that the involvement of a leading institutional actor in the globalisation process marked by neo-liberal policies can give a strong push, as well as justification to some local actors, towards this change. The fact that in five years not one Lodge camp was built seems

difficult to explain. How a project financed and backed by the EU could be unable to properly plan and execute the building of a total of about 36 wooden lodges seems difficult to comprehend, if not understood in terms of the proposed theory of global hegemonic processes favouring only specific developmental outcomes. From the literature, CBT projects tend to fail not, as is often said (and this is used as an excuse) due to the inability or indolent behaviour of local people, but as a result of two basic points, which the case study also confirms.

First it is necessary to properly facilitate a bottom-up approach (see Chapter 3 for the facilitation concept). Despite a lack of involvement in decision-making, the case study project initially was positive as a general concept and also for example, in the relatively good training put in place. However, drastic changes occurred during the development of the project, and the facilitation process was interrupted in both its material and non-material aspects.

Specifically, the facilitation that was intended to organize and build the Lodge, together with the communities, was of crucial relevance. As discussed, it is the lodges rather than the VBA trail that have potential to attract larger numbers of tourists who can pay high accommodation fees. It is trails based on lodges more than those based on homestay that have the potential to bring major economic gains to the community. In addition, it is essentially the lodges system that mostly allows for the reinvestment of part of the profit in community-wide projects. It is the lodge-based trail that allows a higher level of skills development in the tourism sector by local people involved in it. Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) also emphasise these issues when they state in relation to their study on Namibia that a new form of community-based enterprise, 'Community Lodges' were established because community campsites were not generating adequate revenue and at the same time joint ventures with commercial partners were not creating enough opportunities that empowered communities (Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007).

It is because of these simple but basic reasons that emphasis was placed on the outcome of the proposed lodge-based trail in relation to the globalisation process. The specific final outcome of the AmaMpondo VBA trails and its 'successor', the informal community VBA, were contrasted in order to highlight the local community self-development and empowerment, but also to show that even the AmaMpondo VBA development was not entirely facilitated, but was left halfway and slowly dying out as attention moved to the incoming private company.

Secondly, in developing countries, a major challenge is the difficulties that village-based enterprises meet when trying to market themselves internationally, where the target market is, and therefore, can easily fold at the outset if success is not visible (Timothy, 2002: 161).⁵⁴

Finally it is important to note that in the current context the further development of projects like these, and of the attached communities, will depend on the behaviour of the companies that have partnered with the local communities. Only in a few more years can a final judgement be made. Nevertheless, as described in this thesis (see Chapter Eight), initial actions taken by Drifters seem to militate against, or at least move towards the limitation of, increasing community involvement even if this is not what is presented in the Concession Contract (2005).

9.7 Concluding remarks

The *Mail & Guardian* (11 to 17 July 2003) refers to the 1990s as “A lost decade for the world’s poor.” In this context it is worth asking if the widespread blind faith in trickle-down effects, competition, de-regulation and similar neo-liberal discourses have produced any results. In a “geopolitical context in which left alternatives to free market capitalism, whether communist or social democratic [or any other alternative political perspective], have all but disappeared as viable possibilities” (Peet, 2002: 78), it is worth remembering that nevertheless ‘the end of the history’ has not come yet. As “Raymond Williams insisted ‘the hegemonic’ is neither total nor exclusive. Rather oppositional cultures continue to exist” (Peet, 2003: 21).

Even if properly organised and managed, CBT cannot by itself solve all the poverty-related problems of marginalized communities. Yet it has the potential to at least contribute to more comprehensive development in marginalized and poor areas, despite the contradictions inherent in, for example, heterogeneous social structures at community level.

This thesis has shown how the neo-liberal milieu has been able to re-formulate the concept of CBT for its own uses and gain, while the communities for which the concept of CBT was initially formulated remain marginalized. It is important for CBT to fully operate in its original status so as to promote holistic development. In this way public institutions will develop facilitation capacity, consequently allowing for community empowerment and the development of the desired outcome in terms of self-reliance. The need is to produce a “major transformation in thinking [with] the movement from participation to empowerment” (Rocha in Reid, 2003: 60). This involves “spreading the concept of

⁵⁴In fact in the case of poor communities the target market is also domestic (especially in country such as South Africa or Brazil where a wealthy section of the population exists). Marketing difficulties should be attended to at both levels international and national, due to the probable lack of initial resources and capacities specific to marketing.

working together co-operatively for the common good instead of competitively for individual private gain” (Nyerere, 1974: 102-103).

CBT can be at the forefront of promoting community development. Nevertheless, to be able to foster community development it is important that the original meaning of CBT be maintained. There is a need to go back to basic/original concepts of CBT. The CBT reformulation, within the global hegemonic policy-making structure, promotes the risk that the future of CBT policy at local level will be endangered, thereby jeopardising the achievement of its potentialities.

When properly facilitated, simply because community-based tourism allows local communities to disassociate themselves from established tour operators and wealthy elites on a national scale, these ventures have the potential to enhance development than mass tourism while preserving the cultures, traditions and ways of life of communities and empowering them at the same time. (Timothy, 2002: 150 and Fitton in Timothy, 2002: 150). Thus, in what Reid describes as a community tourism development, there is a need to create a vision for developing the community as a whole, and not just focusing on tourism development, and it is prudent to involve communities to plan and chart the way forward instead of merely engaging commercial firms or consultants to do so for them (Reid, 2003: 233).

The results of the research undertaken for this doctoral thesis lead the author to endorse these sentiments. As stated over a century ago: “I obviously do not deny the struggle for existence, but I maintain that the progressive development of the animal kingdom, and especially of mankind, is favoured much more by mutual support than by mutual struggle” (Kessler, 1880 cited in Kropotkin, 1902).

References

- ACP-EU (The Courier)
2002 Amadiba adventure. Sourced
http://ec.europa.eu/development/body/publications/courier/courier195/en/en_082.pdf (23 February 2007)
- Abbinnett, R.
2003 Culture and identity: critical theories. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- AmaMpondo Trails Brochure
(n.d.) Obtained via Email from Amadiba Adventure.
- Aninat, E.
2002 Surmounting the Challenges of Globalization. *Finance & Development* 39(1). Sourced
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2002/03/animat.htm> (6 may 2009)
- Apple M. W.
2001 Comparing Neo-Liberal Projects and Inequality in Education. *Comparative Education* 37(4-24): 409-423
- Armstrong, W. and T. G. McGee,
1985 Theatres of Accumulation Studies in Asian and Latin American urbanization. London: Methuen.
- Arnstein, S. R.
1969 A Ladder of Citizen Participation, *American Institute of Planners Journal*, 35(4): 216-224.
- Arrighi, G.
1993 The three hegemonies of historical capitalism. In Gramsci, *Historical Materialism and International Relations*, S. Gill, ed., pp. 148-185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arrighi, G.
2000 *The long twentieth century*. London: Verso.
- AU/NEPAD
2005 AU/NEPAD Tourism Action Plan.
- Babbie, E.
1999 *The basic of social research*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Babbie, E., J. Mouton, P. Vorster, and B. Prozesky,
2003 *The practice of social research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, T. L.
1988 *Doing social research*. New York: Mcgraw-Hill Book Company.
- Baran, P.
1962 *The political Economy of Growth*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Baskin, J.
1995 Local economic development: tourism – good or bad?. In *Tourism Workshop*

