

PPT Working Paper No. 11



**Strategies, Impacts and Costs of
Pro-Poor Tourism Approaches
in South Africa**

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PPT Working Paper Series

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Executive Summary

This paper describes strategies devised by five private sector tourism enterprises in South Africa to address poverty and development issues in neighbouring communities. The enterprises include land-based safari operations, a diving operation, and a large casino-golf resort. Each of the enterprises had been assessed against a number of the country's national Responsible Tourism Guidelines – in relation to economic, social, and environmental impacts. This report details a selection of findings that directly correspond to pro-poor tourism (PPT) – those that relate to providing net benefits to the poor. Both economic and non-economic impacts are discussed.

This paper also reports on the perceptions of the private sector strategies from four of the neighbouring communities, based on a large number of interviews. The range of strategies employed by the private sector, their effectiveness, and the extent to which they address the key problems and constraints faced by the poor are discussed in detail. In this fashion, the paper empirically evaluates the impact that PPT strategies have on the livelihoods of the rural poor.

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Acronyms

AF	African Foundation
AITO	Association of Independent Tour Operators
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DFID	Department For International Development
FEDHASA	Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa
FTTSA	Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GSLWP	Greater St Lucia Wetland Park
ICRT	International Center for Responsible Tourism
HDI	Historically Disadvantaged Individuals
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
KNP	Kruger National Park
KZN	Kwa-Zulu-Natal
NQ	National Qualifications
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PADI	Professional Association of Diving Instructors
PLAAS	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
PNP	Pilanesberg National Park
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RIF	Rural Investment Fund
SACCAWU	South Africa Commercial and Catering Allied Workers Union
SANP	South African National Parks
SAWC	Southern African Wildlife College
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise
SSW	Sabi Sand Wildtuin
STEP	Sustainable Tourism and the Elimination of Poverty
TEP	Tourism Enterprise Programme
THETA	Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

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1. Introduction

1.1 Pro-Poor Tourism

1.1.1 Background to Pro-poor Tourism

The British Department for International Development (DFID) was the first agency to promote the concept of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT), which was successfully placed in the report of the Commission on Sustainable Development in April 1999 (Goodwin and Maynard, 2000). After funding a desk-based review of tourism and poverty – conducted in 1999 by Deloitte and Touche, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) – DFID supported research to review the experience of PPT strategies based on six commissioned case studies. ODI, IIED, and the International Centre for Responsible Tourism at the University of Greenwich (CRT) jointly undertook this work during 2000 and 2001, together with in-country case study collaborators.

The pro-poor approach subsequently received wider support within the World Tourism Organisation's (WTO) paper on poverty alleviation and tourism (WTO, 2002). This report was released at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), which took place in Johannesburg in August-September 2002. The WTO also launched a new research programme called STEP: Sustainable Tourism and the Elimination of Poverty. The programme aims to attract investment for focussed research investigating causal relationships and tourism models that link tourism and poverty alleviation, while also promoting investment in sustainable operations (Pers. Comm. G. Lipman, 2002).

1.1.2 What is Pro-poor Tourism?

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is defined as *tourism that generates net benefits for the poor*, which may be economic, social or environmental. As long as poor people reap *net benefits*, tourism can be classified as 'pro-poor' (even if richer people benefit more than poorer people). The PPT approach focuses on *strategies that enhance benefits to the poor*, and aims to unlock opportunities for the poor, rather than expanding the overall size of the sector (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001). Tourism's potential for being pro-poor lies in four main areas:

- Tourism is a **diverse industry**, which increases the scope for wide participation, including the participation of the informal sector;
- The **customer comes to the product**, which provides considerable opportunities for linkages (e.g. souvenir selling);
- Tourism is **highly dependent upon natural capital** (e.g. wildlife, culture), which are assets that the poor may have access to, even in the absence of financial resources; and
- Tourism can be more **labour intensive** than such industries as manufacturing. In comparison to other modern sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits (e.g. jobs, informal trade opportunities) go to women (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001).

However, there are a number of factors that have been identified as key to determining whether or not the poor are able to take advantage of livelihood benefits offered by tourism opportunities (Renard, Darcheville and Krishnarayan, 2001).

