

Tourism and Development: A case study of Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape Non-Profit Organisation

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By Kelly Alexandra Hitchcock
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Supervisor: Professor Monty Roodt

Abstract

The former Transkei region of the Eastern Cape of South Africa, in common with many of the other former Bantustans, is currently facing a developmental backlog. It is one of the poorest regions of the country and is a direct product of South Africa's history of colonisation and geopolitical nature of apartheid in which people were forcibly located onto former tribal lands, called Bantustans.

Tourism is one of the few business opportunities providing employment along the former Transkei coast. The tourism industry has been identified by many worldwide as a key strategy that can lead to economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief in the developing world. The predicament however, lies in the challenge of accepting or managing the negative consequences of tourism for the potential long term benefits offered by tourism-led development.

Tourism development theory reflects development theory from traditional, top-down economic-growth based models to a more wide based approach with an emphasis on bottom-up planning, meeting of basic human need and a focus on sustainable development. Consequentially new and alternative forms of tourism have emerged and can be viewed as a response to some of the negative consequences of the mass tourism-led model of economic development. Backpacker tourism is one niche of the tourism market that is providing positive local socioeconomic benefits.

This thesis is presented as a case study of Mdumbi Backpackers on the former Transkei coast. Mdumbi Backpackers is a unique example of a model of tourism that is providing

meaningful benefits to the people who live in this community. By going one step further with the creation of the non-profit organisation Transcape, their involvement in the community has grown significantly, encouraging positive and sustainable development in the areas of social development, education and health.

Mdumbi Backpackers goes beyond the notions of locally owned and sustainable approaches and actively encourages development by setting up community organisations and initiatives in a sustainable and equitable way. This approach to tourism-led development is well suited for the needs and objectives of the community as well preserving the natural environment. This thesis presents an exemplary example from which lessons can be learned and applied to developing tourism in a sustainable and equitable way in other rural communities.

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This research is dedicated to the community of Tshani Mankosi. This place in the Transkei will always hold a very special place in my heart.

List of Abbreviations

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
ARV	Antiretroviral Viral
ASEP	After School Enrichment Programme
EEU	Environmental Evaluation Unit
EU	European Union
FTTSA	Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HDI	Human Development Index
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MAEP	Mankosi Adult Education Project
MCA	Mankosi Community Association
MGD	Mdumbi Green Destination
MLRA	Marine Living Resource Act
MTA	Mankosi Tribal Authority
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
PCD	People Centred Development
PDI	Previously Disadvantaged Individual

PTO	Permission to Occupy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABS	South African Bureau of Standards
SALP	Structural Adjustment Lending Program
SANParks	South African National Parks
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAT	South African Tourism
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise
TRANSFORM	Training and Support for Resource Management
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nation Environmental Program
WB	World Bank
WTTC	World Trade and Tourism Council

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Travel is one of the most common and ancient aspects of human life and its origins date back to ancient times. There are numerous reasons for travel, ranging from leisure and recreation, business, sport, education, health, and visiting family or friends. As society has progressed and evolved over time, with advancements in technology and communication, so too has travel and the approaches to tourism. Tourism has become one of the fastest growing industries today, and it is expected to carry on expanding as people continue to discover more destinations and the travel industry becomes more organised and proficient.

Given the significant growth of the tourism industry and the economic worth it holds, tourism has been identified by numerous academics, governments, and development practitioners worldwide as an effective means of achieving social and economic development in destination areas, especially in the context of developing countries. It is within the context of the developing world that attention is frequently focused on “tourism as a developmental catalyst” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 2).

In many ways, the evolution of the approaches to tourism development theory mirror the changes in development theory; beginning with a modernisation approach, following through with the subsequent paradigms of dependency, economic liberalism to a focus on sustainability within a search for a new alternative development paradigm. The modernisation approach to tourism can be seen in large scale hotels and resorts, which are criticized on the basis of being anti-ethical to development as they involve high levels of abstraction and low levels of local involvement, and aim at quick economic revenues, placing little emphasis on environmental and social impacts and sustainable development (France, 1997: 10; Wall, 1997: 36; Christou, 2012: 1).

The birth of alternative forms of tourism can be attributed to criticism of mass tourism and its negative effects on a destination area. Alternative forms of tourism grew rapidly out of the need to remedy mass tourism’s negative impact on the environment and the host destination and stresses slow sustainable growth, allowing more sensitivity for

local socioeconomic needs. Alternative tourism incorporates many different varieties of tourism including small scale tourism, eco-tourism, community based tourism and backpacker tourism. Alternative tourism aims to improve “consistency with natural, social and community values, as alternative tourism could have less negative effects on destination areas, environment and population without diminishing positive economic effects” (Christou, 2012: 1). Studies on backpacker tourism have shown to lead to a wide range of economic, social, cultural and environmental positive developments in the host destination (Visser, 2004; Nigel & Benson, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002; Visser & Barker, 2004). Backpacker tourism tends to avoid many of the pitfalls of mass tourism as it is more informal and situated within communities.

Since the democratic transition in 1994, tourism in South Africa has been acknowledged as an increasingly important sector for South Africa’s economy and for achieving the government’s goals for reconstruction and development (Visser & Rogerson, 2001: 201). Due to a long legacy of colonialism and apartheid, South Africa is currently ranked among one of the poorest countries with the highest level of inequality and unemployment in the world (SAPA, 2012). A lot of effort has gone into promoting South Africa as a unique tourist destination based on the competitive advantages the country holds due to its natural and cultural resources. It is widely agreed upon that the tourism sector can contribute significantly towards sustainability and pro-poor growth in South Africa, and one of the most promising opportunities to achieve this goal is through alternative forms of tourism, such as backpacker tourism. Numerous studies have demonstrated the local economic benefits of this form of tourism as it avoids many of the pitfalls of large scale commercial tourism as it tends to be informal and situated within communities.

1.1 Problem statement

Due to the long history of colonisation and apartheid, the Transkei region of the Eastern Cape, in common with many of the Apartheid era Bantustan rural areas of South Africa, is experiencing a development backlog and it remains one of the poorest regions in South Africa. This backlog is largely due to the government’s continued failure to provide any real support for development opportunities in these rural communities. One of the areas where development is occurring is tourism. In recent years, tourism has

been identified as a significant development option in post-apartheid South Africa (Binns & Nel, 2002: 235). The dilemma therefore lies in developing a model of tourism that holds the principles of local participation, environmental sustainability and community upliftment as essential to the development process to ensure development benefits the lives of the people who live here.

1.2 Research question

Using Mdumbi Backpackers and the associated non-profit organisation Transcape as a case study, what are the impacts of this form of tourism on the surrounding community?

1.3 Research goals

By evaluating the model of development used by Transcape Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) and Mdumbi Backpackers, the following goals were determined:

- To understand the underlying philosophy driving this 'new' approach;
- To determine the extent of real control that communities have;
- To consider whether this development model is sustainable;
- To determine what lessons can be learnt and applied elsewhere;
- To determine the benefits that accrue to the surrounding community.

1.4 Research methods

In order to achieve the desired goals a lengthy time in the field was required to gain a broad understanding of the community and how Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape NPO operate within the field of tourism and development. The research is informed by a qualitative interpretive paradigm based on people's subjective experiences in and amongst the community. Therefore the main research methods used were structured and semi-structured in-depth interviews with employees of Mdumbi Backpackers and members of Transcape and the community.

1.5 Chapter outline

This thesis is therefore set out as follows:

Chapter 2 discusses the growth and expansion of the tourism industry and considers why tourism has come to be viewed as a developmental catalyst. Thereafter the costs and the benefits of tourism led development will be explained in depth.

Chapter 3 discusses the different approaches to tourism and development which mirrors development theory, starting with a modernisation approach and following through the consequent paradigms of dependency, economic neo-liberalism, and alternative development. Under the new alternative development paradigm, sustainable development and participation are key themes which are discussed. Thereafter, the emergence of the alternative tourism development paradigm is explained and some of the new forms of tourism which are emerging from it.

In **Chapter 4** the different forms of tourism will be reviewed. Beginning with mass tourism and mass tourism in South Africa, following through to new forms of tourism emerging under the alternative tourism paradigm. Thereafter backpacker tourism will be discussed and the developmental impacts of backpacker tourism, ending with a discussion of backpacker tourism in South Africa.

In **Chapter 5** tourism and development in South Africa is outlined. The changes in the approach to tourism during apartheid and post-apartheid are discussed as well as the future of tourism development in South Africa.

In **Chapter 6** the methodology of the research is described, including the research design, research methods, ethical considerations and limitations, the research sample and the data collection process.

Chapter 7 provides a historical overview of the Bantustans and the historical developments that have shaped the socioeconomic landscape of the Transkei. A background to Tshani Mankosi, where the case study for this research is based, is given and demonstrated why the current landscape is a product of this history.

Chapter 8 describes Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape non-profit organisation and the underlying philosophy driving this new type of tourism-led development approach.

In **Chapter 9** the benefits that accrue to the surrounding community through Mdumbi Backpackers approach to tourism are discussed.

Chapter 10 outlines the different development projects set up by Transcape NPO and provides an in-depth discussion of the impacts and the benefits to the community as well as the community perceptions of these projects.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis with a summary of the main findings and outlining the lessons that can be learned from this type of tourism initiative and the benefits it holds for rural communities.

1.6 Contribution of thesis

This study contributes to the growing body of knowledge and scholarly work on tourism and development. It is the hope that with the contribution of this thesis a further understanding of the issues can be obtained by scholars and researchers to further develop models of community-based and low impact tourism and that these findings can be helpful in replicating similar projects in other rural areas.

Chapter 2

Tourism and development

2.1 Introduction

Tourism is, without doubt, one of the foremost social and economic phenomena of modern times. Broadly defined as the movement of people from one geographical space to another, for the purpose of engaging in leisure and or business and the commercial transactions that accompany this, tourism has gained increased importance over the past few decades (Cornelissen, 2005: 674). Travel and tourism has become a defining characteristic of modern societies, and was deemed as something very exclusive and reserved for the privileged upper- class minority well into the twentieth century (Uddhammar, 2006: 658). Since then, distinctions between both tourism destinations and modes of travel as markers of status have become less defined and thus tourism has become more democratised (Urry, 1990: 16).

Tourism now “accounts for the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world” (Lett, 1989: 277). Made possible by advancements in technology and communications, tourism has become one of the fastest growing industries today. In fact, tourism has widely been recognised as the world’s largest industry accounting for approximately 12 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) worldwide annually. Global tourism is expected to carry on expanding as people are continuing to discover more destinations, and the travel industry itself is becoming more organised and proficient (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 17). However, with the promising growth of tourism, and the perceived benefits it provides, there are also the associated downsides to consider which make this fast growing industry controversial to the health of developing nations.

In the last fifty years, tourism has become one of the world’s most dominant, yet also controversial, socio- economic forces. As globalisation and technology have prevailed, greater numbers of people have achieved the means and freedom to travel and the size and span of tourism has grown inevitably (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 1). For example, in 1950, just over 25 million international tourist arrivals were recorded worldwide. By

2004, the United Kingdom alone was receiving that amount of international arrivals annually, while according to The World Tourism Organisation, the total international arrivals worldwide reached 760 million (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 1). Furthermore, if domestic tourism is included in that figure, the total worldwide volume is estimated to be six to ten times higher.

As the number of tourists have grown, so too has the number of countries that host tourists, in fact few countries have not become tourist destinations. Although about half of all international arrivals are still received by just ten predominantly developed countries, for example in 2001 Europe accounted for 58 per cent of all international tourism (World Tourism Organisation, 2002), many new destinations have since claimed a place on the international tourist map. Numerous more distant and exotic places, including a number of least developed countries (LDCs) have also in recent years enjoyed a rapid increase in tourism, countries such as Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, India and Nepal (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 2). Even far off destinations are attracting foreign visitors, for example in 1997, 15,000 tourists visited Antarctica.

The dramatic growth in the scale and scope of tourism has led to its increasingly significant contributions to GDP and employment (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 2). In 2000, at a global level the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) measured that directly and indirectly, the travel and tourism industry constitutes 11 per cent of global GDP, supports 200 million jobs worldwide, 8 per cent of total employment, or one in every 12.4 jobs. In 2011 the WTTC estimated that travel and tourism constitutes 11 per cent of GDP, supports 260, 417, 000 jobs, 9 per cent of total employment, or one in every 11.2 jobs (Sharma, 2005: 1-2).

It is not surprising therefore, given this significant growth and economic worth, that many, if not all nations have jumped on the tourism 'bandwagon' (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002: 1). Tourism has now been identified as an effective means of achieving social and economic development in destination areas, particularly in the context of developing countries (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 2). Tourism is now prominent on the economic agenda of most governments around the world, even oil rich countries such as Abu Dhabi have adopted tourism development policies, and for many countries tourism represents an integral and important part of broader economic and social development

policy (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002: 1). It is the potential contribution to development that is the motivating factor for establishing tourism as it is unlikely that any destination would willingly invite mass amounts of foreign guests to visit and tolerate the inevitable consequences such as environmental degradation and disruption of daily life (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002: 1). Such contribution to development includes a variety of different factors discussed widely in the tourism literature that “collectively justify tourism’s alleged role as a vehicle of development” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2002: 1). However, tourism does not always live up to the expectations that its supporters promote, as frequently advantages fail to materialise, or end up benefiting the elite few.

2.2 Tourism and development

International tourism has been described as “the most promising, complex, and understudied industry impinging on the Third World” (Lea, 1988: 1). The rapid and steady growth of the tourism industry, as lead tourism to be identified by many development practitioners and academics around the world as a key strategy that can lead to economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief in the developing world (Binns & Nel, 2002: 235). The increasing importance of tourism in the developing world has become a noteworthy theme in development literature and numerous countries have now come to view tourism as a “passport to development” (Dann, 2002: 236). It is within the context of the developing world that attention is most frequently focused on “tourism as a developmental catalyst” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 2).

When viewing the rapidly growing body of literature written on tourism, one can note some interesting trends and divisions emerging. Up until the 1970’s, studies tended to assume that the extension of the tourism industry in the developing world was a positive development strategy, although it was acknowledged that there were a number of associated challenges to be overcome in time. In the 1970’s, academics began to realize some of the negative consequences of tourism-led development leading to the debate of costs versus benefits (Lea, 1988:1). Thus, some academics and pressure groups attempt to demonstrate the costs of tourism on poor countries and argue that the negative social, cultural and environmental impacts far outweigh the positive ones, whilst other

academics argue that the positive outcomes of tourism development far exceed the negative outcomes (France, 1997: 8).

2.3 Costs and benefits of tourism development

There have been numerous debates within academic circles and amongst development practitioners worldwide discussing tourism and its impact. It is generally agreed that tourism is an important source of foreign exchange, economic diversification, employment creation, growth and a variety of other factors widely discussed in tourism literature that commonly support tourism's alleged role as a vehicle of development (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002: 1).

Wahab (1974: 15) discusses several sectors of the economy which are stimulated by the growth of tourism. Firstly, tourism creates a market for new local needs such as food, equipment and other requirements which promote the growth of new industries and commercial activities. Secondly, tourism has a favourable impact upon employment as it increases the opportunities available for work in such sectors as accommodation, food industries, tour operations and travel agencies, government tourist offices, souvenir and handicraft trades, recreational and entertainment activities. Third, tourism promotes urbanisation through the growth of construction and renovation of tourist facilities. This implies creating and improving infrastructures, especially in rural and remote places. Fourth, tourism advances the development of the national economy by increasing state earnings by foreign earnings. Furthermore, tourism is one of the most successful redistributive aspects in international economic relations as travel is typically a social activity arising from surplus income. Therefore the flow of foreign travel is more frequent from wealthier nations to less wealthy nations, thus redistributing capital between developed and developing countries. In addition tourism activates the economic flow in a country, accelerating growth through the multiplier effect (Wahab, 1997: 131).

Tourism undoubtedly represents a potentially attractive, and often the only feasible means of stimulating social and economic development in destination areas and nations. Yet frequently that development fails to materialise, benefits only local elites, favours tourists who take advantage of the cheap prices, or is achieved at major economic,

social or environmental cost to local communities. Because few of the poorest countries have income earning opportunity alternatives, tourism appears to be a helping hand, however along with the advantages tourism brings, there are many disadvantages to consider.

Some of the advantages tourism brings is income and jobs, preserving cultural and natural heritage sites, increased understanding through increased interaction and learning about new cultures, building new facilities are some disadvantages include destruction of the environment by building hotels, polluting the natural environment, undermining social standards, and added costs of importing special amenities for tourists (Lea, 1989: 7). The predicament for many developing countries therefore lies in the challenge of accepting or managing the negative consequences for the potential longer-term benefits offered by tourism-led development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 4).

The web of costs versus benefits is an unenviable task of weighing the gains from new income and employment against the costs of less direct and long term losses. It is therefore a challenge for politicians to reject, for example, a new hotel project on environmental or social grounds when the construction would result in new jobs and increased political prestige (Lea, 1988: 8). Therefore one could see why it could be difficult to oppose any substantial foreign investment in situations where the few competing development prospects may actually have worse impacts on the host community than those associated with tourism (Lea, 1988: 8).

Beyond the economic drivers, a number of factors underpin the attraction of tourism as a development option. As mentioned previously, the tourism industry has demonstrated significant and consistent growth over the past half century and is forecasted to continue as one of the world's fastest growing industries. For that reason, tourism is essentially seen as a secure development choice. It is important to note however, that tourism growth has been hindered at times by a variety of unpredictable events, including international conflicts such as the 1991 Gulf War, the oil crises of the 1970s, global economic recession in the early 1980s and 1990s and a variety of others such as 9/11, health scares, natural disasters and terrorist activity (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 19-21).

Another attraction of tourism is the redistribution of wealth. In principle, tourism is an effective means of transferring wealth either through direct tourist spending or international investment in tourism infrastructure and facilities. Domestic tourism also has the potential for redistribution of wealth on a national level. For example in India, domestic tourism is greater than international tourism. The total value of tourist spending varies significantly from one destination to another, and many destinations experience 'leakages' whereby tourist spending finances the import of goods to meet tourist's needs (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 19).

Considering the variety of goods and services that tourists require, tourism potentially offers more opportunities than other industries for 'backward linkages' throughout the local economy, whether directly by providing food to hotels or indirectly, for example the construction industry. The extent to which such linkages can be formed and developed relies upon a range of factors such as the availability of finance, the diversity and maturity of the local economy, and the quality of locally produced goods (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 19).

Another factor underpinning the attraction of the tourism as a growth option is that tourism more often than not utilizes natural infrastructure. The development of tourism is commonly based on existing or man made attractions, such as beaches, mountains or heritage sites. Therefore start up costs of tourism may be considered low in comparison to other industries. In a country such as South Africa which is full of natural and cultural attractions, developing tourism seems like a good strategy for development.

The final factor discussed by Telfer and Sharpley (2008: 19) that promotes tourism as a growth option is tourism does not have trade barriers. In many cases countries or trading blocks such as the European Union (EU) impose restrictions in one form or another to protect their internal markets. In theory, international tourism faces no such trade barriers. That is, generating countries rarely place limitations on the right of their citizens to travel overseas, on where they visit and how much they spend. Therefore destination countries have free and equal access to the international tourism market.

Tourism as an effective contributor to development has been widely researched and discussed intensely through debate. Perspectives from authors such as Sharpley and

Telfer (2002:2) argue that the economic paybacks of tourism development have been extensively researched, as are the negative environmental and socio-cultural effects and there is widespread agreement, both in practice and academic circles, that tourism represents an effective means for achieving development. Sharpley and Telfer (2002) further add that it is surprising that little attention has been paid to the inherent processes, influences and objectives of tourism related development.

2.4 Sustainable tourism development

In recent literature, predominantly during the 1990s, there has been a particular focus on sustainable tourism development motivated by the need to optimise the benefits of tourism to host communities as well as tourists alike (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002: 2). The idea of sustainable tourism has its roots in the model of sustainable development which was defined by the Bruntland Commission as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 4). While sustainable development is often a controversial and contested term in academic circles and among sustainability groups and development practitioners alike due to its wide range of definitions and whether it holds any real substance, there are noteworthy similarities in their intentions and objectives. These include the concern for the environment, the economy and social equity, understanding of our dependence on the long term health of the natural systems such as water, air, biodiversity, forests, for human survival and well being, knowledge of the limits of the earths ecosystems and the detrimental impact of unchecked human activities such as population, pollution and economic expansion, and a long term intergenerational perspective in actions and goals (Edwards, 2005: 7).

Although issues of sustainability are often noted by environmental causes, its values represent a wider context of issues that have spread in all sectors throughout the world and include the long term survival of development projects and small businesses. This is often successfully achieved through the ownership and participation of the beneficiaries of the project or business.

Thus the question must be asked whether tourism is truly a better alternative to the more damaging extractive industries in rural areas, therefore emphasising tourism as a means

of sustainable development and in general implementing development at grass roots and community level (Reid, 2003: 18). Within this context, the support for tourism as a supposed pro-poor strategy is a budding theme in development literature, highlighting the potential of tourism development in promoting community development and sustainability in a way that does not result in radical environmental and social disruption and ensuring participation and ownership from the local community (Ashley & Roe, 2002: 3).

According to France (1997:8), rural communities are willing to involve themselves in tourism because of the nature of this fast growing industry that generates employment and income in weak economies, and therefore also persuading national and local landowners, hoteliers and commercial interests, as well as local people, that the benefits it presents are worthwhile. The ability to promote such development in underdeveloped areas often stems from an unspoiled natural environment and a traditional way of life, since tourists tend to be attracted to natural environments which have not been developed (France, 1997: 8). For this reason in many areas, especially those that have few natural resources other than scenery and climate, few development alternatives can be found and the potential of tourism development is alluring.

2.5 Approaches to tourism Development

The way in which tourism is supplied undoubtedly has a significant effect on the outcome of tourism related development. For example, on the one extreme, a destination may be described as “standardized, large scale, mass tourism development largely owned by overseas interests, potentially limiting tourism’s developmental contribution and reducing the destination to a state of dependency” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 25). On the other extreme, tourism related development could be “small scale, appropriate to the local environment and locally owned and controlled, thereby potentially optimizing the developmental benefits to the local community” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 26). At one end of the spectrum, lies the least pleasing situation whereby a destination becomes trapped in the interests of wealthy developed nations, with tourism “representing a modern form of colonial exploitation” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 26). On the other end, tourism functions successfully as a means to local sustainable development. Essentially, most tourism development will fall in between

this range and the way it is managed is imperative to the outcome and success of tourism development.

Getz (1986) discusses five stages of the evolution of tourism planning and although his perspective is derived largely from western experiences, it reveals much about the ways in which tourism has been viewed “as an agent of development” (Wall 1997: 41). The first stage is boosterism, which advocates an uncritical view of tourism and stresses exploitation of resources to attract more visitors. This view is subsequently replaced by another view of tourism as an industry comparable to other industries. Stage two is predominantly economic in orientation and supports the use of tourism to “create jobs, earn foreign exchange, overcome regional disparities and modernise a society through the application of such development concepts as growth poles and analytical techniques such as multiplier analyses and market segmentation” (Wall, 1997: 42). The physical/ spatial approach of stage three sees tourism as a resources user and a threat to the environment. The physical/ spatial approach makes use of concepts such as carrying capacity, visitor management and impact assessment. In turn is stage four, community based tourism, which accepts that tourism is not essentially good or bad and that local control is sought-after to steer the forms which tourism takes in the interests of community development (Wall, 1997: 42). The fifth stage is the integrative approach, in which a systems perspective is supported and it is recognized that planning for tourism should be incorporated with other planning processes (Wall, 1997: 42). The evolution of tourism planning discussed by Getz, illustrates many similarities to the progression of the development paradigm in which a strong economic perspective is gradually replaced by one which integrates a larger range of variables.

2.6 Conclusion

I agree with Wahab, who says that tourism as a vehicle for development in developing countries should be an evolutionary process for change to a better future (1996: 136). It should aim to create a structure to produce a stable and balanced rate of change. Such rate of change has to be consistent with the prevailing socioeconomic, politico-cultural and environmental conditions in the destination, because development starts with people and not with goods. Thus as many development practitioners extol, development should include the local participation of people and be driven from below as many cases

demonstrate top- down development that tries to implement a ‘one size-fits all’ model is full of pitfalls and headed for failure. An essential question that needs to be asked therefore and has been posed many times is whether tourism is a universally applicable development option. If the answer is no, as one should realistically consider, the question therefore lies in whether there are different forms of tourism development which are more suitable to contribute to different countries, societies, communities or developmental needs and objectives (Telfer & Sharpley, 2002: 3). Furthermore can tourism significantly contribute to development on its own or does it need the help of other economic sectors and activities? These are questions which challenge the popular assumption and implicit assertion within much tourism literature that generally assume tourism's alleged and effective role as a developmental catalyst.

In a following chapter, a model of tourism that goes beyond the notion of locally owned, sustainable and participatory approaches will be discussed. This model presents an example of tourism suited for the development needs and objectives of the community and actively encourages development by setting up community development organisations and initiatives.

Chapter 3

Tourism and Development Theory

3.1 Introduction

As development theory and the meaning of development has evolved over time and the dominant perspectives, or paradigms on how development should be encouraged or achieved have changed, likewise have the approaches to tourism development. In many ways the approaches to tourism development theory mirror the changes in development theory from a modernisation approach, through the consequent paradigms of dependency, economic neo-liberalism, alternative development, through to the search for a new development paradigm.

A broad overview of development theory shows a shift from traditional, top-down economic growth based models to a more wide based approach with an emphasis placed on bottom-up planning, the meeting of basic human needs and a focus on sustainable development. Furthermore, as sustainable development and the debate on how to attain sustainable development has taken centre stage in development discourse, so too has the trend of sustainable tourism. Telfer and Sharpley (2008) discuss four of the main development paradigms that have emerged chronologically since the end of World War Two and their relationship to tourism.

3.2 Modernisation

In the wake of the Second World War, the first mainstream theories of development began to originate. The first is modernisation. Modernisation theory is founded on the idea that all societies will inevitably follow an evolutionary growth path from “traditional to modern, characterized by a transformation from agriculture to industry, from rural to urban and from traditional to modern (i.e. western) values and social institutions” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 11). Progress along this evolutionary path is considered to be reliant upon economic growth as the source of development and according to Rostow (1967), only when a country has reached the ‘take-off stage’ (evident in the emergence of one or more significant industries which induce growth in

associated sectors) can it begin to modernise or develop. A mix of strategies is embraced by the modernisation paradigm, although the focus is usually on the introduction of a 'growth pole' (an industry or economic sector from which 'growth impulses' spread throughout the region, thus stimulating modernisation. The development of a tourist industry may be considered as one form of growth pole (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 13).

Modernisation theory can be seen in the Mexican strategy of building large scale resorts in destinations such as Cancun, in the hopes that the benefits will accrue to the surrounding communities. It can also be seen in "the proliferation of western style hotels in relatively remote areas in the hope that they will be catalysts of economic growth" (Wall, 1997: 36). Modernisation theorists assume the view that societies go through a series of development stages similar to those experienced by many western countries. The main focus is on economic growth, state involvement is encouraged, and the belief is in the trickledown effect whereby profits dispersed across a wide spread of people and regions (Wall, 1997: 36). There are many critics of the modernisation theorists who argue that this strategy involves high levels of abstraction with low levels of local involvement. Thus this theory is accused of being western ethnocentric, suggesting that all countries can follow the same path to develop, disregarding the importance of local tradition and culture (Wall, 1997: 36).

According to France (1997: 11), the traditional approach to tourism is one that is top-down, state initiated and expert-led. It typically follows a three-step process which first involves identifying problems and opportunities; this is performed by external agents. Next the technical measures are developed and selected by the state, with the cooperation of the community. The plans are then implemented through a mixture of encouragement and coercion (France, 1997: 10). Consequent failures are partially attributed to technical problems, which are often a result of inadequate research or partly due to a lack of fit between techniques adopted and local lifestyles and partly a result of the inadequacies of state bureaucracies (France, 1990: 11). This top down, expert-led approach is evident in the control exerted by multinational companies with their external capital, expertise, technology and ideas. Aspects of modernisation theory and dependency theory can be applied to tourism in this context to help to help understand the nature of these developments. Often operating in a neo-colonial role,

they either disregard local tradition and culture (dependency theory) or consider it anti-ethical to development (modernisation theory) (France, 1997: 10).