- Proceedings: Small, Medium, Micro Enterprises. Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, Johannesburg.
- Batta, R. N.
2000 Tourism and the environment: a quest for sustainability : with special reference to developing countries, and policy analysis on Himachal Pradesh. New Delhi: Indus Publishing.
- Beinart, W.
1982 The political economy of Pondoland 1860-1930. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berger, P. L.
1997 Four faces of global culture. National Interest, Fall97 Issue 49, p23, 7p.
Sourced <http://bss.sfsu.edu/fischer/IR%20305/Readings/four.htm> (6 May 2009)
- Bhengui, M. J.
2006 Ubuntu: the global philosophy for humankind. Cape Town: Lotsha Publications.
- Bianchi, R. V.
2002 Toward a New political Economy of Global Tourism. In Tourism and Development Concepts and Issues, R. Sharpley and D. J. Telfer, eds., pp. 265-299. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Bieler A. and D. Morton,
2003 Theoretical and methodological challenges of neo-Gramscian perspectives in International Political Economy. Sourced
<http://www.italnet.nd.edu/gramsci/resources/online_articles/bieler_morton.shtml> (30 March 2005).
- Bieler A. and D. Morton,
2004 A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order and Historical Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Relations. *Capital & Class* 82: 85-113.
- Binns T. and E. Nel,
2002 Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa. *The Geographical Journal* 168(3): 235-247
- Binns T. and E. Nel,
2002 Village in a Game Park: Local Response to the Demise of Coal Mining in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Economic Geography* 79(1): 41-66
- Binns, T.
1995 Geography in Development: Development in Geography. *Geography* 80(4):303-322.
- Binns, T.
2002 Dualistic and unilinear concepts of development. In *The Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R.B. Potter, eds., pp 75-79. London: Arnold.
- Borghoff, T.
2005 *Evolutionary Theory of the Globalisation of Firms*. Dortmund: Gabler Verlag.
- Breslin, S., R. Higgott and B. Rosamond,
2002 Regions in comparative perspective. In *New regionalism in the global political*

- economy Theories and cases, S. Breslin, C. W. Hughes, N. Phillips and B. Rosamond, eds., pp. 1-19. London: Routledge.
- Britton S. G.
1981 Tourism, Dependency and Development: a mode of analysis. Occasional Paper No. 23. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Britton, S.
1982 The political economy of tourism in the Third World. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9:331-358.
- Britton, S. G.
1991 Tourism capital and place: towards a critical geography of tourism. *Environmental and Planning* 9:451-478.
- Brogden, M. and M. Brogden,
2001 *Geronticide: killing the elderly*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Brohman, J.
1997 *Popular Development Rethinking the theory & practice of development*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brohman, J.
1996 New directions in tourism for Third World development. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23(1):48-70.
- Brooks, S.
2005 Images of 'Wild Africa': nature tourism and the (re)creation of Hluhluwe game reserve, 1930-1945. *Journal of Historical Geography* 31:220-240.
- Browett, J.
1980 Development, the diffusionist paradigm and geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 4(1):57-79.
- Bryden, J. M.
1973 *Tourism and Development: A Case Study of the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Cambridge: Cambridge press.
- Buckley P. J. and P. N. Ghauri
2004 Globalisation, Economic Geography and the Strategy of Multinational Enterprises. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 35(2): 81-98.
- Bulpin, T. V.
2001 *Discovering Southern Africa*. Muizenberg: Discovering Southern Africa Production.
- Burkey, S.
1993 *People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant participatory rural development*. London: Zed Book.
- Burns, P.
2001 Brief encounters: culture, tourism and the local-global nexus. In *Tourism in the age of Globalisation*, S. Wahab, and C. P. Cooper, eds., pp. 290-305. London: Routledge.

- Butler, R. W.
1980 The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer* 24: 5-12. Reproduce in *The Tourism Area Life Cycle, Vol. 1: Applications And Modifications (Aspects of Tourism)* by Richard Butler, pp. 3-12. Clevedon: Channel View Press.
- Callaway, G.
(n.d.) *Pioneers in Pondoland*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press.
- Cameron, J.
2000 Development Economics, the New Institutional Economics and NGOs. *Third World Quarterly* 21(4): 627 -635.
- Carmody, P.
2002 Between globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: the Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2):255-275.
- Cater, E.
1995 Environmental Contradictions in Sustainable Tourism. *The Geographical Journal* 161(1): 21-28.
- Chishti, S.
2002 Globalization, International Economic Relations and Developing Countries. *International Studies*, 39(3):227-243.
- Christie, I. T. and D. E. Crompton,
2001 *Tourism in Africa*. African Region Working Paper Series No. 12. World Bank.
- Clancy, M. J.
1999 Tourism and development. Evidence from Mexico. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1): 1-20.
- Clarke, C.
2002 The Latin American structuralists. In *Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R. B. Potter, eds., pp.92-96. London: Arnold.
- Cleverdon, R. G.
2002 Tourism development in the SADC region: the opportunities and challenges. *Development Southern Africa* 19(1):7-28.
- Cohen, B. J.
2008 *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History*. Princeton: Princeton University press.
- Community Based Tourism – Southern Africa
(n.d.) Sourced <<http://www.community-tourism-africa.com>> (11 December 2007).
- Concession contract (by Webber Wentzel Bowens)
2005 Concession contract between the Trust of: Ndengane; Cutweni; Lumphoko; Rhole; and Manteku. And Drifters Adventours CC and Main Street 369 (PTY) LTD with regard to the tourism development situated at selected sites at Msikaba, Grosvenor, Lumphatana, Cutweni, Manteku and Ntafufu.

- Conti, G. and C. Perelli,
2007 Governing tourism monoculture: Mediterranean mass tourism destinations and governance networks. In *Tourism and politics. Global framework and local realities*, P. M. Burns and M. Novelli, eds., pp. 235-261. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Conwoy, D. and N. Heynen,
2002 Classical dependency theories: from ECLA to André Gunder Frank. In *Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R. B. Potter, eds., pp.97-101. London: Arnold.
- Cook P. and C. Kirkpatrick,
1997 Globalization, Regionalization and Third World Development. *Regional Studies* 31(1):55-66.
- Cox, R. W.
1993 Gramsci, hegemony and international relations: an essay in method. In *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, S. Gill, ed., pp. 49-66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, R. W.
1996 a Social forces, states and world orders: beyond international relation theory. In *Approach to World Order*, R. W. Cox and T. J. Sinclair, eds., pp.85-123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, R. W.
1996 b Gramsci, hegemony and international relations: an essay in method. In *Approach to World Order*, R. W. Cox and T. J. Sinclair, eds., pp 124-143. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, R. W.
1996 c The global political economy and social choice. In *Approach to World Order*, R. W. Cox and T. J. Sinclair, eds., pp.191-208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, R. W. and T. J. Sinclair, eds.
1999 *Approach to world order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Crane, G. T. and A. Amawi,
1997 *The Theoretical evolution of international political economy: a reader*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- CTA – Community Tourism Association of South Africa
(n.d.) Sourced < <http://ctasa.kzn.org.za/cta/>> (12 Maggio 2006)
- De Kadt, E.
1979 *Tourism: Passport to development*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- De Kadt, E.
1995 Making the alternative sustainable: lessons from development for tourism. In *Tourism alternatives Potentials and problems in the development of tourism*, V L Smith and W R Eadington, eds., Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- De Villiers, D. J.
2000 Forewords. In *The Political Economy of Tourism in Africa*, P. U. C. Dieke, ed., pp. XI-XII. Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

