

## Pro-Poor Cultural Tourism In Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa: Lessons Learned

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### ABSTRACT

“There is nobody here with money to buy the things that we make” said a woman from Maphephethe, a poor community in rural KwaZulu-Natal. The resultant idea of tourism presented to the local Chief (Inkosi) was enthusiastically endorsed. The researcher and her students had established a good working relationship with the Inkosi, community development committee and community members.

Community members elected unemployed youngsters in their 20s to work on the tourism committee, accompanied by fairly standard but participative training activities in developing a constitution, business principles, planning, marketing, finance and catering. This included a fun day enjoying a commercially run cultural tour to another community. They also participated in some constructivist exercises to help design the tours.

Thereafter, these young community members initiated and planned a day tour providing cultural activities, cultural experiences and the history of the area. The research determined what aspects could be instituted to develop a community-based cultural tourism initiative. This would help create job opportunities and encourage income generation through providing products for sale to tourists. This article analyses the functioning and organization of the Maphephetheni Tourism Committee (MTC). Two groups of tourists, MTC members and the community groups involved (tour guides, caterers, crafters, sangoma (“witch doctor”), hosts, dancing group leaders) reflected on the process. Questionnaires, participatory approaches (PLA), focus group discussions and interviews were conducted. It was concluded that MTC could implement a variety of attractive day tours. However, they would still need assistance within the greater tourism system.

The committee members decided to develop a partnership with a commercial company that specialised in cultural tourism, which would be reviewed after one year. The company undertook to do the advertising and marketing, to provide transport, and the further training of the tour guides and local caterers. In exchange, all local contributors would be paid, crafters could sell their products and a tourist per-capita contribution made towards the Community Trust.

Four years later, the partnership still held and even with changes in local staffing, the tourists were successfully enjoying the cultural tours. However, the power balance had been handed to the commercial company. The aim had been to empower the community organisers through on the job training and then for them to branch out on their own. But the committee opted for the security of the status quo. Lessons learned included the necessity of building a mutually beneficial partnership, participatory capacity building of community members, ownership taken by the community for small-scale activities, and positive action research contributions over time.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Unemployment is a major social and economic issue in developing countries, including South Africa. Many rural people, especially youth, have to move to the cities to find employment, leaving their home areas with few people to provide essential services. Diverse rural industry is the key to survival (Beeton 1998).

Developing countries offer opportunities for an exciting style of tourism, which includes eco-and pro-poor tourism. Attractions include environmental beauty, ecological diversity and culturally enhancing encounters (Oppermann and Chon 1997). Tourism in rural areas can work well with existing industries like farming that can continue with business as usual and also provide accommodation for tourists. Tourism, especially ecotourism with its focus on natural and cultural resources, has the potential to generate a wide variety of jobs for young people, allowing them to remain in their communities. However, tourism development tends not to incorporate poverty elimination objectives; rather it is driven by economic, environmental and cultural perspectives (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin 2000). Ecotourism is nature based, educative and managed in a sustainable manner. Participation, commitment and control from the local people are of great concern (Mowforth and Munt 2003). On the other hand, participation by the poor in tourism and the benefits they gain depend on critical factors such as the type of tourism, planning regulations, land tenure, market context, access to capital and training. Many of these require external support and the benefits come with differential costs and benefits to the poor (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin 2000).

Reid (1999) notes that benefits from tourism for the community include a variety of jobs such as tour guiding, nature and cultural interpretation, entertainment, arts and handicrafts, with producing food for visitors (both growing and cooking it). In addition, infrastructural benefits (installation jobs) and informal contacts create cross-cultural friendships, general exchange of information and observing tourist behaviour. However, Russell (1995) reported problems attached to the benefits. Not everyone benefits with those more educated benefitting more and the really poor being further prejudiced. Also the possible damage caused by tourists to the environment through littering, waste disposal and excessive energy usage needs to be controlled. Over time, he reported division in the community; competition for control, mistrust, lack of capacity, organisational limitations and a weak local community structure.