- **Success depends on where you are.** Tourism amenities and activities are not evenly distributed geographically, and the physical conditions of access constitute a barrier for many. Opportunities for the development and marketing of activities tend to be constrained where there is a significant distance between the clientele and the product.
- **Success depends on who you are.** Important decisions are usually not made by poor people or by those who seek to develop pro-poor policies and programmes. Most of the critical decisions that affect the sector tend to be made outside of the country, or by a few powerful local interests. Except on rare occasions, processes of public policy formulation are not adequately participatory.
- **Success depends on what you have.** The ability to enter the sector and to create employment and income-generating opportunities is based on the availability of financial or physical assets. Poor people are constrained by the absence of assets, and by the difficulties they face in accessing and using common property assets.
- **Success depends on what you know.** Efforts to participate in the industry are hampered by a lack of understanding of how the industry functions. In the absence of an adequate understanding of the manner in which this complex sector operates, the current status quo is unlikely to change.

This report expands on the PPT research and analysis implemented to date. Specifically, this analysis addresses the strategies, impacts and costs of pro-poor approaches of a number of different types of enterprise promoting *responsible* business practice in South Africa. The use of the terminology ‘responsible’ rather than ‘pro-poor’ relates to the policy background in South Africa, which is outlined in the next section.

1.2 Policy Context for Pro-Poor Tourism in South Africa

1.2.1 *The end of apartheid*

The first democratic elections took place in South Africa in 1994. In the post-apartheid period, policy and programmes have been primarily geared towards eliminating the legacies of inequitable governance, which discriminated between the benefits and rights available to people on the basis of race. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 provides the basis for the empowerment of historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs) and transformation, by:

- Prohibiting discrimination on such grounds as race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin; culture, belief and language unless the discrimination is fair; and
- Providing for affirmative action, to advance people who have been disadvantaged.

Policies developed subsequently are based within this legal and political context, which recognises the need to alleviate poverty and create the conditions for sustainable economic development.

1.2.2 *Tourism policy*

The vision of the government’s Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is to manage tourism in the interests of sustainable development in such a way that it contributes to the improvement of the quality of life of all South Africans. This is to be achieved by integrating tourism growth with sound environmental management, and by linking job creation, rural development and poverty alleviation (Matlou, 2001).

DEAT published the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* in 1996. The White Paper acknowledges that tourism had largely been a missed opportunity for South Africa in the past, but could provide an, ‘...engine of growth, capable of dynamising and rejuvenating other sectors of the economy.’ The White Paper calls on government, the private sector, NGOs and communities to play a role in developing the industry. Communities particularly are called upon to (DEAT, 1996):

- identify potential tourism resources and attractions;
- exploit opportunities for tourism training and awareness, finance and incentives for tourism development;
- seek partnership opportunities with the established tourism private sector;
- participate in all aspects of tourism, including being tourists; and
- support and promote responsible tourism and sustainable development.

The White Paper promotes the development of responsible and sustainable tourism – which includes the fundamental premise that communities should be involved in and benefit from tourism (DEAT, 1996). Subsequently, the 1997 report *Tourism in GEAR* (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) sets forth a consolidated strategy and framework to implement the 1996 White Paper. It emphasises that tourism should be *government led, private sector driven, community based, and labour conscious*, and suggests that entrepreneurship and community shareholding in tourism should be aggressively promoted. The document also promotes the sustainable management of natural and cultural resources in relation to socio-economic impacts of tourism. The publication of *Tourism in GEAR* was aligned to a more general shift towards global neo-liberal economic policy within South Africa: as a macro-economic policy framework, GEAR contrasted sharply with its predecessor, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was the hallmark of the African National Congress (ANC) when it came to power.

In March 2002, following a 12-month participation and research process supported by DFID, DEAT published a set of national *Responsible Tourism Guidelines*. The guidelines include a series of quantified targets for the tourism sector to aim for, as a means of addressing the aims of the 1996 White Paper in relation to the triple bottom line of sustainable development (economic, environmental, and social sustainability). In terms of prioritising opportunities for local communities, three of the guidelines urge the private sector to (DEAT, 2002a):

- Develop partnerships and joint ventures in which communities have a significant stake and, with appropriate capacity building, a substantial role in management. Such partnerships should take note that communal land ownership can provide equity in enterprises.
- Buy locally made goods and use locally provided services from locally owned businesses wherever quality, quantity, and consistency permits. Monitor the proportion of goods and services the enterprise sources from businesses within 50 km and set a 20 per cent target for improvement over three years.
- Recruit and employ staff in an equitable and transparent manner and maximise the proportion of staff employed from the local community. Set targets for increasing the proportion of staff and/or of the enterprise wage bill going to communities within 20 km of the enterprise.