- DEAT - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism,
2000 Towards a strategy to transform tourism in South Africa. Unpublished report,
Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Pretoria.
- Decrop, A.
1999 Triangulation in qualitative tourism research. *Tourism management* 20:157-161.
- Dey, I.
1993 *Qualitative data analysis : a user-friendly guide for social scientists*. London: Routledge.
- Dieke, P. U. C.
2000 a The nature and scope of the political economy of tourism development in Africa. In
The Political Economy of Tourism in Africa, P. U. C. Dieke, ed., pp. 1-28. Elmsford:
Cognizant Communication Corporation.
- Dieke, P. U. C., ed.
2000 *The Political Economy of Tourism in Africa*. Elmsford: Cognizant Communication
Corporation.
- Dispatch,
2005 Letters to the Editor. Sourced
<<http://www.dispatch.co.za/2005/11/11/editoria/letters.html>> (21 February 2007).
- Drifter Adventure, Brochure,
(n.d.) Sourced <http://www.drifters.com/dynamicdata/data/docs/wild_coast.pdf> (23
November 2008)
- Drifters,
(n.d.) Sourced <<http://www.drifters.com/index.asp?pgid=15>> (6 January 2006)
- Durkheim, E.
1964 *The Division of Labour in Society*. New York: Free press.
- Eastern Cape Province,
2004 Refocusing its intervention. *New Agenda* 15:154-155.
- Eastern Cape Tourism Board,
2003 Eastern Cape Tourism Board. Sourced
<<http://www.ectourism.co.za/news/masterplan.htm>> (30 June 2004).
- ECA – Economic commission for Africa,,
2002 *Tourism in Africa and the Multilateral Trading System: Challenges and Opportunities*”
by Gauci A., Gerosa V. and Mwalwanda C. Sourced
<[http://www.tanzaniagateway.org/docs/Tourism_in_Africa_and_the_Multilateral_Trading_Sy
stem.pdf](http://www.tanzaniagateway.org/docs/Tourism_in_Africa_and_the_Multilateral_Trading_System.pdf)> (23 February 2007).
- Elliot, J.
1997 *Tourism: politics and public sector management*. London: Routledge.
- Elliot L.
2003 A lost decade for the world’s poor. *Mail&Guardian*. July 11 to 17.
- Engel, S.
2006 Where to Neoliberalism? The World Bank and the Post-Washington Consensus in
Indonesia and Vietnam.” In Vickers, Adrian, and Margaret Hanlon (eds). 2006. *Asia*

Reconstructed: Proceedings of the 16th Biennial Conference of the ASAA, 2006, Wollongong, Australia. Canberra: Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) Inc. & Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (RSPAS), The Australian National University.

Enslin, S.

2006 Tourism ventures fail in the Wild Coast. The Sunday Independent Business report. Sunday, March 26.

Environmental Scoping Report,

(n.d.) Wild Coast Horse and Hiking Trails (via email from DEAT).

Equations,

2002 Weighing the GATS on a development The Case of Tourism in Goa, India. Sourced <<http://www.somo.nl>> (10 March 2003).

Escobar, A.

1995 Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

EU a,

(n.d.) EU Relation with South Africa. Sourced <http://europa.eu.int/comm/development/body/country/country_home_en.cfm?cid=za&lng=en&status=new#overview> (16 August 2004).

EU b,

(n.d.) Development of sustainable tourism. Sourced <<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12519.htm>> (24 February 2007).

EU,

2000 Compendium on co-operation strategies Partnership agreement between the member of the group of African, Caribbean and pacific states and the European Community and its member states. Sourced <http://www.acpsec.org/en/conventions/cotonou/compendium_en.pdf> (28 November 2009).

Feeley,

(n.d) Sourced <<http://culture.wildcoast.org.za/ct/4.xml>> (23 February 2007).

Fennell, D. A.

2003 Ecotourism: an introduction. London: Routledge.

Fennel, D. A.

2007 Ecotourism. London: Routledge.

Ferreira, S.

2004 Sustainable tourism in post-colonial Southern Africa. In Tourism and development issues in contemporary South Africa, C. M. Rogerson and G. Visser eds., pp. 290-306. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.

Finn M., M. Elliot-White and M. Walton,

2000 Tourism & leisure research methods. Data collection, analysis and interpretation. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Firebaugh, G.

2006 The New Geography of Global Income Inequality. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

- Forgacs, D.
1988 *A Gramsci Reader Selected writing 1916-1935*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Foucault, M.
1972 *The archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Arper and Row.
- Foucault, M.
1974 *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Tavistock.
- Frank, A. G.
1988 *The Development of Underdevelopment*. In *The Political Economy of development and Underdevelopment*, C. K. Wilber, ed., pp. 109-119. New York: Random House Business Division.
- Franklin, A.
2003 *Tourism: an introduction*. London: SAGE.
- Fukuyama, F.
1989 *The End of history? The National Interest* 16:3-18.
- Gallagher, J. and R. Robinson,
1953 *The Imperialism of Free Trade*. *Economic History Review*, 6 (1): 1-15.
- Ghimire, K. B.
2001 *Regional tourism and South-South economic cooperation*. *The Geographical Journal* 167(2):99-110.
- Giampiccoli, A.
2007 *Hegemony, globalization and tourism policies in developing countries*. In *Tourism and politics. Global framework and local realities*, P. M. Burns and M. Novelli, eds., pp. 175-191 Oxford: Pergamon.
- Gibson, N.
2001 *Transition from Apartheid*. *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 36(1):65-85.
- Gill, S.
1993 *Gramsci and global politics: towards a post-hegemonic research agenda*. In *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, S. Gill, ed., pp. 1-20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gills, B.
1993 *The hegemonic transition in East Asia: a historical perspective*. In *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, S. Gill, ed., pp. 186-212 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, H.J., I.J Kent, K.T Parker, and M.J. Walpole,
1997 *Tourism, conservation & sustainable development. Volume 1. Comparative report. Final Report to the Department for International Development*. Sourced: <<http://www.icrtourism.org/Publications/Volume1.pdf>> (18 may 2009).
- Gordon, S.
1991 *The History and Philosophy of Social Science*. London: Routledge.

- Gosovic, B.
2000 Global intellectual hegemony and the international development agenda. *International Social Science Journal* 52(166):447-456.
- Gosovic, B.
(n.d.) Global Intellectual hegemony and the International Development Agenda. Sourced <http://tcdc.undp.org/coopsouth/2001_2/132-146.pdf> (2 August 2005).
- Goulet, D.
1971 *The cruel choice: a new concept in the theory of development*. Center for the Study of Development and Social Change. New York: Atheneum.
- Goulet, D.
1988 "Development"...or Liberation? In *The Political Economy of development and Underdevelopment*, C. K. Wilber, ed., pp.480-487. New York: Random House Business Division.
- Graaff, J. and D. Venter,
2001 Understanding the world system. Dependency theory, world system theory, and system thinking. In *Development. Theory, policy, and practice*, J. K. Coetzee, J. Graaff, F. Hendricks and G. Wood, eds., pp. 77-96. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Green, D.
1995 *Silent Revolution: The Rise of Market Economics in Latin America*, London: Cassell.
- Gurun, D. B. and K. Seeland,
2008 Ecotourism in Bhutan. Extending its Benefits to Rural Communities. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(2):489-508.
- Hall, M. C.
1992 Sex tourism in Southeast Asia. In *Tourism and less developed countries*, D. Harrison, ed., pp.59-63. London: Belhaven Press.
- Hall, M. C.
1998 *Tourism and Politics Policy, Power and Place*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hampton, M. P.
2003 Entry Points for Local Tourism in Developing Countries: Evidence from Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Geografiska Annaler* 85(2): 85-101.
- Harrison, D.
2001 Tourism and less developed countries: key issues. In *Tourism and the less developed world: issue and case studies*, D. Harrison, ed., pp. 23-46. Wallingford: CABI Publishing.
- Harvey, D.
1996 *The Geography of Capitalist accumulation*. In *Human Geography An Essential Anthology*, J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone and A. Rogers, eds., pp. 600-622. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hayward, J.
(n.d) History of Pondoland. Sourced <<http://www.portstjohns.org.za/history.htm>> (23 February 2007).
- Henderson, J. C.
2001 Regionalisation and Tourism: The Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle. *Current Issues in Tourism* 4(2-4) 78-89.