## II. THE COMMUNITY

“There is nobody here with money to buy the things that we make” said a woman from Maphephethe, a poor community in rural KwaZulu-Natal. The resultant idea of tourism inviting people with money into the community was presented to the local Chief and enthusiastically endorsed. The idea came from the researcher who had seen numbers of foreign tourists coming to visit the various renewable energy technologies in the community and commenting on the evident poverty.

This community is situated approximately 50km west of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It is under traditional leadership. This picturesque area is characterised by hills and as a result Maphephethe is said to be located in the “Valley of a Thousand Hills”. Eight wards make up the region. The altitude of the study area rises from less than 200 meters on the edge of Inanda dam to over 600m on the plateaux (Johnson et al as cited by Green and Erskine, 1998) providing many view sites.

Income generating activities in Maphephethe are few. There are four shops selling a wide range of lower order consumer goods with numerous tuckshops or spaza shops. The people also keep goats, cattle and chickens, which they sell in times of financial need (Mungai, 2008). Crops and fruit trees are grown mostly for consumption purposes and only sold when they have a surplus harvest. The crops mostly cultivated in order of popularity according to Ndokweni and Green (2003) are: maize, beans, cabbage, groundnuts, amadumbe, pumpkins, peaches, guava and spinach. They have formed communal groups where they carry out their gardening. At least every household surveyed by Ndokweni and Green (2003) had one member involved in such a community garden. According to the survey, there were on average, 8

households who work in each garden, indicating that the community gardens support many households. These community gardens also act as a source of social capital for the members and serve as platforms for interpersonal empowerment. Maton (2008) indicated that group participation has some impact on social life and may lead to participation in other community initiatives. This is an indicator of empowerment at the macro level.

In Maphephetheni, the average total regular monthly income per household varied widely, but in 2003 it averaged R642 (Ndokweni and Green 2003). Social pension level was then at R600 per month and there was no formal poverty datum line. Income distribution was such that 60% of the sample received below R700 per month. In that year, 65.5 percent reported receiving no salaried income at all. Agriculture, small-scale informal activities and a few commercial enterprises were the main economic activities in the area. Poverty was rife in Maphephetheni.

The positioning of the area was thought to be appropriate for a tourism project – within easy reach from the big city of Durban with reasonable scenic road access. Baseline data had been collected during the course of other projects over the preceding four years. A good working relationship had been established with the Chief (“Inkosi”) and community members that went with a great deal of trust. Our bona fides had been accepted.

The community had the following to offer towards a tourism initiative:

A non-violent environment, beautiful scenery, a variety of trading stores, strong local Zulu culture, home life (including wood collection, cooking over fires, doing washing in the river, children walking to school), a variety of small scale farming activities, traditional dancing, traditional healers (sangomas and inyangas), traditional hand crafters (beadwork and basketry), two high schools, one with solar powered computer room linked to satellite, an unfinished clinic, concrete block making business, solar energy display site, biogas production.



Figure 1. Overlooking Inanda Dam

In addition, there was easy access on a tarred road and fairly reasonable gravel roads internally, a variety of community groups (catering, sewing, wood carving), an active development committee, a courthouse (the only meeting venue), catering and tourism taught at the local high schools, and one flush water-borne toilet at the courthouse.

### III. THE START

Initially the researchers invited the enthusiastically approving development committee to participate as organisers. These important people were too busy to play an active part so there was no progress. The next attempt focused on the mature women's groups in this rural community, but this also made little progress mainly because the women had too many community involvements to take on additional responsibilities. The Zulu culture expects one to never say no – so these were all false starts in that they said yes, but attendance and taking responsibilities was very weak. At this stage tourism was still the researchers' idea and even painting a rosy picture obviously only sounded good.

