COP 17/CMP 7 RESPONSIBLE ACCOMMODATION CAMPAIGN

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Environmental governmentality in eThekwini municipality: A case study of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign

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As the candidate's supervisor I have/have not approved this short dissertation for submission.

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Development Studies, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal,

Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was/was not used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

Along with increasing awareness of the realities of environmental degradation and climate change, governments around the world are now implementing strategies aimed at mitigating and adapting to these changes. While a significant effort is being made to negotiate environmental and climate politics at the international level, the importance of local environmental and climate governance has received more attention recently, as it is acknowledged that both the causes and the impacts of climate change and environmental degradation inevitably originate and happen locally. This dissertation aims to contribute to the research on climate change mitigation and adaptation in the African context through the analysis of local environmental and climate governance and governmentality in eThekwini municipality in South Africa. The aim of the study was to explore environmental governmentality in eThekwini municipality, by reflecting on the processes and outcomes of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, a part of the Greening COP17/CMP7 programme in Durban in 2011. Within this there were five main objectives: 1) to describe the current state of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini municipality, 2) to identify and explore the factors driving the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, 3) to describe and evaluate the outcomes of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, 4) to reflect on the opportunities and challenges of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, and 5) to reflect on how the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign reveals the form of governmentality present in eThekwini municipality. The research consisted of three parts; observation of the planning processes of the Campaign, qualitative interviews with key stakeholders in the Campaign, and a questionnaire for a sample of the participants of the Campaign. Through an analysis based on the Focaultian governmentality theory, and Bulkeley and Kern's (2006) local climate governing framework, the study shows that Durban's environmental governance is mainly in the form of self-governing and governing through enabling, motivated by the 'rationalities' of greening the economy and creating a green event destination brand for the city. While these policies are welcomed by a portion of the private sector, this study has found that a broader aspect of governing modes and 'technologies' of rule is needed if the policies are to affect the broader population, in this case the hospitality sector. This requires the city government to continue to take responsibility as a leader of environmental and climate governance, and move towards a mode of governing that also involves the provision of incentives and services that enable more responsible business and individual practices in the city. The findings of this study provide useful insights into the needs of the hospitality sector specifically, as well as the form of governmentality in the city in general, that can inform future climate policy making in Durban.

PREFACE

The work described in this dissertation was carried out in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, from January 2012 to August 2012, under the supervision of Catherine Sutherland.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any tertiary institution. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

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Signature

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

CCP	Cities for Climate Protection
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CMP7	The seventh Conference of the Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties
COP17	The seventeenth Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DEDT	Department of Economic Development and Tourism
D'MOSS	Durban Metropolitan Open Space System
EPCPD	Environmental Planning and Climate Protection Department
FEDHASA	Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse gas
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
NDT	National Department of Tourism
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMSRT	National Minimum Standards for Responsible Tourism
TKZN	Tourism KwaZulu-Natal
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

In the context of increasing awareness about environmental problems as well as evidence of more visible effects of climate change globally, a growing number of governments around the world are now implementing strategies of greening and environmental management. Correlating with the financial crisis of 2008, this change has led to a new stream of economic planning aimed at building more sustainable and 'green' economies in an increasingly vulnerable environment (IIED, 2009). While there is a large role for governments to act in this space and make sure their own procurement and initiatives follow an environmentally responsible path, a vital part of their strategies will involve encouraging more sustainable practices among individuals as well as businesses. Much is being done internationally in this area, such as by the UN, the OECD and the G20 group, but the problem is both global and local in nature. Both greenhouse gas emissions that affect the climate, as well as the direct effects of climate change, will inevitably occur locally, which makes local governments important players in this field (Aall *et al,* 2007).

Local climate governance is a relatively new field within research, and although some informative research has been done in this field, the focus has mainly been on countries in the Northern hemisphere (see Alber and Kern, 2008; Bulkeley and Kern, 2006; and Aall, *et al,* 2007). There are some notable exceptions such as the publication by ASSAf, *Towards a Low Carbon City* (2011)*,* and Scott *et al* (forthcoming). However, an increasing part of the world's greenhouse gas emissions are projected to come from the developing world, and the impacts of climate change are likely to disproportionately affect the countries in the South. There is therefore a need to develop further research on environmental governance in this part of the world, to better understand which strategies are feasible for governments to pursue in creating more carbon-neutral or environmentally sustainable citizens and industries.

There are examples around the world of local governments that are pioneers in this field, such as Leicester and Southampton in the United Kingdom and Munich and Frankfurt am Main in Germany (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006). In Africa, Durban has positioned itself as a leader within the field of greening, through their Municipal Climate Protection programme (Roberts, 2008). Within this there are a range of biodiversity protection projects, as well as several event driven programmes such as Greening Durban 2010, and the Greening COP17/CMP7 programme in 2011. An important part of this latter programme is the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign (hereafter referred to as the Campaign), which aims to encourage environmentally responsible practices within the accommodation industry, in line with the National Minimum Standards of Responsible Tourism. This all plays out in relation to the response of provincial government which maintains a focus on creating a green economy, where green tourism is a central subject. The Campaign consisted of a range of tools provided to its participants: Responsible Accommodation Forums, a toolkit, a Screening Checklist and a Visitor Charter. This dissertation aims to contribute to the knowledge around local climate governance in an African context, through the lens of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign.

The aim of this study is to explore environmental governmentality in eThekwini municipality, by reflecting on the processes and outcomes of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign.

Within this there are five main objectives:

1. To describe the current state of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini municipality

2. To identify and explore the factors driving the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign.

3. To describe and evaluate the outcomes of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign.

4. To reflect on the opportunities and challenges of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign.

5. To reflect on how the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign reveals the form of governmentality present in eThekwini municipality.

The study will use the theoretical frameworks of local climate governance and governmentality to analyse the processes and outcomes of the Campaign. Governmentality is, according to Lövbrand *et*

al (2009) determined by two main sets of factors: the 'rationalities of government', and the 'technologies of rule'. The former are the factors and principles informing government action, which thereby determines who or what should be governed. The latter refers to the practices, programmes, strategies as well as the language used by government to carry out these rationalities (Lövbrand *et al,* 2009). Understanding the rationalities of government contributes to a better understanding of what lies behind governmental policies and programmes.

One of the drivers behind the Campaign, which is one of the 'rationalities of government', is the concept of the 'green economy', which has become widespread across the world, but also more specifically within South Africa. The green economy is an economy that shifts towards minimal carbon emissions and other waste, and limits its use of energy and natural resources, while at the same time produces a profit (IIED, 2009). In KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) the biggest driver for a green economy has been the provincial Department of Economic Development and Tourism (KZN DEDT), which has initiated a three year project on unlocking the green economy in KZN (Scott *et al,* 2010). Within the green economy literature, and often particularly relevant for countries in the South, the concept of 'green tourism', which applies to the Campaign and the broader Greening COP17/CMP7 programme in general is highlighted. On a more specific level, the idea of 'event greening' has become a growing focus in the municipality's greening policies, and will thus also be considered as one of the rationalities of government which is particularly relevant to the Campaign.

The technologies of rule can be defined within the framework of local climate governance, which describes four main modes of governance. The first is self-governing, which is the capacity of local government to govern its own activities. The second is governing through enabling; which refers to "the role of local government in coordinating and facilitating partnerships with private actors and encouraging community engagement" (ASSAf, 2011, p. 140). Third is governing by provision, which involves the delivery of particular services and resources. Finally there is governing by authority, which is the direct use of regulations and sanctions. The Campaign can be defined as a method of governing through enabling, as there were no regulations as to whether the accommodation sector participated, it was merely being provided with the necessary knowledge and tools to improve environmental behaviour within the sector.

This study has been an action research project, as the researcher has been an active observer of the process of creating and implementing the Campaign. O'Brien (1998) describes action research as 'learning by doing' and describes the five phases of action research as follows; identification of the problem, data collection to inform problem solving, planning, implementation and evaluation. The researcher's direct involvement in the project provided an advantage in terms of following the

process as it evolved as an 'insider', while at the same time it is acknowledged that inevitably, it has brought an aspect of subjectivity into the research.

The research methodology for this study consisted of three main elements. The first was the observation of the process, in the form of sitting in on meetings regarding planning and implementation of the Campaign, as well as participation in the two Responsible Accommodation Forums arranged as part of the Campaign. The second part consisted of key stakeholder interviews, to reveal information about the processes behind the campaign from the concept development, through to implementation. Key stakeholders included a representative of the Environmental Planning and Climate Protection Department (EPCPD), consultants from Futureworks, the operational manager of the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa (FEDHASA), the research manager at Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN), as well as representatives from the three green certification bodies involved in the process. These interviews were semi-structured, to allow for input from the respondents while at the same time ensuring that the necessary information was provided. The third element of the study was the evaluation of the Campaign. Here a mixed methodology was applied, by conducting a questionnaire consisting of standardized questions with limited response options, followed by a number of open-ended questions to allow for clarification and further understanding of the issues raised. The purpose of this was to be able to collect quantifiable data to be used in evaluating the success of the Campaign, while at the same time keeping opportunities open for further clarifications, opinions and suggestions on behalf of the respondents. The respondents were randomly selected from a list of all the participants of the Campaign, which was provided by the EPCPD.

This dissertation is structured as follows: The second chapter provides a literature review covering the broader context of the green economy and the concept of green tourism, as well as the role of green certification standards within this. It also provides a description of the theoretical framework of environmental governance and the four modes of climate governance, as well as the concept of governmentality and what it means for the analysis in this research. Chapter Three outlines the background for the case study by explaining the current state of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini municipality, while Chapter Four outlines the research methodology that was used in the study. Chapter Five consists of four sections that analyse the Campaign in detail, from the factors driving it and its outcomes in terms of its effects on the participants, to opportunities and challenges identified through the Campaign. Finally the way in which the Campaign reveals the form of environmental and climate governmentality evident in Durban is

presented. Chapter Six provides concluding remarks about the findings, and discusses opportunities for the city in terms of learning from this Campaign when designing future climate policy.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by describing the recent emergence of a green economy discourse, and positions tourism and accommodation within this framework. This includes a discussion of related definitions and concepts, to highlight how various definitions often are inter-linked and used interchangeably, and how these are applied in this dissertation. The implementation of the concept of green tourism is then considered in more detail through describing the emergence of eco-labelling, or green certification standards, and how these are used as a tool of environmental governance within the tourism sector. This is then followed by an outline of the framework of local environmental and climate governance, and the four modes of climate governance outlined by Bulkeley and Kern (2006).These are then considered within the Focauldian governmentality theory which defines policy intentions and implementation as 'rationalities of government' and 'technologies of rule' (Lövbrand *et al,*2009). These theoretical frameworks provide a useful background for the analysis of the current state of climate governmentality in Durban, as well as for creating an understanding of the driving factors behind, and the outcomes of the Campaign.

2.2 Sustainable development and the environment

In the context of increasing awareness about environmental problems around the world, as well as more and more visible effects of climate change globally, a growing number of governments are now implementing strategies of greening and environmental management. Correlating with the financial crisis of 2008 this change has led to a new stream of policies aiming to build more sustainable and green economies in an increasingly vulnerable environment (IIED, 2009). One of the earliest drivers behind this thinking was the Brundtland report *Our Common Future* (1987), which established the concept of sustainability in the field of development. This coincided with a growing awareness of the

limitations of the natural system and the fact that human consumption was exceeding the capacity of the natural environment. Since then other influential works such as *Blueprint for a Green Economy* (Pierce *et al*, 1989), Brian Milani's *Designing the Green Economy* (2000) and the *Stern Review of the Economics of Climate Change* (2006) have been published, which have contributed more directly to developing the concept of a green economy.

Pierce *et al* (1989) considered the economic underpinnings of the Brundtland report, and found that economics and the environment are closely interrelated, and therefore environmental concerns need to be considered in economic policy at all levels. Sustainable development thus has "implications for the way in which we record economic progress" (Pearce *et al*, 1989, p. xv). Milani (2000) takes this notion one step further and argues that growth and development are based on two completely different concepts of wealth, and that "our survival depends on a fundamental transition of the means and ends of economic life to prioritize social and environmental need" (Milani, 2000, p. 4). This involves acknowledging the economic value of the environment, and realising that conserving natural resources is a vital component in securing the continued wealth of future generations. More recently the focus within the environmental sustainability discourse has moved towards the issue of climate change, to the extent that one rarely discusses sustainability without referring to climate change. The *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* (2006) links climate change policy to the economy, and demonstrates that the costs of the dangers posed by climate change by far exceed the costs of addressing the issue through well-designed policies and adapting our economies. As the issue of climate change started to receive more and more attention within environmental discourse, the concepts of climate and environment are now often used to describe the same issues, both by policy makers and academics. Although the 'environment' is a more encompassing concept than 'climate', the two concepts are now more often than not used to describe the same ideas, policies and strategies.

2.3 The Green Economy

The notion of a green economy builds upon the previous discourses of sustainable development and ecological modernisation, and can, to a large extent, be seen as the same ideas presented under a new heading. Ecological modernisation is "a theoretical approach to explain the relationship between society and the environment" and is based on the assumption that growth can continue sustainably if the environment is properly managed (Scott *et al,* forthcoming, p. 6). Managing the environment requires technological and innovative solutions to reduce energy usage and produce less waste through the growth of 'green industries' and the development of a green economy. The idea behind these green industries is that improved technological solutions will reduce the impact

that various industries have on the environment, and thus allow them to continue their growth. Although the ecological modernisation idea has been criticised as a way of maintaining business-as-usual and posing as a distraction from the more structural problems in the economy, this has become a frequent approach to issues of environmental degradation and climate change among governments globally (Leck, 2011, in Scott *et al,* forthcoming). The idea of a green economy has over the last two years grown from a concern residing with environmental economists and activists, to become an integrated part of policy discourses across governments, alongside expressions such as green energy, green industries and green jobs. Throughout the literature one can find a range of definitions of what constitutes a green economy, which can be roughly divided into two strands; the narrow and the broader definitions. The narrow definitions focus solely on the environmental impacts in terms of natural resources and biodiversity. The more commonly used definitions, especially in the context of the developing world, are those that also involve an element of social justice, such as the definition used by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). UNEP defines a green economy as "one that results in improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities… In its simplest expression, a green economy is low-carbon, resource efficient, and socially inclusive" (UNEP, 2011, p. 16). A green economy is focused on resilience rather than growth, thereby focusing on adapting the economy to the limitations of the environment and its scarce resources (UNEP, 2011). This reflects a change away from what Milani (2000) terms 'quantitative growth', focused on growing consumption largely based on the use of fossil fuels, towards prioritising social and environmental needs. This does not mean, however, that a green economy is "a drag on growth" (UNEP 2011, p. 16). Rather, the green economy should be embraced as a new engine for growth, with potential for job creation and new economic opportunities. UNEP's latest report *Towards a Green Economy* (2011) states that "the key aim for a transition to a green economy is to enable economic growth and investment while increasing environmental quality and social inclusiveness" (UNEP, 2011, p. 16). The green economy is therefore not a new sector within the economy; rather it is a transformation of the economy as a whole. Every part of the existing economy should ideally undergo a greening process, with every procurement, new investment and policy being implemented in the way most beneficial to the environment and in ways that contribute to reducing inequality. The principles of a green economy are very relevant to the tourism industry, which is the focus of this study.