- Hettne, B.
1990 Development Theory and the Three Worlds. Harlow: Longman.
- Hettne, B.
1995 Development Theory and the Three Worlds. Harlow: Longman.
- Holden, A.
2005 Tourism studies and social science. London: Routledge.
- Honey, M.
1999 Ecotourism and Sustainable Development Who Owns Paradise? Washington D.C.:
Island Press.
- Hook G. D. and I. Kearns,
1999 Subregionalism and world order. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HSSA - Haley and Sharpe Southern Africa,
2004 EU-DEAT Support Programme To The Wild Coast SDI, Qaukeni Local Municipality,
Coastal Region.
- Hubbard, P., R. Kitchin, B. Bartley and D. Fuller,
Thinking geographically: space, theory, and contemporary human geography. London-New
York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Huntington, S. P.
1999 Keynote Address. Presented at the Colorado College's 125th Anniversary Symposium.
Cultures in the 21st Century: Conflict and Convergence. Sourced
<<http://www.coloradocollege.edu>> (31 March 2006).
- Ife, J.
2002 Community Development: Community-based alternative in the age of Globalisation.
Sydney: Pearson Education.
- Igoe, J and D. Brockington,
2007 Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction. Conservation and Society 5(4): 432–449.
- ILO – International Labour Organization,
2001 Human resources development, employment and globalization in the hotel, catering and
tourism sector, Geneva.
- IMF – International Monetary Fund,
2002 Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy paper. Sourced
<<http://www.imf.org/External/NP/prsp/2002/zmb/01>> (8 July 2003).
- Ioannides, D.
1995 Strengthening the Ties Between Tourism and Economic Geography: A Theoretical
Agenda. The Professional Geographer 47(1):49-60.
- Jeffry, A., D. Frieden and D. A. Lake,
2000 International political economy: perspectives on global power and wealth. London:
Routledge.
- Jennings, G.
2001 Tourism research. Milton: Wiley & Sons.

- Jordaan, A.
2001 The challenges of globalisation for development in southern Africa. *Development Southern Africa* 18(1):79-92.
- Jordan, F. and H. Gibson,
2004 Let your data do the talking: researching the solo travel experiences of British and American Women. In *Qualitative research in tourism. ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*, J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, eds., pp. 215-235. London: Routledge.
- Kachgal, T.
2000 Cultural hegemony theory. Sourced <http://www.unc.edu/courses/2000fall/jomc245-001/cultural_hegemony.html> (30 August 2006).
- Kamat, S.
2004 The Privatization of Public Interest: Theorizing NGO Discourse in a Neoliberal Era. *Review of International Political Economy* 11(1): 155-176.
- Katzenstein, P. J.
2000 Regionalism and Asia. *New Political Economy* 5(3):353-370.
- Keyser, H.
2003 *Tourism Development*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Khan, M. M.
1997 Tourism Development and Dependency Theory: Mass Tourism vs. Ecotourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(4):988-991.
- Kirsten, M. and C. M. Rogerson,
2002 Tourism, business linkages and small enterprise development in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa* 19(1):29-60.
- Kitchin, R. and N. J. Tate,
2000 *Conducting research in human geography: theory, methodology and practice*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Knight, M.
(n.d.) Pondoland National Park: The consolidated Wild Coast Protected Area.
- Kosuke, S.
(n.d.) Chapter 2 : The Grand Narratives: three ideologies of IPE. Sourced <<http://www2u.biglobe.ne.jp/~kosukes/chap2.htm>> (29 June 2005).
- Kropotkin P.
1902 Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution. Sourced <http://www.calresco.org/texts/mutaid.htm>> (25 September 2003).
- Laarman, J. G. and P. B. Durst,
1987 Nature travel and tropical forests. FPEI Working Paper Series, Southeastern Center for Forest Economics Research, North Carolina State University, Raleigh.
- Ladkin A.
2004 The life and work history methodology: a discussion of its potential use for tourism and hospitality research. In *Qualitative research in tourism. ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*, J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, eds., pp.236-254. London: Routledge.

- Ladkin, A.
1999 Life and work history analysis: the value of this research method for hospitality and tourism. *Tourism management* 20:37-45.
- Lawerty, G. and A. van Fossen,
2001 Integrating the tourism industry: problems and strategies. *Tourism Management* 22: 11-19.
- Lea, J.
1998 *Tourism and Development in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, H.
2002 *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Levy, D. and A. Prakash,
2003 Bargains Old and New: Multinational Corporations in Global Governance. *Business and Politics*, 5(2): 131-150.
- Lindberg, K., A. Molstad, D. Hawkins and W. Jamieson,
2001 International development Assistance in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2):508-511.
- Lewis, D. J.
2001 *The Management of Non-governmental Development Organizations: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Macey, D.
2000 *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Marais, H.
2001 *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of transition*. London: Zed Book.
- Marshall, A.
1890 *Principle of Economics*. London: MacMillan.
- Martinussen, J.
1997 *Society, State and Market: A guide to competing theories of development*. London: Zed Book.
- May, T.
1997 *Social research: issues, methods and process*. Buckingham: Open University press.
- Mayhew, S.
1997 *A Dictionary of Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- Mayo, M. and G. Craig,
1995 *Community Empowerment. A reader on participation and development*. Atlantic Highlands: Zed Books
- Mayo, P.
1999 *Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education*. London: Zed Book.

- Mayo, P. and G. Craig,
1995 The 'Turn to Gramsci' in Adult Education; A Review. *International Gramsci Society Newsletter* 4:2-9.
- Mbeki, G.
1964 South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt. Sourced
<<http://www.anc.org.za/books/peasants.html>> (25 April 2006).
- Mbeki, T.
2004 A people-centred new world order, October 2003. *New Agenda* 15:165-168.
- McVey, M. and B. King,
1999 Tourism in the Pacific Island Microstates: Regional experience and Prospects. In *Asia-Pacific Tourism. Regional co-operation, planning and development*, K. Pookong and B. King eds., pp. 55-72. Elsternwick: Hospitality Press.
- Mearns, K.
2003 Community-based tourism. The key to empowering the Sankuyo community in Botswana. *Africa Insight* 33:29-32.
- Milne, S. and I. Ateljevic,
2001 Tourism, economic development and the global-local nexus: theory embracing complexity. *Tourism Geographies* 3(4):369-393.
- Milward, B.
2003 *Globalisation? Internationalisation and Monopoly Capitalism: Historical Processes and Capitalist Dynamism*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Moore, W. and P. Whitehall,
2005 The tourism area lifecycle and regime switching models. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(1):112-126.
- Mountain Forum (The)
1998 Community-Based Mountain Tourism: Practices for Linking Conservation with Enterprise. Synthesis of an Electronic Conference of the Mountain Forum, April 13–May 18. Sourced <<http://www.mountainforum.org/rs/pub/econfreports/Community-BasedMountainTourism.pdf>> (23 February 2007).
- Mouton, J.
2001 Theory, metatheory, and methodology in development studies: a heuristic framework. In *Development Theory, Policy, and Practice*, J. K. Coetzee, J. Graaff, F. Hendricks and G. Wood, eds., pp. 11-26. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mowforth, M. and I. Munt,
1998 *Tourism and Sustainability New Tourism in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Mtapuri, O.
2005 The Missing Link. Asset based measure of poverty. Towards asset income threshold and network. *Loyola Journal of Social Science*. 19(2):245-258.
- MTR – Mid Term Review,
2003 Support to the Wild Coast Spatial development Initiative Pilot programme. Mid-term Review report – project SA/99/73200/019. Sourced
<http://www.environment.gov.za/ProjProg/2003jun17/sdi_review_report_17062003.html>
(25 October 2004).