Tourism has been identified as one of South Africa's top five economic contributors (DEAT, 2002b). The government's environment minister, Valli Moosa, at the launch of the guidelines, highlighted the importance of responsible tourism in South Africa:

‘Responsible tourism is about enabling local communities to enjoy a better quality of life, through increased socio-economic benefits and an improved environment. It is also about

providing exciting holiday experiences for tourists, and stimulating business opportunities for tourism enterprises. Responsible tourism must become the key guiding principle for tourism development in South Africa. Government, the private sector and communities are working together to practice tourism responsibly, and the guidelines provide the mechanisms through which this can be realised'. (DEAT, 2002c)

Furthermore, the government amended legislation to promote access by 'historically disadvantaged individuals' (HDIs) to training opportunities as tourist guides (Tourism Second Amendment Act No. 70 of 2000). The amendment recognises the value of indigenous knowledge, which can now be used (like formal education) as a basis for becoming a registered field guide (Moosa, 2000).

1.2.3 Tourism programmes

Since the publication of the 1996 White Paper, a series of government and parastatal led programmes have promoted involvement of the poor and HDIs in tourism development:

- **Poverty Relief Programme:** Administered from within DEAT, this programme aims to manage and administer poverty relief proposals and spin-off projects in the tourism and environment sectors. The Programme focuses on infrastructure investment and new product development, which are channelled towards emerging tourism growth points and corridors. The Poverty Relief Programme aims to create long-term sustainable work opportunities by encouraging and supporting communities to provide better services either directly to tourists or to tourism businesses.¹
- **Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP):** TEP provides advice and expertise to new entrants into the tourism commercial sector. The programme, which is funded by the Business Trust, has made R66 million (~ US\$7.6 million)² available over four years to facilitate the development of small and medium-sized tourism businesses (DEAT, 2000).
- **Tourism Learnerships and National Qualifications (NQ):** Spearheaded by the government's Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority (THETA), Learnerships are basically 'apprenticeships' that provide HDIs with structured learning and performance-monitored workplace experience (THETA, 2000). NQs allow for assessment of skills in the workplace and the award of qualifications for work done competently. NQs are of especial value to those people who are illiterate, or cannot speak English, as they provide for assessment of physical / practical ability to undertake tasks that learners are trained for.
- **Responsible Tourism:** Following the launch of the Responsible Tourism Guidelines, DEAT financed the production of a Responsible Tourism Manual. Specific to South Africa, and in line with current international best practice, the manual provides a range of practical and cost-effective responsible actions available to tourism businesses and tourism associations (Spenceley, *et al*, 2002b).
- DEAT also supported (among others) a '**Responsible Tourism in Destinations**' conference – a parallel event to the WSSD. The conference, held in Cape Town during August 2002, practically explored how responsible tourism could work better for visitors, local communities and businesses alike. The conference culminated in the production of the 'Cape Town Declaration', committing participants, including DEAT, to implement South Africa's national responsible tourism guidelines and to review developments in other destinations.³
- **Fair Trade:** Market leadership through PPT operations may also be rewarded and incentivised through the use of the new Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) brand and

¹ DEAT, 2001 – for example and a discussion see Phumlani Lodge case study in Spenceley, 2002.