3.3 Dependency

Dependency theory, also known as underdevelopment theory, arose in the 1960s as a critique of the modernisation paradigm. Fundamentally, this paradigm puts forward that underdevelopment is caused “not from the particular socio-economic characteristics of less developed countries (as suggested by modernisation theory) but from the external and internal political, economic and institutional structures that keep them in a dependent position relative to developed countries” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 13). Simply put, global political and economic relations translate to wealthier, more powerful Western nations being able to exploit weaker, peripheral nations (often mirroring earlier colonial ties), thus limiting developmental opportunities within less developed countries. Therefore underdevelopment can be explained by an unequal international capitalistic system within which developing countries find difficult to “break out of a state of economic dependency and advance to an economic position beside the major capitalistic industrial powers” (Palma, 1995: 162). Various theoretical perspectives on dependency theory exist, although tourism as a global industry largely dominated by western businesses and tourists has long been viewed as an example of the dependency paradigm.

Dependency theorists view lack of development as the responsibility of external rather than internal factors, with those in the position of power exploiting the disadvantaged. This can be seen for example in the lack of development in developing nations due to the result of exploitation by developed nations, often in the form of colonialism (Wall, 1997: 36). These relationships may be seen as being perpetuated by international tourism which may be viewed as a type of neo-colonialism. In tourism, the arguments advanced by an increasing number of commentators have been that the Third World is structurally dependent on the First World, and a number of examples can find reference to principal forms of global domination, colonialism and imperialism (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 53).

The significance of colonialism and imperialism to theories of underdevelopment and dependency has a special appeal to writers on tourism as both the characteristic First World ownership of many Third World tourism establishments and the origin of tourists from the First World have for a long while “become an irresistible analogy of colonial and imperial domination” (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 54). For example, Andre Gunder Frank’s model of the metropolis-satellite relationship has its origins in the colonial period when the conqueror implanted new cities in the third world with the aim to facilitate the transfer of economic surplus to western countries (So, 2007: 6). Frank’s model can be compared to big hotel chains with their headquarters in first world countries but extracting economic surplus from their hotels in the third world. Dependency theorists have rejected the involvement of international corporations and capital and favoured the growth of small scale, locally owned establishments (Wall, 1997:37).

3.4 Economic-neoliberalism

Following the oil crisis and the international debt crisis of the 1970s and the 1980s, a group of ideas formed which may be termed the neoclassical counter-revolution (Wall, 1997: 37). Economic-neoliberalism became popular during the Regan-Thatcher era of the 1980s and was a reaction to the ‘counter-revolution’ to interventionist Keynesian economic policy, and espoused the role of international trade in export-led economic development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 13). Suggesting that the problems faced by developing nations came from excessive state intervention, its advocates believe that the path to development lay in promoting market liberalization, the privatization of state enterprises and the overall reduction of state intervention (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 13). Consequently, international loan programs administered by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to promote development carried certain conditionalities upon adjustments to economic structures and political policies in recipient nations, hence the term ‘Structural Adjustment Lending Program’ (SALP).

Tourism development in many countries has benefited from international structural funding, although SALPs have since been widely criticized mostly on the basis of being too market orientated and unlikely to help the disadvantaged who are most in need (Wall, 1997: 37). In addition, Wall (1997: 37) comments that the scale of some of the

projects which were supported and the lack of detailed consideration of local conditions on the part of some of the advocates were a further cause for concern. Furthermore, this approach within tourism can be criticized on the basis of being a form of imperialism or colonialism, whereby local communities are forced into tourism ventures that are foreign-funded, earning low wages in low status jobs.

3.5 Alternative Development

The alternative development paradigm is an alternative to the preceding western-centric, economic growth based development paradigms. Alternative development adopts a resource-based, bottom-up approach that focuses mainly on human basic needs and environmental concerns. Realizing that development is a complex, multilayered process, embracing not only economic growth but also wider social, cultural, political and environmental factors, its main ideology is that “development should be endogenous” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 14). Meaning that development, is a process that should be guided by the needs of each society; it is not something that other societies should implement or impose in a top-down, one-size fits all manner. A grass-roots perspective with an emphasis on local involvement and participation of local people is central to this approach as it is argued that this will allow people the freedom to control their own destinies. This paradigm places high value on satisfying basic human needs such as food, water, housing, education and health and encouraging self-reliance and environmental protection. The emergence of new systems of social and economic quantification, namely the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) compiled by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the move towards people focused and participatory approaches to development, could be considered as the return of alternative development (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 35).

Sustainable development, with participation from the local public, and community based planning for tourism can be seen as an example of the alternative development paradigm (Wall, 1997:37) Since the late 1980s, the alternative development paradigm has become more widely recognized as ‘sustainable development’, a model that is still debated and but central to global development policy. The 1980’s was a time of growing recognition that “we live in a world of profound crisis- a world of dehumanizing poverty, collapsing ecological systems, and deeply stressed social

systems” (Korten, 1990: 1). Therefore the concepts of sustainability and participation are common themes within this paradigm.

3.5.1 Sustainable development

The concept of ‘sustainability’ emerged in 1987 with *Our Common Future*, the report of the United Nations sponsored Brundtland Commission, where it served as the organizing principle of a further United Nations (UN) conference, this time on ‘Environment and Development’ at the Rio Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. As central to the agreements signed there (in particular the Agenda 21 action program), the idea of sustainable development has since informed a huge and burgeoning volume of activity by central and local government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), development agencies, community groups, business firms and of course academics (Foster, 2008: 6). The most remembered quote from the Brundtland report which is frequently used as a definition for sustainable development is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Edwards, 2005: 17). While this definition is undoubtedly important, the Brundtland report helped define sustainability further in two significant ways. One, institutionally it created the first framework for concerted action to protect the earth’s life support systems while promoting both economic and social goals. And two, conceptually the report contained the first articulation of the key to contemporary sustainability: the importance of evaluating any proposed initiative with reference to the interaction of three essential criteria: ecology/ environment, economy/ employment and equity/ equality (Edwards, 2005: 17).

The concept of sustainable development has been criticised widely within the development context and so too within the tourism development debate. It has been criticised on ideological grounds as promoting the maintenance of the western-capitalist system, as well as being too ambiguous and vague to hold any real substance. Within the tourism context, the concept of ‘sustainable tourism’ has been adopted by the tourism industry to promote a clean and green image which is occasionally earned, but more often than not it is used as a marketing tool (Wall, 1997: 47).

3.5.2 Participation

In many parts of the world, participation by a large variety of the population in local governance is a continuous goal of development practitioners (Roodt, 2001: 689). Participation is seen as one of the key elements to encourage sustainable development. However, participation does not automatically result in sustainable development, as this asks for more than simply people participating in the development process. It also requests sound and integrated state policy at national, regional and local-levels as well as participation from the private sector and NGOs, sufficient management, finance and service delivery (Roodt, 2001: 689). The challenge of sustainable development is complex and solutions are not easy, however there is wide consensus among development practitioners that these goals become more attainable and sustainable if people are not just passive recipients but take the role of active participants and responsible decision makers (Calub, 2004: 199).

The current status of participatory development is reflected in what has become known as people-centred development (PCD). “PCD stresses the participation of the majority of the population (especially previously excluded components such as women, youth and the illiterate) in the process of development. This involvement is considered the bottom-line for the successful implementation of any project or program” (Korten, 1990: 317). The manifesto of this particular approach is the Manila Declaration on People’s Participation and Sustainable Development, drawn up by thirty-one NGO leaders in 1989 (Korten, 1990: 317). David Korten, the president and founder of the PCD Forum reacts against what he terms the “cowboy economy”, which is a modernisation and growth-centred approach to development. Korten views the remedy to the cowboy economy, which he sees as unsustainable, as “voluntary citizen action embodied in people’s organisations, helping to shape a global consciousness which will oppose the growth centred approach with its vested interest” (Korten, 1990: 318). Furthermore, Korten (1990: 318) adds that he wishes to promote an “environmentally sound, sustainable, people-driven approach which emphasizes the interests of local communities as opposed to national and international business”, as put forward in the Manila Declaration on People’s Participation and Sustainable Development.

There are many factors that could hinder and constrain the promotion of participatory development (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000: 42). Cooke and Kothari (2001) refer to participation as ‘the new tyranny’ in development discourse. While, the notion of participation is recognized and included in development policy, there is failure to recognize the amount of time and energy required for local people to participate; the heterogeneity of local populations meaning that community participation does not always entail all sectors of population; simply participating does not necessarily lead to ‘empowerment’, and focusing at a micro-level can repeatedly lead to a failure to recognize much broader structures of disadvantage and oppression (Willis, 2005: 105).

As ‘participation’ and ‘participatory’ approaches are encouraged by multilateral organisations such as the World Bank, this suggests that these are ideas which have been taken on board, but the dimension of participation that could challenge existing practices and power relations are not engaged with (Mosse, 2001: 17). When individual projects are examined, the limitations of the participation discourse become apparent. According to Mosse in his critique of current participation policies, states that “participatory approaches have proved compatible with top-down planning systems, and have not heralded changes in prevailing institutional practices of development” (Mosse, 2001: 17).

3.6 The alternative tourism development paradigm

Mirroring the alternative development paradigm, the concept of ‘alternative tourism’ which emerged in the late 1980s has provided the basis for what has now become one of the main tourism development paradigms, namely sustainable tourism development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 140). Increased interest in alternative tourism can be seen as a response to the emphasis placed on exploitation associated with mass tourism, especially in the context of developing countries (France, 1997; 15). Sustainable development can be viewed as a component of the alternative tourism development paradigm and has captured the interest of the tourism industry. Butler (1993: 29) has defined sustainable tourism as “tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in

which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes”.

Reflecting the emergence and increasing acceptance of sustainable development in general, the support for sustainable tourism is not surprising. The concept of sustainable tourism development became prominent towards the end of the 1980s and subsequently achieving “virtual global endorsement as the new [tourism] industry paradigm” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 31). Since then, in both private and public spheres, there has been an surplus of policy documents, planning guidelines, statements of ‘good practice’, corporate social responsibility statements, case studies, codes of conduct of tourists and other publications which have been produced and are concerned with the issue of sustainable tourism development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 31). Furthermore, the importance of the concept was emphasized at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2005, while in the same year, Quebec hosted the World Eco-tourism Summit, eco-tourism being a manifestation of sustainable tourism. In the past twenty years tourism policy and planning has been motivated by the values and objectives of sustainable tourism development, although the extent to which those objectives have been achieved is questionable.

It is widely believed that in order to achieve sustainable development, participation is a key route through which this can be realized. France (1997: 15) adds that one of the concepts at the heart of sustainable development is that of equity, which can only be attained when participation occurs and local people become involved in decision making.

Following the trends of sustainability and increased community participation, a variety of alternative types of tourism have evolved to incorporate those principles in their models of tourism development.

3.6.1 Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism is one type of tourism that incorporates high levels of community involvement under the sustainability umbrella. It is frequently seen at the opposite end of the spectrum from large scale, all- inclusive, mass tourism resorts,

owned by corporations that have few economic linkages to local communities, with perhaps some local residents working in low skilled and low paid jobs (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 124). Community-based tourism is local tourism developed in local communities in innovative ways by various individuals and groups, small business owners, entrepreneurs, local associations and governments. Another broad definition of community-based tourism from Viljoen and Tlabela (2007: 8) is that “a significant number of local people are involved in providing services to tourists and the tourism industry, and in which local people have meaningful ownership, power and participation in the various tourism and related enterprises”. Funding for these community based tourism ventures can come from a range of different sources, including international donors. For example, The Asian Development Bank is financing, through its Mekong Tourism Development Program, community-based and pro-poor initiatives in Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (PDR) (Harrison & Schipani, 2007: 194).

The first goal of community-based tourism is that it is socially sustainable. Tourism activities are developed and run mostly by community members, encouraging participation. The revenues are put back towards the community in various potential ways such as cooperatives, joint-venture community associations, businesses that employ local people, or to entrepreneurs starting small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs) (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 124). The next goal of community based tourism is that it respects and maintains local traditions, culture, heritage and environment.

Support for community involvement is widely supported in tourism literature. From a wide perspective, it holds many benefits. Community ownership provides “livelihood security, minimal leakage, efficient conflict resolution, increases in the local population’s carrying capacity and improved conservation” (Spenceley, 2008: 286). From a conservation perspective, using local people with local knowledge is much more effective than using external people (Spenceley, 2008: 286).

According to Blackstock (2005), from a community development perspective, community-based tourism has three major failings:

- 1) it seeks to ensure the long term survival of the tourism industry rather than social justice;
- 2) it tends to treat the host community as a homogenous bloc;

- 3) it neglects the structural constraints to local control of the tourism industry (cited in Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 128).

Viljoen and Tlabela (2007: 12) also found a number of issues that are central to the success or failure of community-based tourism development initiatives based on their study of local communities in community-based initiatives in South Africa.

- Involving communities in tourism initiatives is a lengthy and time consuming process with many challenges to overcome. One of the most basic challenges to overcome is how to define the community or communities that need to be involved in such processes, as communities are heterogeneous entities with various interests and concerns. Thus negotiations between stakeholders and communities can be complicated.
- Legal issues such as establishing legal entities to represent communities, as well as issues with regard to land ownership, can also be problematic when it comes to attracting possible tourism investors.
- There are many potential pitfalls in management and the associated roles and processes. Miscommunication and misinterpretation of information has the potential to sour relations between stakeholders, which may lead to irreparable damage and the failure of initiatives.
- Various degrees of social and economic empowerment have been achieved in tourism initiatives which have embraced the participation of communities.
- Joint venture models of cooperation between investors, communities and other stakeholders have also proven to be important tools in either the success or failure of initiatives. It would appear that different models might be applicable to different situations in ensuring the sustainability of initiatives (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 12).

While these issues are relevant concerns to consider and are central to the successes of community-based initiatives, the long term benefits of community-based initiatives far exceed the short lived benefits of top-down approaches.

3.6.2 Eco-tourism

Eco-tourism is another type of tourism that has evolved as an alternative type of tourism. Eco-tourism is said to be a manifestation of sustainable tourism (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 31). The term became prominent in the 1990s, and has been frequently the subject of much attention and debate since. The term is defined in various ways however it is often used by the tourism industry and academics to describe tourism that “focuses on natural areas and undeveloped parts of the globe” and tourism activities that are “conducted in harmony with nature as opposed to more traditional mass tourism activities” (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 12). A more inclusive definition by Fennell who describes eco-tourism as “as sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism, which focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed (in terms of control, benefits and scale) to be low-impact and non-consumptive and locally orientated” (cited in Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 13).

Internationally, eco-tourism implies far more than a nature experience. Eco-tourism implies tourism practices that would benefit all concerned parties rather than benefitting some concerns and letting others fall to the way-side. Accordingly, eco-tourism has come to include such concepts as “planning before development, sustainability of resources, economic viability of tourism product, no negative impact on either the environment or local communities, environmentally friendly practices by all parties concerned, and economic benefits flowing to local communities” (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 13).

3.6.3 Pro-poor tourism

Another current approach to tourism development, such as pro-poor tourism, has shifted the emphasis towards responsible activities on the part of the international tourism industry (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:28). Pro-poor tourism is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor, being social, economic, environmental, or cultural

and affects livelihoods in numerous indirect ways (Ashley & Roe, 2002: 62). The pro-poor tourism approach overlaps with other tourism approaches such as sustainable, responsible, and community-based or eco-tourism, but the fundamental distinctive characteristic is that pro-poor tourism places the poor at the top of the agenda.

The argument for the promotion of pro-poor tourism is that tourism offers the potential for pro-poor growth where other sectors tend to fall short. Of course tourism development also has its pitfalls which disadvantage the poor such as causing displacement, inflation, inequality and social disruption, but these tend to be common disadvantages of development in a globalizing world. On the positive side, tourism can be labour intensive, inclusive of women and the informal sector, based on natural and cultural assets of the poor and suitable for poor rural areas where few other growth options lie (Ashley & Roe, 2002: 61).

Reducing poverty is most certainly a theme in tourism development literature; however in the context of South Africa, there are many missed potentials and opportunities for change. According to Ashley and Roe (2002), a pro-poor perspective in sustainable tourism and community-based tourism initiatives could strengthen the effectiveness of existing initiatives while extending pro-poor thinking more broadly to the mainstream industry. The prospect of translating pro-poor thinking into realistic change stems from “the active role of governments, the strong commercial and international interest in ‘sustainable tourism’ and its variants and the fluidity of economic and political arrangements in southern Africa” (Ashley & Roe, 2002: 62).

Ashley and Roe (2002: 62), group strategies for making tourism pro-poor focus on unlocking opportunities for the poor within tourism into three categories. The *first category* consists of increasing access of the poor to economic benefits. This includes growing business and employment opportunities for the poor, providing training so that they are capable to take up these opportunities and extending income to the broader community. The *second category* aims to address the negative social and environmental impacts often associated with tourism (for example: lost access to land, coastal areas and other resources as well as social exploitation and disruption). Overlapping with the first and second category, the *third category* focuses on policies, processes and partnerships. Under this category, the aim is to create a policy framework that eradicates

barriers to poor participation; to promote participation of the poor in tourism planning processes; and to promote partnerships between the private sector and poor people in developing new tourism products (Ashley and Roe, 2002: 62).

3.7 Stages of tourism theory

Drawing from an analysis of tourism literature, Jafari (1989) identifies four stages of tourism theory, which to some degree parallel development theory:

The first stage is *advocacy*: this can be seen during the 1960's, when tourism was viewed as a positive form of national and international development. Reflecting aspects of modernisation theory, its potential was considered to lie in its contribution to economic growth (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 27).

The second stage is *cautionary*: this can be seen from the late 1960's, when alarm was increasingly shown over the negative socio-cultural consequences and the damage to the environment that were resulting from the rapid growth of tourism development, and the emerging political economy of tourism reflected the dependency paradigm. Thus, at this stage tourism theory was focused on understanding tourism's effects on destination environments and societies, with a particular focus on centre-periphery dependency models (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 27).

The third stage is *adaptancy*: the 1980's witnessed the emergence of alternative forms of tourism, through more idealistic approaches. "Variously referred to as 'green', 'appropriate', 'responsible', 'soft' or 'alternative' tourism, these approaches attempted to transpose the principles of alternative development on to tourism, proposing appropriately scaled, locally owned and controlled development, with the community as the primary instigators and beneficiaries of tourism" (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 27).

And the fourth stage is *knowledge*: as more knowledge of tourism's developmental process has surfaced, the idealistic aim of tourism has been overtaken by a broader approach to tourism development that attempts to capture the values and objectives of sustainable development. "Thus tourism as a specific developmental vehicle, has aligned itself with the contemporary development paradigm although... sustainable

development has proved to be problematic both in its practical implementation and in its acceptance by the many developing countries which to view the concept as evidence of continuing western imperialism” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 27).

3.8 Conclusion

As one can see from these four stages outlined above and the previous discussion, the approaches to tourism development have evolved over time similarly to development theory, beginning as a hopeful strategy for economic and social development but over time progressing to a more complex and challenging concept as knowledge and experience have revealed the problematic intricacies of tourism-led development. Similar to development theory, tourism theory has developed from a traditional modernist economic growth models through to more sustainable approaches that attempt to balance “tourism as a profit-driven, resource-hungry activity with the developmental needs of destination environments and communities” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 27). In similarity to the alternative development paradigm, the alternative tourism development paradigm has also embraced the principles of sustainability, participation and conservation to become central tenants of their manifestations with a focus on meeting basic human needs. Thus as concepts such as sustainable development, community-based development, pro-poor development and so on have emerged within the alternative development paradigm, the concepts of sustainable tourism, eco-tourism and pro-poor tourism have emerged as new forms of tourism development within the alternative tourism development paradigm.

Chapter 4

Different types of Tourism

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter different forms of tourism will be discussed, beginning with mass tourism which emerged under a modernisation approach, to new forms of tourism emerging under the alternative development, focusing on backpacker tourism.

4.2 Mass tourism

As discussed in the previous chapter, the traditional approach to tourism follows a modernisation approach and can be identified as mass tourism. Sezgin and Yolal (2012: 73) define mass tourism as a term “briefly used for pre-scheduled tours for groups of people who travel together with similar purposes (recreation, sightseeing etc.) usually under the organisation of travel professionals”.

4.2.1 History of mass tourism

Travel is one of the oldest and most common aspects of human life as its origins come from ancient times. The reasons for travel, or tourism, range from migration to more prosperous lands, recreation, business, health, sport, education and visiting family and friends (Lopez-Bravo Palomino, 2003: 1). Tourism continued to grow in the early years of the twentieth century due to a range of factors such as rapid advances in technology allowing easier and safer mobility, increasing wealth, interest and outgoing attitudes, and the recognition of the need to vacation resulting in salaried holidays (Sezgin & Yolal, 2012: 73).

Although mass consumption and mass production characterized this period, travel was still a novelty for the masses “and the homogenous character of the demand led to the production of standardized products that could suit everyone” (Sezgin & Yolal, 2012: 73). The increasing availability of the motor car from the 1930s onwards further stimulated tourism and additionally the aircraft during the interwar years started to play

a small role in the tourism industry but was exclusively an option for the wealthier classes, most notably in Europe. Holiday camps were a major development of the 1930s and were aimed specifically at the lower income market, with the widespread success and acceptance of such camps led to the further development and construction of similar structures all over coastal areas and inland resorts (Sezgin & Yolal, 2012: 73). The appeal to escape cold climates such as in northern Europe and northern America to warmer, sunnier climates such as the Mediterranean encouraged the emergence of package tours and consequentially the characteristics of mass tourism were strengthened (Sezgin & Yolal, 2012: 73).

4.2.2 Developmental impacts of mass tourism

As discussed in chapter one, there are both costs and benefits to tourism. More often than not, the hidden costs of tourism have unfavourable effects on the host communities. Frequently, wealthy developed countries profit more from tourism than poor developing countries. It is widely agreed that the developmental impacts of mass tourism have little benefit on the development of the host communities, and hence the rise of alternative forms of tourism to counteract these effects.

Some of the negative impacts of mass tourism will now be discussed. The first one is leakage. As the direct income for an area is the amount of tourist expenditure that remains in the destination area after profits, wages and taxes are paid outside the area and imports are purchased, these subtracted amounts are called leakages (UNEP, 2012). In most cases, all inclusive package tours, typical of mass tourism, about 80% of travellers spending go to the airlines, hotels and other international companies who often have their offices in the traveller's home countries and therefore little profit goes to the local businesses or employees. According to the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), for every \$100 spent on holiday by a tourist, only approximately \$5 stays in the destination area. A study on leakage in the tourism industry it was found that 70% of all money spent by tourists in Thailand ended up leaving the country through foreign owned tour operators, airlines, hotels and imported goods to satisfy foreign guests. Estimates of leakage for other developing countries vary from 40% in India, to 80% in the Caribbean (UNEP, 2012). Therefore local businesses often see their chances to benefit or earn an income from tourism as minimal due to the nature of 'all

inclusive' package holidays, such as cruise ships or resorts where everything is provided and there is little reason or motivation for tourists to spend their money elsewhere.

Another negative impact is the cost of infrastructure (UNEP, 2012). Large hotels tend to import the infrastructure from developed countries as it is often not produced locally and feel it is more suited to cater to the needs and expectations of foreign guests who wish to vacation in luxurious resorts with the types of goods and services they have become accustomed to.

Generally speaking most tourists come from developed nations, 80% come from twenty countries (Japan, UA, Canada and seventeen European countries), and therefore are accustomed to plentiful resources, and due to lack of information they are not always aware of how limited these resources are in the developing countries they are visiting (Responsible Travel Report, 2012). The effect of mass tourism on water consumption in some cases has had devastating effects. Therefore it is sometimes problematic when travellers continue to consume at the rate they do in their own country by frequently taking baths or long showers for example. According to The Responsible Travel Report (2012), the average amount of water used by one tourist per day is equal to the amount of water a villager in a developing country would use to produce rice over one hundred days. Furthermore tourist attractions such as golf courses, Jacuzzi baths and swimming pools often found in all-inclusive resorts all use excessive amounts of water. Furthermore daily laundering of hotel linen also requires vast amounts of water. Thus this extreme water use sometimes results in regional shortages which leaves local people struggling to find clean water in order to meet their basic everyday needs (Responsible Travel Report, 2012).

Another negative effect is the increase of prices in an area due to the rise of tourism. Due to the increasing demand for goods and services, price hikes can negatively affect the local residents whose income does not increase proportionately. For example, a study by the San Francisco State University found that a consequence of tourism development was local prices increased by 8%. Increases in property prices, food and other basic services make it difficult for local residents to meet their own daily needs. Furthermore it can result in a dominance of outsiders in land markets and in-migration that limits economic opportunities for the locals. In Costa Rica for example, close to

65% of the hotels belong to foreigners which further demonstrates how such developments have little positive impact on the people from host destination (UNEP, 2012).

An additional negative effect of mass tourism is the economic dependence of the local community on tourism. A significant sign of prosperity in a country is the diversification of the economy. However, if a country or region relies too heavily on its economic survival upon a single industry, such as tourism, it can put considerable pressure on the industry and the people involved. Numerous countries, especially developing countries with few alternatives to create income earning opportunities have embraced tourism as a means to grow the economy. For example, in The Gambia 30% of the workforce directly depends on the tourism sector. Other countries range from 83% in the Maldives, 21% in the Seychelles and 34% in Jamaica. UNEP (2012) states that “over reliance on tourism, especially mass tourism, carries significant risk to tourism dependent economies” and the impacts of economic recession, natural disasters and political unrest can have devastating effects on the local tourism sector.

The seasonal character of jobs is another downside effect of mass tourism, and is particularly problematic for local economies that are heavily reliant on tourism. Some of the problems that seasonal workers in tourism face include job/income insecurity, usually with no guarantee of a job or income from season to season. Seasonal workers further struggle to receive basic training, employment related medical benefits, pension funding, recognition for their experience and adequate housing and working conditions (UNEP, 2012).

4.3 Mass tourism in South Africa

Africa's abundance of wildlife and natural scenery formed an early basis for tourism development. At the forefront of mass tourism developments in the 1960s and 1970s in Africa were safaris and commercial hunting. This can be seen in South Africa in the creation of national parks and protected areas and accompanied by luxury game lodges and large chain hotels such as Southern Sun, Sun International and Protea Hotels. During this period the developments were fore-fronted by private sector operators supported by the National Park administration who were trained by the past colonial

administration (Holm-Peterson, 2000: 200). Land was taken away from communities and people were resettled elsewhere in the name of ‘conservation’. More often than not, these communities were resettled on the borders of national parks with very few resources to meet their daily needs. Conservation measures were therefore considered to be in conflict with the interests of communities. These operations, often under expensive foreign management frequently resulted in draining the local communities of public resources (Holm-Peterson, 2000: 200). Once again, as mentioned in chapter two, this approach to tourism was essentially anti-developmental in many respects.

The trends described above led tourism in Africa into an increasingly problematic situation. However a change in direction occurred in the 1980 and 1990s due to internal factors such as political changes combined with improved economic stability which paved the way for a new approach. Growing awareness of external factors was also identified as playing a key role. Some of the external factors identified as of key importance to focus on were: management of the natural resources, community participation, role of the private and public sectors, integrated and sustainable tourism programs and fostering of regional cooperation.

4.3.1 The case of Makuleke

The above discussion can be well illustrated in the case of Makuleke. In 1969 roughly 3000 people were forcibly removed from their homes by the department of Bantu Affairs in order to integrate the area now known as the Pafuri section into the Kruger National Park (Collins & Snel, 2008: 96). They were relocated 60km south-west of the park to an area known as Ntlaveni. The forced removal and displacement of the Makuleke people is characteristic of the apartheid period, and many forced removals occurred all over South Africa during this time. The Makuleke homeland holds a rich variety of wild plants, animals and landscape and as such contains a larger bulk of the Kruger National Park’s biodiversity. It also contains the richest cultural and historical sites of the park (Collins & Snel, 2008: 96).