2.4 Green Tourism

One of the concepts that are well aligned with the green economy discourse is that of green tourism. Greening tourism can potentially have significant positive effects on overall climate mitigation and adaptation efforts, while also having beneficial impacts on job creation, generating economic activity

in otherwise underutilized areas. The opportunities for positively impacting on socio-economic development lies largely in the fact that the industry is labour intensive and tends to employ more women and young people than many other sectors. While tourism constitutes five per cent of global GDP, it represents about eight per cent of total employment, indicating that investment in tourism provides huge job creation potential (UNEP, 2011). The size and broad impact of the industry means that greening efforts, small or large-scale, can have important impacts globally, both socially and in terms of protecting the climate. An average global tourism journey is estimated to generate 0.25 tonnes of CO_2, and it was estimated in 2008 that there were around four billion domestic and 922 million international arrivals every year (UNEP, 2011). Each tourist consumes on average 300 litres of freshwater per day, and produces about 1 kg of waste. There are also other, often less quantifiable, challenges associated with tourism, such as the loss of biodiversity and destruction of cultural heritage (UNEP, 2011). By reducing emissions and consumption per tourist, significant differences in the total impact of the tourism sector as a whole can be made. This potential for greening the tourism industry has also been acknowledged in South Africa. A project initiated by the KZN DEDT identified tourism as one of the key sectors in the Department's strategy for greening the provincial economy. The sector was identified as one where 'low hanging fruits' in greening initiatives can be found, i.e. where there are potential projects and efforts to be made that have low implementation costs and are likely to yield quick returns (Scott *et al,* 2010). The Campaign that is the focus of this dissertation was initiated partly as a response to the provincial recommendations following this project.

As demonstrated above, the greening of the tourism industry can constitute a noteworthy contribution to reducing the total impact that the economy has on the environment, and on climate. A significant proportion of the efforts that can be made to green the industry are also low cost or even cost-saving, which makes them more attractive to consumers, and easier to implement especially in developing countries. This is particularly so when it comes to consumption of water, electricity and other waste generating activities. When discussing a greener tourism industry it is therefore often emphasised both that the changes have a positive impact on the environment, and that the changes can have a positive impact financially on the business itself. In South Africa the green economy was placed on the agenda, possibly motivated by the hosting of large international events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the COP17. The country's tourism industry is one of the larger contributors to the economy as a whole, representing 10.9 per cent of total GDP and 11.8 per cent of total employment (UNEP, 2011, p. 424). Before going into more detail around the development of green tourism policy, it is useful to explore in detail what the concept really entails.

The attempt to define green tourism raises the question of where this concept belongs among the many other similar terms that have developed since the link was drawn between tourism and its impact on the social and natural environment several decades ago. The choice of the word green is of a more recent origin, and has been used more frequently in connection to the green economy discourse that emerged after the financial crisis in 2008. UNEP (2011, p. 420) defines green tourism as "tourism activities that can be maintained, or sustained, indefinitely in their social, economic, cultural and environmental contexts". However, the themes that are associated with the concept can also be found within other definitions such as those of 'responsible tourism', 'ecotourism' and 'sustainable tourism'. These terms are often used interchangeably, and the differences between them may be difficult to outline as the definitions often overlap. Frey and George (2008, p. 109) summarise the definitions for the above-mentioned terms in the following ways:

> Responsible tourism: Responsible tourism is about providing better holiday experiences for guests and good business opportunities to enjoy better quality of life through increased socio-economic benefits and improved natural resource management.

> Ecotourism: Travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas.

> Sustainable tourism: Sustainable tourism means achieving a particular combination of numbers and types of visitors, the cumulative effect of whose activities at a given destination, together with the actions of the servicing businesses, can continue into the foreseeable future without damaging the quality of the environment on which the activities are based.

When considering these three definitions what immediately stands out is that the term ecotourism is more applicable to rural tourism, and is therefore a narrower concept than that of green tourism. It is also more specifically focused on the environment, and does not take into account the socio-economic and social equity aspects of the impact of tourism. The other two definitions are however, more closely interlinked, and both contain and reflect elements in the green economy definition that is used by UNEP. While responsible tourism focuses on providing benefits both in terms of management of natural resources as well as for socio-economic development, the sustainable development definition also highlights the importance of sustainability across generations. Although the focus on achieving a "particular combination of numbers and types of visitors", in sustainable

development is not an implicit aim in green tourism, the concept encompasses both responsible tourism as well as aspects of the sustainable tourism concept, and it becomes clear that the three definitions to an extent overlap.

2.5 Green certification

The practice of green, sustainable and responsible tourism is considered to have several benefits. On the one hand the application of these concepts to the tourism industry can have positive impacts on the social and natural environment the industry finds itself in, in terms of reduced carbon emissions, more sustainable use of natural resources, more equitable distribution of the yields from the industry, economic development, employment creation, and so on (UNEP, 2011). On the other hand, this approach to tourism can be beneficial for the tourism businesses themselves. Firstly, many of the strategies that lead to reduced carbon emissions also save the business money, among other things by reducing the amount spent on water and electricity. Secondly, international tourists are becoming more conscious about the impact of their travels, and are therefore becoming more demanding in terms of requiring service providers to deliver responsible tourism solutions (UNEP, 2011). The implementation of more environmentally and socially sustainable practices can therefore provide a competitive advantage in the tourism market, by attracting environmentally conscious tourists. This has led to the emergence of certification processes, which produce so-called ecolabels, or environmental certification standards, that serve to standardise and institutionalise the practice of green tourism. While the certification process inform *businesses* about methods of improving their adherence to certain principles of good environmental behaviour, and reduce their negative impacts on the natural environment, the purpose of the ecolabel, or environmental certification standard, is to inform the *consumer* that the company has been through the certification process.

The concept of certification first emerged in manufacturing, and has since been adapted to the tourism industry "as a more formalised method to focus on environmental efficiency" and to perform the "dual task of improving industry performance and influencing markets" (Font, 2004, p. 198 and p. 986). Font (2002) outlines the history of ecolabels and mentions, among other events, the UNEP report *Ecolabels in the tourism industry* (1998), which supported ecolabels as a method of self-regulation for the industry. This has since been widely debated, with some of the major criticisms of the system claiming that it is merely a "public relations exercise" (Frey and George, 2008, p. 112) or even "a hangover from the past" (Spenceley, 2008, p. 12). While some claim that marketing a tourism business as responsible, green or sustainable is too easy, and that operators and accommodation establishments can do this without necessarily making a difference in the way they operate, others find that this is a useful way to promote the facilities that are making an effort to

operate in a way that adheres to the principles of responsible tourism. In their study from a national park in Turkey in 2009, Erdogan and Tosun found that:

> "very few tourism accommodations have knowledge, motivation and activity to set clear and measurable goals and action plans in order to set the tone for improvement in energy and resource management, waste recycling programs, proper environmental design, motivate staff to carry out the mission to further EP [environmental performance]" (2009, p. 413).

Erdogan and Tosun (2009) considers ecolabels, and the ecolabel accreditation schemes a useful way to address this, in that they provide information and communication opportunities for the facilities, and create awareness around the topic. In other words, the ecolabel, or the certification standard, is useful not only because it informs the consumer, but also because it encourages the facility to engage in the certification process. In several countries certification standards are now government sponsored, in an attempt to encourage all facilities to engage in the certification process. However, as the process of getting certified is often time-consuming and expensive this might not be a feasible option for the tourism industry as a whole. Erdogan and Tosun (2009) highlight the risk that the financial barriers to entering a certification programme might exclude small scale tourism enterprises from this segment of the market, and discourage them from engaging in environmental protection programmes in the first place. Many tourism businesses are small, and might be forced out of business if they cannot manage the costs of certification. Frey and George (2008, p. 115) therefore conclude that "it is far more effective if the industry is left to self-regulate". Until the certification process is better adapted to smaller facilities with a smaller budget, it is therefore generally not considered ideal to formally require certification in the tourism industry.

The debate around whether certification is a useful tool to create a more sustainable and responsible tourism industry is on-going, and as has been pointed out by Font (2002), every sub-sector of the industry is different, and would therefore possibly require several more context-specific standards, not only according to the size of the business, but in terms of how they operate. For example, a hotel would likely require a different set of principles to a tour operator. However, the potential benefits for the environment of transforming the tourism industry towards greener practice are significant, particularly for developing countries due to the importance of the sector to the overall economy. A review of the significance of tourism to poor countries done by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2002 revealed that "tourism was a principal export for 83 per cent of developing countries" (Spenceley, 2008, p. 6). Considering the prospects for economic development

in the tourism industry, alongside the need for every country to contribute to the global agenda of climate adaptation and mitigation, there is considerable potential in developing a greener tourism industry.

2.6 Environmental Governance

Green certification is not only a response to market forces; more often than not it is partly or wholly sponsored by governments, who seek to influence the industry (Font, 2002). Certification schemes are often seen by governments as ways of creating awareness around climate and environmental issues, as well as a method to motivate businesses to make a change towards more sustainable practices. In this sense it can be considered a strategy of environmental and climate governance.

Lemos and Agrawal (2006, p. 298) define environmental governance as "the set of regulatory processes, mechanisms and organizations through which political actors influence environmental actions and outcomes". Although certification in the tourism industry usually is a voluntary process it provides a set of standards, or regulations, which must be fulfilled in order for a company to receive their green certificate. These are carefully designed to alter the impact of the certified company's operations, in a direction to which their impact on the environment is reduced, or turned in a positive direction. What is also important to take notice of in the definition above is the use of the word 'governance', which implies that decisions are not only taken by the government, but in a network of actors including private industry, non-governmental organisations and civil society (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). The governance, as opposed to government, discourse emphasises power dynamics that are based on networks and partnerships in the place of traditional hierarchical forms of government. This shift can be seen in climate governance from the global to the local level. At the global level, climate governance is most commonly associated with the on-going negotiations facilitated through the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The main actors here are the 195 signatory states who are negotiating what they can do together to "limit average global temperature increases and the resulting climate change"[1]. However, while the main negotiations are being carried out by representatives for the various nation states, civil society also has a designated role in the conferences and is represented through non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The importance of including non-governmental actors in environmental governance has become increasingly accepted, and a variety of actors are usually included in policy discourses on global, national and local levels of governance. In South Africa a variety of stakeholders have been invited to participate in development of policy around the green economy;

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[1]Accessed from unfccc.int, 16.05.2012

both at the provincial and the local level. The Campaign that is the focus of this study is a good example of how government processes now often include non-governmental actors.

2.7 Local Environmental Governance

While the global UNFCCC negotiations attempt to provide a global solution to the problem of climate change, the significance of action at the local level has become increasingly clear. As emissions inevitably happen at the local level, caused by individuals or local industries, there has been an increased interest for the role local governments can play in climate protection strategies (see Jackson and Roberts, 1997; Bulkeley and Kern, 2006; Aall *et al,* 2007; Alber and Kern, 2008). This interest has also been given institutional form through the establishment of international networks of local municipalities on climate action, such as the Climate Alliance, the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP), and the International Cities for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI). Bulkeley and Kern (2006) analyse the local governance of climate change in case studies in Germany and the UK, through a framework of four different 'modes of governing'. They argue that "the recognition of multiple modes of governing enhances our understanding of the ways in which climate change is being governed locally and the fundamental challenges encountered" (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006, p. 2238). Although Bulkeley and Kern (2006) attempt to distance themselves from the governance discourse by using the term 'governing' rather than 'governance', the four modes that they base their analysis on do not exclude the newer forms of governing in which both the private sector and civil society also has a significant role to play. In this study the framework will only be applied to governance at the municipal level, in which there is room for civil society and private industry participation. Clearly the framework can be applied to other forms of network governance beyond the state; however the focus of this research is on the municipality's policy process specifically. Other authors, such as Alber and Kern (2008), ASSAf (2011) and Scott *et al* (forthcoming) have also used the modes of governing framework. The framework, along with relevant policy examples, is outlined in Table 1. The four modes of governing are discussed below.

2.7.1 Self-governing

If local authorities control their own procurement processes, the greening of municipal resources is a relatively straight-forward, yet very effective, form of climate governing, here referred to as self-governing. It requires lower administrative efforts, as the realm of action lies within the government's own buildings and assets. Such actions are often driven by the economic benefits of energy saving, but can also "increase political support for climate policy at local level" (Alber and Kern, 2008, p. 7). Examples of self-governing are reducing energy consumption in municipal buildings, such as schools or council buildings, and green procurement, i.e. making sure that at least

a certain proportion of a municipality's consumption is energy efficient. Bulkeley and Kern (2006) argue that this mode of governing has played an important role in placing climate policy on the local agenda in Germany and the UK. This might therefore be an important first step in implementing climate policies, as setting a good example can increase the public's confidence in the local authorities' commitment to the issue. However, municipalities usually only contribute to between one and five per cent of total carbon emissions, therefore further measures are required for the policies to have a significant impact (Alber and Kern, 2008).

2.7.2 Governing through enabling

Governing through enabling essentially means that the municipalities focus on creating awareness around climate issues, and educating the public on how to adapt their practices on a business, organisational and individual level, to reduce their carbon emissions. It can also mean that the local governments "facilitate cooperation between stakeholders" and establish "public-private partnerships for the provision of services and infrastructure" (Alber and Kern, 2008, p. 8). Bulkeley and Kern (2006) found that this mode is the most dominant one among British and German local governments, and that it is easier to implement from a political point of view. As this study will demonstrate, this is also an applicable argument for South Africa. This mode of governing does however require a strong sense of 'seduction' in convincing non-state actors to commit to responsible behaviour in order to conserve the environment and protect the climate, since they have no formal control over the practices of the population.

2.7.3 Governing by provision

Taking their responsibility one step further, local municipalities can not only *encourage* their populations to utilise greener solutions, but they can *provide* these services through subsidising renewable energy, public transport systems, providing collection services of recycled goods, and so on. This mode of governing can shape "how energy is produced and used" by addressing the whole range of consumers from individual households to large industry (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006, p. 2246). Governing by provision allows the local municipalities a higher degree of influence upon consumer choices, but it also places more responsibility on them in terms of choosing the right solutions to various problems. Essentially, by providing environment friendly services to the population, a government increases the likelihood that these services will be utilised instead of less environment and climate friendly alternatives. Governing by provision can also be beneficial in the sense that the government might offer services that are less profitable and therefore not being provided by private industry.

Table 1: Modes of governing and local climate change policy

Self-governance	Governing through enabling	Governing by provision	Governing by authority
Energy Energy efficiency schemes and use of CHP within municipal buildings (e.g. schools) Procurement of energy-efficient appliances Purchasing of green energy Eco-house and renewable energy demonstration projects	Campaigns for energy efficiency Advice on energy efficiency to businesses and citizens Promotion of the use of renewable energy	Clean energy service provision Energy service companies Provision of incentives or grants for energy-efficiency measures	Strategic energy planning to enhance energy conservation Ordinances of the mandatory use of renewable energy Energy efficiency requirements in zoning ordinances
Transport Mobility management for employees Green fleets	Education campaigns Green travel plans Quality partnerships with public transport providers	Public transport service provision Provision of infrastructure for alternative forms of transport Logistics centres for goods transport	Transport planning to limit car use and provide walking and cycling infrastructure Workplace levies and road-user charging
Waste Waste prevention, recycling, and reuse within the local authority Procurement of recycled goods	Campaigns for reducing, reusing and recycling waste Promotion of the use of recycled products	Waste service provision Installations for recycling, composting and reuse schemes	Regulations on methane combustion from landfill sites
Urban planning and land use High energy-efficiency standards and use of CHP in new public buildings Demonstration projects – house or neighbourhood scale	Guidance for architects and developers on energy efficiency and renewables		Strategic land use planning to enhance energy efficiency and the utilisations of renewables Planning of sites for renewable installations Strategic land-use planning to enhance public transport

Source: Adapted from Alber and Kern (2008, p. 6)

2.7.4 Governing by authority

Governing by authority, through planning and regulations, seems to be the most difficult for local authorities to implement, as it can compromise their political support (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006). Although local governments often have the legal power to govern by authority, they are not necessarily required to (Alber and Kern, 2008). Particularly in the urban planning sector, governing by authority can have a significant influence, through strategic land use and energy efficient solutions. Strategic planning can also have positive effects on the transport and basic services sectors, by reducing the need for private transport, and locating energy efficient services in the immediate surroundings of housing and industrial developments. Specific regulations and standards on buildings and energy use are other examples of ways to govern by authority. This mode has significant opportunities in terms of changing behaviour and practice, and can have major impacts on the carbon-intensive industries. Governing by authority alone, however, will not necessarily affect the mentality and motivations behind people's actions, if not supplemented by communication about *why* the regulations are necessary, through a governing by enabling approach.