² On 16 December 2002, US\$1 = R8.73

³ Cape Town Declaration, 2002

accompanying trademark, which provides an independent hallmark of fairly traded and operated business.⁴

1.3 Business incentives for Pro-Poor Tourism in South Africa

In addition to increasing international demand from consumers for responsible tourism products, there are an increasing number of tangible incentives for the private sector in South Africa to operate responsibly, and in ways that benefits the poor:

- **Planning gain:** In a move towards financial self-sufficiency, South African National Parks (SANParks), has initiated a commercialisation process that allows SANParks to grant concessionaires rights to use defined areas of land and infrastructure within National Parks with the opportunity to build and operate tourism facilities over a specific time period (SANParks, 2001). Tender processes require that prospective concessionaires submit empowerment bids along with their financial offers. These have to include information regarding how the concessionaire intends to promote the economic empowerment of HDIs and the promotion and provision of business opportunities to emerging entrepreneurs (in particular those from local communities adjacent to national parks).⁵ Similarly, planning gain has been used by some provincial conservation authorities to promote accessibility to the tourism market by the poor (e.g. equity in companies for the poor neighbouring Rocktail Bay and Ndumo in KwaZulu Natal, Poultney and Spenceley, 2001; Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise linkages in the Manyeleti Game Reserve in Limpopo, Mahony and van Zyl, 2001). Within the casino licensing concessioning process, provincial government authorities similarly required that developers submit empowerment proposals regarding the numbers of local and HDI employees.
- **Access to finance:** the private sector can exploit sources of finance geared towards pro-poor tourism development – such as the Poverty Relief Programme discussed above. These funds can be used to finance tourism infrastructure development, and can be linked to additional support from the TEP to finance training of HDIs. In addition the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) has developed guidelines to assist the DBSA in the evaluation of responsible tourism project proposals, which are submitted in search of financial support.
- **Good neighbour relationships** (Mahony and van Zyl, 2001): Investors in rural South Africa are beginning to recognise the need to ensure a flow of benefits to neighbouring communities, as it makes commercial sense to have good relationships with adjacent communities. Frequently, companies adopt a ‘corporate social responsibility’ approach to community benefits, which typically takes the form of investments into schools, clinics, water and sanitation, bursaries and the like. While such efforts are commendable, it is important to base the empowerment of local communities on their contribution to tourism related transactions (e.g. land).
- **Marketing incentives:** The Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa (FEDHASA) has produced a sub-set of responsible tourism guidelines for the hospitality sector, and has also re-launched its environmental award as the Imvelo ‘Responsible Tourism’ awards. The awards pay tribute to members of the industry implementing sustainable economic, social and environmental programmes. In response to a campaign by FEDHASA, 76 enterprises signed a Statement of Intent to implement responsible tourism. In 2002 the 14 Imvelo finalists were showcased at a ceremony co-hosted by FEDHASA and the WSSD Greening Initiative immediately prior to the WSSD. Phinda Private Game Reserve took the title of overall winner – and was chosen for having made the most positive overall impact across the triple bottom line.

⁴ For more information on FTSA see www.fairtourismsa.org.za. FTSA expects to announce the first branded products in early 2003. The FTSA Trademark programme is funded by DFID’s Business Linkages Challenge Fund (BLCF).

⁵ SANParks 2000a.andb – see Spenceley 2002b for more details

2. Case study sites

2.1 Choice of study sites

In order to explore strategies, impacts and costs of PPT approaches in South Africa, five private sector tourism enterprises were reviewed⁶. They represented a variety of products, source markets, land tenure contexts, capacities, and policies in relation to pro-poor strategies. The types of product also varied, and included a scuba diving operation; luxury and mid-range photographic safari lodges; and a casino and golfing resort⁷:

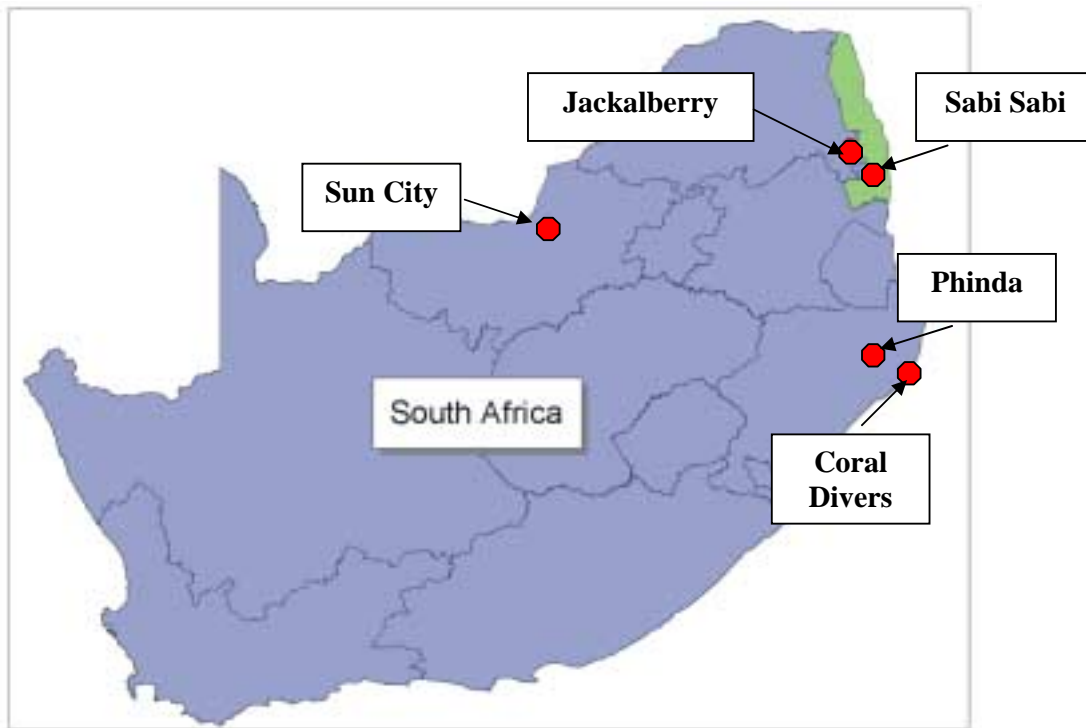
- Case Study 1: Coral Divers, KwaZulu Natal (diving operation)
- Case Study 2: Jackalberry Lodge, Limpopo (safari operation)
- Case Study 3: Phinda Resources Reserve, KwaZulu Natal (safari operation)
- Case Study 4: Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve, Mpumalanga (safari operation)
- Case Study 5: Sun City, North West province (casino and golf resort)

The locations of the five operations assessed are shown in Figure 1. In all five cases, enterprise performance in relation to the triple bottom line of sustainability – economic, social and environmental – was assessed. The five enterprises were evaluated using a previously prepared comparative methodological framework, which addressed a selection of the National Responsible Tourism Guidelines. This framework was utilised to ensure consistency between the studies and the production of comparable data and reports that would allow the performance of the operations to be transparently assessed and compared. Therefore pro-poor approaches were reviewed in the context of an overall holistic framework. The results of the assessments that were relevant to socio-economic impacts and poverty alleviation are reported here, while environmental aspects are reported elsewhere.⁸

⁶ Each of the enterprises was assessed during 2001 and 2002 to determine their uptake and implementation of responsible tourism practice. Both Coral Divers and Jackalberry Lodge were used as case studies to assess the practical implementation of the South African Responsible Tourism Guidelines. Phinda, Sabi Sabi and Sun City were all finalists for the place of 'overall winner' in FEDHASA's 2002 Imvelo Awards, and were formally assessed by the two authors in relation to the Responsible Tourism Guidelines. Jackalberry Lodge and Sabi Sabi were also subject to Sustainable Tourism Assessment during 2001 as part of doctoral research by the first author (Spenceley 2002 c and d). Additional information, regarding the perceptions of people from communities surrounding Phinda, was extracted from a master's thesis (Currie 2001).

⁷ The contact details for each enterprise can be found at the end of this report.

⁸ www.nri.org/NRET/nret.htm

Figure 1: Locations of the five study sites

2.2 Case Study 1: Coral Divers, KwaZulu Natal

Coral Divers is a privately owned scuba diving enterprise located in the provincial conservation authority's Sodwana Bay. Sodwana Bay lies within the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park (GSLWP), a World Heritage Site located in KwaZulu-Natal. Coral Divers offer scuba diving trips for guests to the coral reefs that lie within Sodwana Bay and also training courses through PADI (Professional Association of Diving Instructors), ranging from beginner to instructor levels. A total of 150 beds are offered, ranging from safari tents to luxury en-suite huts, and incorporating catered or self-catering options. Prices vary from R90 to R228 (~US\$10 to \$26) per bed night, and a mixture of domestic and foreign tourists frequent the enterprise (Spenceley, 2002a).