With the end of apartheid, the Makuleke were among the first claimants to reclaim their land under the post-apartheid dispensation. This has become one of the major success stories of land restitution in South Africa. The land remained part of the Kruger Park

after restitution, but working in partnership with the Training and Support for Resource Management (TRANSFORM), the Makuleke community was helped to engage in negotiations, planning, institutional and capacity building after they had acquired the land rights. Furthermore TRANSFORM helped to develop a co-management arrangement with South African National Parks (SANParks), secured a variety of donor and private sector funding and formulated and launched a range of ecotourism enterprises (Collins & Snel, 2008: 97). The case of Makuleke is a good example of how tourism development has changed over time and become aware of issues relating to sustainability. It also shows the import role that communities have to achieve these goals.

4.4 New types of tourism

As discussed in previous chapters, governments in developing countries are actively pursuing the growth of tourism to stimulate their economies. It is a common misconception that more money is earned by attracting tourists who can afford luxury goods and services as research has now demonstrated that more often than not this approach leads to a country's dependence on imported goods, foreign investment and expatriate skills which results in the leakage of profits. Therefore through this approach there is very rarely a significant trickle down effect to the people at grass roots level.

Over the past twenty-five years, research on tourism led strategies of economic development has found a new focus on the possibilities of new forms of tourism in general and specifically around alternative forms of tourism (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004: 311). The notion of 'new tourism' refers to observed changes in the preferences of international tourists who have moved away from "mass packaged forms of tourism and is interpreted as an element of post-Fordist consumption patterns" (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004: 311). Therefore, under the concept of 'new tourism' alternative forms of tourism have emerged and can be viewed as a response to some of the negative consequences of the mass tourism led model of economic development.

The new tourist is viewed as a more experienced traveller than the conventional mass tourist in terms of looking for unique and attractive holiday experiences and thus responding to many of the problems and issues related to mass tourism. Among the

distinguishing aspects of this new emerging form of travel is a move “towards smaller, or individual group travel, a move from packaged experiences to unpackaged or more flexible travel, and a search for more real, natural and authentic forms of tourism or travel experiences” (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004: 311).

4.5 Backpacker tourism

Backpacker tourism, while not a new phenomenon, is a rapidly expanding niche of the market and has led to a wide range of economic, social, cultural and environmental development impacts in the host destinations (Visser, 2004; Niggel & Benson, 2008). “These impacts have been shown to correlate closely to personal characteristics that define a person as a backpacker tourist”, which will further be discussed in this chapter (Visser, 2004: 283). Academic interest in backpacker tourism has grown in recent years and numerous studies demonstrate the benefits of this form of tourism. Generally speaking, backpacker tourism avoids some of the pitfalls of large scale commercial tourism as it is more informal and situated within communities.

Backpackers have been described in many ways, such as ‘budget travellers’, ‘wanderers’ and what Cohen (1973) describes as ‘drifters’. While definitions vary, Pearce (1990: 39) identifies four strong indicators of the backpacking phenomenon: a preference for budget accommodation; an emphasis on meeting other travellers, an independently organized and flexible travel plans; extended rather than short holidays; and an emphasis on informal and participatory activities.

It is believed that backpacking has its roots in the hippie/drifter phenomenon of the 1960’s and 1970s, employment-orientated youth travel, and travel for personal educational growth and development (Pearce, 1990: 39). Pearce argues that backpackers are best defined in social rather than demographic or economic terms (Speed, 2008: 177). Often keen to share the local lifestyle and citing “meeting new people” as one of their motivations for travel, backpackers recreational activities are most likely to focus around nature (for instance trekking and hiking), culture (for example village stays, cooking classes, learning to weave grass mats etc) and adventure (including river rafting, surfing, or riding camels) (Scheyvens, 2002: 145). This is correlated with the inclination for backpackers to travel more widely than other types of tourists as they

tend to seek out unusual or off the beaten track locations and experiences (Scheyvens, 2002: 145).

According to Speed (2008: 62), backpackers recognize their traveller status as different from the more traditional “tourist”, mainly “focusing on what that they perceive to be values embracing environmental integrity, enjoying pristine, uncrowded destinations”. Thus the impacts of backpacking are notably more environmentally friendly compared to other forms of tourism. Noronha (1999) notes that “content with swimming in the sea, and taking cold showers, the backpacker market has been kind to the environment, especially compared to the resource-guzzling five-star tourists” (Speed, 2008: 63).

As the backpacking trend has its roots in the hippie/drifter tourism of the 1960s and 1970s, the backpacker segment of the tourism market has not always been welcomed by Third World regional or national governments. There is widespread belief that the stereotypical image of the backpacker is “an un-kept, immoral, drug-taking individual” (Scheyvens, 2002: 145). Thus this segment of the tourism market has often been ignored and discouraged in tourism planning. For example, backpackers are actively discouraged in the Maldives and in Goa, as the director of tourism in Goa, concludes that “luxury tourism was the way forward, hippies and backpackers do not bring in enough money” (Wilson, 1997: 68). Furthermore, ventures to attract tourists in South Africa are focused on organized mass international tourists who have their travel programs planned for them.

The tight budget many backpackers tend to stick to is mainly due to the lengthy period of their travels. Although there is a perception that backpackers budget conscious spending brings little revenue to the destination, a number of studies have proved this perception false. Surveys in Australia in 2002, revealed that due to the longer length of their visits, backpackers actually spend the same amount or more than any other leisure tourist category (Visser & Barker, 2004: 229). Backpackers also spread their spending in a larger geographical range, benefiting remote areas where international mass tourists rarely visit. Numerous studies have also shown that backpackers generally purchase locally produced goods and use local services such as transport and eat at local restaurants and drink at local bars, and therefore they contribute significantly more to local economic development. While the structured nature of packaged and mass tourism

often means limited involvement with the local people (Visser & Barker, 2004: 229). For example in comparison, when staying in a resort, all the goods and services are profited to the resort instead of benefiting a broader range of people.

According to Visser (2004: 283), the positive impacts of backpacker tourism have been shown to correlate closely to personal characteristics that define a person as a backpacker tourist. The desire for new experiences and opportunities to learn about places and cultures has stimulated the growth in backpacker tourism. Backpacker's aspiration to experience local cultures means that's they tend to have more contact with the local communities, often staying in residential areas, as opposed to gated resorts where contact with local communities is restricted (Wilson, Richards & Macdonnell, 2008: 213).

Due to a combination of cost constraints and the outgoing nature of the ascribed backpacker tourist, they tend to favour cheap, basic accommodation facilities. Therefore it is more realistic for impoverished communities to benefit from tourism as they are more realistically able to cater for backpacker tourists than high end luxury seeking tourists. Backpacker accommodation usually offers a bed in a shared dorm room. Hot water and air-conditioning are considered among luxuries, and therefore the basic capital infrastructure costs of starting backpacker type accommodation are low. Hence encouraging the start of small scale businesses in this market is realistic and someone can literally start a small scale backpackers in their backyard or create 'home-stay' type accommodation and a broader section of the community can take part in and benefit from the tourism economy (Visser & Barker, 2004: 230).

4.5.1 Criticisms of backpacker tourism

Before entering a discussion on ways in which this form of tourism can contribute to local economic development, some of the criticisms will be discussed.

One criticism is that as backpackers tend to be on a rigid budget in order to ensure that their funds last the duration of their travel, they may become excessively concerned with bargain hunting (Scheyvens, 2002: 147). For example, bartering for the lowest price to the extent that local people selling goods or providing a service accept

unreasonably low prices for their products. As Riley (1988: 320) states “status among travellers is closely tied to living cheaply and obtaining the best bargains which serve as indicators that one is an experienced traveller”. As being ripped off and being oblivious to how much one should be paying for certain things show characteristics of an inexperienced traveller.

Backpacker tendencies to search for authentic experiences and off the beaten track destination often means they wish to have contact and involvement with the local people. This is generally seen in a positive light, however some critics argue that such ‘alternative’ tourism forms are invasive on local people can leave a long lasting and detrimental effect (Scheyvens, 2002: 147). The problem of failing to understand the local cultural norms and being oblivious to what is appropriate behaviour can result in offending the local people as well as influencing the local youth of socially inappropriate behaviour. “Scanty or excessively casual dress, drug and alcohol abuse, and casual sexual encounters can all cause insult to local residents, whose reliance on income from tourism often leads them to tolerate what they feel is outright denigration of their customs” (Scheyvens, 2002: 148). For example when Indian tourists visit temples and other holy places in India they show respect, but often when foreigners visit they drink, smoke and wear inappropriate dress for these holy places, unaware of local customs and suitable behaviour. This problem seems to be more prominent in backpacker enclaves.

Thailand has become a major backpacking destination for young travellers. Events such as ‘The Full Moon Party’ held regularly on the island of Koh Phangan attracts thousands of people. In the documentary *Thailand Backpackers: Full Moon Party* (Pendry, 1998), it shows that backpackers experiences are shaped by group behaviour rather than the search for a new adventure, and Aziz (1995:150) comments that “far from being an alternative form of tourism, backpacking has turned into just another strand of mass institutionalized tourism” (cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 149). When one of the backpackers is asked “do you think this is the real Thailand?” his response is “No, but I didn’t come for the real Thailand-this is purely hedonistic” (Scheyvens, 2002: 149). Perhaps one can conclude that behaviour that is not necessarily acceptable in travellers own countries is more acceptable in their own eyes if it is done in a foreign country, especially with regard to alcohol and drug abuse, and sexual experiences.

4.5.2 The case of Vang Vieng, Laos

An interesting demonstration of the above discussion can be seen in the small and rural town of Vang Vieng, Laos, one of South East Asia's poorest countries (Haworth, 2012). Vang Vieng quickly and recently became a backpacker Mecca and is often referred to the party capital of South- East Asia. It was still essentially a rural village town in 2002, when a small local adventure tourism operator began with the idea of tubing down the Nam Song River on old tractor tyre inner tubes. The tubing is a co-operative scheme and the profits trickle back to the local community rather than filling corporate pockets (Sydney Morning Herald, 2013). Alongside the 4km stretch of the tubing route are bars selling alcohol and openly selling drugs accompanied by loud music and water sport activities such as slides, zip lines and swings. It didn't take long for word to trickle down the backpacker grapevine of this "ultimate party playground¹", and many young backpackers put Vang Vieng as a must-do on their travel itineraries attracting an estimated 170,000 each year (Haworth, 2012).

It is revealed that as many as twenty deaths in 2011 and seven in 2012 however recently lead to the international hype and media coverage of this area, and the government has lately stepped in to close twenty-four of the bars along the river which were "being operated in contravention of regulations, including the provision of unsafe drinks to customers, while some also had no business licenses," reports the Vientienne Times (CNN Travel, 2012). As tubing down a mildly flowing river is not considered a dangerous sport, it was the irresponsible and reckless behaviour due to intoxication on drugs and alcohol and the absence of life jackets that led to the deaths.

The clamp down has become highly controversial in Vang Vieng. The locals may not have approved of the riverside hedonism and raucous behaviour exhibited by the backpackers in the town, who were reported as "barefoot zombies stumbling back to their guesthouses" in minimal clothing (CNN Travel, 2012), which is in complete disregard of Laotian culture. In Laos the culture is conservative when it comes to human relations. A local resident reports that she is offended by the sight of Westerners walking through town wearing nothing but board shorts or bikinis. "In Laos we cover up

¹ Personal observation. Vang Vieng, Laos. December 2011.

our arms and legs. I don't want my four-year-old daughter to copy the foreigners" (Haworth, 2012). And another local says "Our traditional way of life has been eaten alive, the noise pollution, the nudity, the rude behaviour, and now we have problems with our own youth stealing from tourists and getting addicted to alcohol and drugs" (Haworth, 2012). For the villagers living near the Nam Song, the river was once a central part of family life used for bathing, fishing and washing clothes. Today, very few locals will go near it (Haworth, 2012).

But since the clamp down visitor numbers have diminished and many local businesses are clearly struggling. As Touy Sisouat at the tubing centre states that numbers are down significantly, "last November, we would have maybe 800 people every day. This November, it is about 130 people. There is no drink on the river. It is bad for business" and therefore "there is less money for the children" (Sydney Morning Herald, 2013). Local restaurants and guesthouses which were previously packed in high season now stand empty, and local shops selling souvenirs printed with "tubing in the Vang Vieng" t-shirts and sweatshirts have also taken a severe blow.

The above discussion of Vang Vieng highlights some of the negative aspects of backpacker culture and may propose that modern day backpackers are engaging in a self centred form of tourism in the Third World by the emergence of backpacker enclaves. Despite this it also shows the downside effects of removing these types of enclaves once they have been established. Such negative generalizations about backpackers may largely come from their recent representation in the media and associated hype "rather than providing an accurate representation of what appears to be developing into an increasingly diverse demographic group" (Scheyvens, 2002: 150). While debauchery and hedonistic indulgence may be the primary motivation for one category of backpackers, others may genuinely be interested in learning about different cultures and environments, and many sit somewhere in between this spectrum of extremes (Scheyvens, 2002: 150). Furthermore it should be noted that the sometimes unfavourable behaviour and attitudes of backpackers is not mutually exclusive to this segment of tourists, as other tourists also frequently exhibit the same faults. As Scheyvens (2002: 151) notes "rather than reflecting on problems inherent in being integrated into global tourism essentially as underdogs, local communities often enthusiastically pursue the opportunities they feel this industry will bring to them". It is

clear that all forms of tourism come with costs and benefits, some forms more than others, the challenge lies in managing this fine line and learning in the process.

4.5.3 Positive impacts of backpacker tourism

As mentioned above, there is a common misconception that backpacker tourists, as ‘budget tourists’ on a rigid allowance tend to spend less money in a destination. Many studies this have shown this to be a false perception. In reality, backpackers spread their spending over a wider geographic area, bringing prosperity to distant and otherwise economically depressed areas, where other tourists rarely visit. Backpackers also contribute significantly more to local economic development because they tend to purchase locally produced goods and services than other types of tourists, and therefore spend their money more locally. In comparison, the structure of mass tourism limits contact with local people and local spending. For example, whilst packaged tourists “travelling coach in India are delivered to the compound of their hotel, backpackers arrive at bus and train stations where local traders have more opportunities to sell them their wares” (Scheyvens, 2002: 152). Likewise, tourists staying in luxury resorts generally find they have a private fenced off beach in front of their resort to “shield the guests from local touts” (Scheyvens, 2002: 152). However further down the beach local traders have the opportunity to sell goods to backpackers and other independent travellers. This can be seen in Goa where the beaches are a great income earning opportunity for locals to sell fruit, do henna tattoos, offer massages and manicures and to sell curios like sarongs and jewellery². Therefore the nature of backpacker spending leads to local level jobs.

Accommodation is another strong point that adds to local economic development through the contribution of backpackers. The lack of importance of infrastructure means that basic accommodation is happily suited to the needs of backpackers. Beach- shacks, or families renting out rooms to backpackers is common practice, especially in Goa where tourism is extremely seasonal and therefore there is minimal leakage and local families can benefit directly without having a huge capital outlay³. In South Africa, backpackers are interested in staying with families in the township, or in simple mud

² Personal observation. Goa, India. January 2013.

³ Personal observation. Goa, India. January 2013.

huts in places like the Transkei because of the adventurous nature of the experience they seek (Visser, 2004: 286). Furthermore supporting this notion is the fact that these types of accommodation use local resources and skills. For example in Indonesia, backpacker bungalows are built from bamboo grown locally, and concrete blocks made in a nearby village, and furnished with bamboo furniture and curtains made from traditional fabric, all made locally thus supporting local businesses. These ventures are more economically feasible even with small numbers of tourists because of low overhead costs and minimal leakages (Visser, 2004: 286). In addition, due to backpackers low budgets they tend to avoid high end restaurants and instead eat at local places, or purchase locally produced food, supporting the informal sector and bettering the livelihoods of the poorest people (Scheyvens, 2002: 154). Therefore individuals do not need assets, a broad range of skills or formal qualifications or even be able to communicate in a foreign language to successfully participate in tourism.

An important point to note is that women in the Third World are often excluded from formal economic activities due to their low status (Visser, 2004: 286). Wherefore in this type of tourism women are included in informal tourism enterprises from selling curios and crafts, running food stalls or working as beach vendors. This point is demonstrated in India, where women have very low status in society. In my own experiences of travelling in India, I never saw a women working in a restaurant as a waitress for example, but it was only women who worked in the informal sector operating curio and clothing stalls, worked as beach vendors selling fruit, doing henna tattoos, manicures, and so on⁴.

Another benefit of backpacker tourism is that communities providing services to backpackers are more likely to retain control over their enterprises by local ownership and local participation. The benefit of this is that it leads to a more “socially equitable and ecologically sustainable tourism industry” in comparison to places where tourism infrastructure and enterprises are owned by foreigners (Scheyvens, 2002: 156). Managing a self owned enterprise is surely an affirmative step in the right direction of self-determination for people otherwise dependent on tourism for menial low- status/ low- paid jobs or handouts and seems more likely to lead to self-fulfilment (Scheyvens,

⁴ Personal observation. Goa, India. January 2013.

2002: 156). For instance being a cleaner in a large luxury resort compared with being the owner of a small home- stay and being able to interact with guests on a more social and equitable level.

In addition to the above benefits discussed, there is support that the development of backpacker enclaves has transformed some run-down, crime hot spot parts of cities. For instance in Yogyakarta, Indonesia which once used to be a the red light district and showed high levels of poverty, the area is now a prosperous backpacker locale with many small businesses and well kept lanes and houses. The locals are in agreement that the area has changed for the better with the inflow of backpacker tourists (Scheyvens, 2002: 157). Khao San Road in Bangkok Thailand is another example of a backpacker enclave, and through the influx of backpackers it is one of the only areas in the city not characterized by sex tourism. One can therefore conclude that backpacker enclaves can have a positive effect.

Lastly, as backpackers want to spend less and therefore generally consume less, they can be classed as more environmentally friendly. In Goa for instances, backpackers are happy to swim in the sea and shower under cold water, while other tourists require hot baths and large heated swimming pools to accompany their luxury vacation. Therefore one can conclude that the backpacker sector has been environmentally friendlier in comparison to the “resource guzzling five star tourists” (Scheyvens, 2002: 157).

4.5.4 Backpacker tourism in South Africa

In light of the above, the expansion of the backpacker industry holds many potential benefits for South Africa. The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism, along with various other policy commentators have noted that “if the full potential of South Africa’s tourism industry is to be realized and if South Africa is to maximize its comparative advantage as an eco- and cultural destination, then mechanisms must be found to enable community-based and other structurally disadvantaged tourism enterprises to profit meaningfully from international and domestic market opportunities” (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226). Regardless of these claims by government and the tourism industry, the majority of public and corporate

assistance to community-based enterprises have been based in mass tourism and the associated supply-side projects.

With the advent of democracy, South Africa has increasingly become a popular destination for tourists, especially backpackers. One of the most major positive impacts of backpacking highlighted by Visser & Barker (2004: 236) is the spatial range of backpacker's travels through South Africa. It has been demonstrated that these types of tourists travel to more rural localities than mass tourists do, far off the main and conventional tourist routes. Infrastructure catering for backpacker tourism has been established all over the country, and many of the most popular backpackers are located along the Transkei coast. Backpackers such as Mdumbi Backpackers and Bulungula Backpackers are some of the best examples of tourism ventures which have gone further by establishing development non-profit organisations (NPOs) which have been integrated into various backpacker activities, using foreign tourists as sources of funding for development projects, which benefits accrue to the surrounding community.

In a recent article published in the Mail and Guardian, it is stated that there is a growing demand and trend for 'budget' type accommodation in South Africa. Following the 2008 recession and the after-effects of the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the market for accommodation is no longer all about five-star resorts and thus there is a growing demand for budget accommodation (Steyn, 2013).

Statistics South Africa recently published a report stating that the total income for the tourist accommodation industry increased by 15.9% in March compared with the same period last year, and the types of accommodation that recorded the highest year-on-year growth rates in income were caravan parks and camping sites at 35.8%, and "other" accommodation at 16% (Steyn, 2013). According to Eddy Khosa, chairman of the Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa, "more and more people are looking for budget accommodation. Based on our domestic growth strategy, we are trying to encourage South Africans to travel mainly in our own country. We talk about bringing a new culture of South African travelling and for that we need an economic option".

Owner of Coast to Coast, a backpacker's guide to Southern Africa, Geoff Heald stated that the global financial crisis has resulted in a smaller budget for most travellers and it

appears that more and more people are having a preference for backpacker type accommodation. According to StatsSA data, these desires for less expensive accommodation have had a positive effect on the income from tourism, which increased from R14.4-billion in 2008 to R15.4-billion in 2012 after reaching a low of R13.6-billion in 2009 (Steyn, 2013).

From the above discussion, it would appear that the future of backpacker tourism in South Africa has huge potential for growth and to provide socio-economic development for marginalized and poor communities. If South Africa is to take full advantage of this potential institutional support will be required from government, NGOs and support from both the private and public sector to help optimise the benefits to their fullest.

4.6 Conclusion

There are enormous benefits and advantages that backpacker tourism can bring to social and economic local development in developing countries. This form of tourism is more feasible and appropriate in developing countries as it is more suited to the nature of the communities who frequently lack the infrastructure and knowledge to operate tourism enterprises that mass tourism requires. What is needed to aid these establishments is suitable community based structures which can represent the community and protect their interests. As Scheyvens rightly notes “communities are typically characterized by a multiplicity of interests and hierarchies of power, making it problematic to assume that a community can work together for mutual benefit” (2002: 158). Too often local elites, particularly men, come to dominate community-based development thereby excluding the most marginalized, frequently women and youth, from benefiting from the advantages. Thus the importance of democratic structure to ensure the representation of all community interests is paramount.

According to Scheyvens (2002: 159), if a community decides to proceed with tourism ventures catering to backpackers they will need the aid from institutional support such as from government, NGOs and the private sector, as this will most likely be required to help maximize the opportunities that backpacker tourism can present and also help to monitor the possible associated problems and challenges. Furthermore, there should be extended focus on developing SME tourism enterprises as the positive developmental impacts of doing so tend to reach those who need it most.

Chapter 5

Tourism and development in South Africa

5.1 Introduction

Chapter two highlighted the continued expansion of the tourism industry and its contribution to socio-economic growth. It should therefore come as no surprise that South Africa has jumped on the tourism and development bandwagon.

Due to a long legacy of colonialism and apartheid, South Africa has one of the highest levels of inequality and unemployment in the world (South African Press Association, 2012). Due to sanctions and political instability, South Africa's tourism was adversely affected during the apartheid years. However with the advent of democracy and the rise in 'Mandela' tourism, South Africa has now become one of the most popular destinations to visit on the international map. Since the democratic elections in 1994, the number of foreign visitor arrivals increased from just more than 3 million in 1993, to over 9.9 million in 2009 (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2011: 14). Not surprisingly, tourism has come to be viewed by many as a key driver in the South African economy and central to the overall development of the country (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226).

5.2 Tourism and development in South Africa

Since the democratic transition, tourism in South Africa has been acknowledged as an increasingly important sector for South Africa's economy and for achieving the government's goals for reconstruction and development (Visser & Rogerson, 2004: 201). Tourism has taken a central position in the policy agenda of the post-apartheid government. It has been identified as a key catalyst for the economic growth that the government aims to achieve in the country's developmental goals (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996). As tourism is now widely viewed as a channel through which foreign reserves can be accumulated, foreign domestic investment boosted, and the relatively low start up costs with the benefit of job creation,

tourism is viewed as an effective means through which South Africa could successfully enter and compete in the international economic system (Cornelissen, 2005: 680).

A lot of effort has gone into promoting the growth of the tourism sector, and promoting South Africa as a unique destination, especially post-1994. Tourism has also gained much from the so called 'Mandela syndrome', attracting many foreign guests after the end of apartheid and the country's political transformation strengthened by the prominence of former president Nelson Mandela (Cornelissen, 2005: 681). This can be seen in the quick and sustained increase in international tourists to South Africa, from 1995 (when total international arrivals rose by 22.3%) to 2000, foreign tourism saw an average on year growth of about 10%, well above the global average of 3% (Cornelissen, 2005: 681). South Africa has actively participated in hosting prestigious events such as the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 and the United Nation World Conference against Racism in 2001. The country's bid to host the 2004 Olympic Games and the 2006 The FIFA World Cup were unsuccessful, but recently South Africa successfully hosted the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Cornelissen, 2005: 681). Hosting international events creates employment, especially within the tourism industry, and brings attention to the country giving the opportunity to promote the country as a top travel destination.

The economic potential tourism holds as a key driver of growth and development in South Africa is based on the competitive advantages that the country has in its natural and cultural resources (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 2). South Africa's fast growing tourism industry also complements a wide trend towards alternative tourism types. Many of these alternative types emerging, namely eco-tourism, backpacker tourism, adventure tourism among others, are ideally suited to developing tourism in South Africa in a sustainable manner (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007: 2). Furthermore, the nature of these tourism types are well suited for developing tourism in rural parts, allowing rural inhabitants an opportunity to participate and benefit from tourism development.

5.3 Tourism during apartheid

The pressure of the Second World War had a multitude of unintended social consequences, one of them being the large- scale migration of people, both military and

civilian. In South Africa's case, the country played host to thousands of "accidental tourists", an example being British airmen arriving for training (Grundlingh, 2006: 105). The notable amount of movement of people during hostilities led to the awareness of the importance of upgrading tourist transport policy in peacetime. Thus the South African Tourist Corporation (Satour) was formed in 1947, a separate entity from the South African Railways and Harbours (Grundlingh, 2006: 105).

The change in government in 1948 in which the National Party (NP) was elected changed the prevalent approach to tourism. During the initial years of the NP's rule, tourism had low priority, with relatively few overseas visitors, predominantly from Britain, and regional business with the whites of neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. One reason for this was that South Africa was a long-haul destination, which meant a two week journey by sea and another consideration was that the state was more concerned with other matters which seemed to be of higher priority. "The consolidation of Afrikaner power and the early shaping of apartheid policies took precedence over tourism, and there were few active attempts to court overseas visitors" (Grundlingh, 2006: 105).

During the apartheid period, a huge amount of energy was spent by government to "attain a number of concurrent centripetal objectives" (Weaver, 2000: 56). These objectives include "the strengthening of the national economy (to offset and override international sanctions), attaining recognition as a legitimate member of the world community, and increasing the white population while simultaneously reducing both the *de jure* and *de facto* black population" (Weaver, 2000: 56). Within these strategies tourism played a role. With regards to the strengthening of the economy, tourism has long been viewed as a channel through which to achieve economic growth and diversification which could reduce spatial disparities in wealth. With regards to the second objective, attaining recognition as a legitimate member of the world community, the presence of foreign tourists supports this in three ways. Firstly, the presence of tourists "may be interpreted as sanctioning the state's legitimacy, as acknowledged by the occasional call for tourist boycotts to effect the alienation and isolation of states (as in the case of Burma)" (Weaver, 2000: 56). Secondly, "the admittance of international tourists involves actions, for example the stamping of passports, the negotiation of land rights) that affirm and give substance to the sovereign prerogatives of the state"

(Weaver, 2000: 56). Thirdly, by enticing foreign guests to the more affluent parts of Soweto, or “neat ‘model’ villages inhabited by contented natives”, tourism acted as a propaganda tool for portraying the finest possible image of South Africa to the rest of the world (Weaver, 2000: 56). And lastly, tourism had long been used by the government as a method to encourage white immigration from Europe and other parts, on the assumption that at least some of the tourists would return as settlers and enlarge the white population.

On that account, South Africa represents a unique case concerning tourism and development debates. During the apartheid years, tourism was essentially “anti-developmental” in many respects (Visser & Rogerson, 2004: 201). During the apartheid period the country witnessed the growth of a significant domestic tourism sector and the accompanying growth of a strong segment of local tourism capital as represented by such enterprises as Southern Sun, Sun International and Protea, many of which wanted to expand their hotel businesses overseas. In view of that, the experience of tourism and development in South Africa “fits somewhat uneasily in the international scholarship on tourism in the developing world, which is understood in terms of the dependency theories” (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4).