A suggestion to elect a committee of young people came from the Chief's uncle (also a member of the community development committee) who was really enthusiastic over the possibility of bringing more money into the area. In the third attempt, a paid community member invited others to attend local youth meetings in each of the 8 wards. They elected two unemployed youngsters in their 20s per ward to volunteer to work on the Maphephetheni Tourism Committee (MTC).

At the first meeting, the tourism vision of the 16 members was brainstormed and listed on the flip chart. On the whole the ideas were far too sophisticated and expensive but were accepted as what was being worked towards (as recommended by Chua 2009). Such ideas were to build a hotel, a conference centre, to build a big market for their produce, to erect large billboards, to hold concerts, to have buses visit, to have a camp site (like across the dam from them) with boats for rental, horses to ride, walks to take, amongst others. The research students, who were the same age as the committee members, participated in the session and added their own ideas such as day tours through their village, overnight bed and breakfast in local homes, traditional Zulu singing and dancing shows, appropriate signage etc. It became abundantly clear that they needed to personally experience a type of tourism initiative that would be feasible. Sources of additional funding were also raised as essential and paramount. The committee identified stakeholders who were to be asked to attend subsequent meetings and the potential help that each one could provide was discussed. While the researchers felt that in future, less ambitious plans should be developed that did not need substantial financing or major external inputs.

At the next meeting, once the members had learnt a little more about each other, nominations for committee positions were called for and voted on. Men were elected as the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, while women filled the secretarial and treasurer positions. Additional members were also men with one woman who had finished one year of tourism study at a tertiary college and then dropped out due to lack of finance. Both the holding of elections and the formal committee functioning were alien to the culture. Most positioning is hereditary and functions are well established in the way things are organised. Both these activities were strange and meant an adaptation in their thinking processes. So at this stage, procedures were still guided by the researchers but we were mindful of the fact that western approaches to training are often too linear and teach items that are not yet of interest (Kenosi 2007). We learnt to trust that the people on the committee actually had useful local knowledge and skills, which the researchers did not, and that it was the community's program, not the researcher's (Ife 2003).

### IV. TRAINING EFFORTS

They invited one of the development committee members (the chief's uncle) and the local municipal councillor and both attended the next meeting as potential stakeholders and they gave their support to the initiative. It was hoped that this would lead to financial support later – but only the development committee member attended any further meetings. The locals felt that as the councillor was of the opposing political party to most of them, that he would only come and claim what they had achieved as a political party project – so they were quite happy for him not to appear. The councillor spoke about procedures to be followed to access municipal help and finances. Minutes of meetings were taken by the secretary and typed up by the researchers. They were then distributed at each subsequent meeting.

It seemed appropriate that the first task was to have training. Experiential learning (Kolb 1984 cited by Atherton 2010) was encouraged and participatory learning methods (Srinivasan 1990) were included in each of the subsequent meetings and training, but still mainly researcher driven. The action learning cycle included experience, reflective observation, hypothesis (will this work?), action (try it) and then reflective checking and adjusting as recommended by Atherton. Meetings did not always follow this route in that often meetings started with questions from the previous meeting's "homework".