- Murphy, P.
1985 *Tourism: The community approach*. London: Routledge.
- National Tourism Policy and Strategies of Tanzania,
2002 Sourced <<http://www.tzonline.org/tourism>> (19 March 2004).
- Nattrass, N.
1996 Gambling on investment: competing economic strategies in South Africa. *Transformation*, 31: 25-42.
- Nauright, J.
1997 *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Nel, M.
2003 Pondoland paradise in the pipeline. *Mail&Guardian* 27 May 2003. Sourced <<http://www.mg.co.za>> (14 June 2006).
- Nicanor, N.
2001 Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: NACOBTA the Namibian case study. PPT Working Paper No. 4. Sourced <http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/namibia_cs.pdf> (23 February 2007).
- Norton, P.
2003 *Tourism planning framework for the O R Tambo District Municipality, supported by The EU wild Coast programme*. Prepared by Peter Norton & Associates cc.
- Novelli, M. and K. Gebhardt,
2007 Community based tourism in Namibia: 'Reality Show' or 'Window Dressing'. *Current Issues in tourism*, 10(5): 443-479.
- Ntshona, Z. and E. Lahiff,
2003 *Community-Based Eco-Tourism on the Wild Coast, South Africa: The Case of the Amadiba trail*. Sourced <<http://www.ids.ac.uk/slsa>> (25 November 2004).
- Nyerere, J. K.
1974 *Ujama Essay on socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.
- Oppermann, M.
1993 *Tourism space in developing countries*. *Annals of Tourism Research* 20:535-556.
- Oppermann, M. and K. S. Chon.
1997 *Tourism in Developing Countries*. London: Thomson International.
- Our land...
(n.d) *Our Land...Our life ...our future... A Land Dispossession History*. Sourced <http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/specialprojects/land/05_apartheid.htm> (23 February 2007).
- Page, S. J., P. Brunt, G. Busby and J. Connell,
2001 *Tourism: A Modern Synthesis*. London: Thomson Learning.
- Parnwell, M. J. C.
2002 *Agropolitan and bottom-up development*. . In *The Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R.B. Potter, eds., pp 112-116. London: Arnold.

- Pearce, D. G.
1989 Tourist development. London: Longman.
- Peet, R.
2002 Ideology, Discourse and the Geography of Hegemony: From Socialist to Neoliberal Development in Postapartheid South Africa. *Antipode* 34(1):54-84.
- Peet, R.
2003 *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*. London: Zed Book.
- Peet, R.
(n.d.) Geographies of Policy Formation: Hegemony, Discourse and the Conquest of Practicality, Paper for the Geographies of Global Economic Change Conference, October 12-14, Clark University, Worcester, MA 01610. Sourced <<http://www.clarku.edu/leir/peet.htm>> (30 May 2005).
- Peet, R. and M. Watts,
1993 Introduction: Development Theory and Environment in the Age of Market Triumphalism. *Economic Geography* 1:227-253.
- Pieterse, N. J.
2000 After Post-Development. *Third World Quarterly* 21(2): 175-191.
- Pieterse, N. J.
2001 *Development theory: deconstructions/reconstructions*. London: SAGE.
- Pino, N. and M. D. Wiatrowski,
2006 *Democratic policing in transitional and developing countries*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.
- Pleumaron, A.
1994 The political economy of tourism. *Ecologist* 24(4):142-148.
- Pleumaron, A.
(n.d.) Campaign On corporate Power In Tourism. Sourced <www.twinside.org.sg/title/eco1.htm> (14 July 2002).
- Pleumaron, A.
1999 Tourism, globalisation and sustainable development. *Third World Resurgence magazine*. Sourced <www.twinside.org.sg/title/anita-cn.htm> (14 July 2002).
- PondoCrop,
2002 Business plan for the Pondoland Coastal horse & Hiking trail. EU-RSA Wild Coast community tourism Initiative.
- PondoCrop a
2002 AmaMpondo Village Trails. Node 2 Enterprise HR data Base. EU-RSA Wild Coast community tourism Initiative.
- Pookong K. and B. King,
1999 *Asia-Pacific Tourism. Regional co-operation, planning and development*. Elsternwick: Hospitality Press.

- Potter, R. B.
2002 Global convergence, divergence and development. In *The Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R.B. Potter, eds., pp 192-195. London: Arnold.
- Potter, R. B.
1993 Urbanization in the Caribbean and trends of global convergence-divergence. *The Geographical Journal* 159(1):1-21.
- Potter, R. B., T. Binns, J. Elliott, and D. Smith,
1999 *Geographies of development*. Harlow: Longman.
- Preston, P. W.
1996 *Development theory: an introduction*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Prospectus Wild Coast Camps Pondoland,
2005 Prospectus Wild Coast Camps Pondoland. Background information for private parties interested to apply for pre-qualification as potential bidders to complete construction of and operate camps between Msikaba and Port St Johns in Pondoland on the Wild Coast, European Union, Pretoria.
- Ramsa, Y. A. and A. Mohd,
2004 Community-based Ecotourism: A New proposition for Sustainable Development and Environmental Conservation in Malaysia. *Journal of Applied Science* 4(4):583-589.
- Reid, D. G.
2003 *Tourism, globalisation and development. Responsible tourism planning*. London: Pluto Press.
- Renkow, M.
1996 Income non-convergence and rural-urban earnings differentials: evidence from North Carolina. *Southern Economic Journal*, 62: 1017-1028.
- Responsible Tourism Handbook,
2003 [A guide to good practice for tourism operators]. Pretoria: DEAT.
- Ritzer, G.
2000 *Sociological Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Robinson, G. M.
1998 *Methods and techniques in human geography*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Rodrigue, J. P.
(n.d.) Air transport. Sourced <<http://people.hofstra.edu/geotrans>> (24 February 2003).
- Rogerson, C. M.
2004 Financing tourism SMMEs in South Africa: a supply-side analysis. In *Tourism and development issues in contemporary South Africa*, C. M. Rogerson and G. Visser eds., pp. 222-267. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Rogerson, C. M.
2000 Local economic development in the era of globalisation: The case of South African cities. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale geografie* 19(4):397-411.

- Rogerson, C. M.
2001 Spatial Development Initiatives in Southern Africa: The Maputo Development Corridor. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92(3):324-346.
- Rogerson, C. M.
1990 Sun International: The Making of a South African Tourism multinational. *GeoJournal* 22(3):345-354.
- Rogerson, C. M. and G. Visser,
2004 a Tourism and development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Ten Year review. In *Tourism and development issues in contemporary South Africa*, C. M. Rogerson and G. Visser eds., pp. 2-25. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Rogerson, C. M. and G. Visser, eds.
2004 *Tourism and development issues in contemporary South Africa*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Rostow, W.
1960 *The Stage of Economic Growth: A non Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge University press, Cambridge.
- Ruggie, J.
1983 Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis. *World Politics*, 35: 261-85.
- SANParks,
(n.d.) Sourced <http://www.parks-sa.co.za/conservation/Transfrontier_Parks/default.htm> (2 June 2004)
- Santana, G.
2001 Tourism in the Southern Common Market: MERCOSUL. In *Tourism and the less developed world: issue and case studies*, D. Harrison, ed., pp. 77-90. Wallingford: CABI Publishing.
- SARPN – Southern African Regional Poverty Network,
(n.d.) Spatial Development Initiative The Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality. Sourced <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000875/docs/SpatialDevelopmentInitiativeTheWildCoastInORTamboDistrictMunicipality.pdf>> (23 February 2007).
- Sharma, K.
2004 *Tourism and Economic Development*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.
- Scheyvens, R.
2002 *Tourism for Development Empowering Community*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Scheyvens, R. and D. Storey,
2003 *Development fieldwork. A practical guide*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Scholte, J. A.
2000 *Globalization A critical introduction*. Houndmills: MacMillan press.
- Seers, D.
1963 The limitations of the special case. *Institute of Economics and Statistics*, Oxford 25(2):77-98.