The impact of international boycotts and sanctions implemented during this era had many negative effects on the tourism sector with international tourism flows severely hindered. Furthermore, the NP’s objective to mask the political instability and discriminative policies hindered tourism in the attempts to keep out journalists, news agencies and reporters from bringing South Africa into disrepute with the rest of the world.

The potential for domestic tourism was also stunted, as the majority of the country’s black population could not enjoy access to a number of facilities, such as beaches and national parks which were “deemed the exclusive preserve of South Africa’s privileged white population” (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4). The Group Areas Act and the Group Amenities Act restricted the mobility of the black population and made it impossible to visit locations that were set aside for the occupation of whites. Furthermore, the conservation of national parks led to the neglect of the social welfare surrounding communities, as “caring for the environment” was often used as an excuse to remove

neighbouring black communities from their ancestral lands (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4). As Baskin (1995) notes, the history of tourism in South Africa and tourism research, “has not been about development, its focus has been the economics of white elite leisure” (in Visser & Rogerson, 2004: 201).

5.4 Tourism post-apartheid

With the advent of democracy there has been a radical shift and all the motivations and strategies described above have been rendered obsolete (Weaver, 2000: 58). Tourism has now widely come to be viewed as a fundamental sector for national reconstruction and development, and one that offers huge potential as a catalyst for economic and social development throughout the whole country (DEAT, 2003: 6). There is much compelling evidence that can be noted from cases in other developing countries that support tourism as a vehicle for development in South Africa. The expectation of jobs and infrastructure as well as foreign income has put the focus on the potential for economic growth and employment as a driving force for boosting tourism development in South Africa.

The tourism sector is a multifaceted industry that contributes to a wide range of different sectors in the economy, and it is also labour intensive with the capacity to create employment. The 2010 Tourism Satellite Account which measures the tourism sectors direct contribution to the country’s economy, estimates this contribution at about R67 billion or 3 per cent of South Africa’s GDP (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2011: 14). This alone is compelling evidence to support the argument for developing the tourism industry as a mechanism for economic growth and employment creation in South Africa.

Given the range of sectors that benefit from tourism development, the government of South Africa has granted tourism expansion a central position in national development initiatives. Most notably in the appearance in 1996 of the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa and in 1998 of the Tourism in The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) document. The White Paper on Tourism and the Tourism in GEAR strategy link together to provide the key policy foundations for developing the tourism industry in South Africa (Rogerson & Visser,

2004: 6). Various other policy documents have also been drafted to further detail other vital dimensions of the new framework for tourism policy in South Africa.

The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism remains the core of South Africa's new tourism policy, although since 1996 some its targets may need to be reset, but it is still agreed that the core principles set out in the White Paper are still relevant to contemporary tourism development. The White Paper begins by noting tourism as a priority for national economic development and major stimulus for achieving objectives of the governments GEAR strategy. It aims towards furthering 'new tourism' in South Africa and gives suggestions for developing the industry within the context of the goals for reconstruction. The concept of 'Responsible Tourism' comes out as the most appropriate concepts for the development of tourism in South Africa.

Six guiding principles were put forward towards the development of responsible tourism in post-apartheid South Africa:

- -tourism will be private sector driven;
- -government will provide the enabling framework for the industry to flourish;
- -effective community involvement will form the basis of tourism growth;
- -tourism development will be underpinned by sustainable environmental practices;
- -tourism development is dependent on the establishment of cooperation and close partnerships among key stakeholders;
- -tourism will be used as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities and should particularly focus on the empowerment of women in such communities (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 7).

Building on the core policy tenants given by the White Paper, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) document, Tourism in GEAR, these aim to create a framework for implementing these policies, especially within the context of the neo-liberal macro-economic GEAR strategy (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 7). Initially, tourism was left out of the GEAR strategy, but the realization of South Africa's potential as an economic driver is based a multitude of features, some of which include

the comparative advantages of the natural and cultural resources, the fact that South Africa's tourism attractions complement global trends towards alternative tourism and the ability of tourism to attract substantial private sector investment, as well as to accommodate small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 7). In general terms, "the vision is to develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable and acceptable manner so that it will significantly contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African" (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 8).

The Tourism White Paper has provided the core of the policy framework for tourism development and identified a number of constraints facing the industry and its potential to achieve such objectives such as job creation, women and black-economic empowerment and SMME development (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226). These objectives in turn underline progress towards a variety of economic development outcomes. The White Paper, along with a number of policy commentators, have noted that if the full potential of South Africa's tourism industry is to be achieved, and if South Africa is to maximize its comparative advantage as an eco and cultural destination, then mechanisms must be found to support community-based and other structurally disadvantaged tourism enterprises to profit meaningfully from international and domestic market opportunities (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226).

Because the tourism sector, like many other sectors in the South African economy still reflect the old policies of apartheid, especially in terms of skills and ownership, transformation is viewed by the national government as vital, necessitating an expansion in the involvement of previously disadvantaged people (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 8). This issue is of importance to address as there is the risk that the growth of the tourism economy would reinforce the "existing concentration of wealth in the hands of whites at the expense of the majority of Previously Disadvantaged Individuals (PDIs)" (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 8). However, despite the government's and tourism industry's claims to support PDIs, the majority of public and corporate assistance to community-based enterprises has been set in mass tourism and supply-side projects, such as guest houses, lodges, tourist routes and cultural villages. As a result, the impact of tourism as a tool towards achieving economic development that benefits the most marginalized in South Africa has been limited (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226).

Visser and Barker (2004: 182) highlight four obstacles to the detriment of the potential of tourism in South Africa. The first obstacle, as discussed above, relates to the partial involvement of PDIs in the South African tourism industry. The second obstacle is “the limited investor interest in the country’s tourism industry”; Third, due to the legacy of spatial planning during apartheid “South Africa has a very uneven distribution of tourism infrastructure that limits the impacts of tourism investments that have been made”; and finally, the speed at which the tourism industry is being changed, in terms of pro-poor tourism development, is slow.

In an effort to overcome these obstacles and maximize the full potential of tourism as a development tool, the South African government has identified a number of tourism policy initiatives, one of the most notable has been the restructuring and expansion of the national tourism marketing parastatal- South African Tourism (SAT) (Visser & Barker, 2004: 182). By virtue of the Tourism White Paper, the SAT is assigned with the following:

- a) Expand foreign tourist arrivals;
- b) Increase the total expenditure of tourists in South Africa;
- c) Optimise the length of their stay;
- d) Improve the regional distribution of tourists through the country and throughout the year;
- e) Improve activity and spending patterns which will enable transformation and promote black economic empowerment (Visser & Barker, 2004: 183).

While the SAT has subsequently achieved considerable success in meeting the above objectives, the SAT has ignored a segment of the market, namely ‘budget tourism’ or ‘backpacker tourism’. It is this segment of the market that is argued to have valuable potential for socio-economic development at a community and grass-roots level (Visser & Barker, 2004: 183).

5.5 The future of tourism in South Africa: developing small tourism businesses.

It is widely agreed upon that the tourism sector can contribute towards sustainability and pro-poor growth in South Africa. The World Bank (WB) identifies the key challenge for African tourism is how to make the sector a source of not only sustainable

economic growth, but also shared growth. A key theme emerging in promoting shared growth is to promote the expansion of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs).

According to the WB (2006), SMEs make up at least 90 per cent of all African tourism enterprises (in Rogerson, 2008: 23). To boot, international research advocates that SME's can be "a dynamic agent of tourism development and growth" and can significantly contribute towards shared growth instead of economic gains leaving through non-locally owned tourist enterprises and businesses (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2007: 12). In the developing world, it is recognized that "the objective of increased local earnings, investment and job creation can be best achieved through the promotion of small, rather than large, tourism firms" (Rogerson, 2008: 25). Furthermore, the impact of developing small tourism firms for poverty reduction and local economic development is significant and supported by current studies on pro-poor tourism. It has been demonstrated that where pro-poor tourism initiatives have been implemented to aid small entrepreneurs attain market access, there are net gains to participants at the micro-level (Rogerson, 2008: 25).

One of the major conclusions from tourism research in the developing world is that the growth prospects of tourism small firms are hindered by the supremacy and competitive advantage exerted by large mass scale tourism enterprises operating in local economies. Consequentially, often the most promising opportunities for small scale tourism entrepreneurs in the developing world are created in niche tourism, or alternative forms of tourism such as backpacking. As certain kinds of opportunities for tourism entrepreneurship take place in marginal or peripheral areas, it has been strongly argued that "local control and small enterprise development in tourism in such areas should be supported by the provision of special government and fiscal monetary incentives to enable local entrepreneurs to own and operate small tourism establishments" (Rogerson, 2008: 25). This is an important theme from research on tourism SMEs in developing countries to help conquer the inherent disadvantages and to escape business failure.

5.5.1 Challenges facing tourism SME development

The South African government has identified the promotion of SMEs as a strategy to address the various economic inequalities between population groups, to stimulate

sustainable growth and to create jobs (Department of Trade and Industry, 2011). Actions from the government are aimed at training and supporting previously disadvantaged people to become active contributors to the formal and informal economy. Preferably, one would like to see previously disadvantaged individuals as owners of these SME's, however, certain inherent problems and challenges face the success of SMEs as the entrepreneurs do not necessarily have the capacity, support and experience to take up business responsibilities and management (Brand, 2006: 3). Rogerson (2008: 27) discusses ten challenges that face the development of SMEs in the tourism context of Southern Africa.

Challenge one identified by Rogerson (2008: 27) relates to market access. Small accommodation providers are generally excluded from package tour markets and face competition from well established and experienced businesses with strong ties in particular source markets.

Challenge two relates to the marketing of the SME. Several studies emphasize the importance of extensive marketing. SME entrepreneurs often lack the knowledge and exposure of market trends as well as a lack of access to marketing tools such as the internet.

Challenge three relates to business management and skills development. Management training and skills development represent a critical issue for tourism SME development. This issue encompasses a wide range including “product development, project management, how to increase yield by enhancing the tourism ‘experience’, quality control, accounts and finance, management of business growth, legal regulation and compliance, and how to maintain and develop staff” (Rogerson, 2008: 28). This lack of skills and experience not only includes actual operational skills required for the successful running of the tourism business but also encompasses the basic knowledge of what tourism is and how to benefit from a tourism-led strategy.

Challenge four relates to information communication technologies development and infrastructure. In rural and marginal areas, such as the Wild Coast of South Africa's Eastern Cape province, “few have access to the right infrastructure, especially referring to problems associated with slow and/ or expensive internet access and the lack of good

service providers” (Lourens, 2007: 20). Thus many SMEs miss out on the opportunity of bookings through websites and other online services, such as payment.

Challenge five relates to the understanding of place and culture. As noted by Cornelissen (2005: 47) “the development of cultural tourism products is an important element of spreading the economic impact of tourism through the development of new products”. Thus entrepreneurs need to be able to inform visitors about “everyday life, land issues and society as a whole as well as turning language into part of the visitor experience” (Rogerson, 2008: 29).

Challenge six relates to financial support. Finance is viewed as one of the core challenges for SME development in Africa, and can be a critical constraint on the development of shared growth in tourism. Many entrepreneurs have trouble accessing finance through lack of creditworthiness, the high interest on loans, or lack of personal savings.

Challenge seven relates to the red tape and regulations in the tourism industry. This has been identified recently as a significant constraint for SME. “compliance costs are ‘pure red tape costs’ and represent the costs incurred by the business in complying with regulations in terms of filling in forms and fulfilling reporting requirement” (Rogerson, 2008: 29).

Challenge eight relates to the understanding of sustainable tourism. There is concern around the lack of knowledge of SMEs in sustainable and environmental tourism practices. It is argued that the following issues need to be addressed by SMEs “the need for accreditation, certification of enterprises, information on best practice waste disposal and sewage treatment, information on how to save money through environmentally friendly practices and generally how to turn tourism sustainability into part of the visitor experience” (Lourens, 2007: 24).

Challenge nine relates to institutional support. The HSRC (2006: 64) asserts that “whilst government policies in South Africa claim to focus across the SME spectrum, the needs of medium sized enterprises are vastly different and government needs to make provision for different interventions when dealing with micro enterprises which is often

informal and survivalist". Thus the lack of institutional support for SME tourism is a constraint in their development.

The last challenge highlighted by Rogerson (2008: 30), *challenge ten*, is the lack of research surrounding all the above challenges. A further understanding of the issues is required by scholars and researchers in order to inform government and policy makers to successfully aid the development of tourism SMEs in South Africa and attain the goal of shared growth.

5.6 Conclusion

With regards to the above, there are many challenges which face the sustainability and potential of tourism SMEs. With extended research however, as well as help from external aid such as government, NGOs and the private and public sector, with time and experience these challenges can be overcome. In light of the discussion in the previous chapter about the positive impacts of a new approach to tourism that steps away from the conventional and traditional approach, there is much compelling evidence to focus on developing backpacker tourism.

Chapter 6

Methodology

6.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this research is to evaluate the role that tourism plays in community development in Tshani Mankosi. This was achieved by using Transcape non-profit organisation (NPO) and Mdumbi Backpackers as the case study.

This chapter will begin by outlining the research goals. Thereafter, the research design, methodology, research sample, data collection, challenges, ethical considerations and limitations and associated methods of analysis utilised for this study will be discussed.

6.2 Research goals

By evaluating the model of development used by Transcape NPO and Mdumbi Backpackers, the following goals were determined:

- The underlying philosophy driving this new approach;
- The extent of real control that communities have;
- Is this model of development sustainable;
- What lessons can be learnt and applied elsewhere;
- The benefits that accrue to the surrounding community.

In order to achieve these goals, an internal understanding of the NPO was required to understand the internal practices, methods and actions that form part of their development model. In addition, in-depth interviews and lengthy conversations with the community members in Tshani Mankosi were paramount.

6.3 Research design

This research followed the interpretive paradigm, based on people's subjective experiences in and amongst the community as well as their relationship and dealings

with Transcape and Mdumbi Backpackers. In order to achieve the desired outcome, the research methods were qualitative in nature. The qualitative methodology shares the philosophical foundation with the interpretive paradigm which supports the belief that “there are many truths and multiple realities” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative methods are fundamentally descriptive, as its data collection methods range from in depth interviews to life histories to personal document analysis (Harvey & MacDonald, 1993: 176). Qualitative data is factual and provides answers and understandings that can not be gained through quantitative methods. This qualitative raw data provided an insight into the participant’s feelings and emotions that cannot be obtained through quantitative methods.

This research was conducted as a case study. Although there are various understandings of what a case study is, according to Simons (2009: 21) a case study is “an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a real life context”. The close approach aims to provide invaluable, insightful and deep understanding of the case which hopefully results in new learning about real world behaviour and its meaning (Yin, 1984: 18). Being research based and inclusive of numerous methods, a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its actual context, supported by various sources of factual and observational evidence (Yin, 1984: 23). It is widely agreed that case studies are useful in the study of human affairs because they are down to earth and attention holding. Case studies may be “epistemologically in harmony with the reader’s experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization” (Stake, 1978: 5). Therefore through the case study method the goals of adding to experience and improving understanding can be attained.

6.4 Research methods

The main research methods used were structured and semi-structured in-depth interviews with members of Transcape, project managers and coordinators, members of the community, and employees of Mdumbi Backpackers. An in-depth interview is a conversation in which the researcher encourages the informant to relate in their own terms, reflecting on experiences and attitudes that are significant to the research goals (Walker, 1985: 5). According to Burgess (1982: 107) in-depth interviews give the

“opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience”. The interviews with Transcape members discussed project goals, project planning methods, project decision making processes and community involvement in all of the above. The interviews with community members included questions about the community’s understanding of Transcape’s projects and their overall opinions of tourism related development. Interviews with employees of Mdumbi Backpackers discussed environmental practices, the internal running’s of the business, and their approaches to tourism.

Because qualitative techniques are not concerned with measurement they are usually less structured than quantitative methods and can therefore be “made more responsive to the needs of the respondents and to the nature of the subject matter” (Walker, 1985: 3). Therefore some questions were formulated before the interviews but the nature of the interview was designed to allow the research participants to talk openly about the issues at hand. While ideally, a qualitative interview should resemble a natural conversation, it needs to have a specific purpose, therefore literature on tourism and development and the theoretical groundings helped me to form the basis of the questions. Although the questions for a semi- structured interview should not be too specific or too structured (Bryman, 2008: 442), it was important to necessitate that no elements of the research goals were left out. As Bryman (2008: 442) highlights, it is important to ask questions in a manner that is as neutral as possible in order to avoid leading the participant to any particular answer. This was kept in mind during the interview phase of the research.

Seabi (2012: 90) discusses six techniques for interviews which I have made extensive use of. The first is to *establish rapport*. This is achieved by spending a lengthy period of time in the community, forming relationships and trust. The next is to *be aware of non-verbal cues*, as they may reveal significant information regarding people’s opinions. As discussed previously, the interview was designed with *open-ended questions*, so as to avoid leading to close-ended answers such like yes/no, as to prevent “accessing or gathering rigorous data”. Seabi (2012: 90) suggests in order to *keep the interview flowing*, make use of prompts and encouraging words such as ‘tell me more’, and ‘why’? The last technique is to *listen* more than you speak.

According to Walker (1985: 3) “qualitative methods yield large volumes of exceedingly rich data obtained from a limited number of individuals”. Analysis of qualitative data is more explicitly interpretive, creative and personal than in quantitative analysis (Walker, 1985: 3). With this being said, it is apparent why qualitative methods were better suited to the nature of my research as quantitative methods cannot express my research goals. All interviews were audio recorded in order to interact fully with the research participants and not have to be concerned with note taking. All the interviews were transcribed at a later stage.

6.5 Ethical considerations and limitations

As ethical considerations are very important in conducting social research, this research was conducted and carried out in a manner that is in accordance with Rhodes University’s ethical standards, which were read and understood. As social research sometimes requires people to reveal personal information that may be unknown to friends of family, or not openly spoken about, and requires that such information be given to strangers it may be difficult to obtain such information. Babbie and Mouton (2004: 3) acknowledge this problem as social researchers, like medical scientists, “can only argue that the research effort may ultimately help all of humanity”.

To help overcome this challenge, confidentiality was secured by having the option to remain anonymous if the research participants felt it was necessary. Therefore the research was sensitive to the interests of the informants and safeguarded their rights. For that reason some names and surnames were changed to protect the identity of some participants who wished to remain anonymous in this study. The objectives of the research were clearly communicated to the participants and participation in this research was entirely voluntary.

Because a language barrier exists between myself and the local isiXhosa speaking community, a translator was used when meeting with community members. A local translator who had been used previously by my supervisor, Professor Monty Roodt, and has experience in the practice of translation was used. As my supervisor for this project has done research in the Tshani Mankosi area, and has established rapport with the traditional authority and the community, access to the research site was made easier.

Many researchers often require working closely with a gatekeeper, a trusted insider or community member who introduces the researcher to the community and helps the researcher gain access (Theron & Malindi, 2012: 98). As a well liked and well known community member, my translator also acted as the gate keeper and was able to introduce me to relevant people in the community to interview.

6.6 Research sample

To achieve the desired data to meet the goals and objectives of the research, interviews were conducted with Transcape members. This was crucial to explore the dynamics between the NPO and the local community as well as to understand the internal operations and how projects are conceived and carried out. It was also important to learn about the challenges from their side with regards to the sustainability of this model and projects and what lessons can be learnt and applied elsewhere.

Interviews were conducted with the two founders of Mdumbi Backpackers. This was paramount to determining the underlying philosophy driving this new approach. This was also how information was obtained about how Mdumbi Backpackers lead to the establishment of Transcape NPO.

Interviews were held on an individual basis with a variety of community member. Some of them were chosen at random, and others were selected on the basis of directly being affected by tourism or the work of Transcape. The main objective of this was to build a broad picture of the thoughts, feelings and perceptions of tourism in the area as well as the work of Transcape. This correlated to the research goal of determining the extent of real control that communities have and the goal to determine the benefits that accrue to the surrounding community.

Employees of Mdumbi Backpackers were also interviewed. The reason behind this was to understand some of the internal running of the backpackers and explore the relationship between the backpackers and the community.

Interviews were held with guests of Mdumbi backpackers. These were useful with regards to profiling the type of people that visit backpacker establishments and to dispel some of the myths of the backpacker tourist stereotype.

Employees of four backpackers in Coffee Bay were interviewed. The objective of this was to visit other backpacker establishments to build a broader picture of the contribution of backpacker tourism to rural areas in the Transkei as well as to compare the models and approaches of backpackers and their relationship with the surrounding communities.

6.7 Data collection

My first research trip was in May 2012 for 3 days and was accompanied by my supervisor, Professor Monty Roodt. The main aim of this trip was to establish whether or not this research project was feasible and also to meet with the founders of Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape to discuss my proposed research and get permission to proceed. It was requested by Transcape that I send through a short proposal which was presented at a monthly board meeting. After certain queries were discussed and addressed, it was agreed that I would be granted access to carry out this research. One of the conditions of being granted access is that I was to spend a considerable amount of time living in the community in order to gain a broad understanding of the community and how Transcape operates within the field of tourism and development.

In order to effectively study and understand the intricate relationships between the Tshani Mankosi community, Transcape, Mdumbi Backpackers and tourism, a lengthy period of time was required in the field. In total 45 days were spent in the field which were accumulated over five research trips. As the research site is 560 kilometres from where I reside in Grahamstown, and approximately a nine hour drive due to bad roads and road works, the research trips were longer in duration.

During the time in the field, I formed relationships and built rapport with the community as well as building trust with my research participants. Therefore this research is furthermore grounded in an ethnographic approach and was carried out through a participant observation method. The participant observation method under an

ethnographic methodology calls for the researcher to “immerse themselves into the social world of the people in which they are interested” (Seabi, 2012: 83). The researcher thus live in the community, participates in and observes activities, events and the social life of community members appropriate to the study as well as observing other physical aspects . In this way, the researcher becomes part of the study, rather than just an external researcher (Spradley, 1980: 54). Through this approach I was able to provide “a more complete picture by noting trends and generalizations as well as in depth knowledge of participants perspectives” (Cresswell and Plano, 2007: 33).

During the periods of fieldwork, I stayed at a community run backpackers the majority of the time, namely Vukani Backpackers, situated two kilometres away from Mdumbi Backpackers. Some days/nights were also spent staying at Mdumbi Backpackers. As Vukani Backpackers is entirely community based and situated more deeply in the community, the period of fieldwork contributed economically to the community in a small yet positive way and supported this backpacker establishment.

My second trip to Mdumbi was in August 2012 for 8 days. The purpose of this trip was to build rapport in the community and to speak to members of Transcape to find out what development projects were happening and who was working at Transcape and to meet with them. Although no formal interviews were made at this stage, field notes were taken as well as notes during informal conversations with Transcape members and employees of Mdumbi Backpackers which I found to be very useful.

My third trip to Mdumbi was in April 2013 and lasted 10 days. On this trip I attended a Transcape monthly meeting in which I was able to meet some of the Transcape board members I had not yet met. It was also a great opportunity to find out some of the challenges that were being faced and to hear about the running of some of the development projects, namely the preschool and the HIV clinic. Something that became apparent to me was the high turnover of people working for Transcape. This appeared to be a challenge to the NPO when it came down to writing the proposals for funding, as one of the main people who did it in the past was no longer able to and therefore someone new had to take over the role.

The fourth trip to Mdumbi was in June 2013 for ten days. The first formal interviews were conducted on this trip. I felt that it was a good starting point to interview members working for Transcape. I also had the opportunity to attend another monthly Transcape meeting in which I was able to learn more about the complexities of running the different development projects and the internal workings of the NPO. Four formal interviews were conducted with some of the main people working for Transcape. From these interviews I was able to formulate further questions and start devising the focus of the interviews I would be asking the local people of Tshani Mankosi. This trip was also successful in meeting and interacting with people in the community whose lives have been touched by the presence of tourism and therefore I could question on my subsequent research trip.

Within case study research it is common to make use of purposive sampling, whereby the sample depends itself on the purpose of the study (Morgan & Sklar, 2012: 75). Through the “snowballing interview technique” I was able to identify the rest of the sample group for this research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Through this method of sampling, “you find a few subjects who are characterized by the qualities you seek, you interview them and ask them for the names of other people who they know that may have the same qualities of other qualities that interest you” (Baker, 1988: 159). In this way I was able to accumulate respondents by using each respondent as a source of new names for the research sample.

Primary documentation and public progress reports from Transcape will also be collected and analysed as part of the data collection process. This documentation will be obtained from Transcape and will include information about the history, projects and funding of the NPO. Although this will only form a small part of my data collection, the advantages of using documentary methods are that it enables the researched to investigate and study past events and issues retrospectively (Seabi, 2012: 92); therefore documents will be useful to track the progress of Transcape, the timelines and progress of projects and to identify some of the challenges and successes that have come forth.

My fifth and final data collecting trip was in August. This trip was fifteen days and the majority of my interviews were carried out during this period. As this was my fifth trip to the area, it was apparent to me the importance of spending a lengthy time in the

research field and building up relationships as on my arrival I was greeted warmly from community members that I had met on previous trips and bought fish, oysters, beads and firewood from as well as employees at the backpackers and members of Transcape. Therefore I found that on this trip people were more open to speaking to me and easily agreed to an interview. Over the course of the period, one to three interviews were scheduled each day and a total of twenty four interviews were completed. This was achieved by identifying people through the purposive sampling and snowballing technique.

The majority of the interviews on this trip were with community members. My initial intention was to hold focus groups with community member however this proved to be challenging for two reasons. Firstly, on numerous occasions nobody arrived at the agreed upon time and place, and secondly when people did arrive, I found that it was too difficult to get everybody to talk and to have a proper conversation, especially having to go through a translator. Thus I decided it would be more beneficial to hold one-on-one interviews. Therefore when interviewing community members I went from house to house with a translator and spoke to people directly. I believe this was a better approach as I could spend more time with the interviewee and focus more directly on the individual thoughts and experiences and delve deeper into their views about the matters at hand.

A day trip to Coffee Bay was also part of the data collection. On this trip I visited four backpackers, most of the interviews were informal but two were structured and were held with the owner of Coffee Shack and the owner of Sugar Loaf backpackers.

6.8 Challenges in the field

The most challenging aspect of carrying out this research was the language barrier between me and the local Xhosa speaking community. This was overcome with the use of a translator, however I believed this was problematic as it breaks the connection between the interviewee and interviewer. With an extended length of time in the field I was able to learn some basic greetings and how to introduce myself which proved to be extremely beneficial as the local community seemed to appreciate the effort and therefore warmed to my presence as an outsider. It was also important to note that

because the translator was a local man, and that some of the research participants may have not been completely open in answering questions perhaps with the fear of gossip in the community. Although my translator had had experience in the practice of translation, I often found that the answers to the questions I had posed did not always match up, and therefore I had to rephrase the questions and make sure they were understood first by the translator. I was also aware that sometimes the translator would translate the question into a close ended way instead of the open ended method I had used and therefore I would receive answers like 'yes' or 'no' when I had asked 'why'. This was overcome by being aware of this and reminding the translator to try use my exact wording in his translation.

Another challenge was the gender aspect and the issue of 'whiteness'. Due South Africa's history, being a young, white female researcher was not always received well, especially when interviewing older Xhosa men. Due to the cultural nature of Xhosa society where patriarchal structures are still very much in place and men are more highly regarded than women, the relationship between myself and the interviewee was sometimes strained due to this dynamic. Thus once again, the importance of spending an extended amount of time living in the community proved to be invaluable as relationships and rapport was built with the local community and my intentions of the research were made clear to the best of my ability.

6.9 Data Analysis

Once all the interviews were conducted and transcribed and it is felt that there is sufficient data to work with, the process of analysis was begun. The first step was to read through all field notes and transcribed interviews to establish an overview of the data. As qualitative data is generally more concerned with interpretation and meaning (Morgan & Sklar, 2012: 69), I was able to identify certain themes and commonalities amongst the interviews.