These modes of governing are useful in the analysis of local climate governing strategies, as they help to distinguish the various ways in which municipalities can influence their populations and establish effective climate policies. This does not imply that these modes are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, these different strategies supplement each other and are most likely more effective when combined, as they target people in various ways and might therefore reach a broader segment of the population when combined.

2.8 Governmentality

The modes of climate governing are also useful in an analysis of the rationalities behind climate policies. Lövbrand *et al* (2009, p. 8) define the rationalities of government as what specifies "the distribution of tasks and actions between authorities … and articulate which ideas or principles that should direct government". The rationalities of government can thus be seen as the ideas and thoughts behind the actions and strategies of a governing body and what ultimately decides which policy options are implemented. The policies then become what Lövbrand *et al* (2009, p. 8) refer to as technologies of rule; "the complex of techniques, procedures, mechanisms, and documents through which the government of persons and populations is accomplished". The technologies of rule would thus, among other examples, constitute the various policy options provided in Table 1 above. This holistic thinking about governing fits into the Focauldian governmentality framework, which takes a broader approach to governing by looking at both the implemented policies and the systematic thinking behind them. In the context of local government climate policy, this type of

analysis enables us to better understand not only which strategies are implemented, but also why these in particular were chosen. This study will use the concepts of rationalities of government and technologies of rule to analyse the process of developing the Campaign as an instrument to contribute to achieving the city's overall environmental policy goals.

There can be a range of motivations behind climate policies, but according to governmentality studies these are always connected to political rationalities, which serve to justify policy choices (Lövbrand *et al,* 2009). Scott *et al* (forthcoming, p. 6) refer to a range of examples of rationalities of government, including the mainstream behavioural approach. This approach assumes the population to be "passive recipients of programmes of persuasion". The population is persuaded "through an intervention of some sort to voluntarily modify their behaviour to be more carbon friendly". With this rationality in mind, the 'governing through enabling mode', which includes awareness-raising and environmental education, is the most suitable technology of rule. The rationality of the behavioural approach is in line with a growing literature demonstrating that the responsibility for reducing carbon emissions has gradually moved from the state to the individual, a process that Scott *et al* (forthcoming, p. 8) refer to as the "*individualisation* of environmental responsibility"(emphasis in original). This process is linked to the core ideas of a neoliberal society in which the individual consumer has the responsibility to correct his/her own behaviour. Paterson and Stripple (2010, p. 342) show that this shift of responsibility is often understood as "a distraction from broader political questions of power and collective responsibility". They further argue that the policy responses, i.e. the technologies of rule that follow this neoliberal rationality are often inadequate and penalise the poor. They are merely a "political distraction – taking attention away from the necessity of collective political responses" (Paterson and Stripple, 2010, p. 344). This argument builds on the notion that large scale carbon emissions stem from large scale industries, mega projects, and other, mainly state-driven, projects rather than from individual consumers. Ultimately this separation of the individual, and the state and business, is somewhat artificial, as large corporations and industry inevitably build upon the decisions and practices made by individuals (who might or might not work for the state), but the individuals would never reach industry's scale of emissions on a personal level, if they were not involved in the industry.

Despite this increased focus on the individual's contribution to climate adaptation and mitigation, the state is still very much in the spotlight when it comes to the policy discourse. Aall *et al* (2007) consider the possible policy options for local level government in Norway in addressing climate change mitigation, arguing that global agreements and national regulations can encourage, or even require local action. They find that not only is there room for climate action for local authorities, but

these can also take independent initiatives and thereby send political signals to the national level. Many local authorities exist within a legal framework where they are encouraged to, but not obliged to implement climate policies, which again might be an explanatory factor of the varying degrees to which local municipalities govern climate processes. Aall *et al* (2007) find that in Norway there are a few front-runner municipalities who take it upon themselves to meet the national climate mitigation goals, or in some cases even exceed them, while a large portion are running 'business as usual'. Bulkeley and Kern (2006) find that in their case studies in the UK and Germany there has been a decline in governing by provision, and that governing by authority is unusual as it is often too difficult politically. Because of this, governing through enabling currently seems to be the most prominent type of climate policy. This is also the case in South Africa, one example of which is provided in this study. This entails several challenges, mainly because this form of governing requires 'buy-in' from the population; people need to be convinced to adapt their behaviour and business practices to more climate friendly ones, without a regulatory framework demanding them do to so. This requires "inducement", such as financial incentives, and "seduction" attempts from the local authorities, which again requires secure funding streams and resource staff dedicated to this task (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006, p. 2251). The governing through enabling is therefore not necessarily a less costly approach to climate policy if it is to be effective, so if the local authorities are under financial pressure these voluntary actions might be the ones to suffer. On this basis, Bulkeley and Kern (2006, p. 2255) conclude that "the shift to these modes of governance [enabling and self-governing] has significantly reduced the capacity of the local state in Germany to undertake action and is failing to provide even the most pioneering UK local authorities with sufficient capacity for climate protection". A higher level of political support and guidance to local authorities would in this context increase the scope for local climate action, which is seen by an increasing number of experts as a necessary step in reaching the global climate mitigation targets.

Overall there is an increased interest in climate mitigation and adaptation policies, but these are still only taking priority in a few fore-runner municipalities. The voluntary nature of the scope for local governments to act in this field can limit their scope of action as it is often politically difficult to implement climate policies. This is, as will be discussed in this dissertation, even more challenging in developing countries, as the municipalities in the developing world face other challenges that seem more pressing than that of climate change and environmental degradation. This explains the rationalities of government that often lead local authorities to govern by enabling, shifting the responsibility for environmental sustainability and climate protection towards the consumers; the private industry and individuals. As will be explored in the next chapter, this is also to a large extent

the case in eThekwini municipality, where education and awareness programmes are playing an important role in the city's environmental and climate policy.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has explored the how the broader concepts of sustainable development and ecological modernisation have contributed to the emergence of the green economy discourse, and within this the concept of green tourism. Important drivers and regulators of the green tourism industry are the certification schemes. Certification processes are now commonly implemented in many countries, and the use of certification standards, or ecolabels, has become a popular way of informing consumers about the practices of tourism facilities, and whether they are adhering to certain principles of green tourism. This has been discussed as a form of environmental governance, with particular reference to local climate governance and the four modes of climate governing; self-governing, governing through enabling, governing by provision and governing by regulation. These four modes of governing provide a useful framework for understanding different ways in which the government can realise its climate mitigation and adaptation goals. This can be further analysed using governmentality theory, which refers to the principles and motivations behind a government's actions and policies as rationalities of government, and the policies as technologies of rule. These two theoretical frameworks will be applied in the analysis of the Campaign in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3:

BACKGROUND – THE CURRENT STATE OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE GOVERNANCE IN ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines a brief history of environmental and climate governance in Durban, and how the environmental management branch of the municipality developed from consisting of a single staff member in 1994, to the fully-fledged department that it is today. Following this the current state of environmental and climate governance is discussed in more detail, outlining the various programmes of the department, and analysing these in the modes of climate governance framework.

3.2 Brief history

Ethekwini municipality[2] is currently seen as a leader in the field of climate protection, and has won international awards for its governance efforts (Deputy Mayor Logie Nadoo, 23.08.2011, cited in Scott *et al,* forthcoming, p. 22). However, environmental management only became a mandate of the city government after the South African transition to democracy in 1994. Within the context of a changing legal and policy setting, local governments were seen as important players when it came to addressing the tremendous development challenges in the country. The policies of apartheid had created a high level of inequality, serious deficits in service delivery and widespread poverty among the population. Local authorities were allocated a key responsibility in addressing this challenge, by being responsible for ensuring access to basic services for all citizens. In addition to this local governments were given the responsibility for environmental management. When South Africa became a signatory to the Rio Declaration they also adopted the Local Agenda 21 programme, which

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[2] EThekwini is the official name of the municipality of the greater Durban area; the two names will be used interchangeably in this dissertation.

entailed "a range of principles, definitions of the environment, action plans and environmental education goals … and the inclusion of these rationalities into the environmental discourse and policy making at the local level" (Scott *et al,* forthcoming, p. 24). Through accepting this agenda Durban thereby committed to a certain level of environmental governance, as part of an international network of cities committed to Local Agenda 21. This constitutes what Scott *et al* (forthcoming) refer to as 'governance-beyond-the-state', which can be seen as a form of governing by enabling.

The dual introduction of an environmental management function as well as the responsibility for addressing the basic development needs of the people in the municipality created a dilemma for the local government. The dilemma led to a tension between the two fields, and for a while the development issues were prioritised over the environment, because it was seen as a more immediate challenge (Roberts, 2008). As discussed above, environmental governance can be challenging to justify politically, even more so in a developing country context where socio-economic development problems are severe. Although the environmental challenges facing the city became more pressing over the next few years, it is only more recently that the environment and climate change has received particular attention in eThekwini municipality. In 1999 the issue of climate change was raised again in a second attempt to make it a higher priority on the municipality's agenda. Due to lack of both human and financial capacities in the municipality, these discussions only led to action after the establishment of a bilateral grant agreement between the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which aimed to develop a South African programme for climate protection (Roberts, 2008). One of the outcomes of this agreement was that Durban, alongside several other South African cities, became part of the CCP campaign, facilitated by ICLEI. Participation in the campaign led to the municipality producing its first greenhouse gas (GHG) inventory, and the initiation of an energy-efficient buildings pilot project. Two years later, in 2002, the city's first Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) project was implemented, which consisted of a landfill gas-to-electricity project at three different sites (Roberts, 2008).

Although these projects did have value in themselves in terms of reduced GHG emissions, Roberts (2008) argues that since most of the work was carried out by external consultants, the internal knowledge and skills related to climate change within the municipality did not improve. This only began to change in 2004, after the head of the Environmental Management Department Debra Roberts attended a programme in environmental management in the USA. Because of the many other challenges facing local municipalities, Roberts (2008) explains that the only way to ensure buy-

in from the municipality officials into maintaining an active climate protection policy is to make them understand the realities of climate change, and what impacts it can have on their city specifically. Upon completing the environmental management programme in the USA the head of the Environmental Management Department conducted a number of seminars and presentations within the municipality in Durban to ensure that the staff understood the relevance of climate protection to Durban in particular. This subsequently led to the establishment of the Municipality Climate Protection Programme (MCPP), which revealed that climate adaptation rather than mitigation needed to be the area of focus within the municipal strategy, as adaptation measures would have more visible impacts on the city in the future than mitigation alone. It also became clear that climate adaptation is relevant across all the various departments in the city and needs to become an integrated part of policy development (Roberts, 2008).

3.3 The current state of environmental and climate governance

The environmental management branch has developed from consisting of a single staff member to a fully-fledged department, which today is called the Environmental Planning and Climate Protection Department (EPCPD). The department is divided into four branches; the Biodiversity Impact Assessment Branch, the Biodiversity Planning Branch, the Climate Protection Branch and the Policy Implementation Branch. Their core areas of responsibility are to protect the biodiversity of the city region, by considering for example building plans and development planning; to oversee the MCPP and ensure that appropriate mitigation and adaptation strategies are implemented; and to ensure that other municipal departments and decision makers also take environmental considerations into account in their strategies, programmes and policies[3].

The municipality's website lists 15 projects that have been, or are currently being implemented by the EPCPD (See box 3.1). By considering these projects the modes of governing which are dominant in eThekwini municipality can be established. The most striking feature of this list of projects is that it holds a strong focus on biodiversity conservation, with projects such as the Buffelsdraai Community Reforestation Project, the Giba Gorge Environmental Precinct and the Roosfontein Nature Reserve. These projects are largely related to the city's management of the Durban Metropolitan Open Space System (D'MOSS), which is a system of open spaces that encompasses high biodiversity areas linked together by other open spaces in the city. This group of projects can be considered a form of self-governing, as it involves the management of municipally owned land, as well as the regulation of proposed developments on that land that falls into the D'MOSS. Some of the other projects on the

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[3] Accessed from
http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Services/development_planning_management/environmental_planning_clim ate_protection/About_Us/Pages/default.aspx, 27.05.2012

list, such as the community adaptation projects and the green roof project, can be considered a different form of self-governing as these serve as municipal demonstration projects. A final group of self-governing projects is the extension of the Expanded Public Works Programme into the Working for Ecosystems programme and the Working for Fire programme, in which the municipality employs disadvantaged and unemployed people to provide services that protect the environment, such as the removal of alien plants, and managing fires. It is interesting to notice that this first sub-group of projects is not directed at climate protection specifically, but fits into the general environmental protection category.

The second sub-group of projects falls into the governing through enabling mode. One of the key tasks of the EPCPD is to "promote the importance of biodiversity, ecosystem goods and services and climate protection in order to gain administrative, political and public support for the conservation of the natural resource base and the implementation of climate change protection initiatives"[4], which can entail educational and awareness raising programmes. In the governing through enabling category the Greening Durban 2010 programme, and the subsequent Event greening programme provide good examples. As a host of the FIFA World Cup in 2010, Durban committed to labelling the event 'carbon neutral' through waste, water and energy efficiency and carbon offsetting.

As a part of the Greening Durban 2010 programme, the city also produced a Green Guidelines Series which provided information about water and energy efficiency, sustainable waste management and green landscaping. This series is a clear example of the governing through enabling mode, as the local authorities provide the population with information on how to implement green changes, without following up with any regulations to ensure that this actually happens. It is interesting to notice that the projects that are specific to climate protection generally seem to fall into the governing by enabling category. There is also an example of governing by provision in the municipality; the orange bag system. Durban Solid Waste (DSW) implemented a pilot project in 2007, where they provided the citizens of the Highway area with orange garbage bags that was to be used for paper and plastics only. As the pilot was a success the project was subsequently rolled out and is now a standard service for all households in the Durban area[3]. The collection of recycled plastic and paper is a clear case of governing by provision. However, other goods, such as glass and cans, still have to be delivered at recycling centres if a citizen wants to recycle these.