- Seers, D.
1971 What are we Trying to Measure? *Journal of Development Studies* 8:21-36.
- Seers, D.
1969 The Meaning of Development. *International Development Review* 11(4):2-6.
- Sharpley, R.
2002 Tourism: a vehicle for development? In *Tourism and Development Concepts and Issues*, R. Sharpley and D. J. Telfer, eds., pp. 11-34. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Sharpley, R. and D. J. Telfer,
2002 Introduction. In *Tourism and Development Concepts and Issues*, R. Sharpley and D. J. Telfer, eds., pp. 1-7. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Shaw T. M.
2002 New regionalism in Africa in the new millennium: comparative perspectives on renaissance, realism and/or regression. In *New regionalism in the global political economy Theories and cases*, S. Breslin, C. W. Hughes, N. Phillips and B. Rosamond, eds., pp. 177-189. London: Routledge.
- Simon, D.
2002 Neo-liberalism, structural adjustment and poverty reduction strategies. In *The Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R.B. Potter, eds., pp 86-91. London: Arnold.
- Sklair, L.
1994 Capitalism and development in global perspective. In *Capitalism and development*, L. Sklair, ed., pp. 165-188. London: Routledge.
- Smith, A.
1776 *The wealth of nations*. London, Methuen.
- Smith, V.
1997 *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Söderbaum, F.
2002 Rethinking the 4 New Regionalism. Paper for the XIII Nordic political Science Association meeting, Aalborg 15-17 August Workshop session 23: Regions and Regionalization.
- Sofield, T. H. B.
2003 *Empowerment for sustainable tourism development*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- South Africa Census,
2003 Sourced <<http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/default.asp>> (22 October 2005).
- South Africa Info,
2004 Tourism: 10 years, tenfold growth. (n.d.) Sourced <<http://www.southafrica.info/10years/10years-tourism.htm>> (16 August 2005).
- South Africa Info,
2008 The quick guide to South Africa. Sourced <<http://www.southafrica.info/about/quickguide.htm>> (23 June 2009).

- South Africa Yearbook,
2002/03 Sourced <<http://www.gcis.gov.za/docs/publications/yearbook03.htm>> (23 February 2007).
- South African Tourism,
(n.d.) A guide to selling South Africa.
- State of Play Reports – Draft,
(n.d) State of play of tourism in the Eastern Cape. DEAET.
- Suansri, P.
2003 Community based tourism handbook (Chapter 1). Responsible ecological social tour – REST. Sourced
<<http://www.ecotour.in.th/english.files/info%20center/CBT%20Handbook.htm>> (10 January 2005).
- Ṭalāl, B. B.
2004 Rethinking an NGO: development, donors and civil society in Jordan. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Taylor, I.
2002 a Stuck in Middle GEAR: South Africa's post-apartheid foreign relations. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Taylor, I.
2002 b Good governance or good business? South Africa's regionalist project and the 'African renaissance'. In *New regionalism in the global political economy Theories and cases*, S. Breslin, C. W. Hughes, N. Phillips and B. Rosamond, eds., pp. 190-203. London: Routledge.
- Taylor, I.
2003 Globalization and Regionalization in Africa: Reactions to Attempts at Neo-Liberal Regionalism. *Review of International Political Economy* 10(2): 310-330.
- Telfer, D. J.
2002 The evolution of tourism and development theory. In *Tourism and Development Concepts and Issues*, R. Sharpley and D. J. Telfer, eds., pp. 35-78. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Terreblanche, S.
2002 A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Than, M.
1997 Economic Co-operation in the Greater Mekong Subregion. *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 11(2):40-47.
- The Daily Mail and Guardian,
1997 Neo-colonialism or great leap forward? Sourced <<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/37a/055.html>> (23 February 2007).
- Thirwall, A. P.
2002 Development as economic growth. In *The Companion to Development Studies*, V. Desai and R.B. Potter, eds., pp 41-44. London: Arnold.
- Thomas, N. and S. Brooks,

- 2003 Ecotourism for Community Development: Environmental Partnerships and the Il Ngwesi Ecotourism project, Northern Kenya. *Africa Insight* 33(1/2):9-17.
- Timothy, D.
2002 Tourism and community development issues. In *Tourism and Development Concepts and Issues*, R. Sharpley and D. J. Telfer, eds., pp. 135-178. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Timothy, D. J. and V. B. Teye,
2004 Political boundaries and regional cooperation in tourism. In *A companion to tourism*, Lew A. A., C. M. Hall and A. M. Williams, eds., pp. 584-595. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Todaro, M. P.
2000 *Economic Development*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited.
- Tosun, C.
2000 Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management* 21:613-633.
- Tosun, C.
2006 Expected nature of community participation in tourism development. *Tourism Management* 27: 493–504.
- Tourism in GEAR,
1998 *Tourism in GEAR: Tourism Development Strategy 1998-2000*. Pretoria: DEAT.
- Tourism White Paper,
1996 The development and promotion of tourism in South Africa. Sourced <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/white_papers/tourism.html?rebookmark=1> (23 February 2007).
- Traders,
2003 His Excellency, President Joseph Kabila speaks to Traders about his vision for the DRC. 14. Sourced: <<http://www.tradersafrica.com/articles.asp?articleid=%7B25AB871F-82E8-4CD6-939B-462D98DC7598%7D>> (26 May 2009).
- Inwent,
(n.d.) Training manual for community-based tourism Sourced <<http://www.dse.de/zell/landinfo/communitytourism/site/site03.html>> (26 August 2004).
- Tremblay, P.
1998 The economic organization of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(4):837-859.
- Turner, S.
2001 Tourism, the environment, and rural development. In *Development. Theory, policy, and practice*, J. K. Coetzee, J. Graaff, F. Hendricks and G. Wood, eds., pp. 361-276. Oxford: Oxford University press.
- United Nations,
2000 *Investment Policy Review Peru*. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. New York and Geneva.
- Veal A. J.
1992 *Research methods for leisure and tourism. A practical guide*. Harlow: Longman Group.

- Wall, G.
1997 Sustainable tourism – unsustainable development. In *Tourism, development and growth: the challenge of sustainability*, S. Wahab and J. Pigram, eds., pp. 33-49. London: Routledge.
- Wallace, G. N. and S. M. Pierce,
1996 An evaluation of ecotourism in Amazonas, Brazil. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23(4): 843-873.
- Wallerstein, I.
1974 *The modern world-system*, vol. 1. New York: Academic Press.
- Weber, M.
1958 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner's.
- Werner, C.
2003 The New Silk Road: Mediators and Tourism Development in Central Asia. *Ethnology*, 42(2): 141-159.
- WESSA,
2004 Mining and motels race neck and neck to the finish line in Pondoland. Sourced <<http://www.wildlifesociety.org.za/SWC%20press%2026Apr04.htm>> (27 March 2006).
- White, L.
2008 "The India, Brazil, South Africa Alliance: A Sensible Alternative to South-South Cooperation" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA's 49th Annual Convention, bridging multiple divides, Hilton San Francisco, San Francisco.
- Wild Coast community tourism initiative,
(n.d) EU-RSA Wild Coast programme.
- Wild Coast SDI,
(n.d.) Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative. Sourced <<http://www.wildcoastdi.org.za/WildMain.htm>> (25 March 2003).
- Wild-Coast in OR Tambo District Municipality,
(n.d.) Sourced <<http://www.sarprn.org.za/documents/d0000875/docs/SpatialDevelopmentInitiativeTheWildCoastInORTamboDistrictMunicipality.pdf>> (25 October 2006).
- Williams, D.
2000 Aid and Sovereignty: Quasi-States and the International Financial Institutions. *Review of International Studies*, 26(4): 557-73.
- Williams, R.
1976 Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. In *Schooling and Capitalism. A sociological reader*, R. Dale, G. Esland, and M. MacDonald, eds., pp. 202-210. Maidenhead: The Open University Press.
- World Bank,
1998 World Bank Revisits Role of Tourism in Development. Sourced <<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20018030~menuPK:34459~pagePK:64003015~piPK:64003012~theSitePK:4607,00.html>> (17 March 2003).