According to Di Fabio and Maree (2012: 139), the analyzing of qualitative texts involves several steps:

1. Discovering themes and sub themes.

2. Deciding which themes are important.
3. Building hierarchies of themes.
4. Linking relevant themes into theoretical models.

Each interview was individually analysed, highlighting interesting, pertinent and reoccurring points and themes. Once this stage was completed, the next process involved comparing and contrasting the interviews and formulating relevant themes with reference to theory that was outlined in the literature review.

Chapter 7

Historical Overview of the Transkei and the Research Site

7.1 Introduction

The former Transkei region of the Eastern Cape, in common with many of the apartheid era Bantustan rural areas of South Africa, is experiencing a development backlog and it remains one of the poorest regions in South Africa. This backlog is largely due to the government's continued failure to provide any real support for development opportunities in these rural communities. In this chapter the historical overview of the apartheid era Bantustans will be outlined and the reasons for South Africa's current underdevelopment in these rural areas will be discussed. This is important in order to contextualize the research site for which this study took place and to explain the reasoning as to why tourism presents a viable and promising option for social and economic development in the Transkei region.

7.2 Historical overview

The roots of South Africa's current poverty and the ongoing impoverishment go deep into the past. But analysis shows that more recent developments, especially those that have accompanied the emergence of the country's apartheid policies when the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948, further exacerbated the problem. According to Wilson and Ramphela (1989: 204), one could argue that, considering the history, the election of the NP, "marked so much a turning point in South African history as the intensification of a process which has been going on for three hundred years". Thus some of the abnormality of South Africa's industrial revolution such as the land laws or the migrant labour system became even more firmly entrenched as part of the structure of apartheid. Therefore there is little doubt that the policies implemented during apartheid are responsible for the widespread impoverishment of millions of South Africans (Wilson & Ramphela, 1989: 204).

The implementation of the 1994-post apartheid democracy raised the expectations for many people that rural development would be a priority of the new government. Since

then, there have been few initiatives to move away from the apartheid past (Marcus, Eales & Wildschut, 1996: 102 “The imposition of the Bantustans had been a cornerstone of the apartheid regime’s policy and the issue of inequality of land ownership a central tenet of liberation rhetoric” (Roodt, 2011: 5). The progress towards democracy has been strongly focused on reconciliation, with land reform presenting a serious challenge (Oxfam, 2005: 7).

The start of the 19th century saw white colonial and settler governments taking land away from the local (black) populations, forcibly removing them from their homes. The start of the 20th century saw the white government’s attempt to destroy independent African farming communities in order to benefit white commercial farmers. As the century progressed, the apartheid regime forced millions of black Africans into the overcrowded ‘homelands’ while simultaneously providing commercial farmers with a wide variety of state subsidy and assistance (Oxfam, 2005: 7).

The deliberate underdevelopment of the Bantustan homelands was a nationalist white strategy to keep the black majority divided, whilst providing unlimited unskilled labour. This was partly achieved by the 1913 Natives Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act. These Acts formed the legislative structure of apartheid in regard to land matters, long before the NP came to power in 1948 (Hendricks, 2001: 290). The Acts forcibly removed all ‘non-white’ people from their existing homes and areas into newly established rural homelands, later known as Bantustans. Under both these Acts, all people considered as ‘non-white’ could not own land and only had limited access to the land allocated to them. With regards to the 1936 Act, “occupation of land was based on a ‘Permission to Occupy’ (PTO) system and while the PTO guaranteed permanent occupation, the holder was nevertheless vulnerable” (Ntsebeza, 1999: 4). For example, PTO holders could be forcibly removed without being consulted if the government, the nominal owner of land, deemed fit. “This was the case when the government introduced its Betterment (conservation) Plan, or when development projects, such as irrigation schemes, tea factories, and nature reserves, were introduced” (Ntsebeza, 1999: 4). In some cases, PTO holders were evicted and their houses were demolished, often without compensation and recourse to law (Ntsebeza, 1999: 4). Finally, PTOs were not recognised by financial institutions as collateral. Under these Acts, the distorted form of communal land tenure in the reserves effectively prevented the commercialisation of

African agriculture because the premise on which it was based (one man, one lot) allowed no room for accumulation of capital on the basis of land (Hendricks, 2001: 290). Hendricks (2001: 290) also states that the size of the allotments meant that the form of land holding was also not conducive to small-scale subsistence farming. Thus, the Bantustans served the purpose of the segregationist ideology of Apartheid, pushing people into reserves, forcing them into a state of “precarious self-reliance” or to a dependence upon imported food and the remittance of wages by migrant labourers (Bundy, 1988: 221).

The Bantustans were established on the peripheries of South Africa and were isolated from the operation of the capitalist economy, where the “surplus population” could be controlled and separated far from towns, economic centres and white people, yet they could also be employed through the contract labour system as migrant workers (Legassick & Wolpe, 1976:95). The migrant workforce was and still is predominantly made up of men and the homelands were only kept afloat by massive subsidies from the South African government. For instance, by 1985 in Transkei, 85% of the homeland's income came from direct transfer payments from Pretoria (Wilson et al, 1989: 208). Therefore, while men left the Bantustans in search of work elsewhere, women were left behind to tend to the children and the household. Most of these women did not engage in economic activities and therefore relied on their husbands, fathers or brothers for financial support, which did not always arrive. Due to the sometimes unreliable income received from men who engaged in migrant labour, the local women had to find alternative sources of income in this desolate, disadvantaged area. Furthermore as voiced by Roodt (2011: 4), the “imposition of taxes, migrant labour, the land acts, influx control, the lack of support for black agriculture and the imposition of bogus independence and despotic regimes, all played their part in the development of underdevelopment of Bantustans”.

Since 1994 and the election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first democratic president, centuries of black oppression and domination by white South Africans came to an end. This signalled the dawn of a new era, an era which would eradicate income inequality, poverty and unemployment along racial lines. To make this a reality, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was implemented straight after the African National Congress (ANC) came into power, to begin changing the racial

divisions and inequality distortions as a result of apartheid. RDP was one of the ‘solemn pledges’ in the manifesto of the first democratic election. Based on the Freedom Charter, it was regarded by millions of South Africans as honouring a declaration of rights that had been a beacon for the removed, the detained, the tortured and all those fighting the apartheid state (Bond, 2006). In April 1996, shortly before the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) was announced, the RDP office was quietly closed down and its budget transferred to the finance ministry and the office of Thabo Mbeki. The ANC announced that it was out of date and it was subsequently replaced by the neo-liberalistic GEAR program. Much was done in office of the state to come up with ideas and plans to alleviate poverty and inequality such as housing, land reform, water and electricity but has failed dismally when looking at conditions poor people still live in today (Bond, 2003: 87).

GEAR was introduced by the ANC in 1996 as an economic strategy which would drive South Africa onto the world stage, while at the same time drive people out of poverty. Unfortunately, GEAR was, in all but its name, a World Bank Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Public services would fall in behind privatisation; foreign investments would receive generous tax breaks, low tariffs on imports and low wages and unemployment. In other words, institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organisation would impose their power and conditionality’s which would directly affect the poor (Pilger, 2006). From GEAR came NEPAD (New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development) which was put forward by Bush and Blair as a contribution by the ANC to the spread of ‘neo-liberalism’ in Africa. Two years after GEAR was implemented, the United Nations Development Programme described GEAR as basically ‘no different from the economic strategy of the apartheid regime a decade earlier’ (Pilger, 2006: 214).

The current policies aimed at economic growth were believed to create employment opportunities while at the same time giving government enough economic relief to provide social protection for the poor (Hope, 2008: 22). In reality this is not the case as most of the poor continue to be stuck in the informal sector, where work is seasonal and there are no safety nets. In turn the lack of education, little social protection, deprived standards of living and environmental problems such as water and sanitation, all confine the poor to a cycle of poverty largely characterised by hopelessness (Hope, 2008: 22). In

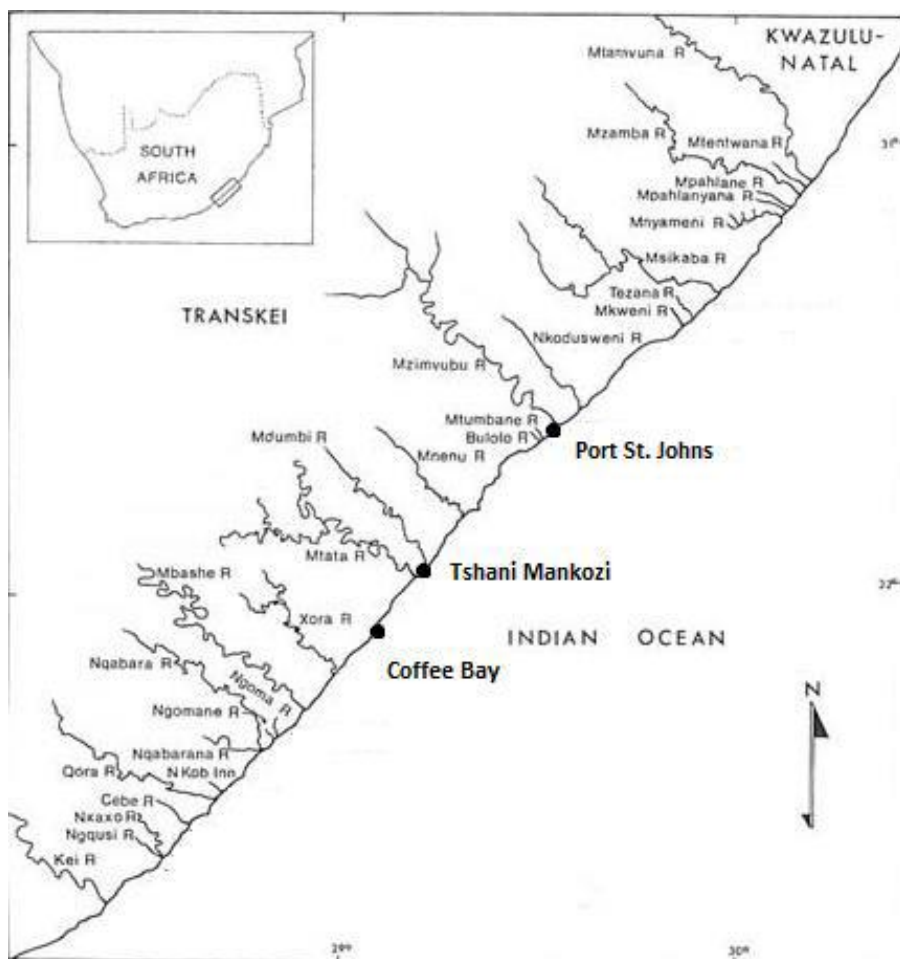
light of the approximately 48.5% of South Africans living below the poverty line, there is a desperate need for the redistribution of power and resources in order to redress the immense social inequality that plagues our country.

Despite steps towards democracy and reconciliation, many years later, the poorest and the majority of the country's population, reside outside of the urban areas. At present, the after effects of colonialism and apartheid are still visible in the present reality of the underdevelopment in the rural areas of the former Transkei. It is evident that little progress has been made with few attempts to address the severe issue of underdevelopment and poverty in the former Bantustans (Roodt, 2011: 2).

Post 1994, a certain contradiction exists in South Africa's constitution as well as legislation flowing from it. On the one hand it embodies a bill of rights which is founded on democratic principles, including elected representative government. On the other hand, the constitution acclaims the role of unelected traditional authorities but fails to clarify their functions and powers (Ntsebeza, 1999: 1). This is in spite of the fact that a large number of traditional leaders were 'puppets' of colonial and apartheid regimes (Ntsebeza, 1999: 1). The acknowledgment of the powers of traditional leaders has a number of far reaching implications for control over land allocation, democratic local government and gender equality. Chiefly authority is credited by lineage rather than achieved through elections, and its patriarchal principles ensure that major decisions on land allocation and local government are most routinely taken by men (Ntsebeza, 1999: 1). The extensive abuse of power and corruption by the traditional leaders, especially after the introduction of the Bantu Authorities act in 1951 which led to self-governance and 'independence' of some Bantustans, is well documented (Ntsebeza, 1999: 2). Although various chiefs responded differently to colonisation, which tended to marginalize them, the implementation of Bantu Authorities firmly enlisted them as the local arm of the central state, thereby confining their independence (Ntsebeza, 1999: 2). According to Ntsebeza (1999: 2), as the apartheid state became brutal, so did traditional leaders and rather than gaining respect and legitimacy, traditional leaders became feared by most rural people.

Regardless of the abolishment of segregationist laws and the new democratic constitution, nineteen years later "little progress has been made in addressing the issue

of the underdevelopment of the former Bantustans” (Roodt, 2011: 5). The Human Development Index (HDI) is a standard means of comparative measure of living standards around the world. The HDI measures health, education and income, measured in terms of life expectancy, literacy and level of education, and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita. The HDI in the Eastern Cape, which holds two former Bantustans the Transkei and the Ciskei, is 0.513. This is significantly lower to the rest to South Africa’s HDI which stands at 0.556 (ECSECC, 2012). The continued failure of the new government to provide socio-economic benefits to rural communities in the former Bantustans is evident in the lack of roads, health clinics, schools and employment opportunities. For the people living in these under-resourced rural regions, “it is a story of a daily struggle for survival in the midst of poverty that has its history in the colonial and apartheid Bantustan past and its present reality in the continued underdevelopment of the rural areas by the South African state in conjunction with large commercial interests” (Roodt, 2011: 2).



Map 1. The Wild Coast of South Africa and major towns (adapted from Fielding et al., 1994).

7.3 Background to the research site

Tshani Mankosi community forms part of ward 26 of Nyandeni Municipality in O.R Tambo municipal district (Amakhonjwayo Tribal Area) in the Transkei region, a former Bantustan, and part of the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. It is made up of two small villages (Tshani and Mankosi), and is more commonly referred to by outsiders as Mdumbi or Umtata Mouth. Tshani Mankosi is situated along the coast between the Mdumbi and Mtata rivers, spread out over sixty square kilometres, consisting of twelve villages. Tshani Mankosi is the epitome of what we know as a rural area, with vastly scattered mud brick and thatch roof houses painted in the traditional aqua marine blue, and livestock roaming the un-tarred roads and fields. Women and children are frequently seen toiling in the fields or carrying bundles of wood and buckets of water on their heads for their homes. The Tshani Mankosi community has a population of between 6000-8000 people, comprising of 1100 households of which 99% are of Xhosa origin. The average household income is less than 400 ZAR a month and more than 61% of the population has no formal schooling (Transcape, 2011).

Since 2000, the Mankosi community was represented by the Mankosi Trust, however because of corrupt and unmotivated leadership, this trust caused more problems it solved. Thus in the beginning of 2009, a new representing body was formed, the Mankosi Community Association (MCA). The Mankosi community is now governed and represented by two main bodies, the Mankosi Tribal Authority (MTA) and the MCA. The tribal council consists of one sub-headman from each of the twelve villages and one overseeing headman, who further answers to Chief Sabatsa Dalindyabo. The MCA consists of thirteen members including representatives from each village, a tribal authority representative and an independent accountant based in Mthatha. The role of the MCA is to provide a platform for regular dialogue between various members of the community, to identify community needs and goals, and to ensure they are incorporated into the development plan.

The village is a typical representation of a coastal Transkei community, where most male household heads are not formally employed or are involved in some form of seasonal migrant labour in the closest town or city, if they are lucky enough to find work. The rate of unemployment in the Transkei is at over 60% (Mbizule, 2003), with

unemployment numbers increasing the closer a village is to the sea and further away from the main highway connecting the Transkei to the economic hubs of South Africa. Women and children are involved in subsistence living comprising of agriculture and marine harvesting. Most households depend on state social grants in the form of pension, child or disability grants. The general lack of infrastructure is evident in the lack of roads, schools, clinics and telecommunication services and most households in Tshani Mankosi have no access to electricity. With the lack of employment opportunities and therefore income, most people rely on agriculture and livestock for food. The small amount of income received by few can be spent at the local white-owned trade store, the “Tshani Store”, which stocks the just bare minimum of food and other needed supplies from candles to dish washing liquid.

One area where some development is occurring is tourism. As France (1997: 8) says, the ability to promote such development in underdeveloped areas often stems from an unspoiled natural environment and a traditional way of life, since tourists tend to be attracted to natural environments which have not been developed. Thus the promotion of tourism is well suited for the Transkei region, and appears to be one of the few initiatives providing employment. With the rapid and steady growth of the tourism industry, tourism has been identified by many academics and development practitioners as a key strategy that can lead to economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief in the developing world (Binns & Nel, 2002: 235). Backpacker tourism has been identified as providing direct and indirect social, economic, cultural and environmental developmental benefits in host destinations as generally speaking, backpacker tourism avoids many of the pitfalls of large scale commercial tourism as it is more informal and situated within communities (Visser, 2004; Niggel & Benson, 2008). A good example of this type of tourism initiative, combining elements of budget tourism, eco-tourism, pro-poor tourism and community based sustainable development, is Mdumbi Backpackers on the Transkei coast.

Mdumbi is situated on the coast and lies just north of Coffee Bay. Placed amongst two estuaries, rolling green hills, indigenous forests and mangroves with an incomparable ocean view, it is a unique and a beautiful rural destination for South African and international guests who come to experience isiXhosa culture and the unspoiled coastline by hiking, surfing, camping, fishing and canoeing in the surrounding area.

Mdumbi is a well know destination amongst surfers for its great point break, attracting many off the beaten path who come to take advantage of the uncrowded beaches and waves. The river mouths provide many scenic hiking trails and bird watching opportunities and the beaches are some of the most peaceful and least developed along the entire South African coast line, only to be shared with herds of cattle who come down to roam. Schools of dolphins playing in the waves are a frequent sight and in the late winter months, whales come in close to the shore to give birth to their young. While visitors enjoy the beautiful and natural surroundings and the traditional way of life provides tourists with a unique African taste, for the people who live here life is a daily struggle in the midst of impoverishment and underdevelopment.



Map 2. Tshani Mankosi Village, situated between the Mtata and Mdumbi river mouths (adapted from Google Maps).



Photograph 1. A typical Transkei scene. Dirt roads and scattered mud rondavels in Tshani Mankosi

Chapter 8

Mdumbi Backpackers

8.1 Introduction

Johann Stadler was born and grew up in the Transkei, is fluent in the Xhosa language and feels “most at home amongst Xhosa people⁵”. After years of school and study he decided to return to his homeland. Hyman Van Zyl, a friend of Stadler, gave him a lift back to the Transkei whilst scouting for paragliding sights. After expressing his interest in starting a backpacker hostel, Van Zyl was soon on board and together they established Mdumbi Backpackers in January 2002.

The backpacker lodge is located at Mdumbi point overlooking Mdumbi beach. The property that the backpacker lodge is located on belongs to the church, and most of the existing rondavels were “built in 1965⁶”. Stadler’s “parents were missionaries⁷”, his father was “the main missionary in the church⁸”. As Stadler says the property “went into a bit of disrepair and they couldn’t use it anymore, so I asked them if I could take it over and they can still use it for the three to four weekends in the year that they want to have their conferences and they can obviously use the church every Sunday⁹”. This is how the property became Mdumbi Backpackers. Mdumbi Backpackers pays rent for use of the property to the church every month and according to Stadler “they are very happy with that...it has been ten, nearly eleven years we’ve been running like that, so it’s quite cool¹⁰”.

¹ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August, 2013.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.



Photograph 2. Scenic coastal setting from Mdumbi Backpackers

8.2 Mdumbi Backpacker's approach

Understanding how tourism can suit the natural environment and the local community, Mdumbi Backpackers follows a bottom-up approach as opposed to a top-down approach and aims to empower the local people by utilizing their available resources in a sustainable way. Mdumbi Backpackers is closely involved with the community, employing thirteen local community members on a permanent basis, of which seven share ownership, or 30% of the business (Transcape, 2011). Mdumbi Backpackers is FTTSA (Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa) certified and pursues the goal to operate in an eco-friendly way and empower the local community. What is unique about Mdumbi Backpacker's approach is their aim to involve the community as much as possible in the business, as Stadler asserts "we try do stuff together as much as we can¹¹". All activities and secondary income opportunities are owned by local community members and 50% of profits benefit the local community directly, this is achieved through the Mankosi Community Association (MCA), Transcape non-profit organisation (NPO) and the creation of cooperatives. The MCA was formed after the creation of Transcape, Masiso, the chairperson of the association, recalls the trust was

¹¹ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

formed “because Mdumbi wanted to pay rent to the community¹²”. The money paid to the community trust is used directly to provide the community with what they need as Masiso says “we are now using that money to make a clinic¹³”. According to Stadler “we probably got the biggest community share of all the places on the coast¹⁴”.

In the words of Stadler, “Hyman and I are the two worst business people ever but the way we approach it is to make the staff involved...it’s a long process and it’s a difficult process but the staff are share holders and I’m not anybody’s boss¹⁵”. This demonstrates Stadler’s and Van Zyl’s passion to create a business that is not focused on capital gains but rather on empowering the local community. He goes on to say this approach is about “the guys here getting physically empowered to do things... the community must really know that this is part of them, this is just an extension of the community¹⁶”.

Not only does Mdumbi Backpackers aim to empower the surrounding community, they are also dedicated to environmental issues to ensure that their tourism plan has no negative impact on the surrounding environment. As Stadler maintains “we are aiming greatly into the eco side of it...that is my goal, eco-friendly¹⁷”. Mdumbi Backpackers has numerous eco-friendly practices in place and Stadler believes they are “the most eco-friendly hostel on the wild coast¹⁸”.

In correlation with the characteristics that define backpackers and backpacker tourism and the types of accommodation that they prefer, Mdumbi Backpackers is an attractive place for a wide range of travellers who seek a type of travel experience that does not have its routes in the conventional and mass approach to tourism. As one of the guests at Mdumbi Backpackers said when asked about their opinion of the hostel “I love the nature and the concept...there are so many little things they do in terms of the community and the environment¹⁹”.

¹² Interview with: Sibongile Masiso. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Interview with: Claudia Kroll. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 August 2013.

Through daily interactions with the community, the founders of Mdumbi Backpackers soon became aware of the extent of the communities' needs and the dire situation that the community faces daily. One of the founders recalls "the first project we did...was just after we arrived here and that cholera epidemic broke out in 2003 and there were people dying and we had to drive people to hospital everyday...because in the wintertime it doesn't rain sometime for three-four months and the water sources where people get water became contaminated and that's what caused the cholera...and we thought if that happens every year we must try and find a solution...so then we got some funding and put in a bore hole and at least we have a clean source of water if that happened again²⁰". A member of the community recalls this event "we had a huge cholera disease here. They were helping a lot, but they didn't own anything here, they just had one 4x4 bakkie, sponsored by Johann's brother. They didn't own money...they were people living in cottages owning big companies and earning lots of money but there weren't doing anything²¹". This account shows the philosophy of Mdumbi Backpackers and the founder's attitude to provide meaningful help to the people who live here and harmonize the backpackers into the community environment. "Mdumbi Backpackers works hard for this area, I don't care what someone says, we have this big people there at the shop and at the cottages, and they haven't done anything for this area²²".

After seeing the direct and instantaneous effects of installing a water tank in 2004 for the community surrounding the backpackers, they decided to start a NPO that could work with the local community to meet basic needs and bring positive development to the area. "What brought us here was tourism, to start Mdumbi Backpackers, and then through being here and living in this environment those things become apparent and you become aware of it and try and do something about it²³".

8.3 Transcape NPO

Transcape NPO was thus started in 2004 together with a Dutch doctor from Canzibe hospital to help the local people overcome the challenges of daily life and respond to the urgent educational, economic, social and health needs in the area. The NPO was

²⁰ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

²¹ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

²² Ibid.

²³ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

registered on the 4th of August and developed through a partnership of Mdumbi Backpacker's workforce and friends as well as the medical staff at Canzibe hospital (Transcape, 2011: 11). The first project started by Transcape was the HIV program. It was brought to their attention by a doctor working at the Canzibe hospital, the closest hospital to Tshani Mankosi, "that the tuberculosis (TB) ward at the hospital was just full of patients waiting to die because they are all HIV positive, but there's no treatment...so she asked us can we please help her to try and do something²⁴". Since then Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape have grown their role within the community. As Van Zyl tells this initiative was started through "just being here and being privileged to have the knowledge and understanding and to know that there are possible solutions for this unnecessary suffering²⁵".

Through the long term relationship between Mankosi community and Transcape, the following needs and issues have been identified:

- **Community empowerment.** This includes the need for community organisation and governance; desire for skills-transfer, training and building confidence in skills; cultural exchange and empowerment; desire for increased exposure to the external world; external threats to economic independence and entrepreneurship; and strengthening community security.
- **Income.** This includes addressing the issue of lack of jobs, entrepreneurial opportunities and income-generating infrastructure; the need for local production and service delivery.
- **Services.** This includes improving access to basic services like water, sanitary, electricity and transport; health facilities; educational opportunities.
- **Natural resources.** This includes addressing the issues of diminishing forests to make space for growing crops; overgrazing of fields; non-sustainable marine and forest harvesting; non-sustainable sand mining; the lack of control of

²⁴ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

²⁵ Ibid.

monitoring of natural resources; awareness and education on environmental issues (Transcape, 2011: 6).

By setting up numerous development initiatives within the community as well as creating employment and giving the community shares in the business, Mdumbi Backpackers has become more than just a place to stay for tourists. As Van Zyl maintains “we started working closely with the local people...and we tried to involve them more and more in the business²⁶”.

Working together, but as two separate bodies, Transcape and Mdumbi Backpackers have set up various projects within the area addressing HIV/AIDS prevention, education and treatment; youth development; tourism development; adult educational development; and health infrastructure development all in the O.R Tambo district, where Transcape operates (Transcape, 2011: 4). The aim of this collaborative community initiative is to create opportunities for income generation by addressing community needs and utilizing local resources (Transcape, 2011: 29).

Van Zyl recognizes the need to create development in a sustainable way by utilizing the resources that are available, and makes use of the guideline that one must realize that “the way to do sustainable development” is to look at the resources that are available in the area. As Van Zyl notes one way to achieve this is through backpacker tourism “thanks to the beautiful nature, the beautiful beaches, the untouched area and the rural culture²⁷”. This is a feasible path to follow as many authors such as Speed (2008: 62) have said that backpacker tourists are attracted to “environmental integrity, enjoying pristine, uncrowded destinations” and Scheyvens (2002: 145) adds backpacker tourists “are often keen to share the local lifestyle”, and are motivated to travel to areas “the focus around nature...culture...and adventure”. Therefore Mdumbi Backpackers has recognized the potential of tourism and aim to develop tourism in the area in a sustainable way. Mdumbi Backpackers have taken backpacker sharing in the local lifestyle to a new level of involvement. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

²⁶ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

²⁷ Ibid.

The following points have been identified by Transcape NPO as to what is required in order to successfully achieve its aims:

- **Willing people.** Without the participation and involvement of local people who are eager to take initiative and willing to take ownership, the success and sustainability of developmental projects is highly unlikely.
- **Existing community structures and values.** It is imperative to recognize the local cultural values and community structures to promote projects in a manner that follows a bottom-up approach.
- **Existing businesses, organisations and infrastructures.** It is important to acknowledge work and communicate with existing businesses, organisations and infrastructure to share knowledge about existing projects, conditions and lessons learnt which could benefit and aid in future projects and ventures.
- **Expertise.** Useful knowledge and unique information and experiences that could be applied to assist in the success of Transcape's goals.
- **Tourism resources; natural resources such as land, water, forests, clean air, wind, sun and fertile soil; marine resources.** It is vital to make use of the available resources in a sustainable way, and to educate people to look after what is there and ensure sustainability for future generations. It is also important to evaluate the existing resource base and identify potential opportunities to extend and maximize economic revenue to benefit rural livelihoods.
- **Governmental support.** This is fundamental because any co-management or participatory development project or initiative needs the legal, financial and legislative support of government.
-
- **Non-governmental support.** Assistance from external aid, such as organisations like Transcape, to provide additional support where government has failed and ensure the long term survival of the project. This is often achieved by the amount of time the organisation remains in the community transferring

skills, knowledge and expertise and thereby ensuring the project has a better chance of survival.