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[4] Accessed from
http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Services/development_planning_management/environmental_planning_climate_protection/About_Us/Pages/default.aspx, 27.05.2012

Considering the above examples it is evident that the current modes of governing in eThekwini municipality resemble those of the UK and Germany, where self-governing and governing through enabling are more prominent forms of climate and environmental governance[5]. This can be a reflection of the political difficulty of prioritising climate protection policies in the face of a range of other development challenges, which are still persistent in eThekwini, as well as in the rest of the country. It can also indicate a lack of political will in the city to address environmental and climate issues, or simply a lack of capacity. Scott *et al* (forthcoming) argue that the environmental capacities within the municipality are divided, with the EPCPD being mainly responsible for adaptation measures, and the Energy Office focusing on climate change mitigation, and both of these being driven by 'environmental champions' despite internal resistance. In addition to this division, every department that deals with environmental issues has its own officers dedicated to environmental education, resulting in "a mosaic of environmental education actors who organize awareness campaigns and other environmental interventions independently … each positioning themselves within their field of specialty (sic)" (Scott *et al,* forthcoming, p. 27). If uncoordinated this can lead to confusion and contradicting information, something that can contribute to a less accepting environment for stronger climate protection policies. Scott *et al* (forthcoming) also argue that many

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[5] It should however be pointed out that there are certain exceptions such as the orange bag programme and the inner city public transport system 'The People Mover'.

of the current initiatives do not adequately take into account the linguistic, cultural and socio-economic differences between the various groups of people in Durban, and that programmes aimed at creating awareness around climate change are thus often applicable only to a minority of the population. However, Scott *et al*'s (forthcoming)review is only based on a selection of the awareness-raising programmes implemented by the city, and do not consider the full list of projects listed in box 3.1 above. The community adaptation projects for instance, included the planting of various types of food crops in communities on the outskirts of the city, with the aim of identifying which crops will be viable to cultivate in a future, warmer climate. To ensure that the communities were also involved, 'cook-offs' were arranged together with the communities, where various recipes using the tested crops were prepared, and the communities were able to taste and respond to the new foods. The community adaptation project was completed in 2010, when the Greening Durban 2010 programme was initiated.

The Greening Durban 2010 programme became the beginning of the larger Event Greening programme of the city. When South Africa declared that the 2010 FIFA World Cup would be a carbon neutral event, Durban – as one of the host cities – instigated a series of projects to help achieve this goal. Among them was the Buffelsdraai Landfill Site Community Reforestation Project, the building of a stadium with energy and water efficient solutions, and rainwater harvesting; all examples of self-governing. In addition to this there was the Green Guideline Series mentioned above, which aimed to promote greater sustainability in the hospitality, business and domestic sectors for the World Cup and beyond (Scott *et al,* forthcoming). The Green Guidelines aimed to promote awareness, and educate its readers about how to act more sustainably, thereby *enabling* them to change their behaviour in a more climate friendly direction. The Event Greening programme continued the year after, perhaps particularly motivated by the city being the host of COP17. In relation to the climate conference the city went beyond just attempting to reduce the carbon impact of the event as they had done the year before, they also attempted to *measure* this impact. This was done both through an official carbon foot printing exercise as well as through committing to develop an ecological foot printing tool, to raise awareness of the full environmental impact of the conference. The EPCPD also engaged with other departments such as waste and transport, to ensure that the conference venues were retrofitted for energy efficiency. Lastly, the EPCPD arranged the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, aimed at providing the hospitality sector with all the necessary knowledge to "adopt "responsible tourism" and green approaches in their businesses"[6]. The Campaign was created as an awareness raising pilot project, and encouraged adherence to the

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[6] Accessed from
http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Services/development_planning_management/environmental_planning_clim ate_protection/Projects/Pages/Event-Greening.aspx , 27.05.2012

National Minimum Standards for Responsible Tourism (NMSRT) which were published by the National Department of Tourism (NDT) at the same time as the Campaign was rolled out.
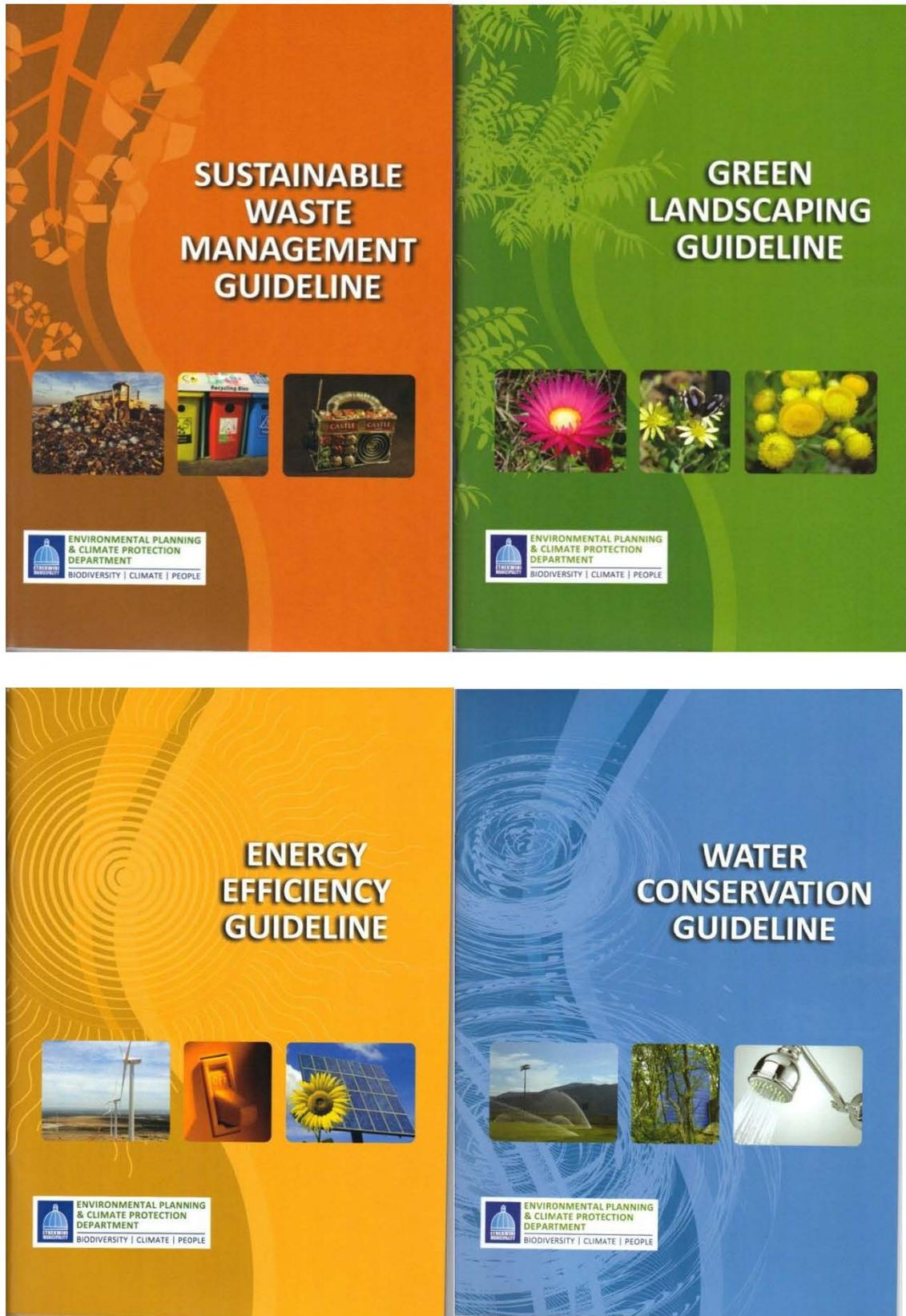
Figure 1: The Green Guidelines

In reviewing the state of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini, a pattern of change can be identified, from broader environmental governance towards a more specific focus on climate change governing. While the focus of the EPCPD is still largely directed towards biodiversity and conservation, the focus on awareness raising and education on climate change and protection has increased parallel to the development of the Event Greening programme. What is interesting to observe here is that the city's mode of environmental and climate governance has grown from being largely self-governing to involve a growing number of educational programmes, i.e. forms of governing through enabling. One of the most recent examples of this form of governing is the Campaign, which aimed to educate and motivate the hospitality sector to adopt greener practices.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has described how the environmental management branch in Durban developed from a single staff member, to what today constitutes the EPCPD. Further, the current state of environmental and climate governance has been outlined by presenting the existing environment and climate protection projects, highlighting a division of these into two sub-groups. The first group of projects has a broader environmental and biodiversity focus, and provide examples of self-governing. The second group includes a list of more recent projects, which are more climate-specific which are aligned with the category of governing through enabling as they are focused on education and awareness-raising. This second category includes the Campaign, which is the focus of this study.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methods that were used to collect data for this dissertation. As outlined in Chapter One, the objectives of the dissertation are to: (i) outline the processes behind the Campaign, (ii) evaluate the outcomes of the Campaign (in the form of the impact it had on the participants' motivations for adhering to the principles of responsible tourism), (iii) discuss the opportunities and challenges of the Campaign, and (iv) provide an opinion about how the Campaign reflects the state of environmental governmentality in eThekwini municipality. The literature review and background chapters above have already outlined the broader context to the Campaign, and painted a picture of the current state of climate governance in the city. The research that laid the foundation for the rest of the dissertation was conducted in the form of observation, qualitative interviews and a questionnaire, focusing on the stakeholders involved in the planning and implementation of the Campaign, as well as the accommodation facilities that were represented at the Campaign Forums.

The majority of the research was qualitative, with a quantitative aspect in the form of a questionnaire to complement the evaluation part of the research. The interviews with key stakeholders in the Campaign were semi-structured and largely conversational, to allow the respondents to talk freely about their role in the Campaign, and their opinions about the process. The questionnaire was added to the interviews with the Campaign participants in order to quantify some of the results for the evaluation. It is important to note that the study was a form of action research as the researcher was involved in the project, by observing several of the planning meetings and attending the Campaign Forums and supporting the evaluation component of the research. The research for this study has thus been threefold, consisting of 1) observation of the planning process and implementation of the Campaign, 2) qualitative interviews with key

stakeholders in the planning and implementation process, and 3) questionnaire and interviews with a sample of the Campaign participants.

4.2 Observation and action research

The purpose of the observation part of the research was to gain an understanding of the dynamics among the stakeholders involved in the development, as well as the planning process and implementation of the Campaign. By participating in the project and doing an academic study on it at the same time, this research can be considered a form of action research. Action research can be described as 'learning by doing', and generally consists of five phases: identification of the problem, data collection to inform problem solving, planning, implementation and evaluation (O'Brien, 1998). What characterises this type of research is the fact that the researcher is actively involved in the project being studied, most typically for the purposes of collecting information on the project, and then uses that information to implement changes in order to improve the project. According to Edge (2001, p. 3) there are six stages in an action research process:

1. *action* in the sense that one is in the middle of action
2. *observation* of what is happening, leading to a more specific focus of interest
3. *reflection* on the focus which has been identified, leading to
4. *planning,* that forms the basis for future
5. *action* to improve the situation, supported by
6. *observation* in order to evaluate the changes made

Considering that this research never actually contributed to any changes in the processes of the Campaign it is acknowledged that the research methodology only partly fits into the action research framework. However it is important to highlight the researcher's position in relation to the case study.

Participation in two of the planning meetings for the Campaign gave an insider view of the challenges that occurred during the development of the Campaign, and provided insight in to how the project developed. Presence at the Forums also allowed for interaction with the participants during intermissions and after the presentations, and gave insight into the participants' immediate reactions and perceptions of the Campaign. Close contact with especially the leader of the project within the EPCPD and the consultants from Futureworks who designed the Campaign also provided an opportunity to understand the rationale behind their decisions, the changes made throughout the process, as well as the different items that came to constitute the elements of the final Campaign. Direct involvement in the planning and implementation of the Campaign, provided an

advantage in terms of an insider view on these processes; however it also means that the analysis is perhaps more subjective than what is common where other types of research methods are applied.

4.3 Key stakeholder interviews

The second part of the research entailed interviews with the key stakeholders that were consulted throughout the planning process, as well as the project facilitators. In addition to the consultants from Futureworks and the main contact within the EPCPD, this involved the three existing certification bodies – Heritage Environmental Certification Programme, Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa, and Green Leaf Environmental Standard; the provincial tourism association, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN); and the representative body of the hospitality sector, the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa (FEDHASA). An overview of the key stakeholder interview is provided in Table 4.1.

Table 1: Overview of key stakeholder interviews

Respondent	Organisation	Name	Date of interview	Interview method
1	Futureworks	Nicci Diederichs	6 February 2012	In person
2	Futureworks	Michael van Niekerk	17 February 2012	In person
3	EPCPD	Manisha Maganlal	13 February 2012	In person
4	NDT	Bekithemba Langalibalele	Non-responding	
5	FEDHASA	Warren Ozzard	28 February 2012	In person
6	TKZN	Karen Kohler	1 March 2012	In person
7	Heritage Environmental	Greg McManus	3 April 2012	Via phone
8	Green Leaf	Andrew Phillips	18 April 2012	Via phone
9	Fair Trade in Tourism SA	Kathy Bergs	26 March 2012	Via phone

The key stakeholder interviews contributed to the understanding of driving factors behind the Campaign, and how the project developed and changed from idea and conceptualisation through to implementation. They also highlighted some of the opportunities and challenges faced throughout the Campaign, and allowed for further details on questions raised during the project meetings before the Campaign. Finally the stakeholder interviews allowed the respondents to reflect on their

own experiences of the Campaign, and what they thought should be done in the future considering their own experience of the Campaign and their knowledge in the field. The respondents for these interviews were selected purposively, as it was vital that all the actors that participated in the planning and development of the Campaign were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way, which allowed for the freedom to explore the insights of each individual respondent, based on their varying roles in the planning and implementation processes.

4.4 Participant interviews

The third research element entailed a questionnaire with a randomly selected sample of the Campaign participants. The selection was based on the list of participants in the two Responsible Accommodation Campaign Forums provided by the EPCPD, and an overview of the interviews is provided in Table 4.2. Every fifth participant on the list was selected, starting with the second observation. As there were 51 establishments represented at the two Forums combined, the sample drawn included 10 accommodation facilities, or about 20 per cent of the total number of participants. Only one of the selected accommodation facilities was unwilling to participate, and the replacement was selected by following the pattern of every fifth observation on the list. As some of the respondents preferred to remain anonymous the respondents will only be referred to by the type of facility they represent, i.e. hotel, guest house or bed and breakfast.

Table 2: Overview of participant interviews

Respondent	Type of establishment	Date of interview	Interview method
1	Guest house	11 April 2012	In person
2	Bed and breakfast	22 March 2012	In person
3	Bed and breakfast	11 April 2012	In person
4	Hotel	16 March 2012	In person
5	Guest house	18 April 2012	In person
6	Guest house	27 March 2012	In person
7	Guest house	28 March 2012	In person
8	Hotel	Non-responding	Via email
9	Bed and breakfast	31 March 2012	In person
10	Hotel	3 April 2012	Via email
11	Bed and breakfast	Not willing to participate, replaced in sample	-

The participant questionnaires consisted of a combination of fixed response questions and open-ended questions. The fixed response questions were conducted with the aim of highlighting certain simple statistics from the responses, regarding attendance and outcomes of the Campaign, particularly focusing on the usefulness of the various 'tools' that were utilised as part of the Campaign. The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. The open-ended questions were designed to further explore the details around the outcomes of the Campaign; to learn about each respondent's experience of the Campaign, whether it made an impact on their perceptions of environmental and climate responsibility, to what extent it might have motivated them to manage their businesses in a more environmentally sustainable way, and their visions for local climate governance in Durban in the future. The latter turned out to become a useful source of ideas of what the municipality can do to address the needs of the hospitality sector specifically, in order to make an impact on their level of adherence to principles of green/responsible tourism.