- World Bank (2)
 (n.d.) World Bank Examines Links Between Community-Based Tourism and Poverty.
 Sourced
 <<http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTPROGRAMS/EXTTRADERESEAR/0,,contentMDK:20014519~menuPK:162686~pagePK:210083~piPK:152538~theSitePK:544849,00.html>> (23 February 2007).
- Worth, O.
 2003 Making Sense of Globalisation: A neo-Gramscian analysis of the practices of neoliberalism. No.6. Sourced <<http://www.politics.ul.ie>> (10 March 2006).
- Worth, O.
 2005 Hegemony, international political economy and post-communist Russia. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.
- WTO-OMT – World Tourism Organisation,
 1995 GATS and tourism. WTO-OMT: Madrid.
- WTO-OMT– World Tourism Organisation,
 2001 Tourism 2020 Vision. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org/facts/menu.html>> (23 February 2007).
- WTO-OMT– World Tourism Organisation,
 2002 Tourism Highlight 2002. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org>> (22 March 2003).
- WTO-OMT a – World Tourism Organisation
 2002 Tourism and Poverty Alleviation. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org>> (20 October 2003).
- WTO-OMT b – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) International tourism receipts 1950-2005. Sourced <http://www.world-tourism.org/facts/eng/pdf/historical/ITR_1950_2005.pdf> (23 February 2007).
- WTO-OMT c – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) Tourism Highlights 2002 Edition. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org/facts/menu.html>> (25 March 2003).
- WTO-OMT d – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) Tourism Highlights 2004 Edition. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org/facts/menu.html>> (25 March 2003).
- WTO-OMT e – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) International tourist arrivals by country of destination. Sourced
 <http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/indicators/ITA_africa.pdf> (25 march 2003).
- WTO-OMT f – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) International tourist receipts by country of destination. Sourced
 <[http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/indicators/new/ITR05_africa_US\\$.pdf](http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/indicators/new/ITR05_africa_US$.pdf)> [Accessed 25 March 2003].
- WTO-OMT g – World Tourism Organisation,
 (n.d.) UNWTO urging World Trade Organization to speed up the process of fair trade liberalization. Sourced <<http://www.unwto.org/newsroom/Releases/2003/september/WTO-OMC.htm>> (18 June 2007).

WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council,
(n.d.) Sourced <<http://www.wttc.org>> (18 March 2004).

WWF – World Wide Fund,
2001 Guidelines for community-based ecotourism development. Sourced
<http://www.wwf.org.uk/filelibrary/pdf/community_based_ecotourism.pdf> (23 February
2007).

Wyckoff, W.
1995 Postindustrial Butte. *Geographical Review* 85(4): 478-496

Yeld, J.
2006 Delivering the wild and wonderful. Sourced <<http://www.iol.co.za/index.php>> (7 June
2006). Originally published on page 15 of Cape Argus on April 13, 2006.

Appendix 1

Village questionnaires

Name:

Population:

< 500	501 - 1000	1001 - 2000	2001 - 4000	4001 - 6000	6001 - 1000	> 10001

Distance from main city (name.....):

<2 Km	2 – 4 Km	4 – 6 Km	6 – 8 Km	8 – 10 Km	>10 Km

Means of transport:

Regular bus	
'Taxi' service	
Other (specify):	
Other (specify):	

Road condition:

Paved road	
Dirty road	
Other (specify):	
No road	

Infrastructures in the village (or distance):

Infrastructures	In village	Out of village (distance Km)
Electricity		
Telephone (cable)		
Telephone (self-phone coverage)		
Bank		
Primary schools		
High schools		
Other schools		
Hospital		
Post office		
Other (specify):		
Other (specify):		

Other (specify):		
Other (specify):		

Institutions in the village (or distance):

Institutions	Specify	Office in the village	Works in the village	Out of village (distance Km)
Governments offices				
NGOs				
Trade union				
Political party				
Farmer organisation				
Other				
Other				
Other				
Other				

Traditional / elected authority:

Authority	Live in the village	Out of the village (distance Km)
Traditional (chief)		
Elected		

Major / minor crops / animals:

Crops		Animals	
Major	Minor	Major	Minor
1.	1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.	3.
4.	4.	4.	4.

Major / minor activities:

Major	Minor
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

Major land tenure:

tenure	Percentage (approx.)
Government (specify)	
Parastatal (specify);	
Communal	
Private	

Socio-economic impact of tourism			
	Families	Individuals	Rand per Tourist/services or meal (or other to specify)
Privately owned:			
Renting accommodations (Hut or similar):			
Camp sites owners:			
Keeping camps:			
Catering staff (B – L – S):			B L S
Catering food (B – L – S):			B L S
Security:			
Horse owners:			
Horse guides:			
Trail guides:			
Boat:			
Ferryman:			
Working in tourism in the closest town:			
Other:			
Other:			
Other:			
Comments:			
The role/involvement of the traditional leader (chief):			
The role/involvement of elected authority:			
Community Owned:			
Renting accommodations (Hut or similar):			
Camp sites managers:			
Keeping camps:			
Catering staff (B – L – S):			B L S
Catering food (B – L – S):			B L S
Security:			
Horse owners:			
Horse guides:			
Horse care:			
Trail guides:			
Boat:			
Ferryman:			
Working in tourism in the closest town:			
Other:			
Other:			
Other:			

Comments:

The role/involvement of the traditional leader (chief):

The role/involvement of elected authority:

	Families	Individuals	Rand per Tourist/services or meal (or other to specify)		
Amadiba / AmaMpondo Trail:					
Renting accommodations (Hut OR similar):					
Camp sites managers:					
Keeping camps:					
Catering staff (B – L – S):			B	L	S
Catering food (B – L – S):			B	L	S
Security:					
Horse owners:					
Horse guides:					
Horse care:					
Horse care:					
Trail guides:					
Boat:					
Ferryman:					
Working in tourism in the closest town:					
Other:					
Other:					
Other:					

Comments:

The role/involvement of the traditional leader (chief):

The role/involvement of elected authority:

Other:

Topic	Comments
Communal farming:	
Communal animals:	
Communal activities:	
Village funding sources:	
Village on going projects (other than tourism):	
Other:	
Other:	
Other:	

Personal questionnaires

Survey on the attitudes of local people relating the impact and development of tourism.

Please complete the following form. Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated and will inevitably contribute to the better understanding of the characteristics and preferences of local people relating to their involvement in tourism activities. This will help to possibly develop better, the tourism supply by and with the local community and ultimately to improve both the tourism product and the well-being of the local community.

Please write in CAPITAL letter
Thank you very much.

Sincerely
Andrea Giampiccoli

Date: / /

Village:

Age:

Status:

Single	Married	Head	Other	Relation to Head HH

Gender:

Female	Male

Household members profile:

Member N	Relation to HH	Place of birth	A g e	S e x	Education	Main occupation (where)	Secondary occupation (where)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							

Household income / expenditures:

	Type	Job types	Quantity	Value	Member HH	Regular	Irregular	Comments
Incomes	Wages							
	Pensions							
	Remittances							
Labour migration								
Crop sale								
Animals sale								
	Child gov.							
	Other							
	Type	Value	Time	Periodicity				
Expenditures	Food							
	Education							
	Health							
	Transport							
	Energy							
	Wedding / funeral							
	House							
	Loans							
	Investments							
	Other							
	Other							

Household income / expenditures 10 years ago:

	Type	Comments	Quantity	Value	Member HH	Regular	Irregular	Comments
Incomes	Wages							
	Pensions							
	Remittances							
Labour migration								
Crop sale								
Animals sale								
	Child gov.							
	Other							
	Type	Value	Time	Periodicity				
Expenditures	Food							
	Education							
	Health							
	Transport							
	Energy							
	Wedding / funeral							
	House							
	Loans							
	Investments							
	Other							
	Other							

Household farming/animal patterns:

	Size / number	Present	Past 10 years	How Obtained	Tenure situation	Main crops / animals (in order of importance)	Value	Present	Past 10 years
Land									
Animals									

a – (1) food crop – (2) cash crop – (3) grazing – (4) fallow – (5) Not used – (6) given out – (7) other (specify)

b – (1) inherited – (2) permission asked – (3) purchased – (4) gift – (5) Lobola – (6) newly occupied – (7) rented – (8) Other (specify)

Does your household have no cash income (ex. hunting)

No – cash income /

expenditures:.....