So far Transcape and Mdumbi Backpackers have been successful in establishing locally owned tourism enterprises, a community owned restaurant, an education centre with a pre-school, After School Enrichment Programme (ASEP), a scholarship program and an Adult Basic Education and Training Programme (ABET), a micro-finance program, and a health program. They have also been involved in monitoring the sale of east coast lobster by fishers from the community since 2004, working with the Environmental Evaluation Unit (EEU) of the University of Cape Town (Van Zyl, 2011). From these experiences, they have developed an integrated and holistic program to sustainably address poverty and local development in this rural area. This is called the Mankosi Community Sustainable Development Program.

Part of the developmental plan for this program is a sustainable and monitored marine resource harvesting program which is controlled by the local community owned Marine Resource Cooperative which is facilitated by Transcape and the EEU. It is planned, that permitted fishers as part of the local cooperative will sell their harvests to the local Agro Processing Cooperative who operates in a South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) approved processing facility (Van Zyl, 2011).

Presently, along the Transkei coast, due to the Marine Living Resource Act (MLRA) it is illegal for any tourism product to sell locally harvested seafood meals to their guests. Subsistence fishing permits are available to local fishermen only who fall into the subsistence category and a processing permit is given to selected buyers who have proof of SABS approved processing facilities and a market. This inhibits the local economy and promotes social inequality. It also prevents local motivation to monitor harvests and take responsibility for the protection of marine resources (Van Zyl, 2011).

Forming part of the Sustainable Development Program is Mdumbi Green Destination (MGD), which aims for responsible eco- tourism development in rural areas. MGD will be 100% community owned and based on a grass roots participatory approach. It aims to provide unique tourist experiences that utilize local community resources such as seafood, local grown produce, entertainment, arts and crafts) in a way that is sustainable

and does not jeopardize the local Xhosa culture or the natural environment. This will partly be achieved through using green energy such as solar power (Van Zyl, 2011). By being implemented with partnership from the local community and focusing on providing income opportunities this project hopes to be successful in stimulating a sustainable local market.

As developing countries are frequently facing internal and external pressures, the ability of governments to provide support is limited. This is particularly apparent in the case of the Transkei, where post-apartheid, the government's role in developing the region has been severely lacking. Thus organisations such as Transcape which provide support to communities are of high importance in such areas.

Nel, Binns and Motteux (2001: 3) advocate their support for non-profit organisations to provide meaningful support at grassroots community level, and therefore support the theoretical and practical perspectives of bottom-up, self-reliant and local economic development. From a policy perspective, the concept of community driven economic development has been backed by organisations such as the World Bank. Nonetheless, in reality it is unrealistic to expect that a crowd of community driven economic endeavours will begin and sustain themselves. As Nel, Binns and Motteux (2001: 3) agree, "factors as shortages of local capacity and resources, poor understanding of the broader economic environment and the frequently limited life span of projects all play a part in ensuring that, other than for isolated success stories...community self reliance initiatives are unlikely to achieve more than small sporadic victories for the disadvantaged majority".

Frequently, as Burkey (1993: 73) adds, "self-reliant participatory development processes normally require an external catalyst to facilitate the start of the process and to support the growth of the process in its early stage". With this being said, the relationship between ensuring local control and involving limited, yet appropriate external support and guidance needs to be mediated. It is proposed that the two key factors relying on the success of such endeavours are the role of local social capital and the appropriateness of external support, which in most cases is now provided by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) active in community development initiatives (Nel, Binns and Motteux, 2001: 3).

Community driven initiatives are frequently constrained by numerous factors, such as lack of finance, equipment, skills, technical expertise, organisational skills and inadequate knowledge (Nel, Binns and Motteux, 2001: 5). Linking external agents with local projects in such scenarios can help to overcome these pitfalls. Transcape rely mostly on external donors to fund the development projects. Transcape's "most reliable donors"²⁸ mostly come from international organisations which were contacted "through a personal route"²⁹. This personal route was established when friends of a Dutch doctor at Canzibe hospital came to visit. Van Zyl recalls "two of our main donors was people coming here to visit from Holland, seeing what we were doing and going back and starting to chat to organisations and those organisations grew and they are our main supporters"³⁰. Funds are also received from organisations such as the Lotto, Breadline Africa and the Danish Embassy. One of the problems with relying on external funders, as Van Zyl highlights is "most people are reluctant to give money for salaries...so that is a big problem"³¹. Thus as noted by Nel, Binns and Motteux (2001: 5), linking external agents with local projects can be beneficial in ensuring the longevity of projects but the relationship must be monitored to avoid dependency or collapse when the external agent is no longer present.

Simon (1992: 41) has argued that successful project implementation requires the mixture of the success and compensation for the weaknesses of both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' planning, the way forward he proposes is "the formulation of multifaceted, integrated policies sensitive to different group and local needs and embodying the most positive elements of both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' planning". Transcape's approach is in accordance with this philosophy, while they aim not to have a top-down approach, like Van Zyl says "where we see a problem and we make a solution and start the project based on that"³². Transcape are aware of what Simon (1992:41) states that embodying the most positive elements of top-down and bottom-up planning can lead to successful project implementation. As Van Zyl says "there's a balance between the two, you can't just sit and wait for people to come up with solutions to their problems if they feel overwhelmed by those problems and there's nothing coming up in their minds to solve

²⁸ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

them³³”. Therefore Transcape’s approach is to “speak with the people who have got the problem and let the solution come from them and try work with them³⁴”. And as noted by another Transcape member “if you don’t have the community on board you won’t achieve sustainability of the program so it is very important for us to see the commitment of the community and that they are full on behind it³⁵”. Therefore, the projects that Transcape initiates come directly from the needs of the community and are implemented in a manner that aims to encourage participation and ownership once they have helped been established.

In developing countries, NGOs often have a defined role in addressing various local and governmental constraints. It appears that they often have a meaningful impact in addressing local needs and stimulating local development. As Edward and Hulme (1992: 20) note “NGO expansion is seen as complementing the counter-revolution in development theory that underpins the policies of liberalization, state withdrawal and structural adjustment” and seen as key players in assisting grass root development. They are seen as being able to “deliver higher-quality services than government to the very poorest sectors of society, while remaining cost-effective and efficient” (Mercer, 1999: 247). Furthermore, “in the era of democratization that has swept across Africa, NGOs are perceived as vehicles of this process, contributing to good governance which is seen as a pre-requisite for a healthy economy and increasingly a condition for receiving external assistance” (Nel, Binns and Motteux, 2001: 5).

While the role of NGOs is undoubtedly valuable in encouraging and supporting local development initiatives, their role has not always been positive. Critics argue that NGOs often lack the capacity to involve the ‘ultra-poor’, accusing them of often operating on undemocratic lines, having limited impact and resulting in dependency (Nel, Binns and Motteux, 2001: 5; Buckland, 1998; Diklitch, 1998). When asked about ensuring that the development is sustainable without resulting in dependency Van Zyl responds “that’s a long process...we’ve learned a lot over the time and we’re still learning how to achieve that³⁶”. And Goehner-Gifford says “it’s learning by doing...we are still

³³ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

³⁶ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

learning, it's not a short term process³⁷”. One of the ways Transcape tries to achieve sustainability is to have “the participation of the beneficiary³⁸”, make sure the community “are full on behind it³⁹”, and to “get ownership from the people...by implementing awareness programs and participatory workshops⁴⁰”.

In light of the above, the role that an NPO such as Transcape can hold is momentous in such a rural area such as Tshani Mankosi, where the role of government to provide any infrastructure for basic needs such as education or health care or support for development opportunities is severely lacking. While the support for such involvement of NPO's at grassroots community level is noteworthy, the challenge lies in monitoring the relationship between top-down and bottom-up development. Inherent in this argument is the notion that communities both can and must seize the development initiative and embark on strategies to improve their social and economic interests in a manner that ensures sustainability in the long term.

8.4 Conclusion

Given the historical background of South Africa and the continued failure of the government post-apartheid to uplift rural communities in terms of health care, education, infrastructure and employment, life for the people that live in these areas is a daily struggle. As discussed in the preceding chapters, tourism undoubtedly represents an attractive and feasible means of stimulating social and economic development in developing countries. However, also as explained, often development fails to materialise, benefits only local elites or private investors, favours tourists who take advantage of the cheap prices, or is achieved at major economic, social or environmental cost to local communities. Mdumbi Backpackers is a superb example of a model of tourism related development that is providing real and meaningful support for development opportunities in the community. Mdumbi Backpackers works together with the community to empower themselves by capitalising on the developmental benefits of tourism, while following the most eco-friendly and community based principles. By going one step further with the creation of Transcape NPO, their

³⁷ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 June 2013.

³⁸ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

³⁹ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 June 2013.

⁴⁰ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

involvement in the community has grown significantly, encouraging positive and sustainable development in the areas of education, health, community empowerment, transport, sanitation and the environment.

Chapter 9

Benefits that accrue to the community through Mdumbi Backpackers

9.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter three, backpacker tourism is a rapidly expanding niche of the tourism market and as noted by numerous authors such as Visser (2004), Scheyvens (2002) and Niggel and Benson (2008), leads to a wide range of local economic, social, cultural and environmental developmental impacts on the host destination. As South Africa is a developing country with much to offer in terms of the tourism experience, Backpacker tourism is a promising method to pursue the goals on the national government's agenda of empowering previously disadvantaged people, especially in rural areas and developing nations.

Mdumbi Backpacker's model of tourism is especially unique, as not only do they aim to empower the local community through giving them ownership and encouraging and supporting small scale tourism businesses in the surrounding community, they have gone one step further with the establishment of Transcape non-profit organisation (NPO) and its associated development projects. Therefore Mdumbi Backpackers are avoiding many of the pitfalls of large scale commercial tourism and providing positive developmental impacts for the people who live in this rural community.

9.2 Discussion of Mdumbi Backpackers impact on the surrounding community

Tourism is one of the few sources of revenue to the area. As in most cases of all inclusive package tours, typical of mass tourism, the majority of the money spent per tourist in each area often ends up leaving the area, as in the case of Thailand, where 70% of all money spent by tourists ends up leaving through foreign owned tour operators, airlines, hotels, and imported goods (UNEP, 2012). Through Mdumbi BP's approach there is minimal leakage of the money, as profits are retained in the community. This is achieved in a number of ways. According to the general manager "we definitely don't import...we try to buy as close as possible to ourselves⁴¹". A lot of

⁴¹ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

the fresh produce used in Mdumbi's restaurant is grown in the gardens surrounding the backpackers, and "anyone that has vegetables in the surrounding area we will buy from⁴²". The general manager was asked if the money spent at Mdumbi BP stays in the area the response was "yes very much so⁴³". Thus tourism is providing a much needed source of income to the surrounding community.

One of the benefits of backpacker tourism is that due to the adventurous nature of the backpacker personality, the longer duration of their travels and the desire to visit destinations off the beaten track, backpackers tend to spend more money in a country and spend their money over a wider geographical area, including remote and economically depressed or isolated regions (Visser & Barker, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002). In the search for new experiences, and to learn about local cultures, backpackers generally prefer to eat at local restaurants, take local transport, stay at locally owned accommodation and buy locally produced goods. One guest at Mdumbi Backpackers said "I like to visit and spend money in rural areas like this one because you know it is making a positive contribution to the lives of the people who live here⁴⁴", and as said by another backpacker at Mdumbi "I just want to get the vibe and atmosphere of where you go and to meet local people...if you stay at a hotel you don't really get to know that⁴⁵".

The conventional type of tourists tend to stay in one place, and spend their money inside hotels or resorts, providing minimal trickle down effect to the surrounding community as well as factoring in high amounts of leakage. A comment from a local resident about The Anchorage Hotel, not far from Mdumbi Backpackers shows the difference between the two type of establishments and how they operate "people just go in and don't come out, they don't even talk to people. This kind of tourism at Mdumbi Backpackers is benefiting the local people⁴⁶". Consequently, the impacts of a backpacker hostel in a region like the Transkei is meaningful for impoverished communities and "if the full potential of South Africa's tourism industry is to be realized and if South Africa is to maximize its comparative advantage as an eco- and cultural destination, then mechanisms must be found to enable community-based and other structurally

⁴² Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁴³ Ibid,

⁴⁴ Interview with: Martin Falkys. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 August 2013.

⁴⁵ Interview with: Claudia Kroll. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 August 2013.

⁴⁶ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

disadvantaged tourism enterprises to profit meaningfully from international and domestic market opportunities” (Visser & Barker, 2004: 226).

Backpackers cite “meeting new people⁴⁷”, sharing the local lifestyle, and participating in informal activities as some of their motivations for travel (Pearce, 1990; Visser, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002). As said by Kroll “I don’t think you can really experience that when you are a ‘normal’ tourist⁴⁸”. Therefore in correlation with the nature of the backpacker type, frequenting a local shebeen is an appealing activity for these types of tourists who pursue these kinds of experiences. This sentiment is shared by members of the local community, encapsulated when it was said “I find tourists friendly most of the time. They want to know the way we live, and for them it’s not a problem if we want to know the way they live too, its just good spirit, same movement, for instance they will ask me where we live and tell me where they live and their culture and what’s happening. Then we are sharing good things⁴⁹”. This shows that the pursuit of new experiences is also shared by members of the local community who like to take part in the cultural exchange aspect of tourism.

As the backpacking trend has its roots in the hippie/drifter phenomenon of the 1960’s and 1970’s, creating a stereotypical image of a backpacker as an “un-kept, immoral, drug-taking individual” (Scheyvens, 2002: 145) and thus reinforcing the idea of a backpacker establishment as a dubious hangout, however in reality this is not the case and these perceptions around the backpacker industry have changed towards a more positive image and have also evolved to incorporate the notions of budget tourism. Mdumbi Backpackers attracts “a wide variety⁵⁰” of individuals, “mostly younger but not necessarily backpackers. There are families with young kids, or young couples with young kids. And lately I’ve seen a surge in the older couples⁵¹”. This confirms the trend highlighted in a recent article published in the Mail and Guardian that there is a growing demand for budget type accommodation in South Africa (Steyn, 2013). Following the 2008 recession and the after effects of the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the market for accommodation is no longer about five star resorts and luxury hotels and more and more people are having a preference for alternative or backpacker type accommodation

⁴⁷ Interview with: Claudia Kroll. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 August 2013.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

⁵⁰ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁵¹ Ibid.

which is no longer just for the preserve of young people. In turn, backpacker accommodation such as Mdumbi Backpackers, are no longer just catering for backpackers and young people with bunk-beds in a shared dormitory, but also offer private, and family rooms.

There are some individuals who seek out marijuana (dagga) whilst visiting the Transkei as it is widely available, as is magic mushrooms. “Local people have been growing dagga long before and its almost part of their culture” and Van Zyl notes “tourism brings a lot of people from other places with different cultures and different beliefs and in the backpacker industry you get people who smoke marijuana and eat magic mushrooms⁵²”. Local people have capitalized on this opportunity as “tourism is making it a source of income for them⁵³”. As said by one local man, “even the guys selling ganja are benefiting, you can plant your trees in the garden and make a lot of money⁵⁴”. Van Zyl recalls “there was a stage that there were kids walking around harvesting magic mushrooms to sell to people when they come here. I know the local people don’t eat magic mushrooms, they didn’t start eating magic mushrooms themselves they just laugh at these people wanting it and exploit that opportunity to get money⁵⁵”. However this is not encouraged or supported by Mdumbi Backpackers and anyone doing so is not allowed to come on the premises, as Stadler says “I’m very skeptical on illegal things⁵⁶”.

One of the impacts of tourism is that it brings peoples from different places and cultures and some of those individuals seek out or use drugs, which in turn creates a market for it and an opportunity for local people to make money from it. This has become a problem in Coffee Bay, as the owner of Coffee Shack Backpackers said “You have little kids selling mushrooms, and not going to school. You have young girls prostituting themselves. You have people coming through to these areas and bringing elements that aren’t necessarily good for these areas like hard core drugs, drugs that people in this area wouldn’t normally have access to⁵⁷”. When asked if this is occurring in the community surrounding Mdumbi Backpackers, the response from a community member

⁵² Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

⁵⁵ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

⁵⁶ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

⁵⁷ Interview with: Belinda Malherbe. Coffee Shack Backpackers, Coffee Bay. 12 August 2013.

was “nothing happens like that in this area, Mdumbi area⁵⁸”. However, in comparison to Coffee Bay which is much more established in terms of a backpacker destination as it has about six to eight hostels, while Tshani village has three. Therefore if tourism was to grow in the village this could potentially become a problem. Mdumbi Backpackers have their mission statement grounded in the context of community upliftment and empowerment through community based resource management and therefore any drug or alcohol abuse or destructive behaviour is highly discouraged. This development approach has been gaining a lot of recognition and aid from around the world, as this form of tourism is geared at local social and economic development while at the same time tourists can still enjoy the advantages of travel and gaining new experiences.

Another growing concern facing the tourist industry along the Transkei is the issue of crime. Van Zyl says “There are many tourists coming here with their big cars and boats and come on holiday with all this stuff to have fun, while the local people living here haven’t even got money to pay for transport to go and buy food⁵⁹” and Kruger says “If you didn’t have a bunch of people coming in with lots of money, you would not be tempted to steal from them⁶⁰”. This is a valid point which demonstrates the downsides of the outside influence of tourism on rural communities. Kruger explains, “You were born here and you live here and now there’s this outside influence, you get curious and you naturally investigate and you see there is stuff that you don’t have and you don’t ask how they got those things, and you don’t have any guidance around you as to how you can get those things in a better way. So I think that’s how the stealing happens⁶¹”. The problem of increasing crime is also an evident downside of tourism in Coffee Bay, owner of Coffee Shack says “local people seeing people coming through with money, and giving an opportunity to steal something⁶²”.

An interesting point that Kruger makes which is important to note is “loads of guys here didn’t grow up with father figures, so there are very few role models. They grow up with what they know and what they see. Pair that with the ganja growing and the drinking, it can spiral out of control and they can end up doing stuff that they probably would not want to do and end up in situations where they get themselves in serious

⁵⁸ Interview with: Buliswa Gxala. Gxala Home. 13 August 2013.

⁵⁹ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

⁶⁰ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 June 2013.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Interview with: Belinda Malherbe. Coffee Shack Backpackers, Coffee Bay. 12 August 2013.

trouble and they don't know how to get out of it⁶³". A member of the community believes that the problem of crime in the area lies "in that the kids here make friends with the wrong people and the crime in South Africa is growing, the numbers are increasing not decreasing. You can say it's because of unemployment, but I don't think its unemployment, it only contributes to those things. They must not make friends with wrong people⁶⁴". This point confirms the lack of father figures and therefore role models, as due to the context of the Transkei where many men leave to seek employment elsewhere, leaving children and women to their own devices. Due to the cultural position, as still prevalent in many third world and African cultures, women are perceived as inferior to men, therefore in some households women struggle to enforce and maintain discipline.

Another argument to consider about this issue is that due to more money coming to the area and thus an increase in the local economy as well as an increase in jobs, there is less crime and therefore it can be said that tourism has a positive effect on crime. According to one local resident "long ago, we had so much violence here because people walk around and they were hungry. But now it's much better because people can go around selling beads and necklaces and get some money from tourism⁶⁵". To help overcome the problem of crime, one local resident suggests "there should be some security guards along the coast so that tourists can be secured⁶⁶", this in turn will create further employment through tourism for local people.

The high cost of infrastructure that large hotels tend to import to cater to the needs of guests who feel it is more suited for their needs and expectations is another way in which leakage occurs. High infrastructure costs also exclude small time and local competitors from starting tourism enterprises. In keeping with the local Xhosa culture, which is attractive to the ascribed nature of backpackers who "look for authentic experiences⁶⁷", guests at Mdumbi Backpackers are set up in traditional thatch- roofed rondavels. The rondavels are built by local labourers, using locally produced mud bricks, and "the straw roofs... the mamas in the village gather the grass for⁶⁸". With

⁶³ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 June 2013.

⁶⁴ Interview with: Sihlanu Shinta. Shinta Home. 13 August 2013.

⁶⁵ Interview with: Mavis Jampo. African Pot Backpackers. 13 August 2013.

⁶⁶ Interview with: Mbulelo Manjingolo. Manjingolo Home. 13 August 2013.

⁶⁷ Interview with: Martin Falkys. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 August 2013.

⁶⁸ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

regards to décor, as Kruger tells “we don’t have frills, I think that’s how we minimize on leakages... we spend very little on what a hotel would spend⁶⁹”. Grass mats for the rondavels are bought from local women “and for the building of stuff, we always get from the area⁷⁰”. As backpackers tend to favour cheap accommodation, their standards are generally lower than a conventional tourist seeking luxury in a hotel, thus they are content with the basic accommodation on offer by backpacker lodges. In agreement, a guest at Mdumbi Backpackers asserts “I have very low or no standards when it comes to accommodation⁷¹”. Consequently, this contributes to local economic development as it allows local individuals with little capital to start up backpacker type establishments as infrastructure and overhead costs are low, as well as eliminating the need for imported goods (Visser & Barker, 2004: 230). In addition, backpacker lodges are generally small and thus ownership and control can be retained locally.

The impact of mass tourism on the environment can often be severely detrimental, especially in developing countries where resources such as water are not plentiful. All inclusive resorts with swimming pools, Jacuzzi baths and golf courses can cause strain on local communities who suffer the consequence of resource guzzling guests. With regards to the environment, backpackers tend to use fewer resources and are generally content with taking cold showers, and using fans rather than having hot baths and using air conditioning, and are therefore kinder to the environment (Visser & Barker, 2004: 230). In accordance Visser (2004: 283) points out, the impacts of backpacker tourism closely correlate to personal characteristics that define a backpacker tourist. Mdumbi Backpackers is conscious of water scarcity in the area and encourages guests with notices in the shower that inform that water is a precious resource that is shared with the community and to keep showers to a maximum of three minutes. The water supplying Mdumbi Backpackers is pumped from a bore hole and rain water is collected in tanks. They also make use of a “grey water [filtration] system that recycles the water and runs off and feeds the gardens⁷²”.

When community members were asked whether they felt there were enough resources to support tourism in the area and how they felt about sharing the resources the

⁶⁹ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Interview with: Martin Falkys. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 August 2013.

⁷² Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

responses were “yes I think so, it hasn’t been a problem yet, as long as its managed and people are not coming here to take advantage of what we have⁷³”, another local resident said “all the resources we have here, its enough to feed the tourism...they have not run out, there are still lots⁷⁴”. One local woman felt “as long as the tourists are paying something back to the community and not just taking it for themselves⁷⁵” and another woman said “I don’t know, I don’t mind as long as there is enough for the people who live here⁷⁶”. As the problem of lack of resources has not yet been a problem due to the influx in tourism, it’s not to say that in the future if tourism in the area should increase it will not be a problem. As long as it is managed correctly in a manner that is considerate and conscious of the surrounding environment, as the approach Mdumbi Backpackers follows, as opposed to large scale tourism establishments that do not always operate in a manner that is environmentally appropriate.

Mdumbi Backpackers makes use of natural energy sources; this is achieved through installing solar backup systems and using of solar geysers. As one of the principles of ecotourism is the insistence of minimizing the use of fossil fuels (Sicroff, Alos & Shrestha, 2003:530), in this way Mdumbi BP are pursuing their goal of an eco-friendly backpacker lodge. In principle with pursuing their low impact, eco-friendly approach, Kruger informs that Mdumbi Backpackers has “been managing their drainage and wastage pretty well...because otherwise it would show around us⁷⁷”. From personal observation, I agree with this statement, as the area still remains pristine and there is no visible evidence of poor waste management. All waste is recycled and encouraged by the provision of separate dustbins, which the guests are encouraged to use. The glass “gets crushed up and gets used in building⁷⁸”, paper “gets used to make paper bricks and those get used in the clay oven⁷⁹”, and cans and plastic “end up going to a different depots⁸⁰” for recycling. As noted in the Responsible Travel Report 2012, tourists from developed countries are often accustomed to plentiful resources, and due to lack of information are not always aware how limited resources are. According to Kruger, “some people are very considerate and very aware, and others are just not...or haven’t

⁷³ Interview with: Mbulelo Manjingolo. Manjingolo Home. 13 August 2013.

⁷⁴ Interview with: Ntombifikile Gxala. Gxala Home. 13 August 2013.

⁷⁵ Interview with: Buliswa Gxala. Gxala Home. 13 August 2013.

⁷⁶ Interview with: Nothando Gxala. Gxala Home. 13 August 2013.

⁷⁷ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 June 2013.

⁷⁸ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

realized the impact the can make⁸¹”. What is interesting to note when it comes to recycling, as Kruger adds “the international guys are way more aware of separating and sorting their rubbish, than the South African guys⁸²”. This could reflect the awareness and level of education about the importance of recycling between developed nations and developing nations.

A negative effect of mass tourism on a destination can result in rising prices of property, food and other services in a host destination. Mdumbi Backpacker’s approach of ensuring that the whole community benefits from tourism equally and are able to participate in tourism ventures as well as retaining local ownership largely avoids this pitfall. As there are very few shops in the area, and all locally owned, prices do not increase, and are there for the benefit of the local community. Community ownership retains control of the benefits and contributes to community development and economic equality. Not operating a bar selling alcohol on Mdumbi Backpacker’s property is one way they encourage guests to spend money in the community by visiting the local shebeen. As one of the founders of Mdumbi Backpackers says “we are not so commercial...we could run a bar but it’s such a good opportunity for the guys in the village to just do it themselves⁸³”. This provides the community with “a bit of money too⁸⁴”.

Mdumbi Backpackers encourages a local market by consciously promoting guests to spend money outside of the backpacker lodge, which in turn creates advantageous opportunities such as employment and an increase in available goods and services for the community by creating a local market. It also in turn creates an environment for cultural exchange, as South African and international guests have the opportunity to interact with local people and culture, as Kruger says “drinking your beer at a shebeen you get a way different experience out of your beer than if you were sitting at a bar counter in a city⁸⁵”.

⁸¹ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

Stadler believes that “it’s gone completely wrong⁸⁶” when “the community never communicates with the business owners and there are no meetings discussing things and finding solutions⁸⁷”. By having a large proportion of community share in the business and employing local staff, the lines of communication between the community and business are kept open as well as ensuring that the Backpackers operates in manner that is inclusive of the community. This perspective is also shared by Coffee Shack Backpackers in Coffee Bay, “we’re of the mindset of if you are operating and running a business in a rural community like this you cannot be successful unless you are involved in your community⁸⁸”.

Many community members are able to earn an income by operating in an informal manner by selling things to tourists that come to the area. Women in the Third World are often excluded from formal economic activities due to their low status, and in the Transkei it is commonly the men who leave to seek employment in urban areas, leaving women to fend for the children and themselves or wait for remittances which are not always guaranteed. Mdumbi Backpackers have an open door policy whereby the community are “free to come and go⁸⁹”, thus allowing local people the opportunity to sell goods to guests and including women in informal tourism enterprises. As said by a local woman, “I like tourism because they helping us here at the community, they bringing money, so even the guys who are not working, local guys and local ladies can get oysters, beads, crayfish and can come here to Mdumbi to sell to the tourists⁹⁰”. And another woman says “I am happy that people come from outside because then I have an opportunity to sell them beads and oysters⁹¹”. As she says without tourism “it is very quiet here, no jobs and no opportunities to earn money⁹²”. Many large scale hotels and resorts create a gated community whereby local people are not allowed to enter, and guests need not leave as imported goods are provided or sold at a inflated prices which limits the opportunity for local people to profit from tourism, Mdumbi Backpacker’s approach recognizes that there can be no islands of luxury in the midst of poverty,

⁸⁶ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Interview with: Belinda Malherbe. Coffee Shack Backpackers, Coffee Bay. 13 August 2013.

⁸⁹ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013,

⁹⁰ Interview with: Lindeke Gxala. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

⁹¹ Interview with: Kholeka Nogaga. Nogaga Home. 13 August 2013.