4.5 Limitations and possible bias

It is important to emphasise that 'outcomes' in this context are not measured in a scientific way, i.e. the research did not involve investigating the carbon footprint of the establishments, their investments in environmentally responsible solutions in their businesses, or any other physical measurements of environmental responsibility. Instead, the outcomes in this thesis refer to the participants' opinions and experiences of the Campaign; whether they perceived the Campaign to be useful, helpful and informative; and whether it motivated them to make any changes in their facilities accordingly. As these are subjective responses there is a natural limitation on the extent to which one can quantify the answers, and this limitation is acknowledged. However, the main value of the participant interviews lies in receiving feedback on the municipality's approach to environmental and climate governance, both regarding what was actually done, and what could potentially be done and done differently.

A potential bias might have occurred, as certain individuals might feel the need to 'paint a greener picture' of their establishments. However, throughout the interviews the respondents were perceived as honest about their commitments, or lack thereof, to adhering to the principles of responsible tourism, and open about their opinions about the Campaign and the municipality's work in the field in general. Some of the respondents seemed to consider the research as an opportunity to communicate their thoughts, criticisms and ideas to the municipality, which would incentivise them to be honest about the challenges they are facing. The possibility of respondents portraying themselves as more or less 'green' than they actually are, must nevertheless be taken into consideration when considering the results.

Finally, the number of participants in the Campaign Forums was relatively low considering the high number of accommodation facilities in the municipality. There are 661 accommodation facilities in the greater Durban area[7], and only about eight per cent of these attended at least one of the two Forums. It would be interesting to investigate the reasons for non-attendance, but as the focus of this research is the impacts the Campaign had on its participants it falls beyond the scope of this study. However, it is likely that the selection of accommodation facilities that *were* present at the Forums generally had an interest in the topic of green tourism. If this is the case this means that the sample carries a natural bias towards a portion of the industry that responds to this specific type of initiative. In this sense the findings of this study must be considered with caution, as they might not be applicable to the remaining 92 per cent of the facilities that chose not to participate in the Campaign. In order to clarify this, a study would need to be conducted which considers the control group, i.e. a selection of accommodation facilities who did not participate in the Campaign. Unfortunately limitations on time and budget did not for allow for such a control study to be carried out. This bias towards parties particularly interested in greening strategies cannot be understated, and is acknowledged as a clear limitation of this study.

4.6 Purpose

The purpose of the three parts of the research is to paint as complete a picture as possible of the factors driving the Campaign, the people behind the Campaign and the rationale for their decisions in planning and implementing the Campaign; the outcomes of the Campaign in terms of the participants' experiences, motivations and learning; the opportunities and challenges that have come out of this Campaign; and the effects of this form of environmental governance in the municipality on the targeted sector. Although the research was carried out mainly for the purposes of this dissertation, the content will also be made available to the eThekwini municipality and the EPCPD, to inform their official evaluation of the pilot project.

4.7 Summary

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to collect data for this study. The research consisted of three parts; observation, qualitative interviews and a questionnaire. These three approaches to data collection have contributed to a holistic picture of the Campaign in terms of planning process, impacts and lessons learned for the future. As the researcher was to an extent involved in the project, the study can be considered as a form of action research, which might have led to a more subjective interpretation of the data. Other limitations to the study are also recognised, including the small representation of the sample compared to the industry as a whole.

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[7] Communication, Karen Kohler TKZN, 5 June 2012

CHAPTER 5:

FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines the four themes that emerged in the research for this dissertation: 1) the driving factors behind the Campaign and how the Campaign developed; 2) the outcomes of the Campaign in terms of the impact of the enabling mode of governance; 3) the opportunities and challenges that emerged from the Campaign, specifically in terms of the participants' responses to and opinions about the Campaign, and how the municipality can use the experiences from this pilot project in future policy making; and 4) how the Campaign reflects the current form of governmentality present in Durban, building on the analysis in Chapter Three.

5.2 The driving factors behind the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign

As outlined above, one of the aims of eThekwini municipality is to promote the city of Durban as a green events destination. This rationality of government was first seen when South Africa was selected to be the host of the FIFA World Cup in 2010, and set the target of making the event carbon neutral. This became the beginning of the municipality's Event Greening programme which promotes the city as a 'green event destination', in an attempt to attract other mega-events to the city. There is a clear parallel between this 'green event rationality' and that of green tourism, as the main benefit the city gains from the events is the high number of visitors that travel to and stay in the city during the events. There is also the underlying intention that the events are a good marketing opportunity for the city to create a name for itself, which is important for a city like Durban as it is competing for international tourists with other destinations in the country such as Cape Town and the Kruger Park. As we have seen above, the tourism sector constitutes an important part of the South African economy, and therefore becomes an important element in the overall aim of greening the economy. The fact that Durban was to host the COP17 the year after the World Cup contributed to a broadening of the political space for expanding the event greening programme. As

the guests of the climate conference were expected to be more conscious about environmental and climate issues overall than for example the average soccer fan, both the city and the private industry realised a need to accommodate for this. Greening Durban 2010 was therefore followed by the Greening of the COP17/CMP7 programme, which entailed a range of more climate specific projects, one of which was the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign. There were a number of parallel drivers behind the development of the Campaign, of which the main ones will be discussed in this section. To fully understand the context of the Campaign it is useful to begin with the larger framework in which the event greening programme evolved, and then within this discuss the emergence of the Campaign in particular.

The event greening programme in general fits well into national and provincial level policies. The national New Growth Path in 2010 identified the green economy as one of six key drivers for job creation, promising the creation of 300 000 new green jobs by 2020. The KZN DEDT followed up on this call for a greener economy, and appointed the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), assisted by the environmental consultancy Futureworks, to conduct a study of the potential for 'Unlocking the Green Economy in KwaZulu-Natal'. The project entailed a literature review; analysis of best practice cases elsewhere in South Africa, and internationally; and a situational analysis of the industries in the province to determine which had the best potential for 'greening'. Following this, workshops were organised with each of the four focus sectors identified as having most potential for greening; one of which was tourism. The aim of the workshops was to interact with the industry, and through discussions with the relevant stakeholders make recommendations for key pilot projects within the green economy framework. This was an interactive process, and included a range of representatives from private industry and other non-governmental actors, to ensure that the outcomes adequately represented the realities of the various industries. One of the key recommendations that came out of the tourism workshop was the establishment of a green certification system for all the tourism facilities in the province.

The KZN DEDT green economy project was conducted through a form of governing-beyond-the-state through creating an interactive network consisting of government as well as private industry and other actors. One of the goals of the project was to create a Green Economy Unit, a working group in which actors from government, private industry, academia and civil society could interact and share knowledge about how to further green the economy. This form of 'network' governance provides all its participants with a better opportunity to help shape government policy; however, it also leaves its participants with a more active role in the implementation of this policy. In this sense this network governance, along with other forms of governance-beyond-the-state, becomes a form of

governing through enabling. As will be shown below, this type of governing has been adopted also at local government level. The green economy rationality of government can thus be seen at all levels of government in South Africa, from national, to provincial to local.

The consultants working on the DEDT KZN Green Economy project had also been very involved in Durban's greening programme, and were central in the Greening Durban 2010 programme before the World Cup. Several of the key stakeholders interviewed confirmed that during the evaluation of this programme, one of the weaknesses identified was the lack of communication between the municipality and the accommodation sector[8]. The sector constitutes an important part of the city's event planning, through the 'block-booking' of rooms specifically for events, meaning that they reserve rooms for the event beforehand, without getting reimbursed if the number of visitors turns out to be lower than anticipated. The accommodation facilities never directly engaged with the municipality in the preface to the World Cup; an external agent managed the accommodation and the block-booking system on behalf of the city. Although the bookings are managed by the official agent and the facilities themselves are not able to fill these rooms on private requests, the risk of rooms not being occupied is solely at the hotels and guest houses own cost. In the case of the World Cup a large portion of the pre-booked rooms were not filled, thereby causing the industry to lose out on expected profits. Lack of communication between the sector and the city, and the unfulfilled expectations from the facilities that had reserved their rooms for the event, resulted in a lack of trust in the municipality among the accommodation facilities[9].

In continuing their work for the EPCPD's greening programme, the consultants who had been part of both the provincial Green Economy project and the city's greening programme suggested that the EPCPD followed up on the recommendation from the KZN DEDT workshops to create a green tourism certification standard, as a pilot programme for the upcoming COP17. This also provided the municipality with the opportunity to establish better communication with the hospitality sector after the failure to do so during the World Cup. The Campaign's coordinator at the EPCPD stated that "the Campaign for me was about creating awareness, and to actually communicate with a sector that we didn't necessarily communicate with"[9]. In line with the network 'governance-beyond-the state' that had dominated the Green Economy project, the initiation of the green certification standard in Durban became the beginning of a consultative process between the department and a range of relevant stakeholders. "We immediately launched a process of engaging with stakeholders who we believed were the key stakeholders in the green tourism sector, in KwaZulu-Natal, Durban and in

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[8] Interviews, Nicci Diederichs, Futureworks, 6 February 2012; Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13 February 2012
[9] Interview, Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13 February 2012

South Africa"[10].This included the tourism organisations in the province such as TKZN and FEDHASA, as well as the private industry in the form of the three existing green certification bodies in the country; Heritage Environmental Certification Programme, Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa and Green Leaf Environmental Standard. A brief description of the three certification bodies is provided in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Overview of the certification bodies in South Africa

Name of organisation:	About:
Heritage Environmental Certification Programme	The Heritage Environmental Certification Programme has been developed to provide operators of all types of tourism-based businesses with an effective environmental management system designed to reduce and limit their impact on the environment. The Programme is based largely on the Swan Eco-Label in Scandinavia, Green Globe Agenda 21, IEI and ISO 9000, 14000 and 18000.
Green Leaf Environmental Standard	The Green Leaf Environmental Standard is an internationally recognised responsible and sustainable tourism certification body established in 2007 by the Wilderness Foundation, a globally recognised non-profit organisation founded by Dr. Ian Player in 1970. The standard focuses on South African minimum standards in responsible tourism, together with carbon emissions reductions, carbon offset and contributions towards water neutrality.
Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa	Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) is a non-profit organisation that promotes sustainable tourism development. FTTSA encourages and publicises fair and responsible business practice by South African tourism establishments by offering a certification programme (and supporting activities that endorses tourism establishments that meet stringent criteria: Fair wages and working conditions, ethical business practice and respect for human rights, culture and the environment.

Source: Adapted from 'The COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign Toolkit'

Durban's own tourism unit was also consulted, as was the National Department of Tourism (NDT). Futureworks were appointed by the EPCPD to facilitate the establishment of the certification standard, which enabled continuity in terms of methods of governance. It is interesting to note that the continued cooperation between the specialist consultants and various officials at different levels of government has led to an alignment of policies from the provincial to the local level, thereby avoiding duplication and encouraging cooperation between the two public entities.

During the stakeholder consultations for the proposed certification standard it soon became evident that the certification industry in the South African tourism market is one with many strong actors with clearly stated interests, and that there were a number of reasons why it would be difficult to implement a new certification standard before COP17. Firstly, all the respondents said that they

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[10] Interview, Nicci Diederichs, Futureworks, 6 February 2012

realised that there was very limited time to undertake such as huge task. This meant that the group would have had only approximately half a year to develop the standard, market it and implement it.

Secondly, there were already three existing certification standards on the market. Following the consultations it turned out that the certification market is a highly competitive one, and that there was considerable resistance from the existing actors towards the city introducing yet another certification scheme for them to compete with. Two of the three certification bodies said that they were opposed to the idea, pointing out that the city lacked the ability to implement a certification standard, and that there were already three existing certification bodies on the market. One of the consultants at Futureworks confirmed that this issue was raised early in the consultations: "what emerged very quickly was the fact that there are a number of certification programmes out there, that the accommodation sector engages with already, and that there was possibly a big issue around going into developing another certification standard… we realised as we walked into the process that is was fairly complicated since that there were a lot of people involved and that we didn't have a blank slate to work with."[11] The final certification body also pointed out that the process of developing and implementing a certification standard is a long process, which would not be possible to do within such a short time span. In addition to this, the NDT had already engaged several of the same stakeholders in a similar process, as they were currently developing the National Minimum Standards for Responsible Tourism (NMSRT). The NDT was therefore wary that the EPCPD might be duplicating their efforts, and potentially damaging the report they had established with the industry[11]. However, all the stakeholders seemed to agree that it was important that Durban showed itself to be engaging around the issue of responsible tourism and green accommodation[11].

The planning group therefore suggested that instead of "re-inventing the wheel"[12] by creating a whole new certification standard, the city would produce a green accommodation charter. The charter would be voluntary for the city's accommodation facilities to sign, but signing it would be a symbol of their commitment to becoming a greener facility. When presenting the revised idea back to the various stakeholders, the city was once again met with resistance from the certification bodies. The argument they presented was that the charter easily could become a form of 'green-washing' or false marketing, as it would allow the facilities to market themselves as green, without any form of feedback loop to ensure that the green principles were actually adhered to[13]. This is a common criticism of any attempt to create forms of green branding, therefore the certification bodies were concerned not only of the possible competition that such a charter would provide, but

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[11] Interview with Nicci Diederichs, Futureworks, 06.02.2012
[12] Interview with Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13.02.2012

also that it could affect the level of trust in the industry as a whole. The outcome of this workshop was therefore that the city would design a campaign which would "act as a promotion facility for green accommodation"[13]. The Campaign thus aimed to provide the hospitality sector with the knowledge, tools and motivation to engage in greening processes, and commit to making their contribution to a greener Durban. Included in this knowledge was the promotion of the three existing certification bodies, with the vision that the provision of all the necessary knowledge about how to become more responsible, and the benefits of doing so, would motivate the participants to get certified in the future. The certification bodies also made presentations at the Campaign's two Forums, and their details were included in what became the Responsible Accommodation Toolkit.

As mentioned above, parallel to this process the NDT was working at the national level to develop the National Minimum Standards for Responsible Tourism (NMSRT), which were based largely on the same principles as those underpinning the Campaign. The team therefore saw an opportunity to cooperate with the national government, and rather than duplicating the efforts of the NDT use the Campaign as a marketing platform for the NMSRT. While the Campaign was initially designed as a 'green' campaign, which would make it well aligned with the related 'greening' programmes in the municipality, the term 'responsible' was implemented into the campaign title to solidify the link to the NMSRT, thereby becoming a *Responsible* Campaign rather than a Green Campaign. The unproblematic nature of this shift reflects the discussion in Chapter Two above, describing how the boundaries between the various definitions, such as green, sustainable and responsible, are unclear and often used interchangeably. In the case of the Campaign, the name was chosen based on a political alignment rather than a reflection over the meaning of the term, which can be considered an indication of the fact that the two terms – green and responsible – were understood to mean the same.

The choice to focus specifically on accommodation, rather than tourism in general, was largely due to the complexities of designing a campaign targeting such a diverse industry as tourism: "the split between tourism and accommodation came because we felt that for the COP there was no way we could engage the whole tourism sector, there was all the tour guides, and tour buses [etc.] … we felt that we could limit our engagement to the hotels and bed and breakfasts and lodges ... So eventually we shifted the Campaign from being a responsible tourism campaign to a responsible accommodation campaign, because of the limit on what we would achieve, and the time frames before COP."[13] On the other hand this was also a conscious decision from the city's side, in an

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[13] Interview with Nicci Diederichs, Futureworks,06.02.2012

attempt to establish a better relationship with the hospitality sector after the lack of communication during the World Cup[14].