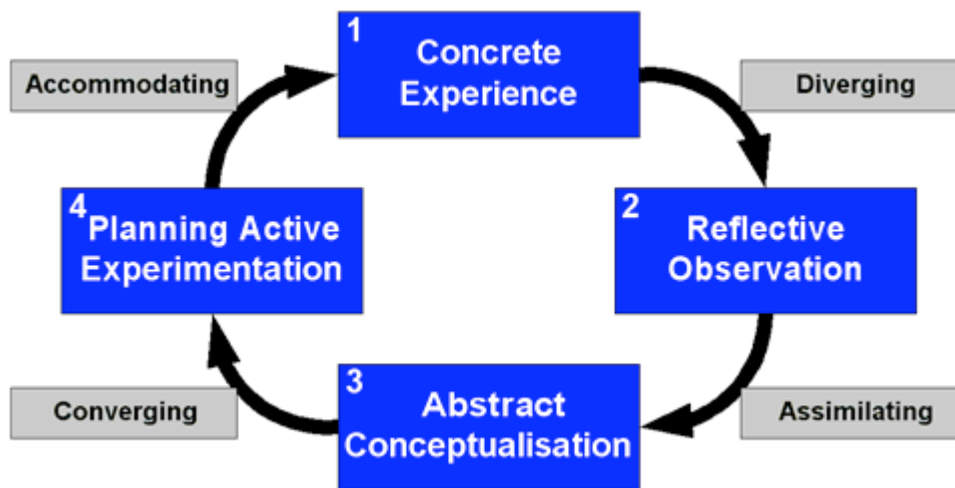


Figure 2. Kolb learning cycle (cited by Atherton 2010)

Then training started in earnest, with MTC members choosing the order in which they wanted to learn from a researcher provided list of topics. Their wishes were interpreted by students into topics and learning was fairly standard thereafter – talks, question and answers, flip charts, discussion with topics mainly centring on organisational development and running a business. The meetings were held fortnightly at the request of the members at either the courthouse or the vacant clinic. The research students decided what needed to be included in each topic and set written tasks for those attending, to carry out in class. Learning itself was participatory in that participants were expected to draw up their own practical tasks to be done between meetings. On the whole attendance varied but generally remained above 50% (8 people). The poorer members tended to be the ones with higher absenteeism and dropped out – busfare to meetings and time taken to walk was too demanding (as experienced by Russell 1995). Also, by the end of the training 5 of the 16 members had found jobs “in town” and so were no longer available and the members decided not to replace them with new people after the training.

The selected training topics included the following: Committee functions and holding good meetings; Building a constitution; Developing a business plan and funding proposal; What can we offer to tourists?; Working with money and banking; Where and how to apply for funding; Registering as a tourism business; Marketing your offerings; Tour guide talks content; Catering; Transport requirements and costs; Designing a pamphlet for the tourists.

At the end of each session, committee members were asked to reflect on how and whether the sessions would “work” in their environment. Initially response to this question was reticent but over time they became very alert, responsive and suggested adaptations.

Training in how to hold meetings and the roles of office bearers – these were described. Then role-plays were carried out with the committee members responding to set situations. These situations were chosen by the research students.

Training in constitution building – The group was given headings and invited to fill in the detail so that they owned the decisions. These were typed up by researchers and discussed at the next meeting. Additional suggestions were made by both members and researchers. The final version was approved at a subsequent meeting and always present at further meetings.

In order to open a bank account as an organisation, they drew up a business plan and adapted it as a funding proposal. It was then submitted to a government youth entrepreneurs programme but with no success. Because the response took so long, this did not have a dampening effect on their enthusiasm.

They were given a mini amount of financing – enough to open a bank account and to register with the provincial tourism board. They decided, with difficulty, not to reimburse local transport expenses until they were operational and earning an income. The development committee member offered and often provided transport to meetings. Getting the local treasurer and her deputy to complete their tasks took a long time because it cost time and money to catch a bus to go to town to the bank and three members of the committee had to go together. To register as a tourist entity, they had to travel to Durban and for a long time could not see the necessity of registration. Meanwhile training continued.

The different roles of what researchers could do and what committee members were to do were clarified at the insistence of the committee. All admin support was provided by researchers. The MTC asked for a colour brochure, which was provided much later, once the tourist activity was clarified.

Once a fortnight, they were also given training in planning, management, finance (costs of transport), marketing and catering quantities using examples related to a tourist project. However, the MTC needed a realistic experience to feed into their mapping and imagining what kind of tourism would work. So they attended the commercial cultural tour with 2 high school pupil winners of an earlier tourism competition, 2 development committee members, 3 MTC members, and 3 student researchers as arranged by the main researcher. Everyone returned very enthusiastic about their own potential – their own area was much prettier, had better infrastructure, they knew families who could cater, and so on. They immediately saw the financial benefits for their own community.