⁹² Ibid.

maintaining that “this is just an extension of the community⁹³”, and allows the community opportunities where possible to benefit from the arrival of tourists.

When an area relies too heavily for its economic survival on a single industry, such as tourism, it carries a significant risk, especially as the nature of tourism can be extremely seasonal. Mdumbi Backpackers is busiest during the December season when they reach full capacity and other holiday periods like Easter and school holidays. “In the quieter times we usually have groups coming in, like student volunteer groups from companies that we have been working with for a few years⁹⁴”. Therefore, as tourism still largely remains seasonal, there are guests all year round and the staff remain permanent employees and thus the seasonality of tourism only really effects those who operate in an informal manner. In addition, to help avoid the potential problem of relying too heavily and therefore depending on the tourism industry, through the long term relationship of Mdumbi Backpackers, Transcape NPO and the community, projects are created that aim to turn needs into income generating activities, using local resources in a sustainable way.

As said by Scheyvens (2002: 145), the recreational activities of backpackers are most likely to focus around nature, culture and adventure. Through the creation of the activities cooperative, Mdumbi Backpackers offers many adventurous activities for guests to explore the surrounding village and area, interact with the locals and experience the local culture. From kayaking, surfing, village cultural tours, cave hikes and cliff jumping, local people from the village are able to participate and benefit from tourism by running these activities with the help of Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape. By providing ownership, the goals of empowering the community are pursued, Gxala, an employee, recalls “Transcape bought me the surf boards to do the lessons. I have to pay them back...because it’s my own business. I also rent them out through Mdumbi and get some money through that⁹⁵”. And Lwandiso recalls “They helped me to buy the kayaks to start the business, and then I paid them back⁹⁶”. Here again, the approach is to ensure local ownership rather than private investors or outside companies reaping in the profits. As said by Lwandiso, “Hyman said to me the main

⁹³ Interview with: Johann Stadler. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

⁹⁴ Interview with: Madeleine Kruger. Mdumbi Backpackers. 6 August 2013.

⁹⁵ Interview with: Lusanda Gxala. Mdumbi Backpackers. 13 August 2013.

⁹⁶ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

purpose for them to buy those kayaks was to support the locals⁹⁷”. By supporting the local community to take ownership of the potential that tourism holds to create a sustainable source of income, this serves as a viable model for the thousands of communities that would like to participate in tourism but have no outside funding or assistance (Sicroff, Alos & Shrestha, 2003: 530).

Mdumbi Backpackers is a supreme example of how a tourist establishment can operate in a manner that is inclusive of the surrounding community, once again reiterating the philosophy that there can be no islands of luxury in the midst of poverty, and is therefore establishing a model of alternative tourism development that brings direct and positive benefits through tourism for the people living in a tourist destination. Commenting on Mdumbi Backpackers one local woman says “they do really good work and make the community included in their business so everyone is benefiting⁹⁸”. Another local man had this to say “I like tourism. When they leave they leave something in the village, so the community have it better and benefit from the tourist⁹⁹”. The approach and model that Mdumbi Backpackers employs is recognized by the community as a sustainable way to bring much needed positive development to the area, as one local resident says “I think we need to improve this as a tourist destination. Tourism is good because it brings people and some needed money and it is also encouraged by the government¹⁰⁰”. However, while the community sees the instantaneous benefits of the increase in tourism in terms of employment and income, the problems associated with the more conventional approach to tourism in the form of hotels is realized. “In the future it might be bad in the sense that people might monopolize the situation. I think the hotels must comply with the regulations, for instance nature conservation and all those things. They must work together with the community and provide benefits for them¹⁰¹”.

9.3 Conclusion

Many lessons can be learned from the approach that Mdumbi Backpackers takes, in terms of environmental sustainability and community upliftment and empowerment. At

⁹⁷ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

⁹⁸ Interview with: Kholeka Nogaga. Nogaga Home. 13 August 2013.

⁹⁹ Interview with: Peter Poswa. Poswa Home. 6 August 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with: Sihlanu Shinta. Shinta Home. 13 August 2013.

¹⁰¹ Interview with: Sihlanu Shinta. Shinta Home. 13 August 2013.

the heart of their approach is the belief that the community needs to become aware of the value of their natural resource wealth in order to fully capitalize on the opportunities it presents. This is made possible by the nature of the relationship that Mdumbi Backpacker's holds with the surrounding community.

Chapter 10

Benefits that accrue to the community through Transcape NPO

10.1 Introduction

Working together with Mdumbi Backpackers, but as two separate entities, Transcape non-profit organisation (NPO) has been instrumental in setting up various community based projects. By identifying three core areas of concern, namely social development, education and health. The details of which will be discussed below.

10.2 Social Development

The Eastern Cape region of South Africa is characterised by poverty and unemployment, placing huge strain on people's ability to overcome the challenges of daily life. In the Nyandeni municipal district, jobs are exceptionally sparse, with employment at 8% of the population, and where there are opportunities, people often lack the skills or level of education required to access them. Thus 81% of people have no personal income and rely on government grants, or on remittances by relatives who have jobs in urban locations (Transcape, 2013). For those living with HIV, the disability grant only lasts as long as you have a CD4 count below 200, which often leaves people helpless about how to sustain themselves if they don't qualify (CD4 cells are involved in immune function, the CD4 count is a measure of the progress of the disease as HIV attacks and destroys CD4 cells) (Transcape, 2013).

Government efforts to improve living conditions in terms of housing, sanitation, access to clean water, and social grants which benefits are starting to be felt by the people living here. However, given the current circumstances, these efforts have proved to not be nearly enough and it will take the new government a long time to develop an area that has formerly been abandoned.

Transcape recognises that people here want to lift themselves and their communities out of the cycle of poverty by generating their own income. Located in the community, with the knowledge and expertise that there are solutions to some of these problems,

Transcape have assisted people to start their own projects and small businesses. This has been achieved through interest free loans, education and training, and guiding people to recognise and take ownership of the worth of under-utilised natural resources available in the area. In this way Transcape aims to improve the quality of life of individuals and families, whilst boosting the economy of the community (Transcape, 2013).

10.2.1 Vukani Backpackers

Through supporting local people to start their own their own small tourism enterprises, Transcape aims to stimulate a locally owned tourism industry. With the establishment of Transcape NPO and its consequent growth and increase in their role in the community, there was also an increase in the amount of volunteers who wished to come and assist on various projects. As a consequence of the number of volunteers growing, so too did the need for volunteer accommodation grow Backpackers is small scale, locally owned tourist establishment, situated two kilometers away from Mdumbi Backpackers. The owner is Zingisile Mampinyose, or affectionately known as Tata Spargs.

Spargs, is a Xhosa man who was born and grew up in the surrounding area. Spargs, started Vukani Backpackers a “long time ago...I don’t remember¹⁰²”, he recalls. In the beginning the business was struggling, with only “two single beds¹⁰³”. Spargs recollects how Vukani Backpackers became more established with the help of Transcape. “Transcape has volunteers and they obviously needed accommodation¹⁰⁴”. Spargs tells about meeting “a volunteer at Transcape. Catherine at the time was in charge of the pre-school at Transcape. I Spoke to Catherine about all the ideas for advice about backpackers here on my property. Catherine asked me do I have money. I had nothing. Catherine spoke to one of the guys in charge at Transcape and borrowed me R38, 000 to make this place better¹⁰⁵”. With the help of a loan from Transcape, Spargs was able to build more “rondavels, with proper windows and doors and lots of new beds inside¹⁰⁶”

¹⁰² Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with: Emma Dicks. Vukani Backpackers. 13 June 2013

¹⁰⁵ Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

and to install rain tanks “and guttering to catch the rain water for the tanks, and to make a shower¹⁰⁷”.

The loan received from Transcape was interest free with no strict conditions as to when the money was to be repaid. As said by Brand (2006: 23), ideally one would like to see previously disadvantaged individuals as owners of these SMEs, however certain inherent problems and challenges that face the success of SMEs as the entrepreneurs do not necessarily have the capacity, support and experience to take up business responsibilities and management. The promotion and expansion of small and medium sized enterprises (SME) holds significant positive impacts for poverty reduction, local economic development and is supported by current studies on pro-poor tourism, however there are a variety of factors that hinder their success and these factors can be clearly seen in the case of Vukani Backpackers, as “Vukani Backpackers has not been going too well...and has never really made a profit¹⁰⁸”.

Some of the challenges facing the successes of SMEs highlighted by Rogerson (2008), discussed in chapter five of this thesis, can be related to Vukani Backpackers to explain some of the troubles being faced. As said by Dicks, a former volunteer who helped manage Vukani Backpackers, one of the first obstacles to Vukani Backpacker’s success is that the owner doesn’t speak English, therefore “we battle to put a phone number on posters or adverts because guests cannot call him or battle to call him because his English is not good”. This relates to the challenge of market access as it excludes many guests from staying at Vukani Backpackers as they cannot call or make a booking before coming. In addition, with Mdumbi Backpackers two kilometers away, Vukani Backpackers faces competition from this well established, experienced and marketed business that offer services that Vukani Backpackers does not, such as electricity and hot showers.

The next problem identified relates to business and management skills. When asked about why Vukani Backpackers has not been successful, the treasurer of Transcape said what is required is “a person who knows how to run a business, a person who knows how to attend to guests, a person who knows how to market. Tata Spargs is not good

¹⁰⁷ Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

with reading and writing himself and that is a very difficult thing to do your business without¹⁰⁹”. And as added by Dicks, as Spargs cannot read and write “he can’t keep books, so if you are not budgeting properly it’s a problem¹¹⁰”. The marketing of SMEs also poses as a hindrance to its success as SME entrepreneurs often lack market knowledge as well as the tools, such as the internet. Vukani Backpacker’s website was set up and is run by a volunteer to help market the backpackers, but as Dicks says “Spargs barely even knows what a computer is, so the concept of the internet and a website is a bit of a stretch¹¹¹”. Regardless of the lack of information communication technology skills, access to internet in regions such as the Transkei is limited and expensive. Thus the opportunity of having access to websites and other online services is restricted.

Maintaining and training staff is another area that Vukani Backpackers has battled with and falls in under the lack of business knowledge and experience. Dick recalls “there was this girl who had been trained in hospitality and tourism and had a qualification...if she had stayed and been trained by me, her English was great, she could of effectively kept this place running...But Spargs decided to make her life really miserable when she was working here and she eventually left...so he was not able to identify the fact that you need to reward the skills that are benefiting your business fairly and really value them”. Business and managerial skills can be learnt through experience, but it is also important to note the cultural differences between the “Xhosa way of business and the Western capitalistic way of doing things¹¹²”, as noted by Dicks. As Dicks also notes, “budgeting is not inherent in Xhosa culture...even food budgeting is done in their own kind of way just to get by¹¹³”. This clash of world views highlights the difference between the modern dynamic western entrepreneurial sector and the traditional sector which often operates in an informal and survivalist manner and presents a predicament for the successes of SME businesses who wish to expand their operations beyond the informal economy and operate in a profit-making capitalistic approach.

Dicks pointed out a further cultural dilemma to operating a business in this context “in Western culture, you have your business stuff, and you have your personal stuff and it’s

¹⁰⁹ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹¹⁰ Interview with: Emma Dicks. Vukani Backpackers. 13 June 2013.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid,

separate. But that doesn't function in Xhosa culture and its never going to. There are far greater family obligations...what happened in January was his children's house was leaking and there was no ways the village was going to accept that he had made money...and continue to let his kids live in a leaky house¹¹⁴”. Thus as Dicks comments “probably the biggest problem is that none of the money goes back into the business¹¹⁵”. This goes against the principles of western business theory however in the context of this environment, cultural norms, values and obligations have to be acknowledged and accepted. In agreement, Goehner-Gifford says “the way that a westernized person thinks and a Xhosa local person thinks is two completely different worlds so you need to be very sensitive about that issue as well¹¹⁶”.

Another challenge highlighted by Rogerson (2008), is the understanding of place and culture. Entrepreneurs must be able to inform visitors about the place and culture which adds to the tourism experience, and entrepreneurs must be able to identify what guests look for when going on holiday. This is presents a cultural dilemma, as taking holidays is still deemed as “something exclusive and reserved for the privileged upper-class” and therefore just understanding what tourism is, is something of a foreign concept for the majority of people living in the Transkei (Uddhammar, 2006: 658). Thus “understanding what guests are looking for on a holiday¹¹⁷” is an area that Vukani Backpackers requires assistance with. The owner “wants shiny gold taps, a restaurant flowing with alcohol, he wants things that he perceives to be ‘white-success’, he doesn't want solar, he wants Eskom, he doesn't want LED lights, he wants normal glowing bright lights, he would rather not be able to provide gas for hot showers than provide a bucket system for solar showers¹¹⁸”. This reflects a traditional view to tourism, and is not assimilated into the more alternative approach to tourism in which guests “like solar and eco-friendly... and they like to think that their holiday is not having a huge negative impact¹¹⁹”. Therefore there is a lacking of understanding when it comes to sustainable tourism. As identified by Rogerson (2008) one of the challenges facing SME is around the lack of knowledge of sustainable and environmental tourism practices, and this issue needs to be addressed to educate about the desire for environmentally sustainable

¹¹⁴ Interview with: Emma Dicks. Vukani Backpackers. 13 June 2013

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 14 June 2013.

¹¹⁷ Interview with: Emma Dicks. Vukani Backpackers. 13 June 2013

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

practices in which guests seek out, especially in the sector of backpacker tourism. If this issue can be corrected at Vukani Backpackers, it can be successfully marketed as an eco-friendly, community based tourist destination, adding to its appeal as well as being friendly to the environment and community resources.

Even with the help of Transcape in the form of a loan, and thereafter organizing a volunteer who was a business studies student to assist in training Spargs and transferring managerial and business skills to better the running of the business, this hasn't proved to be effective and resulted in some degree of dependency. As Dicks said "when I left...I put money in envelopes, one for a new window pane which was supposed to be replaced, R800 for gas...and that was all just completely ignored¹²⁰". In the opinion and experience of Dicks, "he thinks that I'm absolutely the answer...that I'm this white girl who has walked in and is going to make him money...I feel there is a constant reliance on white skills, and very little drive of Spargs to take hold of things himself...all the things I suggested he could fairly easily implement, and I had put in place just seemed to fall apart when I left...so instead of taking tools that I gave him, which were quite simple and basic, the attitude was just like lets just wait until Emma comes back¹²¹". This problem is not unique and is faced by many NGOs who help support and set up projects, but once the assistance is no longer there the success of the projects is not maintained or they collapse.

Although Transcape and Mdumbi Backpackers have assisted and continue to assist Vukani Backpackers in many ways with training, marketing and advice, which is acknowledged by Spargs as he says "Transcape and Mdumbi Backpackers help me a lot¹²²", as said by a member of Transcape "he's a very stubborn man¹²³", and therefore recommendations for improvement are not always exacted and carried out. The lack of understanding of business practices by the owner of Vukani Backpackers is apparent as when asked what he thought the problems to be with the success and running of the business the response was "I'm struggling to get people...sometimes I stay here for two months without guests¹²⁴".

¹²⁰ Interview with: Emma Dicks. Vukani Backpackers. 13 June 2013.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹²³ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹²⁴ Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani B Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

Another challenge faced by SME tourism enterprises is the lack of finance to set up the businesses. Vukani Backpackers would not have been possible without the provision of the interest free loan from Transcape. As Goehner- Gifford, treasurer of Transcape, says “Tata Spargs still owes us money and we are trying to get him to repay it in a way that is not going to harm his business...we can also not let him off the hook as that would be a bad example¹²⁵”. Perhaps with a better understanding of the above challenges which pose as a constraint to the development of the Vukani Backpackers, the business can transform and flourish to begin to make a profit and attain the goal of shared growth. Nonetheless, having a locally owned tourism venture does bring income and support the community with a much needed source of income, as Spargs says “my guests support the community a lot. They buy beads, wood, fish, oysters and crayfish¹²⁶”.

10.2.2 Ziyaduma Restaurant

Ziyaduma Restaurant is owned by a local Xhosa woman, Nomxolisi Mampinyose. This small scale restaurant was established with the assistance from Transcape who received funding from “Breadline Africa to set up small businesses...it didn’t need to be repaid because it was donated by a donor¹²⁷”. “From the beginning when I start Ziyaduma restaurant I met Hyman and Johann, they came and bought all the equipment, frying pans...everything we need to start my business up. I showed them exactly what I needed and what the business is going to be like. After that I just carried on by myself¹²⁸”, Mampinyose says. Mampinyose received training at Mdumbi Backpackers for two weeks to help with skills required in the running of a small scale restaurant and business and as she says “I can now manage on my own¹²⁹”. This is a positive example where initiative was taken by a community member to start a small business who realized the potential to profit from tourism, Mampinyose says “I like tourism very much because it brings money to the community and the community can benefit¹³⁰”. With the help of Transcape and the funding they received from Breadline Africa, Mampinyose was assisted to create a sustainable venture by supplying the funds and the skills required, “I

¹²⁵ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹²⁶ Interview with: Zingisile Mampinyose (Spargs). Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹²⁷ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹²⁸ Interview with: Nomxolisi Mampinyose. Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Interview with: Nomxolisi Mampinyose. Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

was pushing the restaurant for many years...I tried to borrow money. And then they decided to help me and gave me advice and everything. Transcape help me a lot¹³¹”.

The goal of shared growth for the establishment of SME is also pursued as Mampinyose says “I work together with the community¹³²” contributes “R200 a month¹³³” into the Mankosi Community Association trust as well as supporting her family, “with this money I can send my kids to pre-school, fees, uniforms and stuff like that¹³⁴”. This venture also empowers local women as Mampinyose employs another women from the community, “it’s a good business¹³⁵” she says. The challenge of market access is help overcome by the continued assistance of Mdumbi Backpackers, as they advertise Ziyaduma Restaurant at the backpackers and encourage guests to eat there. Ziyaduma Restaurant also sells beers and has therefore become frequented by Mdumbi Backpackers guests who wish to buy, as there is no alcohol sold on the Mdumbi Backpackers premises, as Mampinyose says “as soon as tourists arrive at Mdumbi they tell the guests about the shebeen¹³⁶”.

10.2.3 Mdumbi professional massaging.

The Mdumbi spa, located on Mdumbi premises, is another way that Transcape NPO and Mdumbi Backpackers have helped to set up and support a small business thus creating employment and income for community members through tourism. Like Ziyaduma Restaurant, Mdumbi spa was also set up through funds donated from Breadline Africa and offers professional massages with trained masseuses. Before working at Mdumbi, Gxala recalls she was “just sitting at home doing nothing”. In 2006 Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape, with funds received from Breadline Africa began establishing the Mdumbi Spa, a place where guests could receive massages. Gxala recalls “they were looking for five ladies, they wanted to take them to Bulungula for training, and I was one of those ladies”. According to Gxala, the spa is working “very well and I like it¹³⁷”.

¹³¹ Interview with: Nomxolisi Mampinyose. Vukani Backpackers. 5 August 2013.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Interview with: Lindeke Gxala. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

10.2.4 The Micro-Finance Project

The micro-finance project was established by Transcape with the aim to provide local communities the opportunity to start micro enterprises with small, interest free loans. This project supports the establishment of local economy and addresses poverty and high unemployment rates, as Van Zyl says “you probably know just by coming here that you were also approached by people who are asking you for money or stuff or food or things, so its very apparent you know that the people here are in need”.

Van Zyl says the micro-finance program was created “through starting Transcape in the non-profit environment, you start getting a lot of information about things that are working in other places and not, so we found out about micro-finance and started the interest-free micro-finance program¹³⁸”. The program is “community initiated¹³⁹” as it directly targets the needs of the community and aims to turn them into income generating opportunities.

At present, 133 businesses have been started through the micro-finance program including “ spazza shops, chicken farms, gardens, buying and selling chickens, frozen goods, frozen soup packs, sewing to they make clothes, Or they also start a retail business in which they buy clothes somewhere cheap and then they resell in the community as well as all the accessories like handbags, shoes, earrings, jewelry, sunglasses, perfume, hairdressing, cell phones, selling of airtimes and also public phones stations, electricity is one big one because they can purchase electricity over their cell phones and sell it, so it’s a nice thing for them to do. Now we also have had Tupperware and soaps¹⁴⁰”.

Transcape runs regular HIV awareness days including testing for the virus, counseling and the opportunity to join a support group. As Goehner-Gifford says “for many years now we have allocated the funds to support group members...the support group members are needier because usually they are a bit sicker and a little bit weaker, it depends on their CD4 count as to how they are. So they actually cant go and seek work so we offer them a micro finance loan so they can establish their own business and its

¹³⁸ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

up to them, its their choice what kind of business they want to make, so they can feel what they want to do and what is needed¹⁴¹”.

The loan process begins with filling out an application form in which the applicant is asked “a lot of questions just to test their business mind and find out basically what ideas they have and to test if they can read and write¹⁴²”. People are excluded from the program if they are unable to read and write as Goehner-Gifford says “it’s not working, I tried it and did it before but the loans and businesses are collapsing much easier if they can’t keep track of their expenditure and income¹⁴³”. The next step to achieve the loan is that the applicant must complete a business course provided by Transcape. In the course “they learn basic business skills plus book keeping...and then at the end there is an exam and they have to pass the exam”. Once this process is complete “then they qualify for a loan. The capital amount for the loan is between R2, 500 and R3000. But the tendency is going towards R3000 now because everything gets so much more expensive that from now on it’s only going to be like a R3000 plus loan. And then they pay it back within twelve months, in monthly installments and without interest¹⁴⁴”.

By providing the means of capital, coupled with training and support to unemployed people who are unable to work, Transcape are giving the tools and encouraging entrepreneurs to establish their own businesses. Without this program of giving an interest-free loan, coupled with the training and support provided by Transcape, starting a successful micro-business in this context, where access to capital is near impossible to obtain or comes with high interest rates placing huge financial pressure on the candidate and often results in more debt, the likelihood of achieving success is low. This project model thus allows people to break from the cycle of poverty, become self-sufficient and create a sustainable source of income.

¹⁴¹ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

10.3 Education

The lack of education is a continuing issue in the Eastern Cape, with 40% of people having had no schooling, and only 3% having a higher education (Transcape, 2013). Poor infrastructure means that schools are badly under-resourced in terms of qualified teachers and materials. Poor conditions in schools have also been “exacerbated by the legacy of Apartheid, whereby black schools were under-funded and the curriculum for black people was limited to a level sufficient only for low-skilled ‘blue-collar’ jobs” (Transcape, 2013).

With the election of the new democratic government, the right to education was made a fundamental part of the new constitution and a national curriculum was established for all South Africans irrespective of colour (Transcape, 2013). This holds much promise for students of today’s generation, however in the Eastern Cape, poverty and lack of resources mean that its benefits are still to be felt by the children living here. “Transcape aims to help people access equal opportunities to education, emerging as confident, skilled citizens, capable of making life-affirming decisions and contributing positively to the economy and society of their families, communities and country” (Transcape, 2013).

10.3.1 The Mdumbi Education Centre

The Mdumbi education centre opened in January 2008. It is a grassroots, community education and training centre, housed in one of the rondavels on the Mdumbi Backpackers premises. The centre operates as a pre-school and a library, as well as providing after school enrichment and adult basic education and training (ABET). The Mdumbi education centre library is available to any community member who wishes to read books or check out books to take home.

10.3.2 Mdumbi Pre-School

The Pre- School started in January 2008 to help overcome the lack of pre-schools available in the area and respond to the urgent need for early childhood development.

The Pre-School follows a daily schedule Monday to Friday from 8-12:30 which curriculum includes:

- Fine motor, spatial noticing, puzzles and language development
- Songs, rhymes, circle greetings
- Phonological awareness (rhymes, rhythms, pre-reading)
- Life skills
- Reading and language arts (letter study, story study, name study)
- Outdoor play (gross motor development and games)
- Mathematics
- Writing workshop
- Arts, crafts, fantasy play, block building and other play (Transcape, 2013).

The Pre-School has two trained teachers who teach the children. Safrany, a volunteer teacher from Canada who worked at the education centre for six weeks comments “I think they have really good skills, and I think they are all excellent teachers. They interact really well with the children, the children all listen to them and they are very effective. They seem to use good techniques and have really good resources, they have a good schedule and routine¹⁴⁵”. Funding for the education centre comes from donations, however one of the problems Van Zyl notes is “many of the funds we get for the education centre are not for salaries, it is only for teaching materials, equipment, infrastructure, but I mean, how do you teach people if you haven’t got teachers, how do you get teachers if you can’t pay them?...so that is a big problem that’s always been a problem¹⁴⁶”.

According to Safrany the education centre is well equipped with teaching materials and resources, “there’s books, educational games, toys, puzzles and lots of art supplies¹⁴⁷”, but one of the things that could be improved upon and is agreed upon by Transcape as Safrany mentions “I don’t think they have quite enough space for the kids in the learning centre, they work at a tiny table with three around the table...so I think they need more space¹⁴⁸”. The problem of space is acknowledged by Transcape’s board members as it was said “the education centre is way too small and we cannot expand it

¹⁴⁵ Interview with: Carla Safrany. Vukani Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with: Hyman Van Zyl. Mdumbi Eco Homestead. 13 June 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with: Carla Safrany. Vukani Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid,

within our premises. The nature conservation will not allow it, so to build anymore buildings and to expand we are going to move the whole education centre into the heart of the community¹⁴⁹”. By moving the education centre, this will also “make it more accessible¹⁵⁰”, “where every student will have access to the school¹⁵¹”, as some children live to far to participate in the programs and benefit from the education centre. As said by Masibulele, “Transcape is based on the community at large, but the education centre is down here, so there are children coming from far inland that don’t have a chance to come here so they miss the opportunity¹⁵²”. This creates a problems as “in the eyes of the community, they think it is specifically for the people who are living around Mdumbi. They will not consider it’s because of the distance¹⁵³”. Therefore, by moving the education centre to a central area in the community, this problem will be overcome.

10.3.3 Mankosi Pre-School Project

Due to the success of the Mdumbi Pre-School and the community need for more pre-schools, Mdumbi Pre-School grew into the Mankosi Pre-School project in January 2009. This project supports three new pre-schools in the Mankosi area, Nonkqubela Pre-school, Manangeni Pre-School and Nceba Pre School. The three teachers at Mdumbi Pre-School support the teaching and learning in the new pre-schools by:

- Teachers from the other pre-schools come to observe Mdumbi teachers teaching.
- Nolutho (one of Mdumbi’s teachers) goes to one of the other schools for on-site support once a week.
- Mdumbi teachers hold professional development sessions for all teachers once a week at Mdumbi Education Centre.

10.3.4 After School Enrichment Programme (ASEP)

The after school enrichment programme runs Monday to Friday from 3-6 every afternoon and serves to assist learners in the following areas: English Literacy, isiXhosa

¹⁴⁹ Interview with: Astrid Goehner-Gifford. Mdumbi Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Interview with: Jay Siya Masibulele. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 June 2013.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Literacy, Numeracy, Life skills, Computer Literacy, Business Skills: Economic and Management Science, HIV/AIDS Education and Sexual Health (Transcape, 2013).

Safrany believes that this programme is really benefiting the children who attend as she says “I think so because I don’t know if there’s a lot for them to do after school. A lot of them come really early, the program officially starts at three but some of them come at two. So I think they just want a place to come and hang out...there are toys a TV, computers and they get to learn a little bit and socialize, they are getting read to and they are doing some school work¹⁵⁴”. One of the challenges with this program is that “there are multi age groups all at one time¹⁵⁵” therefore the teachers are having to supervise and teach “three grade levels all at once, and sometimes everybody from grade R to grade 6. So that’s hard to figure out what to do for all of them¹⁵⁶”. This is where outside expertise and assistance can benefit the program as well as the teachers in the form of volunteers who are experienced teachers, such as Safrany. This provides a chance to improve teaching skills and offer some expertise and guidance. As Safrany said “I don’t think they have a good idea of what needs to be taught at each grade level. So that’s what I tried to do first, try and find out the curriculum and what the outcomes are for each grade level. So I tried to get some sort of plan to get the teachers teaching what was on the curriculum, so now it’s up to the teachers and the new volunteers to carry on with it. So I think they just need a bit of coaching on how to prepare lesson plans and things like that. I also think it’s good to have a native English speaker for some things, for example vowel pronunciation¹⁵⁷”.