The processes behind what ultimately became the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign were complex. On the higher level it reflected the rationality of the green economy, which has guided policy on national, provincial and local level in South Africa. In particular this was reflected by the alignment of the provincial green economy programme, and the local Greening COP17 programme. Within the local government there was also the rationality of branding the city of Durban as a green event destination, and thereby to attract more visitors under the broader context of green tourism. The way in which the Campaign was planned also reflected how the influence of external consultants in this process led to a form of network governance, or governance-beyond-the-state. This form of governance aims to include actors who are external to the government in forming official projects and programmes, in this case by bringing the private industry into the planning of the Campaign. This approach can be directly related to the attempt from the municipality to establish a channel for communication with the hospitality sector, realising that they were key to the success of implementing the city's green event destination brand. The inclusion of the private sector can also be linked to the arguments underlying the governance versus government discourse, which emphasises the importance of bringing private industry and civil society into the government's decision making processes in order to make them more reflective of the situation 'on the ground'. In the case of the Campaign this network mode of governance had a significant impact on how it was shaped. The feedback from the stakeholders to the city, through several rounds of consultations and amending the project, substantially changed the very nature of the project, from the idea of a new certification standard through to the suggestion of a green tourism charter, to the final implementation of the Campaign. This process involved the shift from initially intending to produce a new, independent product, to producing a campaign that fundamentally served to promote already existing ones. This case therefore illustrates the significance of the network mode of governing can have on a municipal programme.

As the Campaign to a large extent was motivated by the rationality of promoting the city as a green destination, the Campaign itself can be considered a technology of rule. This technology was implemented through a very clear form of governing through enabling. The Campaign consisted of two Responsible Accommodation Forums, with presentations from hotels that had already been certified, from the certification bodies themselves, as well as focused presentations on energy efficiency, water conservation and waste management. The presentations were followed by an

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[14] Interview with Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13.02.2012

opportunity for questions and discussion, thereby allowing for further input and feedback from the private sector. 'Green' service providers were also invited to the Forums, and were provided an opportunity after the presentations to promote their environmentally friendly products and services, ranging from low flow shower heads and energy saving light bulbs to Eskom's Shisa Solar programme. At these Forums the participants were provided with a 'Responsible Accommodation Toolkit', containing the green guidelines on water, waste, energy and landscaping (developed for the Greening Durban 2010 programme); information about climate change and what it means, about COP17/CMP7, and the NMSRT; as well as a 'Responsible Visitor Charter'. This Charter was different from the charter suggested earlier on in the process, in that it was intended for the visitors to commit to minimising the impacts of their stay, rather than proving the commitment of the accommodation facilities themselves. By signing the Charter the visitors symbolically committed to being a 'responsible visitor'. The Charter is shown below. Finally the toolkit also included a CD with electronic copies of the information, as well as a 'Screening Checklist', which gave people the opportunity to self-evaluate their establishment's level of adherence to the NMSRT. As an incentive to come to the Forums the participants received a Certificate of Participation, as a proof of their attendance, and thereby their commitment to responsible tourism. The following section discusses how these different elements of the Campaign impacted on the participants, in terms of their perception of climate change and responsible tourism, and their motivations for becoming more responsible accommodation facilities.

5.3 Outcomes of the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign

This section describes and discusses the responses given by the sample of Campaign participants, to establish their experience of the Campaign in general, and more specifically the different elements of it. It also considers to what extent and in what way the Campaign impacted upon the participants' knowledge about the issues that were raised in the Campaign, and their motivations for implementing the recommended practices of responsible tourism. The information presented here is based on the participant questionnaires as well as observation of the two Responsible Accommodation Forums, and considers both the impact of the Campaign overall, as well as the various tools used as part of the Campaign. As outlined above, the Campaign consisted of two Responsible Accommodation Forums, a toolkit containing various guidelines on sustainable resource use and responsible tourism, a Responsible Visitor Charter and a Screening Checklist.

COP17/CMP7 UNITED NATIONS CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE 2011 DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

COP 17/CMP 7 RESPONSIBLE ACCOMMODATION CAMPAIGN

Responsible Visitor Charter

Durban is working towards becoming a green event hosting destination: committed to continual improvement in hosting major events in a sustainable manner that protects and enhances the natural, social, and economic environment. But we need your help.

As a visitor to our City you can help to reduce the impact of tourism on our local environment by making responsible choices. Here are some ideas on how you can help Durban to become a more environmentally responsible destination, which conserves and protects its natural assets, and minimises its impacts on global climate change:

1. I understand that the majority of South Africa's energy is generated from coal, a non-renewable resource, and that I must conserve energy where possible. *I therefore commit to switching off all lights when I am not in the room, minimising the use of air conditioning, and turning off / unplugging appliances instead of putting them on standby.*

2. I understand that Durban is situated in a water scarce region, and that I must use water wisely. *I therefore commit to not leaving the tap running while brushing my teeth, taking shorter showers, adhering to the towel reuse policies in accommodation establishments, and supporting any other water saving initiatives.*

3. I understand that the majority of Durban's solid waste goes to landfill sites, and that I must reduce, reuse, and recycle. *I therefore commit to avoiding overly packaged goods, drinking Durban's tap water, which is safe to drink, instead of bottled water, reusing shopping bags, and separating my waste into the appropriate recycling bins, where they are provided.*

4. I understand that vehicles emit carbon dioxide (CO_2) which contributes to global climate change, and that I should give the car a rest. *I therefore commit to walking, riding a bike, or using public transport whenever possible.*

5. I understand that organic and locally produced food, drink, and arts and crafts, generally have a smaller carbon and ecological footprint than imported products. *I therefore commit to making responsible choices about the products I use, and in doing so, also supporting local businesses and community development projects.*

6. I understand that Durban is situated in an area rich in biodiversity, and offers tourists a wide range of outdoor attractions and experiences. *I therefore commit to supporting the conservation of these natural areas by participating in outdoor experiences such as visiting a local nature reserve or donating to ecosystem-based climate adaptation projects.*

NAME   SIGNED   DATE

And finally, if you feel there is anything else we could be doing to make Durban a more sustainable destination, please submit your suggestions to the Environmental Planning and Climate Protection Department, eThekwini Municipality, Manisha Maganlal, maganlalm@durban.gov.za.

Figure 2: The Responsible Visitor Charter

According to the attendance register, 51 establishments were represented at the two Responsible Accommodation Forums combined. According to TKZN's database there are 661 accommodation facilities in eThekwini municipality, which indicates that less than eight per cent of the total facilities attended at least one of the two Forums. The Campaign was not openly advertised, but the invitation was sent out via email to all the accommodation facilities in the province that were registered with either TKZN or FEDHASA. As most of the accommodation facilities in the province are registered on these databases[15], this means that a relatively small portion of the sector was actually present at the Forums. There might be a number of reasons why the outstanding 92 per cent of the hospitality industry did not attend; however these reasons will not be speculated on in detail in this dissertation (this has also been considered in Chapter Four). Those who did attend stated that they attended the Forums because they wanted to learn about COP17 and what it meant for their facility, how they could educate their staff and themselves about green issues and how they could run a more "green conscious and sustainable business"[16]. One respondent also stated that she had many questions about how to go green with her bed and breakfast, and she was hoping to get answers from the municipality. The questionnaires thereby confirm the initial expectation that the majority of those who chose to participate in the Campaign already had an interest for the topic.

Approximately half of the respondents stated that they found the Responsible Accommodation Forums useful, and that they received interesting and useful information about the environment and how they could make changes in their facilities to become more sustainable. Although several stated that most of the information already was familiar to them, the same respondents also said that the information was "put in perspective"[17], that they were happy to get the opportunity to get in touch with suppliers and service providers[18] and that they received "some basic tips and very useful and quick to implement tips."[19] Another one of the respondents also said that she was very inspired by the presentations from the already certified hotels and guest houses: "If it wasn't for the presentations I wouldn't always have the image of [Peter Rose from Anchor's Rest] in my head…it gave me ideas and I want to start now"[20]. The same respondent was at the time of the interview considering opportunities for installing solar panels at her guest house, and she was waiting for a consultant to arrive later on that same day to investigate the possibility of setting up a tank for rainwater harvesting. These responses demonstrate that even though the participants were familiar with the topics that were being discussed, the opportunity to meet others from the industry to share

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[15] Interviews, Warren Ozzard, FEDHASA, 28 February 2012 and Karen Kohler, TKZN, 1 March 2012
[16] Interview, hotel, 3 April 2012
[17] Interview, guest house, 28 March 2012
[18] Interview, bed and breakfast, 11 April 2012
[19] Interview, hotel, 3 April 2012
[20] Interview, guest house, 27 March 2012

experiences, as well as getting in touch with relevant suppliers and service providers, was seen as useful.

Although the responses to the campaign were mostly positive overall, several of the respondents were disappointed in the fact that the municipality and service providers such as Eskom, were not able to answer all of their questions. One respondent stated that while he came to the Forums with great expectations, believing that this Campaign might lead to change and "shape things to come", he felt that the forums were disappointing in that people seemed too focused on blaming each other for not doing enough, and therefore did not talk about the things that "can and should be done"[21]. Others took a less harsh tone, but several shared the opinion that the Forums were interesting, but did not live up to their expectations. Many were hoping that the Campaign would lead to more concrete results, and that it would not end with the two Forums.

Out of nine respondents, five said that the Forums taught them something about climate change and COP17, and six said they learned something about what they could do to make their business more sustainable. Interestingly only three of the respondents stated that they had learned something about responsible tourism; and one of the respondents who felt she had learned a lot during the Forums was not familiar with the term responsible tourism at all. This might be an indication that the concept of responsible tourism itself, along with the NMSRT, were not presented as clearly as the other topics during the Campaign. A similar trend emerges in the responses about the toolkit; while more than half of the respondents said they learned something about climate change, COP17, and what they could do in their own establishments, only two respondents said they learned something about responsible tourism. The majority of the respondents said that they found the toolkit to be useful, and some had continued to use it also after COP17 as a source of information. A less enthusiastic response was given with regards to the Responsible Visitor Charter and the Screening Checklist. While half of the respondents said they had either given the Charter to the guests or displayed it in their reception area, only one of the respondents considered it a useful tool. The general perception among the respondents was that the guests were not interested, either because they were too busy, because they did not care, or because they felt that did not want to be told what to do when they were on holiday. One of the respondents also said that the Charter was too long. Only one of the respondents followed the encouragement to hand the Charter out to their guests and asked them to return a signed copy; she received 16 signed Responsible Visitor Charters. She said that the Charter was useful, in that it made people ask questions about what she was doing

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[21] Interview, guest house, 28 March 2012

in her establishment to be more responsible[22]. An interesting observation that came out in a majority of the interviews was that the guests during COP17 were contrary to common perceptions not more conscious about the sustainable practices of their accommodation than the average visitor. In some cases the respondents claimed that their visitors during COP17 were more negligent when it came to switching off the lights and air-conditioning in their rooms, than their usual guests. The overall response from the respondents was that the international visitors in particular did not adhere to the principles of responsible tourism.

Step 2: Screening Checklist

The following screening checklist is based primarily on the National Minimum Standards for Responsible Tourism (NMSRT). The questions have been grouped under four headings: *Environmental Responsibility, Sustainable Operations and Management, Social and Cultural Responsibility, and Economic Responsibility.*

What to fill in:
For each of the questions, select either *Yes* if you already have it in place, *No* if you don't yet have it in place, or *N/A* if it does not apply to you, in the *Yes / No* column.

1. Environmental Responsibility		Yes/No
1.1	Does your facility have a responsible purchasing policy?	
1.2	Does your facility measure its energy consumption and implement measures to decrease overall consumption?	
1.3	Does your facility measure its water consumption and implement measures to decrease overall consumption?	
1.4	Does your facility implement measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and other contributions to climate change?	
1.5	Does your facility have a waste management plan to address both solid and liquid waste?	
1.6	Does your facility limit the use of harmful substances, such as pesticides, and substitute these with more environmentally friendly alternatives?	
1.7	Does your facility implement measures to reduce pollution, such as noise and light etc?	
1.8	Does your facility comply with national and international requirments governing the trade in listed, endangered, or threatened species?	
1.9	Does your facility prohibit keeping any wildlife without the required permits and appropriate enclosures?	
1.10	Does your facility use indigenous plant species for landscaping and restoration?	
1.11	Does your facility take measures to eradicate alien invasive plant species?	
1.12	Does your facility contribute to local biodiveristy conservation e.g. supporting nature reserves etc?	
1.13	Does your facility avoid having a negative impact on the surrounding natural areas and rectify any problems should they arise?	
1.14	Does your facility provide environmental information to visitors so that they can reduce their impact on nature and use of natural resources?	

2. Sustainable Operations and Management		Yes/No
2.1	Does your facility comply with all the relevant legislation and by-laws?	
2.2	Does your facility have all the necessary licences and permits?	
2.3	Does your facility have a responsible tourism policy?	
2.4	Does your facility have a long-term sustainability management system?	
2.5	Is your facility evaluating the effectiveness of actions to improve your sustainability?	
2.6	Does your facility facilitate create awareness and train staff about resposible tourism?	
2.7	Does your facility make publically available information about its resposible tourism and sustainability activities?	
2.8	Are your promotional materials accurate, complete, and do not make misleading claims about sustainability or what can be delivered?	
2.9	Does the design and construction of your facility respect the natural and / or cultural heritage surrondings?	
2.10	Does your facility provide access for people with disabilities and special needs?	
2.11	Does your facility invite customer feedback and take corrective measures where necessary?	

3. Social and Cultural Responsibility		Yes/No
3.1	Does your facility contribute to the protection of sites that are of historical, archeaolgical, cultural, and spiritual importance that are located on your property?	
3.2	Does you facility provide local communities or residents, where applicable, reasonable access the sites that are of historical, archeaolgical, cultural, and spiritual importance that are located on your property?	
3.3	Does your facility jeopardise the provision of basic services, such as water, energy, and sanitation, to neighbouring communities?	
3.4	Does your facility incorporate local art, architecture, and cultural heritage into its operations, deisgn, décor, food and shops?	
3.5	Does your facility support local development initiatives in consultation with the people from the local area who are affected?	
3.6	Does your facility provide opportunities for visitors to purchase local products and services?	
3.7	Does your facility prohibit the sale, trade or display of historical and archaeological artefacts without a permit?	
3.8	Does your facility have a code of behaviour for visits to local cultural, historical and religious sites or communities?	
3.9	Does your facility provide ifnoformation to its staff about HIV/AIDS and general well-being?	

4. Economic Responsibility		Yes/No
4.1	Does your facility use fair and equitable process for recruiting and promoting staff, in relation race, gender, and disabilities?	
4.2	Does your facility employ people from the neighbouring community?	
4.3	Does your facility provide training opportunities for your staff?	
4.4	Does your facility purchase local and fair trade goods and services?	
4.5	Does your facility support small enterprises?	
4.6	Does your facility pay employees a living wage that is equal to or above the legal minimum?	
4.7	Does your facility prohibit child labour, forced labour, and sexual exploitation?	
4.8	Does your facility report on the use of guest contributions in a transparent manner?	

Figure 3: Screening Checklist

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[22] Interview, Bed and breakfast, 31 March 2012

When answering the question of what could have been done differently in the Campaign, one of the consultants behind the toolkit identified the Screening Checklist as one of the items that did not work as well as expected[23]. This was later confirmed in the participant questionnaires. Only two of the respondents said that they had used the Screening Checklist. Several of the respondents were not familiar with the Checklist in the first place, while others said they had not used it, but did not know why. However, both the establishments who *had* utilized the Checklist stated that they found it useful, indicating that the low interest in it might not have been caused a lack of quality, but rather the fact that most of the respondents were not aware that it was a part of the Toolkit in the first place. This might be because the Screening Checklist was only available as an electronic version on the CD, and it was only briefly mentioned at the Forums. In this sense it was not promoted as well as some of the other items in the Toolkit.