## V. PLANNING THE INITIATIVE

Then began the journey of discovery constructing a new reality, rather than the planned arrival (Ife 2003). The committee slowly developed a rich picture of what their cultural tourism could involve, adding to the drawing regularly (as recommended by Lockett et al 2001). They let their imaginations fly. They identified where the various opportunities lay, and who locally could be invited to participate. And who would take responsibility for inviting them. After this, MTC drew a rich picture of what could happen in community identifying places of interest and people to be involved on a very large aerial photograph mapping the area. Over a number of meetings, members identified families for catering and home visits, sangomas to talk about their professions, schools where the children had traditional outfits and could dance, women's groups that produced quality cultural artefacts, places to walk to, lovely view sites to visit, renewable energy technologies and local agricultural activities. They also identified a site for camping and obtained the approval of the Chief.

This constructivist approach (Piaget 1950 as cited by Van Meter & Stevens, 2000) where their background knowledge and meaning from their experiences, both personal, community based and from the commercial tour were brought to bear in expanding the original ideas. They constructed their own understanding and knowledge of the world, through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. As stated by Matsuoka (2004), when they encountered something new, they had to reconcile it with any previous ideas and experience, maybe changing what they believed, or maybe discarding the new information as irrelevant. In any case, they were active creators of their own knowledge. To do this, they asked questions, explored, and assessed what they knew. They also started to look at their own communities with different eyes.

Then everyone felt that it was time to arrange a formal tour. Research students completed training the chosen caterers about the menu (a combined effort), where to obtain the ingredients (the idea of using local farm produce was so seasonal that there was none available when the tour was arranged). The students also worked intensely with the committee members about developing the tour guide information, improving their English, practicing talking in a second language and other essential planning activities. A trial run

was arranged with other students followed by two public groups who each paid a small amount toward expenses. All local participants were paid market rates for their activities.

## VI. THE TOUR

The first tour occurred with university students. All “tourists” completed questionnaires for evaluation and suggestions for improvement. They loved the event, felt that it had great potential but was still very rough and unsophisticated. Major items that needed attention were identified as:

Starting on time and keeping to time; shortening the distance between activities (allow more walking time and less driving), changing the caterers’ attitudes that their food was to be culturally ethnic (and not be the perfect hostess who put out her best crockery, western drinks and deserts), the sangoma refused to perform until everyone paid him thousands of rand (dollars), the tour guides needed to speak more clearly and loudly, answer questions and offer more information, the crafters needed to have more space available (but still made the most money!) amongst others. The evaluations were analysed with and discussed with the MTC members who were asked how they could deal with them. Through systematic reflection about each part of the programme, they built up a system to use for determining what needed to change.

The final tour programme included stopping to take photos from a viewpoint across the dam, registration of visitors at courthouse (and use the sole water-borne toilet in the area), drive to visit a Sangoma to see what he offered to the community, walk about with the tour guide to enjoy the views and some of the history, cultural explanations and talk to the community members, walk to visit a nearby homestead and hear about home life, and enjoy lunch of an indigenous menu (vegetarian, Zulu beer and manners) in that home. Then later they drove to watch school children doing cultural dancing followed by sale of craft produced by their mothers and local crafter groups. Then they left to return to the city in the bus.

Both public tours were most successful and really encouraged the young people in their endeavour. They then reflected on the days’ activities and used the previous system for reflection. By this time, the chairman and deputy were doing most of the selection of and preparation with families and there were three trained tour guides. The original plan was to rotate activities amongst families – but they decided that this took too much effort and the idea became one main homestead and an alternate one (neighbours). The sangoma learnt that what was needed was a “show” and not the real thing which was then less authentic, intense and took less time. The rotation of schools’ dancing also became one school, within walking distance of the selected homesteads. There were still issues about quantities for catering and that they had to “unlearn” the role of a hostess and realise that this was to make them money – so no extravagance – just ordinary everyday food that they could be proud of.

Now we had a tourist product that could operate fairly well with a really novel approach of “how we think here in our community”, pride in their own culture, genuine attitudes and a niche activity different from any others; all this with a good access road and within a relatively short distance from the city.