The Mbila Tribal Authority neighbours the reserve and consists of an estimated 20-25,000 inhabitants (Spenceley, 2002a). Some of the local residents have developed informal sector tourism operations, such as making and selling curios, cleaning diving equipment and doing domestic work for visitors to the nearby provincial conservation authority (Enzemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife) campsite (Spenceley and Bell, 2002). An estimated 20 per cent of the total local population is employed.

2.3 Case Study 2: Jackalberry Lodge, Limpopo

Jackalberry Lodge is one of the privately owned safari lodges within the Thornybush Game Reserve in Limpopo Province. The reserve consists of aggregated and contiguous privately owned game farms incorporated under a common constitution. The reserve is divided into northern and southern management areas, but is managed as a whole for wildlife and biodiversity conservation, which are promoted as a tourist attraction. Jackalberry lodge offers 10 beds at nightly rates of between R1,650

and R,1950 (~US\$189 and \$223) per bed night, and operates photographic safari tours catering mainly for foreign tourists (Relly with Koch, 2002). The managers of the lodge also diversify their revenue streams by occasionally offering hunting packages, and by breeding tuberculosis-free buffalo for live sales (Spenceley, 2002a).

To the south of the reserve lies the Timbavati Community – a poor rural community of around 11,200 people located within the Mnisi Tribal Authority. Despite lying adjacent to private game reserves, and along one of the main access routes to Kruger National Park, the community has made little progress in promoting economic development based on local tourism potential. There is a very low estimated employment rate of 3 per cent in women and 15 per cent in men (Spenceley, 2002c).

2.4 Case Study 3: Phinda Resources Reserve, KwaZulu Natal

Phinda Private Game Reserve is a privately owned reserve that is part of the Conservation Corporation Africa (CCAfrica) group of lodges. Phinda covers an area of approximately 15,000 hectares and is situated between Mkhuze game reserve to the north and the Mzinene river to the south. The land was taken as degraded farmland in 1991, and was rehabilitated and restocked with wildlife to provide a tourism attraction.

Four luxury lodges offering varying experiences have been developed on the reserve: Rock, Forest, Mountain and Vlei, offering a total of 96 beds at prices ranging between US\$300-475 per night. Wildlife conservation activities on the reserve have been so successful that Phinda has sold live cheetah and buffalo to restock other reserves and parks in the region.

Rural poverty in the tribal areas neighbouring the reserve is extensive, and Phinda has promoted a series of health, educational and entrepreneurial initiatives locally, in addition to sponsoring a number of conservation research programmes. Phinda has three neighbouring communities: Nibela, Mngobokazi and Makasa. Census data compiled by Currie (2001) noted that Makasa had a population of 7,996 and Mngobokazi had a population of 5,753 in 1996. Unemployment levels in individual communities in the area can be as high as 77 per cent, and illiteracy levels for the study area are about 30 per cent (Currie, 2001).

2.5 Case Study 4: Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve, Mpumalanga

Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve lies within the Sabi Sand Wildtuin (SSW) – a reserve that covers approximately 57,000 hectares (750 km²), and lies adjacent to the Kruger National Park (KNP). The SSW is comprised of about 48 unfenced farms with different landowners. A number of upmarket lodges, private camps, and residences are located in the reserve. The SSW is overseen by a consortium of local landowners, which is governed by a constitution whose objectives include the promotion, conservation and protection of wildlife, fauna and flora within the reserve (Spenceley, 2002d).

Sabi Sabi has three lodges on its property – Bush, Earth and Selati – each offering a different experience for guests through different styles of architecture and volume of available beds. In all, the lodge offers 92 beds at nightly rates of R3700 to R9500 (~US\$424 to \$1,088) for different standards of room. Guests are taken on photographic safari tours in open-top land rovers, and may do bush walks and visit hides on the property. The majority of guests are from Europe (~40 per cent) but with a significant proportion of African visitors (~25 per cent) (Spenceley, 2002d).

The Huntingdon community lies to the west of the reserve. It is a poor rural community of around 6,500 people lying within the Khosa Tribal Authority. There is a low level of employment (35 per cent in women and 40 per cent in men, Mhlongo, 2001), the main source of employment being the lodges within the SSW (Spenceley, 2002d).