Overall the respondents agreed that there was a need for a campaign such as the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign, and several of them pointed out that there is a need for awareness-raising around issues of responsible tourism. Only one of the respondents disagreed, stating that she did not feel that the Campaign was relevant for her and her guest house[24]. As mentioned above, most of the respondents attended the Campaign with the expectation of learning something new and preparing for the visitors that were coming for the international climate conference. Several respondents also believed that the Campaign would have importance beyond that of COP17, one of whom stated that he had expected the campaign to "shape things to come"[25]. Overall the respondents showed appreciation of the effort made by the municipality in organising the Campaign, and agreed that it was important that something was done to create awareness about these important issues. However, there were concerns that the Campaign was just an initiative that was put in place before COP17, and that once the conference was over the municipality's interest in the topic, and the hospitality sector, would fade. There were strong sentiments among the respondents – both the stakeholders and the participants – that they want the Campaign to continue, and potentially become an avenue for providing information about new technologies and strategies to the accommodation industry in and around the city. This would also provide a channel of communication between the sector and the municipality.

At the time of the interviews the majority of the respondents had not made significant changes in their establishments. Some had made minor changes such as replacing light bulbs with energy efficient ones and introduced recycling systems, but it was difficult to establish a direct link between

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[23] Interview, Michael van Niekerk, Futureworks, 17 February 2012
[24] Interview, guest house, 18 April 2012
[25] Interview, guest house, 28 March 2012

these efforts and the Campaign itself, as many would have made the changes anyway, either out of their own interest or because of the upcoming climate conference. However, some of the respondents said that they were inspired by the Campaign, and that they were considering or planning to make more changes in the future. The major obstacles to doing so were stated as cost and the amount of time and effort it would take to make these changes in their buildings. Three of the respondents specifically stated that their buildings did not allow for or have space for the installation of many of the suggested greening strategies, such as recycling bins, composting, and water re-use systems.

One of the purposes of the Campaign was to promote the formal certification standards that exist on the market. These were represented at both of the forums, and their contact information was provided in the Responsible Accommodation Toolkit. Despite these efforts, none of the companies had experienced any increase in demand for their certification services after the Campaign[26], and only one of the participants interviewed had started the certification process after the Campaign. This particular respondent was already dedicated to converting her bed and breakfast into an environmentally responsible one, and had already made many changes in her facility before attending the Forums. She had also decided to embark upon the certification process before being invited to the Campaign, and therefore saw the Forums as an avenue to learn more about the various options, and get in touch with the certifiers directly. The Campaign was therefore not the reason why she chose to get certified, but became an avenue for her to get in touch with the certifiers. Since then she has had her review with Green Leaf, and it is expected that the bed and breakfast will be formally certified later on this year. The majority of the remaining respondents said that they would have liked to get certified, but that the high cost, combined with the less quantifiable benefits in terms of market advantage and savings, was the main obstacle for actually going through with it. There was a general perception that although initiatives such as reducing water and energy use might make financial sense in the long run, the certification itself would not provide them with advantages that are significant enough to make up for the cost.

Overall the respondents' feedback to the *idea* of the Campaign was positive, and it seems clear that it was considered a useful initiative from the municipality's side. However, the Campaign did not fulfil all the participants' expectations. Firstly, many of the respondents considered the Campaign to be an avenue through which they could communicate with the municipality, and get answers to their questions. As discussed above this was also one of the aims of the municipality during the planning of the Campaign. Unfortunately, several of the respondents felt that their questions were

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[26] Interviews with the three certification bodies, 26 March, 3 April and 18 April 2012

still unanswered after the forums, and that it was difficult to get in touch with the municipality and service providers before and after the forums. Secondly, many were hoping for more concrete outcomes of the Campaign, and were hopeful that the Campaign would become the beginning of something more. From the municipality's side the future of the Campaign has not yet been determined, as the Campaign was rolled out as a pilot project and is currently under evaluation. The interview with EPCPD revealed that the department does not believe that the Campaign can continue under their mandate, but recent restructuring of the municipality's tourism unit, as well as the possible establishment of a Green Event Office, might reveal opportunities for a continuance of the Campaign elsewhere within the municipality. The next section will reflect on these and other opportunities and challenges experienced under and after the Campaign, and how this can inform the municipality going forward.

5.4 Opportunities and challenges

As discussed in section 5.2 above one of the rationalities that motivated the Campaign was the intent to improve the communication between the municipality and the accommodation sector, after this was identified as a weakness of the Greening Durban 2010 programme. This, combined with the realisation that the city needed to engage with the accommodation sector to achieve its status as a green event destination, led the EPCPD to follow one of the recommendations made during the provincial green economy project, and implement a system to promote greener, or more responsible, tourism practices. The whole project followed a participatory approach, by consulting with various relevant private stakeholders from the concept development, through to implementation of the Campaign. The interviews conducted for the purposes of this research have showed that this form of governing-beyond-the-state was well received by the participating actors. The operations manager at FEDHASA for example, praised the effort of the planning team for continuously engaging with him – as a representative body for the accommodation sector – and other stakeholders in the process: 'That gang were all really enthusiastic about what they were doing, and believed every bit of it… they went exactly the right way'[27]. He further said that the team behind the Campaign were different from what one has come to expect from event coordinators, who often do the job for the sake of earning a salary without genuinely caring about the outcome.

The interaction between the municipality and the private sector to a certain extent also continued throughout the implementation of the Campaign, by encouraging questions and discussion during the forums. Some of the respondents did however indicate that they would have liked to see this initiative taken further, so that they, as the participants of the Campaign, could have been more

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[27] Interview, Warren Ozzard, FEDHASA, 28 February 2012

involved in the future formation of policies that would ultimately affect them. When asked whether there was a need for a Campaign such as the Responsible Accommodation Campaign, one of the respondents said: 'Yes, and I still think there is, but … it shouldn't be government driven at all… industry should drive it'[28]. He explained his argument with the reasoning that industry would never waste their time and effort on something that wasn't meaningful as they would be the ones to be affected. By being involved, the industry would also get the opportunity to shape government initiatives, such as the Campaign, to better accommodate the reality of the private sector. The interest in being more involved in the Campaign was not universal among the participants, but those who were actively interested in creating changes in the industry also expressed an interest in being a part of shaping it. One respondent stated that:

> "They need to do another campaign, but before that all the heads of the different departments need to come together and they need to talk and ask each other questions. I would love to be there to facilitate it!"[29]

The Campaign participants' interest in being a part of the policy process provides an opportunity for the municipality going forward, when it comes to developing successful climate or environmental programmes and projects. On the one hand it has the potential to provide valuable information about the market and the industry, at a lower level of administrative and financial cost that a traditional survey. It can be argued that the positive feedback regarding the way the concept was developed indicates that the inclusive and consultative methodology is appreciated within the industry. Finally, the mere fact that the concept changed so dramatically through the stakeholder consultations, from the idea of developing a new certification standard to the implementation of a promotional and educational campaign demonstrates how much of an impact such consultations can have, and how what the municipality believes to be an efficient governing strategy might differ significantly from what the industry will accept and find useful. The experiences from this Campaign therefore provide the municipality with the opportunity to build on this feedback, by continuing and potentially further exploring the interactive relationship with the industry in the future. As the majority of the respondents said that if there are more forums in the future they would attend, a potential future for the Campaign itself has the industry's support. It is, however, important here to keep in mind the limitation acknowledged in Chapter Four: As only a small portion of the industry attended the forums it cannot be established whether this view represents the industry as a whole, or merely the section of the industry that chose to attend the Campaign forums.

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[28] Interview, guest house, 28 March 2012
[29] Interview, bed and breakfast, 31 March 2012

In section 5.3 above it was pointed out that the most frequent reason stated for why the participants decided to attend the forums was that they wanted to learn more about the topic. This can be considered an indication that the enabling mode of governing that is dominant in eThekwini municipality is appropriate for at least a portion of the accommodation industry. However, considering the high number of non-attending facilities it is also possible that the vast majority of the accommodation facilities will not respond to enabling policies alone, and therefore other methods should be explored. One suggestion that was frequently brought up among the respondents was the option of introducing financial incentives for investing in green technologies and solutions. This could for example take form of a discount on rates and levies if a facility invests in energy and water saving measures. This form of 'inducement' was also mentioned by Bulkeley and Kern (2006) as a necessary instrument if enabling modes of governing are to be successful in bringing about real changes. As cost was one of the most frequently mentioned obstacles to implementing various greening methods among the respondents, this challenge needs to be taken seriously if the municipality wants to succeed in increasing the number of establishments who adhere to the responsible tourism standards.

The research manager at Tourism KZN argued that "money is very tight now… in the tourism sector. If there's a way for people to save money, they'll do it"[30]. This is especially applicable to smaller facilities such as bed and breakfasts and guest houses, where there is often very little room for extra expenses if the total business is to operate profitably. It can therefore be difficult to justify the investment in retrofitting a building with new energy saving light bulbs and solar panels etc. unless the benefits of doing so can be understood in financial terms. This is seen as a challenge also by the certification bodies, as it is part of their job to convince the accommodation facilities that all the necessary investments in green solutions, in addition to the cost of certification itself, is worth it. While on the one hand the pure changes in electricity consumption can be traced and its actual value calculated, the benefits in terms of visitors' preferences and marketing advantage are harder to quantify[31]. The marketing of the responsible tourism concept therefore seems to need a clear financial or savings aspect to convince the end-user, i.e. the accommodation facility. It is possible that doing so might enable the city to reach a portion of those who did not attend the Campaign as well. A financial incentive would thereby not only appeal to the portion of the industry who attended the Campaign forums, but potentially also to the ones who are currently not that interested in the topic, by promoting it as an opportunity to save.

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[30] Interview, Karen Kohler, TKZN, 1 March 2012
[31] Interview, Kathy Bergs, Fair Trade in Tourism SA, 26 March 2012

This study has shown that in order to address the challenge of increasing participation in initiatives such as the Campaign it seems necessary to broaden the modes of governing from one of enabling purely through information and awareness raising, to one that also encompasses some of the principles of governing by provision. One of the issues raised at the Forums in particular highlighted this argument. During the Forums, several of the participants raised the topic of the orange bag system, which was put in place in Durban as a system for paper and plastic recycling. While most of the respondents seemed interested in using this system, or were already using it, several raised complaints about not receiving the bags and not knowing where to collect them. This can be seen as an indication that the willingness to engage in recycling activities is increased when a service is provided that makes it easier for them. Although some of the larger hotels in Durban have employed a waste management service provider to recycle their waste, this is usually a much too costly option for a smaller facility. Several of the smaller facilities said that they would store their own recyclable waste and drive it to a nearby recycling centre themselves, but others considered the storing of recyclable goods in between to be a problem and would have liked to see a service which collected other recyclable goods in the same way that DSW now collects paper and plastic. This example of governing by provision could enhance the sector's adherence to the responsible tourism standards, by enabling businesses to make small and low-cost changes in their everyday practices.

Another challenge that was raised by several respondents, and also to an extent recognised by the municipality when the campaign was initiated, was the lack of trust in the municipality. During the discussion parts of the forums, several questions were raised about the municipality's own greening initiatives, and the quality of their service delivery, such as the inconsistent delivery of orange bags mentioned above. One of the respondents said:

> 'They need to do a campaign, but before that all of the heads of the different departments need to come together and they need to talk and ask each other questions… They don't work together, but if they did they could run a campaign… That is the biggest problem with the council; they don't talk to each other!'[32]

This indicates the importance of good self-governing and governing by provision initiatives, as these serve not only to contribute to achieving the municipality's policy goals directly, but also indirectly by providing a good example of the municipality's commitment for the public. Another respondent stated that she had tried to call the municipality with questions about greening strategies she could implement in her facility to save water and electricity, but that she kept on being transferred from

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[32] Interview, bed and breakfast, 31 March 2012

person to person with no one being able to give her answers[33]. If the main strategy of the municipality to govern the industry's behaviour on climate affecting activities is through providing information and education, it is vital that the foundation that this information is built upon is stable. In other words, the municipality's self-governing is an important platform for establishing a level of trust between the municipality and the private sector.

The focus on the municipality's self-governing measures during the Campaign was also indicated in the interim evaluation forms which were handed out at the end of the second Forum: People did find the Campaign useful, but they also wanted to know what they city's plans are for the future, and whether they would create incentives for the accommodation facilities to become greener for future events[34]. The challenge for the municipality is therefore linked to how they can improve their own greening initiatives, and function as a good example for the rest of the sector. On the one hand this criticism could partly be addressed by improving the provision of information about the city's current greening initiatives, beyond those of event greening. A Masters student doing her thesis on Durban youth and their knowledge about climate change found that the general knowledge about the city's climate protection initiatives is low (Borg, forthcoming); thereby indicating that although there are several on-going projects in the city, these are not well known to the general public. On the other hand the city should strive towards a greater degree of streamlining of these issues across the various departments, and as was suggested above, ensure that the various departments communicate with each other to be able to provide the hospitality industry – and others – with answers to their queries about green issues.

Overall the Campaign has served as a good pilot project to explore the opportunities for developing a long term greening strategy for the hospitality sector. By using a network approach to governing and interacting with the private industry throughout the process, the municipality have now gained important information about what it takes to motivate the sector to engage in principles of responsible tourism. It has revealed that awareness-raising and the provision of relevant information is considered useful by the part of the sector that attended the Campaign forums, but that there is also a need to provide incentives – preferably in the form of financial ones – if they want to achieve greater buy-in in the process of creating a more responsible tourism sector. This process can also become the beginning of a more long-term consultative relationship with the sector, as several of the respondents stated that they would like to be more involved in the municipality's policy-making around these issues. Some of the key stakeholders specifically made the point that it was inspiring to work with a group who really took their opinions into account when planning the Campaign. The fact

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[33] Interview, guest house, 27 March, 2012
[34] Interview, Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13 February 2012

that the consultative process contributed to drastic changes in the project concept also indicates that the feedback received was useful, and perhaps necessary, for the successful implementation of the Campaign. Although the city still faces challenges when it comes to broadening the interest among the accommodation facilities in the principles of responsible tourism, this process has given useful insight in how this can be achieved.

5.5 How does the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign reveal the form of governmentality in eThekwini municipality?

The previous sections have given an indication of the rationalities behind the Campaign, and the background to how it was developed. This section aims to discuss this in more detail; to consider how the rationalities of government in eThekwini municipality relate to a technology of rule in the form of an awareness raising Campaign, and how this is linked to the dominating mode of governing in the city. Finally, how and to what extent the current form of governing supports the rationalities behind the city's climate governance, and whether other forms of governing, other technologies of rule, can contribute to the successful achievement of the municipality's stated goals will be discussed.

As has been revealed earlier in this dissertation, Durban is seen as a leader within the field of climate protection policy on the continent, and the city's greening programmes are far more progressive than those of most other African cities. The city has a strong biodiversity focus, with a range of various projects focused on preserving natural resources, and protecting the city's green spaces. This can on the one hand to a large extent be linked to the existence of strong environmental champions within the municipality, who have played a very important role in placing the environment and the climate on the city's agenda. On the other hand it can also be linked to an overriding rationality of promoting a green economy, which has been observed at the national and provincial, in addition to the local level of government. Since the hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 2010, the rationality behind the city's greening programmes has become more events driven, with a focus on creating an image of the city that appeals to international event coordinators and visitors. As argued above, this fits into a broader context of greening the tourism sector, which is a significant part of the green economy concept.