The ASEP programme is providing an encouraging and positive environment for young students in the community and supports them in the learning process and provides them with skills and tools to grow their confidence and to better their chance of a more prosperous life. As this is an impoverished community, it is place where young students can come and share similar experiences, learn life skills, and benefit from the support network gaining knowledge and empowerment. This platform to some degree supports the participants from engaging in destructive behaviour such as young pregnancy and

¹⁵⁴ Interview with: Carla Safrany. Vukani Backpackers. 8 August 2013.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

drug and alcohol abuse which are prevalent problems in impoverished rural communities in South Africa, such as Tshani Mankosi.

10.3.5 The Scholarship Project

As said by Transcape (2013), until all local schools can provide excellent education for all learners in all grades, there is a need to provide scholarships for promising and dedicated individuals who would profit from more thorough education in Mthatha, East London or in other cities. Mdumbi Backpackers and Transcape NPO have made a commitment to manage scholarships for learning for the community who are being funded by generous donations from individuals. “This scholarship management includes: careful and fair selection of scholarship learners, contracts signed by learners and their guardians, oversight of academic progress of all learners and payment of all fees directly to selected schools” (Transcape, 2013).

Masibulele, a manager of the scholarship programme, describes how a student is selected for a scholarship, “the scholarship programme is based on the after school enrichment programme. Because the students that are being taken will be chosen from the ASEP, who are really committed, who are studying well and participating well during the class and really doing well. When it comes to nomination or selection of the students who are going to be Transcape scholarship students, we would choose according to pre-agreed rules. We see who comes everyday, who is not coming, how each and every student performs, how they behave in class and all of those things”.

One of the challenges says Masibulele “because in a community like this you have cousins and nephews of Mdumbi employees and Transcape members who are coming in here to attend ASEP, at some point they would deserve the Transcape scholarship program but it is very hard to say they must come in to be part of it even though they qualify because in the eyes of the community, its going to be seen as if these students qualified because they know someone or have a relative working in Transcape”.

It is said that “there are very few requirements for Transcape scholarship program, just make sure you study, you come early, you doing work, you go to all your classes etc and when you are in the program you need to make sure, if you are a women that you

don't get pregnant, that your not failing, you bring a school report card quarterly and express what challenges you are coming across for the donors". However, this is not always possible as there has been lack of commitment in the past by selected students in the scholarship program which has resulted in the withdrawal of support by the donors as a consequence. In such circumstances, Transcape try to determine the underlying reasons for the loss of commitment and provide support where possible.

This program gives the opportunity for students who are dedicated to attend school, as many children living in this community do not have the financial support to pay the school fees, as said by one community member who benefitted from a scholarship "we had to pay R300 per year at that time I would not have the money, because my mother was already passed away. A lot of people in this village they just drop out because of that, because of the school fees. I'm sure you see when you walk past the shebeen you see young guys there my age. A lot of those guys dropped out of school, they did not have support. So I reckon if Mdumbi wasn't here I would have also dropped out¹⁵⁸". Lack of finance and support for education is a reality in this community, and many who cannot afford to attend drop out, as can be seen from this account, and thus Transcape is providing support and making a difference for young students who are dedicated to improving their lives through education.

10.3.6 Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)

The community is overwhelmed by a lack of skills, a severe lack of formal education, with rates of unemployment at more than 90% and thus there is a large dependence on pensions and government grants. With their children having more opportunities for education, adults in rural communities are becoming more interested in learning to read and write and acquiring further skills to improve their own livelihoods. Literacy is a fundamental prerequisite for opening these opportunities (Transcape, 2013).

Learning necessary literacy, numeracy, and computer and business skills contributes significantly towards transforming an adult's sense of self and self-worth. By addressing the inequalities of the past and providing access to quality non-formal

¹⁵⁸ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

education, adults learn not only to read and write, but can start to take control of their everyday lives through activities like filling in forms, reading medication instructions and information pamphlets, banking, and voting (Transcape, 2013).

The Mankosi Adult Education Project is a three year literacy, computer and business skills development project. The aim of the project is to improve pathways to learning and educational opportunities for adults living in Mankosi (Transcape, 2013). This is achieved by offering affordable literacy, numeracy, and computer and business courses.

One of the first education projects of Transcape was the ABET program in 2008 in which over 100 adults were enrolled. Through a partnership with Media Works and AgriSeta, many adult learners have successfully completed and passed exams. The Mankosi Adult Education Project (MAEP) incorporates the ABET programme offered at the Mdumbi Education Centre and further develops the adult programme by offering relevant computer and business courses as well as access to internet and other services like printing and photocopying (Transcape, 2013).

Interviews and workshops conducted by Transcape with adults of the Mankosi community show an eagerness to learn computer skills. However, without basic literacy skills, using a computer is not possible. Thus, the MAEP makes an internationally recognised basic computer course available to learners enrolled in the ABET program (Transcape, 2013). This in turn encourages involvement and attendance of learners in the literacy phase of the program. As part of the MAEP, learners receive assistance with internet and services such as online banking and creating a CV.

Many of the adult learners are already working with Transcape on other community projects, such as Home Based Care and the HIV Support Groups. Computer skills and literacy are a necessary component to the success of these projects as they require these skills to fundraise and present work to donors (Transcape, 2013). Many of the ABET learners go on to participate in the micro-finance program and succeed in starting their own small business. Literacy is one of the conditions to receive a micro-finance loan and this programme makes that possible.

One of the challenges that Masibulele, a teacher in for the ABET program, discusses has to do with age and community dynamics. “If you’re growing up in the same community, and you are working with people who are a bit older than you, you are in a very pressurized position, they won’t really want to listen to you if you’re telling them to do this and to do that. They will consider your age and won’t really want to listen to that ‘young boy’, so they would maybe delay or ignore some of their responsibilities because those responsibilities are being said by someone they know of and someone that is younger than them¹⁵⁹”. Community dynamics further come as a challenge as it is said “local people might be very hesitant to come in to get this education which was focused on them to help them out. Because at one point they would think that their weaknesses during the study time will be exposed by the teachers that know them, and those teachers that mingle with them in the community so they would kind of feel very scared to come in because they have fears¹⁶⁰”.

10.4 Health

The spread of HIV/AIDS is a national crisis in South Africa, and the poverty stricken Eastern Cape is one of the worst affected regions. According to clinic surveys, an HIV prevalence of 29% (Transcape, 2013). Poor access to government health services, unsanitary living conditions, stigma and lack of education of the reality of HIV/AIDS are all hindrances for communities to take action against the problem and as a result, rural communities are ill equipped to deal with the spreading epidemic. Consequently, people living with HIV/AIDS frequently suffer alone, and families and communities live in ignorance or denial, and unprotected sex is still common practice.

Transcape takes a multi-faceted response to HIV/AIDS in the rural Nyandeni area, helping the government health services to improve their service delivery, holding community based awareness days, and working with community members, many of whom are themselves living with HIV, to run grassroots projects that raise awareness and deliver ‘door to door’ advice, care and support.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with: Jay Siya Masibulele. Mdumbi Backpackers. 12 June 2013.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Through Transcape's work with Canzibe hospital and with neighbouring clinics and communities, a number of social, economic and environmental challenges contributing to the poor health of community members have been identified, which obstruct the ability to fight HIV/AIDS. Thus, Transcape's holistic approach to HIV/AIDS includes awareness campaigns and establishment of community home based care and education programmes, which aim to assist in a variety of health problems, such as TB and diabetes, alongside HIV and AIDS. Transcape have also helped create a variety of health promotion projects in connection with the hospital, such as child malnutrition and providing powdered milk for mothers who are HIV positive, as not breast feeding can significantly reduce the risk of mother to child transmission of HIV. The reason for malnutrition is typically due to a lack of the mothers' knowledge about nutrition and health, and/or lack of finances to buy suitable food. In frequent years, the number of malnourished children has increased as a result of the increasing number of children that are born HIV positive (Transcape, 2013).

10.4. 1 Holistic action program against HIV/AIDS

An estimated twenty-five percent or 45000 people out of a population of 180000 are HIV positive in Ngqeleni District, and an estimated 9000 people are in need of Anti-Retrial Virals (ARVs) (Transcape, 2013). Working together with Canzibe Hospital, Transcape have been successful in getting thousands of people on treatment. Since 2005, Transcape have been working with local communities and the existing health and social services in the area to take action against HIV/Aids. The project has involved holding community awareness days and school awareness days, supporting support groups and home based care groups and maintaining an active presence against HIV in the area.

With regards to the action program against HIV/Aids, Shinta says "Transcape is doing a great job. I was involved with that HIV program, we were teaching people about Aids and other STIs (sexually transmitted infections), I think the number has decreased in deaths of HIV/Aids because people are now aware. The problem was that people were not aware of HIV in fact they thought that HIV didn't exist at all. So now people are aware of the dangers of HIV/Aids because of Transcape. They must carry on. They even bring people like these community based organisations, like home based care. They are

teaching people¹⁶¹”. This experience shows the positive impact that Transcape’s approach is having on the community in terms of education which is an essential part of fighting the battle against the spread of the disease.

Transcape have assisted with the health infrastructure upgrades at Canzibe Hospital on the following: for the Tuberculosis (TB) ward, ARV unit, and the Doctors accommodation. They have further assisted with upgrades at the Lwandile, Phlani, Maanyeni, Nolitha and Mankosi clinics. The latter upgrade is still in progress.

Working together with the Mankosi Community Association (MCA), Transcape have helped raise funds to make the Mankosi clinic possible. The initial funds for the projects were raised by the community once they formed the Mankosi community association, as Masiso recalls “we formed that committee when the trucks started taking sand here by the road, and we said instead of just taking the sand for free they must pay money, then we are going to use that money to build our own clinic for Mankosi. We collected that money up to R60 000, then we came to Transcape and told them we have this money we want to build a clinic. Then they fund-raised some more money for the clinic. They got money and we mixed the money together and we paid bricklayers and labourers and they bought materials for the clinic together with Mdumbi¹⁶²”. This shows the close relationship that Transcape, and Mdumbi Backpackers share with the Mankosi community, and demonstrates the assistance they provide to support the needs of the community.

Transcape have assisted the community in other ways related to health by assisting with the following projects: Provision of adult nappies, the Nokuphila project, a centre for malnourished children, and children in need by the provision of financial support to children identified by doctors as being in need of basic necessities. Providing transport for the sick is another service provided by Transcape in conjunction with Mdumbi Backpackers, as said by a local woman “Transcape help us when somebody is sick they take the person to Canzibe hospital for free¹⁶³”. Another local resident says “they provide transport for people when they are pregnant or when they are sick. It’s a big favour. If you’re sick, previously, you had to pay a taxi R300 to take you to hospital,

¹⁶¹ Interview with: Sihlanu Shinta. Shinta home. 13 August 2013.

¹⁶² Interview with: Sibongile Masiso. Mdumbi Backpackers. 7 August 2013.

¹⁶³ Interview with: Buliswa Gxala. Gxala Home. 13 August 2013.

and now they put the price up to R400 to take you to hospital. But Mdumbi will drive you there free. I know that they were sponsored with a bakkie to do that job from the cholera disease when it was happening here. But who is paying the petrol and who is fixing the car? It's our car, but we cannot run it¹⁶⁴. The car was donated to help assist with driving patients to the hospital during the cholera outbreak and therefore belongs to the community, but Mdumbi Backpackers in conjunction with Transcape cover the costs to ensure that the vehicle can be used by the community.

10.5 Conclusion

Transcape have actively assisted the community to help break the cycle of poverty. Transcape is a working example of sustainable development as can be seen through the various projects they have set up in terms of education, health and the support for small business enterprises.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with: Notshana Lwandiso. Vukani Backpackers. 3 August 2013.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

Due to the history of South Africa and the continued failure of the post-apartheid government to uplift rural communities in terms of healthcare, education, infrastructure and employment, life for the people that live in these rural areas is a daily struggle caught up in the cycle of poverty. The Transkei region of the Eastern Cape is a product of this history, and remains one of the poorest regions in the country. One area where some development has been occurring is tourism. Tourism has been identified as a key driver in the South African economy and central for achieving the government's goals for reconstruction and development post-apartheid.

In light of the discussion in the preceding chapters, tourism presents a strong argument for stimulating social and economic development especially in the context of developing countries with few other development options. Tourism has widely been recognised as a passport to development and numerous countries have jumped on the tourism-led development bandwagon. Although as discussed, development frequently fails to materialise, benefits only local elites or private investors, favours tourists who take advantage of the cheap prices, or is achieved at major economic, social or environmental costs to local communities. The challenge therefore lies in developing tourism in a sustainable way that is suited to the needs and objectives of the host destination and to ensure that development benefits local communities.

The approach to tourism development has evolved in similarity to the approach to development. Tourism development theory has mirrored the shift in development theory from traditional, top-down economic-growth based models to a more wide based approach with an emphasis on bottom-up planning, meeting of basic human need and a focus on sustainable development. Therefore as new and alternative forms of development have emerged, new and alternative forms of tourism have emerged. These new forms of tourism can be viewed as a response to some of the negative consequences of the modernisation approach of the mass tourism-led model of economic development.

With regards to the discussion on the positive impacts of a new approach to tourism which steps away from the conventional and traditional approach, there is much compelling evidence to focus on developing the segment of backpacker tourism in South Africa. The form of backpacker tourism is promising as backpackers tend to spend their money more widely geographically as they generally take local transport, eat at local restaurants and use local goods and services. Furthermore, the outgoing and adventurous nature of the backpacker type means they seek destinations off the beaten track and thus visit remote and rural places which can benefit from outside income. Backpackers themselves have also been proved to be friendlier to the environment, taking buses, and staying at locally owned accommodation and thus using fewer resources. This presents compelling evidence to develop the segment of backpacker tourism in South Africa and South Africa has much to offer for the backpacker experience with some of the best backpacker hostels situated along the Transkei Coast and in rural communities who could profit meaningfully from tourism. Mdumbi Backpackers presents an ideal example.

The model of tourism that Mdumbi Backpackers has established avoids the pitfalls of large scale commercial tourism and provides positive and direct socio-economic benefits to the community. By ensuring local ownership and following the principles of environmental sustainability, Mdumbi Backpackers has established a sustainable tourism enterprise that ensures long-term benefits to the surrounding community and maintains the pristine environment in which they are based. Their philosophy of community involvement is at the core of this approach and maintains the ideology that there can be no islands of luxury in the midst of poverty. This is central to the success of the business as without the willing involvement of the community, none of these projects would succeed.

Mdumbi Backpackers approach is contrary to modernist approaches to development which disregard local culture and traditions, seeing it as 'anti-ethical' to development, and involve high levels of abstraction and low levels of local involvement. The modernisation approach frequently results in failures due to a lack of fit between techniques adopted and local lifestyles (France, 1997: 10). Mdumbi Backpackers understands how tourism can suit the natural environment and the local community. Therefore they follow a bottom-up approach as opposed to a top-down model and which

aims to empower the local people by utilizing their available resources in a sustainable way.

Involving the community in the business as much as possible by giving the community shares, employing local people, and creating secondary income earning opportunities such as kayaking and surfing, and setting up community organisations such as the Mankosi Community Association (MCA), are some of the ways that Mdumbi Backpackers is guaranteeing that the community feels the benefits of this tourism initiative. Furthermore this is achieved by minimizing leakage by sourcing local products and using local labour and encouraging guests to spend money outside the backpackers by buying alcohol from the local shebeen or eating at a locally owned restaurant, such as Ziyaduma. Therefore the whole community is gaining directly or indirectly from this tourism establishment whether or not they are employed at the backpackers.

Not only does Mdumbi Backpackers aim to uplift the surrounding community, they are also dedicated to environmental issues to ensure that their tourism plan has no negative impact on the surrounding environment. Mdumbi Backpackers are aware of the scarcity of resources which they share with the community such as water and conscious of the global environmental crisis and therefore opt for environmentally friendly energy sources such as solar power. The infrastructure is also suited for the environment in which they are based as in keeping with the local traditions, guests are set up in a traditional thatch roof, and mud brick rondavels. This model of tourism development is suited to preserving local Xhosa culture and ensuring sustainability of the natural environment. Furthermore, it is evident that the founders of Mdumbi Backpacker are not focused on personal capital gains but rather on empowering the local community and helping them to gain the tools required to uplift themselves out of poverty. This participatory approach is central to many of the emerging alternative development paradigms and has received recognition worldwide as one of the key elements to achieve sustainable development (Roodt, 2001).

It is clear from this case study that the development of tourism in rural areas, such as Tshani Mankosi, holds valuable potential for community empowerment and upliftment if carried out in a way that is in line with an alternative approach to tourism, in contrast

to a modernisation approach. Mdumbi Backpackers incorporates many of the principles of alternative tourism with regards to sustainable tourism, pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and eco-tourism. In line with these approaches, Mdumbi Backpackers places the poor at the top of the agenda, and recognizes that tourism is an effective catalyst for development as it is labour intensive, inclusive of women and the informal sector and based on the natural and cultural assets of the poor and suitable for rural areas where few other growth options lie. Numerous studies have proved the local economic worth of the backpacker segment of the tourism market. This form of tourism tends to be more informal and situated in communities, and thus the benefits are retained and recycled in the area, which can be seen in the case of Mdumbi Backpackers.

It is evident therefore that small and medium size tourism enterprises, such as backpacker hostels, hold much potential to attain the goals of shared growth and community upliftment as they can be locally owned and situated within communities. International research advocates that small and medium sized enterprises (SME) can be a dynamic agent of tourism development and growth and can contribute towards shared growth instead of economic gains leaking through foreign owned tourist enterprises and businesses (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2007: 12). Local ownership is key to ensuring that the control of the benefits is retained as well as managing any potential downsides of tourism related development. However as discussed in this thesis, there are many challenges that face the success of these types of businesses, as seen in the case of Vukani Backpackers. Lack of business skills and experience, competition from well established tourist enterprises and market access are some of the main challenges highlighted from the example of Vukani Backpackers. The difference in cultural practices surrounding business practise also present a challenge, as it was indicated in the disparity between the western ideals of doing business and the Xhosa ideals. Rogerson (2008:30) notes that one of the challenges facing SMEs is the lack of research surrounding the challenges faced by these types of enterprises. Thus it is the hope that with the contribution of this thesis, a further understanding of the issues can be obtained by scholars and researchers in order to inform government and policy makers to successfully aid the development of tourism SMEs in South Africa and attain the goal of shared growth.

It is clear that backpacker type accommodation is no longer just the preserve of the youth and there is a growing trend for budget type accommodation, not only in South Africa but worldwide. As discussed Mdumbi Backpackers caters for all ages, families and couples and attracts a wide variety of guests. Therefore, it is the hope that smaller, locally owned tourism enterprises can establish themselves within the tourism market and profit meaningfully.

What is key to Mdumbi Backpackers approach is the value of a grass-roots perspective with an emphasis on local involvement, participation and local ownership as this allows people the freedom to control their own destinies and manage the possible detriments of tourism-led development, such as crime, drug abuse, harm to the natural environment, social and cultural disruption and exploitation.

Mdumbi Backpackers is a superb example of a model of tourism-led development that is providing real and meaningful support for development opportunities in the community. By going one step further with the creation of the non-profit organisation Transcape, their involvement in the community has grown significantly, encouraging positive and sustainable development in the areas of social development, education and health. The projects that Transcape initiate come directly from the needs of the community and are implemented in a manner that aims to encourage participation and ownership once they have helped been established. Transcape is a working example of sustainable development and play an invaluable role in the community whilst also demonstrating that there is a need for more assistance from government as well as non-governmental organisations. The need for more educational, health and social services is dire.

Mdumbi Backpackers go beyond the notions of locally owned and sustainable approaches and are actively encouraging development by setting up community organisations and initiatives. Mdumbi Backpacker's approach paves the way for a model of tourism-led development that provides real benefits and positive impacts for the surrounding community. It is an exemplary model that presents lessons that can be learned and applied to develop tourism in other rural communities in a manner that is sustainable and positive for the people who live there and create a tourism establishment that is more than just a place to stay for tourists.

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Appendix

Structured and semi-structured questions which were formulated before the interview and were used as a loose guide for the interview.

Questions for interviews with founders of Mdumbi Backpackers and members of Transcape:

How did Mdumbi Backpackers start and then form Transcape?

What are the main missions and aims of Transcape?

What do the development projects entail?

Do you think Transcape is achieving its mission?

What challenges and problems have been experienced?

What would you do differently next time?

What are the aims and what are the outcomes?

Where does Transcape get its funding from and how do they go about it?

Does the funding come with conditions? (e.g. how it should be spent etc..)

How has the approach of Transcape changed and evolved since the beginning?

Is participation from the community of high importance and how do you communicate with the community and encourage participation?

Is the community involved in the decision making processes?

What is the level of community participation in these development projects?

Tell me about some of the projects Transcape runs.

Who decides the projects and which projects are of high importance to focus on?

Who leads these development projects and how much say does the community have?

How often are there meetings with the community? What is the attendance at community meetings? (How many women? How many men? Average ages?)

Is there ownership by the community of these projects once they have been established?

Do you have a training program in place for new members?

Leadership structures?

What measures are in place to ensure sustainability?

How does Transcape go about implementing development at a grass-roots and community level and encourage community participation?

How do you optimise the benefits of tourism to the communities to make it sustainable and avoid reducing the community to a state of dependency?

Do you think tourism is a good option for community development and upliftment in Mdumbi?

Do you think tourism is an effective way for stimulating social and economic growth in Mdumbi?

What are the costs and benefits of bringing tourism to the area?

Can tourism significantly contribute to development on its own in the area?

Questions for interviews with Hyman Van Zyl and Johann Stadler (the founders of Mdumbi Backpackers):

How did Mdumbi Backpackers start and then form Transcape?

What are the main missions and aims of Transcape?

What is different to your approach than to other approaches to tourism, like mass tourism?

What is your philosophy that drives this approach?

What is happening with the cooperative scheme? Is it working? Are the cooperatives functioning?

What is your development vision?

What is the problem with funding? Why is Transcape having trouble getting core funding for salaries?

Are there regulations/red tape/ standards set by government for starting new projects?

What is unique about Mdumbi Backpackers?

Questions for interviews with guests at Mdumbi Backpackers:

Where are you from, age, where have you travelled, how long are you travelling for?

What are your motivations for traveling?

How have your experiences traveling shaped the way you go about it now?

Have you planned out your itinerary? I.e. is it flexible? Do you do things/ go places by word of mouth/ internet/ travel books?

What kinds of experiences are you looking for?

Why did you choose to come to Mdumbi Backpackers?

Why do you stay in backpacker type accommodation?

What do you like and dislike about backpacker type places?

What do you look for in backpacker accommodation?
Are you happy with the rustic type or accommodation?
Are things like air-con, hot water, electricity important for you?
Are you concerned about the impacts you have on an area? (The community, environment, culture?).
Are you aware about the effects of tourism? What do you perceive to be the positives and negatives?
What do you do differently to other conventional tourists?
Do you purposefully choose to use local transport, eat local, use local goods and services etc?
Have you done any cultural activities? What do you spend your time doing?
Have you had the opportunity to interact with the local community? Make friends? Relationships? Learn?
Spending: are you on a tight budget? Do you shop around for the best prices? Bargain?
Did you bring your own food? Eating at the backpackers? The local restaurant? Buying local food i.e. fish/ veggies/ bread?
Have you spent any other money in the area outside of Mdumbi Backpacker? What on?
Have you done any of the activities on offer by Mdumbi? I.e. hikes, canoeing, surfing etc.
What do you think of Mdumbi Backpackers?

Questions for interviews with employees of Mdumbi Backpackers:

How do you think Mdumbi's approach differs from large hotel/ resorts? Or from other backpacker type establishments?
How do you minimize leakages? What strategies to you employ to do this? Does the money spent by tourists get spent locally? Do you purchase local goods, use local services?
Where do you purchase the majority of the goods and services to build the infrastructure? (I.e building of the dorms and labour etc).
So how much of the tourists money stays in Mdumbi and the surrounding community?
How do you manage the environmental impact of having tourists? I.e. waste disposal, water consumption, electricity.
How do you promote good environmental practices to the guests? Do they listen and comply?

Does Mdumbi have guests all year round, or does it go through quiet periods with an influx over holiday time? How does this affect the employees? The local people associated with the backpackers?

Do you have a high turn over of staff? How often do you employ new people? Do they get training? How do you select them?

What benefits do the employees receive other than a salary?

Mdumbi is on community land, what does this actually mean for the community? If they were not happy with the backpackers for instance would they be able to have a say?

Have there been any disputes from the community about the use of the land by Mdumbi Backpackers?

What kinds of guests does Mdumbi attract? Mostly 'backpacker' type young travelers? Or families with young kids? Older guests?

Do you have a lot of South African guests? Or mostly foreigners?

Does Mdumbi have any procedures directed at including local women in the business?

How does Mdumbi market itself? i.e. as a cultural/ eco- destination? What are its distinguishing features?

Do the local people from the community often seek out jobs at or through Mdumbi?

Why doesn't Mdumbi have a bar? Is this a way to encourage backpackers to spend money in the community? What other ways is this encouraged?

Questions for owner of Vukani Backpackers (and same questions adapted for owner of Ziyaduma Restaurant):

How did you start Vukani backpackers?

How did Transcape help you to start and run Vukani?

What have been the challenges and problems?

Do you feel that this is a successful business? Is it making you enough money to support your family and livelihood?

What is your vision for Vukani? What would you like to do to make it better?

What problems are keeping you from making this happen?

Did you have any training or experience in the tourism industry or in running a business?

How do you market Vukani and attract visitors?

What do you think guests like about Vukani? What do you think guests look for in a holiday?

What do you think they don't like?

What do you feel the most important parts of running Vukani successfully are?

What have been the biggest problems?

What skills and training do you think would be helpful to have to make Vukani better?

Do you invest money back into the business?

Do you employ any local people to help at Vukani?

Does Transcape/ Mdumbi still help you and how?

What do you think the community feels about Vukani backpackers? Do you get positive reactions from them? Are they jealous? Do people have any negative comments? Does the community like tourists coming to the area?

Questions for community members:

How do you feel about having Mdumbi backpackers here?

How do you feel about tourists coming to the area?

Are you worried about the influence that their behaviour has on the youth?

Do you like your children interacting with the tourists?

Do you interact with the tourists? Do you find them friendly or rude?

Do you ever feel that they are disrespecting the local culture or the environment?

Have you had any bad experiences? Good experiences with tourism?

Do the tourists buy things from you?

What do you think about Mdumbi's approach/ type of tourism establishment?

Do you think tourism is a good tool for bringing development to the area? What are the good and bad sides?

Do you like tourism? What do you like about it?

How do you feel about the Transcape? Do you like the work they are doing?

Do you think that the projects are successful? Why or why not?

Have you or any one you know been involved in Transcape's projects or benefited from them?

Does Transcape communicate with the community about the projects, what they are doing and so on?

Is the community involved in the decision making process for the projects? How?

Are you interested in participating in what they are doing?

What differences can you see that they have made?

What is your idea of 'development'?

Do you communicate with Transcape about your issues and problems? How?

How often does Transcape meet with the community? Who goes to these meetings?

What do you think Transcape does well? What do you think they need to improve/change?

Questions for interviews with Mdumbi employees who run activities:

How did you get involved with Transcape/ Mdumbi Backpackers?

How did your canoe business get started?

How did Transcape/ Mdumbi help you?

What do you think you would be doing if Mdumbi wasn't here?

What problems and challenges have there been and how have you overcome them?

What do you think could be done to improve your business?

Do you think tourism is a good tool for community upliftment/ development in the area?

What do you think of the tourists coming here?

Have you made friends? Have good experiences? Any bad experiences?

Do you think tourism has a bad effect on the environment? On the community?

Culture?

Do you think it influences the youth?

What are the costs and benefits of bringing tourism to the area?

Can tourism significantly contribute to development on its own in the area?