Figure 3. Local life, Traditional dancing, visitors and sales of beadwork.

## VII. INDEPENDENCE

Then came the MTC meetings with the researchers about how to conduct these tours without the university interceding. The committee members mapped a system on newsprint that included all aspects of running this tour business. Here “training” took the form of their questions, our answers, their responses, our explanations (no longer strictly following Kolb). They then expanded on the picture itself. Topics that they identified included finances (how much to charge tourists and why), transport – MTC-provided and/or self-drive tours, brochures for advertising and where to display, and where to find their customers. This was a really difficult time for them because it became clear that they did not have the resources needed to run the whole business themselves. For example, the Chief had offered his “mini-bus” that they could use, but no one had a driver’s licence (never mind the public driver’s permit that would be needed to drive paying customers) and there were no local garages to fill vehicles with petrol, or to conduct any maintenance. In addition, from another research project, a survey of tour companies in Durban had been conducted and found that the tour company charges would be the same as it would cost the committee to operate.

The committee decided that they would ask the local “combi” taxi drivers to provide transport – but then the drivers wanted to return to Durban with other passengers between dropping tourists in the morning and fetching them in the afternoon. In addition, committee members agreed that taxis may not cooperate and their vehicles were often dirty. Self-drive tours were considered as an alternative (but payment would



be considerably less with only 4 people and a tour guide in a car). The committee could cope with the local arrangements but were confused by the peripheral system requirements.

Marketing became another headache. The provincial tourist body would place their adverts on the web (once registered) but this was a strange technology and they had no one who could do the design. There was also no finance to pay a webmaster. The brochure was designed to their specifications by the university and was used later to attract customers by placing at the tourist information centres in neighbouring urban areas.

They had a good tourist product but could not cope with the greater system as they came to understand it. Adapting one's thinking to accommodate the demands of commerce and the economic environment for rural people was a big adjustment. In addition, their seed money was running dry as they started using it to pay themselves for their organisation activities.

## VIII. PARTNERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The result of all these discussions was that the committee members (now only 6 people with the local development committee member) felt that somebody else must do the transport and marketing. The researcher chose a tour company and asked them to visit the area to see if it was feasible for them to take these tours on board. The owner said he was willing to give it a try. By this time the university was no longer actively involved. The owner came on a Saturday but the MTC chairman was late! So the owner left and said that they were not ready yet. The chairman initiated contact a few months later and promised that this time, things would be ready! The tour company brought a crowd of high school children along who thoroughly enjoyed the outing. The committee members agreed to regularly provide the tour to this company in exchange for more training and reasonable pay for one year. However, when the year was up, those participating stayed on and did not take their power or product back from the commercial company. They have also not negotiated better terms in the partnership.

When I asked the chairman a few years later, what being in this business had taught him – he responded that “time management is very, very important”! They had expanded into offering overnight accommodation (Bed and Breakfast) in the area, and some self-drive tours had been held. They had put the brochures in outlets within a tourist area about 15kms away. But none of the other plans had been implemented – so there is still no permanent market place for crafts and agricultural products, no camp site plus services that had been identified and discussed, and no independent operations. Unfortunately, the chairman died of AIDS shortly afterwards, but the alternate tour guides that had been trained have continued with the package and now 6 years later, the tourist project is still operational but not growing. They are in essence still employed by the tour company.

### A. *Lessons learned:*

To learn the lessons required a degree of critical reflection, analysis and moral perplexity. The researchers identified many issues and discussed the outcomes amongst themselves. Some are discussed here:

**Training process using Kolb as the basis** (Atherton 2010). Initially training was participatory but researcher driven. Kolb also became too constricting and training changed to become more responsive to current issues. Later, under guidance the group learnt to reflect in a structured way and then became more self-driven. What really changed was that training and meetings became “their questions” and either their own or our answers. This interactivity meant that the committee became more confident and empowered, no longer scared to appear stupid nor limited by the immediate topic. However, this also meant numerous forays into (unrelated) topics of dubious value to the tourism initiative.