2.6 Case Study 5: Sun City, North West Province

Sun City is a casino and golf resort located next to the Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) in the North West Province. Sun City was founded in 1980 under the then 'independent' homeland of Bophuthatswana, with an emphasis on the domestic gaming market. In the late 1990s Sun City promoted itself as a business and family resort, with an emphasis on golf, conferencing, shopping, timeshare, fine dining and a wave pool claimed to rival the country's beaches.

Sun International owns and manages all components of the resort and benefits from traversing rights within PNP. The resort offers a range of rooms in various accommodation precincts which are connected by a good road network and internal transport system (buses and trams): (1) The Palace of the Lost City (338 deluxe five-star rooms and suites); (2) Cascades (243 five-star rooms and suites); (3) Sun City Hotel (340 five-star rooms and suites); (4) Cabanas (380 four-star rooms); and (5) Vacation Club (234 timeshare units) (KPMG, 2001). Guests enjoy shopping, eating and entertainment provided by 52 concessionaires (two-thirds of which are franchisees). Prices range from R1125 to R3905 (~US\$129 to \$447) per room night.

Sun City and PNP were established on land that was alienated during 1979-1980 from several Batswana 'tribes' including the Bakgatla ba Kgafela, the Royal Bafokeng and the Bakubung. The first two groups enjoy rights to significant quantities of minerals (platinum, gold) and land; the Bakubung, in contrast, are extremely poor and rely largely on their immediate neighbour Sun City for employment. The Bakubung centre of Ledig is home to about 10,000 people, only about a third of whom are currently employed following a series of retrenchments at the resort as well as the contraction of local industry under the post-apartheid political dispensation.⁹

⁹ The 1996 census indicates that 51,7 % of the population in the Moses Kotane Municipality has jobs, while 48,3% are 'unemployed and looking for work. Of a total of 49,131 households surveyed by the 1996 Census, 8,472 indicated that they had no cash income, and a further 24,141 recorded an annual income of less than R 18,000; in other words, 66,34% of households have a monthly income of less than R1,500. Ledig is one of the poorest communities in the area.

3. Pro-Poor Tourism Strategies and Impacts

Each of the enterprises assessed was clearly aware of the need for their commercial operations to benefit local poor people. This is illustrated by the comments in Box 1.

Box 1: Awareness of the importance of pro-poor approaches by the enterprises

‘Responsible Tourism is an area that needs to be addressed, not only to make ourselves more marketable, but also to create a healthier environment in which to operate by uplifting the local community and looking after our natural resources’.

Stuart Roberts, General Manager, Coral Divers (Spenceley, Roberts and Myeni, 2002)

‘...By assisting and/or empowering [*disadvantaged communities*] . . . they will have a vested interest in protecting the reserve and . . . view the reserve as an asset to their region . . . it is a chance to give something back to our immediate neighbours who see little or no benefit from the reserves to the north.’

Kevin Godding, General Manager Jackalberry Lodge

‘In the future Sabi Sabi plans ever-increasing cooperation with neighbouring governments and communities; these communities have already benefited from their association with Sabi Sabi as far as employment and income-deriving activities such as arts and crafts are concerned. In addition, bursary schemes for the training of black rangers and ongoing development for the supply of natural resources to Sabi Sabi’s bordering communities, are planned. In this way pressures on the reserves will be reduced, until a harmonious existence between game reserves and rural communities is achieved.’

Extract from Sabi Sabi Policy and Procedures manual¹⁰

‘We believe that Africa's heritage of wild land and animals should be recognised as the continent's most precious natural resource, because the rewards of wildlife and nature conservation can be reaped sustainably through multi-use tourism benefiting not only travellers, but also the land, rural communities and indeed the world.’

Extract from the CC Africa Charter(2002)

‘The objective of Sun City's Corporate Social Investment programme is to work hand in hand with the community to contribute towards the improvement of the quality of their lives and towards the socio-economic development of this region.’

Daniel Ntsala, Social Equity Manager, Sun City Resort

A variety of pro-poor strategies have been used by the five enterprises, which have elicited both, economic and non-economic impacts on their neighbours. These strategies and impacts are detailed in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

3.1 Economic Strategies and Impacts

The pro-poor strategies illustrated by the enterprises that focussed on **economic impacts** included:

- *Employment opportunities* – with wage and dividend benefits for men and women, and access to training for employees.
- *Business opportunities* – through sales of products or provision of services to the enterprises and their guests, and other support of enterprise development with materials or training relating to the operation of the tourism enterprise.