A central part of these programmes have been awareness raising projects, such as the production of the Green Guidelines series in 2010, and the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign in 2011. These technologies of government fall in under the enabling mode of governing in Bulkeley and Kern's (2006) framework, which entails the government providing the population with the necessary information to take responsibility for their own impact on the environment. As

demonstrated in the previous section, for the part of the industry – in this case the hospitality industry – that is already interested in issues of climate and environmental protection, awareness raising and education is a welcome strategy to encourage better practices. However, to further broaden this impact, and potentially reach those who are less interested in the topic on a purely moral basis, there was a clear opinion among the respondents that the savings benefits of making green changes need to become more visible. This can be done through financial incentives, but also by demonstrating the savings opportunities of the greening strategies that facilities can implement on their own. This study has shown that easier access to relevant green services would encourage the participants of the Campaign to use them.

Financial incentives as a technology of rule could potentially broaden the impact of the city's climate change governance. Although this is still considered a part of the enabling mode of governing, it represents a move towards governing by provision as it involves the municipality actively providing the industry with an incentive to change their ways, as opposed to just telling them how. Although the city has made some progress on this arena through the orange bag system, and an inner-city public transport system (the People Mover), the above analysis has shown that a much broader system of incentives and provision needs to be implemented to achieve a greater buy-in in the greening process from the hospitality sector. Several of the respondents were concerned that the Campaign was just a temporary project to improve the city's image before COP17. The operations manager at FEDHASA shared this concern and stated that "I think they must carry on [otherwise] people will just say it's window dressing for COP17 and now it's finished"[35]. The response from one of the Campaign participants also confirmed this view through sharing her story:

> "In January 2010 I decided to go green with my B&B, so I went to the municipality and asked them all these questions on how to go about, but they didn't have any answers for me. But then COP came, and all of a sudden they decided to green this whole event. Or to band aid it, which we call it, because they are just putting a band aid on a broken arm, it is not going to fix anything. I mean why should we just green the events?"[36]

As event greening has become a more prominent focus in the city recently these concerns are not surprising. Since the Campaign the city has also published the Green Event Guideline, and there are talks about establishing a Green Events Office within the municipality[37]. Although the city also has a range of other greening initiatives on the biodiversity side, these are much less visible to the public, and therefore the event greening has to a large extent become the image of the city's overall

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[35] Interview, Warren Ozzard, FEDHASA, 28 February 2012
[36] Interview, bed and breakfast, 31 March 2012
[37] Interview, Manisha Maganlal, EPCPD, 13 February 2012

greening initiative. The fact that several of the respondents questioned whether the city's intentions of greening were genuine or just an act to fulfil a certain image indicates that there is still significant scope for improvement in terms of providing services that in a more direct way can assist the private sector in greening their business.

During an interview with the EPCPD representative it was highlighted that the city is not a regulator; it is an implementer[37], i.e. the local government implements the regulations provided by the national government. In this same line of argument Aall *et al*(2007) found that, in the case of Norway, the contributions to climate policy at the local level largely depends on the commitments on a national level, a generalisation that they believed could be generalised also to municipalities outside of Norway. The background for this statement is that the scope for local climate policy is often not clearly defined, and therefore relies largely on the willpower and persistence of a few local champions to promote it. In South Africa there are no national directives restricting local municipalities' climate policies; in fact such policies are in line with recent calls from the government to promote a green economy and creation of green jobs in the country. Thus there are no limitations on the city in terms of implementing climate protecting initiatives, besides potentially their budget and a lack of political will to do so. However, there are also no specific directives instructing them to design and implement specific forms of climate policy, leaving the playing field relatively open to the individual municipality's own initiative.

Although the main mandate of the local government is service delivery, one of the coordinators behind the Campaign within the EPCPD stated that they are also "responsible for promoting a number of initiatives... And the city could make a call and have a position around how it wants to do its business"[3], confirming that there is significant scope for action at the local level. On the one hand, several initiatives that the industry can take to improve the level of environmental and climate responsibility in their businesses, are linked to the use of basic services such as electricity, water and waste management. Suggestions such as introducing financial incentives in the form of discounts on rates for those who install water and electricity saving measures in their facilities can therefore be implemented mainly at the local level and naturally fall within the municipality's mandate. On the other hand, greening initiatives are, in line with both national and provincial policy, something the city of Durban has already promoted through their existing range of projects. However, despite the city's strong position on climate protection, and its willingness to run projects to support it, Durban seems to find itself in the same position as many European local municipalities, where governing through provision takes a backseat while the focus remains on awareness raising and self-governing. This is often seen as a parallel to the mainstreaming of neoliberal ideology that has dominated the

political picture in South Africa since 1994; as seen in Chapter Two, an enabling approach to governing can be argued to transfer the responsibility of protecting the climate from the state to the individual and the private industry.

Although the Campaign revealed that awareness raising campaigns are seen as useful by most of the respondents, this can only be proven to be applicable to the small group of invitees who decided to participate in the Forums. Although no research has been done to confirm this, it is likely that the majority of non-participants chose not to come to the forums because they did not consider it a valuable use of their time. If this is the case it means that only around eight per cent of the industry considers awareness-raising in the form of a campaign useful enough that they were willing to attend the Forums. Several of the key stakeholders interviewed, such as FEDHASA and TKZN, indicated that although a campaign was a good initiative, and recommended that the municipality made the Campaign an annual event, it was not the most efficient way to convince the industry as a whole to change their ways. As mentioned previously, cost incentives, and palpable demonstrations of how these initiatives can help them save and run their businesses in more cost efficient ways were stated as ways more likely to effectively make a difference in the sector overall. In other words, the current mode of climate governing through enabling in eThekwini can be considered a valuable beginning of greening the industry, but a broader approach is necessary if a larger portion of the industry is to be targeted.

The Campaign was a pilot project and its interactive approach of network governance has revealed the need for a broadening of the city's approach to climate governing beyond that of the current form of enabling. The city's willingness to engage in such an approach in the first place can be seen as an indication of their genuine interest in creating climate policy that actually makes a difference, rather than implementing a policy for the sake of 'ticking a box' or creating a certain image. However, the concerns among the respondents that the Campaign was a case of 'window dressing' or 'band aid' to make the city look better for its international visitors during COP17 must be taken seriously. The feedback from both key stakeholders in the process of developing the Campaign, as well as the responses during interviews with the Campaign participants, gave an indication of what is needed to take the impact on the industry a step further. The industry expressed a wish for a system that provides incentives for installing climate and environmental friendly solutions and practices in their facilities, and it so happens that this falls inside the city's mandate as an implementer and a service provider. This reflects the statement made in the beginning of this dissertation that different forms of governing are likely to reach different sections of the population, and therefore a combination of governing methods are required to make a broad impact in protecting the climate.

Whether the city confirms its reputation as a leader within the climate protection field, or the concerns of the industry that the Campaign was just a show case for COP17, will rely on the next step in the process, and whether this follows up on the feedback from the private sector. This would entail moving beyond what has become the dominant form of climate governance in many local municipalities, both in European cities, and to a large extent locally in Durban. This finding is similar to those identified in the current work in the province on designing a green economy strategy: The state has to lead the process, but through all the four modes of governing, and with continuous input from the private sector.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the main findings of the study. It has shown that the Campaign was initiated as a response to recommendations made at the green economy project on provincial level, as well as in an attempt to restore good communications with the hospitality sector after the municipality failed to do so during the Greening Durban 2010 programme. Along with the intent to contribute to a green economy, the idea of branding the city as a green event destination has been identified as a rationality of government in Durban. The technologies of rule, the policies implemented to accommodate these rationalities, are mainly forms of self-governing and governing through enabling; the latter of which the Campaign provides a good example. The Campaign can be considered a success in that it was well received by key stakeholders and the participants, and because it can become the beginning of a process where the city's climate governance strategies are continuously improved to expand their impact. However, the Campaign only appealed to a small portion of the hospitality industry, and the responses of the participants combined excitement and disappointment. It is evident that the municipality needs to implement a stronger and more visible form of self-governing, improved governing through enabling, as well as a move towards governing by provision if it is to appeal to a broader target group with its greening strategies. This Campaign provides an invaluable learning experience that the municipality must consider in future policy making.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Environmental and climate governance has recently become a topic of interest across the world, parallel to a general increase in interest in climate related issues. More specifically the focus on the role of local governments in climate protection can be linked to the realisation that climate change as a problem is both global and local in nature. This is true both in terms of the causes, and the impacts of climate change. This development has led to a wave of studies on local climate governance, attempting to lay the foundation for progressive climate policies also in local governments. However, these studies generally tend to focus on cities and municipalities in European countries, and are therefore not necessarily applicable in a developing country context. This dissertation therefore aims to contribute to this knowledge by applying the concepts and theoretical frameworks of local climate governing and governmentality in an African context. The case study used for these purposes is eThekwini municipality in South Africa, which is internationally recognised as a leader in the field of climate protection on the municipal level. Through a framework of the modes of climate governing developed by Bulkeley and Kern (2006), as well as by using the concepts of Focauldian governmentality theory, this dissertation has discussed the state of environmental governance in the municipality, using the COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign as a case study.

In the above context the dissertation considers the current state of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini municipality; the key drivers behind the Campaign, and how the Campaign developed from idea to implementation; the impacts the Campaign had on its participants, and their feedback about the Campaign; reflections on the opportunities and challenges of the Campaign; and finally how the Campaign revealed the form of environmental and climate governance present in eThekwini municipality. The research was conducted in three stages; observation, key stakeholder interviews, and a participant questionnaire. This provided the researcher with a nuanced view of the Campaign, with insights from the various role players throughout the process.

The study has considered the rationalities of government in Durban, identified as the intent to promote a green economy, and in particular to promote the city as a green event destination. This has largely been motivated by the hosting of mega events such as the FIFA World Cup and the UNFCCC COP17 in the city. The Campaign can in this context be considered a technology of rule; a policy tool to achieve the aims that are identified in the government's rationalities. As an awareness raising campaign it is also a good example of governing through enabling – a mode of governing that focuses on the education of individuals and private industry, to enable them to implement climate protecting strategies. What became evident through the interviews was that both the key stakeholders and the Campaign participants agreed that there was a need for an awareness raising Campaign in the city. However, there were also strong feelings that the city should move beyond this and introduce financial incentives to encourage the industry to change their practices in line with the minimum standards for responsible tourism. In eThekwini, as in many European cities, the modes of self-governing and governing through enabling are the most dominant ones, although the self-governing mode in eThekwini should be made more visible to the private industry in order to improve the level of trust in the municipality's intentions for greening.

The evaluation of the Campaign and the feedback from the participants have showed that a move towards a mode of governing through provision is necessary, in order to achieve greater participation of the industry as a whole. Overall the form of environmental and climate governance in eThekwini has been dominated by self-governing projects, such as biodiversity and conservation initiatives, and more recently there has been an increase in the number of awareness raising projects. Interestingly the growth of awareness raising and educational projects is parallel to the emergence of the green event rationality within the municipality. The findings presented in this dissertation show that a progressive move beyond the current state of climate governance towards more pro-active initiatives is likely to have an impact on a broader section of the population. Governing by provision has the potential to secure greater buy-in from the industry and broaden the target group by appealing to various forms of personal rationalities. In other words, the municipality cannot rely on the industry's good intentions to protect the environment alone; this study has shown that financial incentives and improved access to green services are needed to reach a larger portion of the industry.

Overall the Campaign can be considered a successful pilot project, which has laid the foundation for good communications with the industry, and was overall well received by its stakeholders and participants. However, it has also created a level of expectation within the industry that more can be done, and the municipality is seen as an important facilitator and service provider in this respect. At

the same time, what should be considered in a potential future for the Campaign, and similar projects, is that several representatives of the industry showed an interest and willingness to participate in policy processes, thereby making this Campaign a potential springboard for future cooperation between the public and the private tourism sector. The challenge for the municipality going forward is to find the balance between involving a broad range of stakeholders in the development of future policy, while still maintaining the role as a leader and a facilitator. What has become evident throughout this study is the need for the municipality to act as a consistent and reliable actor in the field of climate governance. As a city that already has an international reputation for good climate governance, Durban now needs to build rapport and trust locally, in order to engage local industry in responsible environmental and climate practice. A step in that direction includes learning from the experiences of this Campaign, and broadening the scope of their environmental and climate governance to appeal to everyone in the city. In this way the city and its climate governance programme would move towards governing through partnership, which has more recently been identified as the fifth mode of environmental governance (Bulkeley, *et al*, 2009). Governing through partnership occurs when non-state actors work with local government undertaking voluntary actions and providing knowledge to address climate change (Bulkeley, *et al*, 2009). The state, the private sector and civil society accept responsibility for, and share knowledge and skills in climate governance thereby working collaboratively to address the problem. This research has revealed that all the actors are motivated and committed to work in this partnership, and the process and value of this collaboration could be assessed in future research.

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Participant questionnaire:

COP17/CMP7 Responsible Accommodation Campaign

Facility:

Person interviewed:

Date:

Time:

Contact details:

Question:	Yes	No
Did you attend the first Responsible Accommodation Forum?		
If yes, did you find it informative and helpful? Please explain you answer Why did you decide to come to the Forum?		
Did you attend the second Responsible Accommodation Forum?		
If yes, did you find it informative and helpful? Please explain you answer Why did you decide to come to the Forum?		

In the Forums, what did you learn about:
  a) Climate Change?
  b) COP17/CMP7?
  c) Responsible tourism?
  d) What you can do in your establishment to make it more environmentally responsible/sustainable?
Was this new information or did you know about most of what was presented in the forum?		

Did you receive the toolkit?		
Have you spent some time looking at it?		

If yes, did it provide you with new knowledge about:
  a) Climate Change?
  b) COP17/CMP7?
  c) Responsible tourism?
  d) What you can do in your establishment to make it more environmentally responsible/sustainable?		

Did you receive the Responsible Visitor Charter?		
If yes, did you use it?		
Do you think this was a useful tool?		

Do you have the perception that this affected your visitors' consumption patterns during their stay?		
Would you like to keep using it?		
Did your guests seem interested in questions around green and responsible tourism? If yes, please elaborate:		
Did you use the Screening Checklist?		
If yes, did you find it useful?		
Did it give you a better insight into how you can make your establishment more environmentally sustainable?		
Do you think there was a need for a campaign like this?		
Has the Campaign motivated you to make changes in your facility?		
If yes, specify: Conserving water Reduce energy usage Invest in more sustainable waste practices Other: If no, why: Cost Time Don't care Don't know how Other:		
Is your facility certified with any of the following: a) Heritage South Africa b) Fair Trade in Tourism c) Green Leaf Environmental Standard d) Other (please specify)		
If yes, when did you get certified? If recently, did the Responsible Accommodation Campaign influence your decision to get certified?		
If no, do you intend to get certified in the future? Please explain why/why not:		
Has the Campaign motivated you to change your personal everyday habits in a more environmentally sustainable direction?		
Do you think environmental sustainability is important?		
Has the Campaign affected your views on climate change?		
What do you think were the strengths and weaknesses about this Campaign?		

What else would motivate you to make your establishment more environmentally sustainable?
What can the local government do to help you become more environmentally sustainable?
What are the major obstacles for you to become more environmentally responsible?
Has this had any other benefits or outcomes to you?
Is there anything else that you would like to add?