**Types of community groups involved.** Literature suggests that working with existing groups is preferable when starting a new endeavour in developing communities (Ife 1996; Mungai 2008). However, young unemployed people with time available, personal skills and little risk aversion meant that the

organisation grew satisfactorily and provided status to the committee. Members developed self confidence through the process, became mentors for others looking for skills such as creating business plans, understanding banking and writing funding proposals. They also became closer to the chief and development committee members.

**Developing a picture of the “tourism product”.** Using the participatory procedures recommended from literature worked well (Hawkins 2009). The group were the owners of the tour product that they created and they worked hard at it. However, the committee relatively ignored the wider system until the product was at an acceptable level and so the committee members did not gain similar experience in the whole tourism system as opposed to the product. Even though building an understanding of the tourism system was discussed, elaborated on and included in the various mapping and rich pictures drawn, this commercial arena was strange, demanding and not really understood by the predominantly rural agrarian committee members. They visited the Tourist Junction to get an idea of what was required, but the resources required were too great for them to feel comfortable taking on the marketing and transport. Rather than making the committee members feel responsible for “failing”, contacting the existing tour company seemed a way out of this dilemma. Their insecurity led to handing over their power to a commercial company.

**Unlearning cultural attitudes,** and taking on what is needed (Russell 1995; Mowforth & Munt 2003). One of the big items that we the researchers only became aware of on reflection were the changes in attitudes of the local participants demanded by the tourism initiative. Did they really gain by the process and at whose expense? As an economic development initiative, what price was the giving up of the gracious hostess role in favour of keeping costs down. Also individual jockeying for local people to be included, juxtaposed to the working together in a community culture. Another issue was the realness of the Sangoma (who plays a valuable role dealing with community health issues) versus the “show” to be put on for visitors. Did this change the value system of what was important? We also felt sorry for the crafters when tourists made unflattering comments about a choice of colours, expertise or utility of an item. Counter to this was the pride that they reinforced about their own culture and “the way we do this here in Maphephetheni”. The accent was on the economy – but what about impacts on the social networks, the political power, the individual development, and even spiritual values?

**Partnership building.** Research by Dlodla (2006) found that where a genuinely balanced relationship between partners existed (as there was here at Maphephetheni) the respective businesses thrived, even when they were not equitable in experience, education or status. MTC had a good acceptable niche product that the tour company valued for their business, while on the other hand the tour company offered transport and marketing which MTC could not. However, with time, growth in the product and personal empowerment did not seem to develop past the initial stages. The MTC members became more reliant on the tour company rather than less and no longer saw themselves as being an independent business entity. This was aggravated by changing local staffing.

**Pushing out the really poor** as the plans develop (Russell 1995). Originally the initiative was to provide an income to the really poor in the community and the original youngsters elected came from low socio-economic levels. However, as time progressed we realised that the really poor excluded themselves, to be replaced by those slightly better off (with access to a few more resources). Apparently this was because of the time taken to attend meetings, and the “expense of transport” to meetings. When one is poor, one's whole life is spent in survival mode and any initiative has to bring in immediate returns. In addition, the newcomers tended to see the impact of ideas more quickly. This was likely to exacerbate existing inequalities rather than address them as intended. Even appealing to the development committee member to support them, was not successful.

We still feel that the initiative was successful in the light of economic objectives and building capacity. However, the results were very conservative and we have little idea of the inequalities exacerbated, social

networks disturbed and attitudes changed; nor were we aware of the values and politics interfered with in the community.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

Grateful thanks goes to the National Research Foundation and the University of Natal Research Fund for funding that supported this research. Also thanks to the community of Maphephetheni for participating so enthusiastically and to the post-graduate students; Ncamisile Sibisi, Phumla Langa, Bongsi Dube, and Antoinette Motiki.

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