Household work History:

Member HH	Locality	Activity/ies	Period (from earliest to latest)	Wage/month	How often in the past 10 years
		- - - -			
		- - - -			
		- - - -			
		- - - -			
		- - - -			
		- - - -			
		- - - -			

Do you think your life changed positively or negatively during the last 10 years?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Do you think the life in your household and village changed positively or negatively during the last 10 years?

Household.....
.....
.....
.....

Village.....
.....
.....
.....

Are you member of any local committee / NGOs / government organisations / political party / etc? What is your role?

Organisations	Comments
Local committee	
NGOs	
Government org.	
Other	

Explain your historical involvement in those organisations?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Are you happy about the organization? What would you like to change?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Household

Where, when and how did you start your own household?.....
.....

What were your main economic activities in that place?.....

.....
Why did you leave that place?.....
.....

Place of residence of absent brothers/children
Father's
occupation:.....
Seasonal labour migration in the
past:.....

Farm / Land

Do you own land? Yes / No
Do you farm your land? Yes / No
Do you also farm land that you do not own? Yes / No
Under what arrangement do you use this land?
.....
.....

Do you farm all the land in your own? Yes / No
What do you do with the land you own and do not farm?
.....
.....
.....

Tourism focus

1 – (If not working in tourism) Would you like to work in tourism?:
YES (go 9) NO
Why?:
.....
.....

2 - Since when did you work in tourism?:
3 - How did you come in contact/start to work in tourism?:

4 - Since when you work for this tourism job?:
.....
5 - Do you like your job?: YES NO
Why?:
.....
.....

6 - How much do you earn per month?:
7 - Are you happy about the money?: YES NO
Why?:
.....
.....

8 - And compared with before?:

9 - Did you follow, or are you following, some training/education course in tourism to improve your skill/education in tourism?:

YES NO

Which and when.....

.....

10 - Would you like to follow other training/teaching course to improve your skill/education in tourism?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

.....

11 - Can you pay for it?: YES NO

12 - If you have a scholarship/studentship or similar what are you willing to study for:

- University degree
- College degree
- Technikon degree
- Other:

13 - Do you like to manage the tourism sector as a community activity?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

.....

14 - Would you like to increase the tourism activity with the help of the community?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

.....

15 - Would you like to have your own tourism activity?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

.....

16 - Are you planning to start it?: YES NO

17 - What kind of activity/ies do you like to have (and price per tourist)?:

-price.....
-price.....
-price.....

18 - Would you like to work in a big hotel/restaurant or other tourism activity?:

- Hotel YES NO
- Restaurant YES NO
- Other.....

Why?:

.....

.....

19 - Do you like to have common natural resources (land) to manage for tourism activity?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

20 - Would you like to use this resources for you own tourism activity?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

21 - Would you like the privatisation of common natural resources (land)?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

22 - Do you agree with the building of big tourism hotels/resorts in Pondoland?:

YES NO

Why?:

.....

23 – Please explain the changes you have noticed in your tourism job since you started it?

.....

.....(overall + / -)

Tourism labour division in household:

Work (approx. time spent per day)	Male	Female	Children (0 – 16 years)	Income (cash or other)	Comments

24. Do you prefer to work for your own village Community-based tourism project or for Amadiba Trail? And Why?

.....

25 - Are you in favour of the proposed road N2 Wild Coast Toll Road Project extended over a total distance of approximately 550 km from the Gonubie Interchange, near East London (Eastern Cape) to the Isipingo Interchange south of Durban (KwaZulu-Natal)?: YES

NO

Why?:

.....

26 - Are you in favour of the proposed Pondoland National Park and the Pondoland Marine Protected Area? YES NO

Why?:

.....

27 – Other than your tourism job what do you think happened in your life that made you feel better or worse and when and why?:

.....

27 Where do you see yourself in 10 years time?:

.....

28 – Tourism income in household?

Activity	Income per months (approx.)	Comments
Tourism		
Other (as a whole)		

29 - Where do you buy (or own production) the food / other items needed for tourism?

.....

30. Did anyone from any institutions/organisations/agency come to visit you asking questions comments on the tourism project? If Yes what did they asked?

.....

Family network

- 1) Do you have relatives in the village? Yes / No
 - a) Do you help each other with farm- and/or other work?..... Yes / No
 - b) Do you give or receive food to/from these relatives? Yes / No
 - c) Do you give or receive cash to/from these relatives..... Yes / No
 - d) Have these forms of mutual aid increased, decreased or stayed the same over time?
- 2) Do you have relatives outside the village (but in UWR)? Yes / No
 - a) Do you help each other with farm- and/or other work? Yes / No
 - b) Do you give or receive food to/from these relatives? Yes / No
 - c) Do you give or receive cash to/from these relatives..... Yes / No
 - d) Have these forms of mutual aid increased, decreased or stayed the same over time?
- 3) Do you have relatives outside Eastern Cape? Yes / No
 - a) Do you help each other with farm- and/or other work?..... Yes / No
 - b) Do you give or receive food to/from these relatives? Yes / No
 - c) Do you give or receive cash to/from these relatives..... Yes / No
 - d) Have these forms of mutual aid increased, decreased or stayed the same over time?
- 4) Do you have relatives who live outside South Africa? Yes / No
 - a) Do you receive help from them (money, consumer goods, *explain trend*)?

Do you feel that you should own the AmaMpondo Trails? Yes / No
 And the CBT at village level? Yes / No

Do you consider yourself a Part Time / Full Time employee by the AmaMpondo Trails?

Thank you very much.
 Andrea Giampiccoli

Email questionnaires

- 1) What were/are the reason to establish the Wild Coast SDI? And why tourism was chosen as a main sector to be developed?
- 2) When did your institution start to be involved in the project and with what role?
- 3) Which was the model/example to be followed to establish the community-based tourism initiatives along Pondoland? Do you think the model/example has been followed?
- 4) How can you judge the relationship of your institution with the other actors involved?
 - a) With European Union.
 - b) With South Africa Government.
 - c) With Eastern Cape Tourism Board.
 - d) With local communities.
 - e) With NGOs (Pondocrop in particular).
- 5) What do you think are the more relevant problem/s that the project encounters along its development? Why?
- 6) What do you think are the strong and weak point/s of the project? Why?
- 7) Please express your opinion (and why?) about the E.U. decision to not renew the contract with the three NGOs?
- 8) What should be the role of the new two consultancies contracted by the European Union for the continuing of the project? And how long do you think the project will last?
- 9) How do you evaluate the outcome of the project up to now?
- 10) Please express an opinion about the meaning/concept of community-based tourism in general?
- 11) What should be the role of the different actors in establishing community-based tourism?
 - a) Public sector?
 - b) Private sector?
 - c) Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)?
- 12) Local Community?

Informed consent

This research will help to contribute to the better understand the impact of globalisation on local community-based tourism projects. In addition it will serve to better comprehend the characteristics and preferences of local people relating their involvement in tourism activities. This will help to possibly develop better the tourism supply by and with the local community and, ultimately, to improve both the tourism products and the well being of the local community.

The researcher (Mr. Andrea Giampiccoli) is a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and his supervisor (Dr. Shirley Brooks) is a lecturer at the same institution. Both are within the Department of Geography at the School of Life & Environmental Sciences.

The participation in the questionnaires is voluntary that is the individual has the right not to participate or to withdraw her/his participation at any time without occurring any form of penalty or consequence.

The questionnaires/interviews will not show the name of individuals, a code system will be utilised.

Participants in the research will not receive any form of compensation for volunteering in the research.

Contact Addresses:

Dr. Shirley Brooks
School of Life & Environmental Sciences
Memorial Tower Building
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban 4041

Mr. Andrea Giampiccoli
School of Life & Environmental Sciences
Memorial Tower Building
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban 4041
E-mail: andrea70g@yahoo.com