¹⁰ Sabi Game Lodge (1998), 91

- *Cash and material donations* – to support community infrastructure development and local services.

3.1.1 Employment opportunities

Table 1 summarises the levels of local employment at each enterprise. It shows that they all have relatively high levels of local employment ranging from 32 to 80 per cent of their permanent staff complement, and accounting for 35 to 75 per cent of the total wage bill. The number of people from within the local area directly supported by these wages ranges between an estimated 91 (Jackalberry Lodge) and a staggering 10,624 (Sun City). The enterprises generally exhibit a bias towards employing more men than women.

Table 1: Levels of local employment

	Proportion of staff employed from the local area (within 50 km or 20 km)	Proportion of wage bill going to local people	Estimated number of direct and indirect beneficiaries locally*	Proportion of men and women employed
1. Coral Divers (2001)^a	64% permanent staff from within 20 km (of 55 perm. 4 temp.) 2 apprenticeships p/a for local people proposed 22% skippers local	44.9% wage bill and 22% total guiding bill within 20 km	259 – 296	49% male, 51% female Training given to 72% male staff and 48% female staff
2. Jackalberry^b	32% staff resident within 20 km (of 41 perm. 6 temp.)	Unknown, but 68.3% of staff were HDIs earning 41.7% of the wage bill	91 – 104	71% male, 29% female (perm. staff – but excluding farm employees is 57% male, 43% female) Training to 14% staff, all male during 2001 83% promotions to males
3. Phinda^c	~80% of permanent staff from local population (of 248 staff)	70-75% of the total wage bill	1,400 – 1,600	60% male, 40% female. Training is ad hoc.
4. Sabi Sabi^d	76% permanent staff from within 20 km (of 184 staff) ¹ / ₃ staff are from the closest village of Huntingdon	70% wage bill to local people. 50% of ranger wages and 100% tracker wages to local people	980 – 1,120**	54% male, 46% female 100% rangers trained by company
5. Sun City^e	Estimated that 66% of permanent staff are from within 20 km (of 2,012 employees)	35% of total wage bill (which was R234 million (~US\$27 million) in last financial year)	9,296 – 10,624	55% male, 45% female. Training provided to 1,200 staff during the last financial year (gender breakdown unknown)

* Assuming that 1 employee supports 7-8 people

** An estimated 460 villagers in Huntingdon are supported by Sabi Sabi employees

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001, b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b, d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, e) Seif and Spenceley, 2002

The **wage levels** provided to employees vary within and between the enterprises. Sabi Sabi offers a better wage (between R1,525 and R2,835 {~US\$175 and \$325} per month) than many similar operations and was reportedly the first enterprise in the industry to agree to a minimum wage with unions (Spenceley, 2002d). At the time of assessment, the minimum wage at Sun City was R2,650 (~US\$304) per month. This was expected to increase to about R2,870 (US\$329) per month following wage negotiations with the union, SACCAWU (South Africa Commercial and Catering Allied Workers Union) – a remuneration package that is extremely high for the area (Seif and Spenceley, 2002).

Employee benefits are not only limited to wages. At Jackalberry Lodge, staff obtain 2 kg meat rations per week, (Relly with Koch, 2002) and at Sabi Sabi staff receive meat from allocated culled impala each year (Spenceley and Seif, 2002a). In addition, interest free loans are available to staff at Sabi Sabi for education and building houses. They also get medical aid, a pension fund, uniforms, housing, meals and gratuities from guests (Spenceley and Seif, 2002a). Staff at Phinda receive similar benefits in addition to medical treatment such as HIV/AIDS medication for affected staff (Spenceley and Seif, 2002b). At Jackalberry Lodge, 2.5 per cent of turnover is annually shared among staff employees, in order to encourage them to relate the success of the business with their own financial reward (Relly with Koch, 2002). All employees at Sun City receive annual leave, access to the company or union provident fund and an option for medical aid (Seif and Spenceley, 2002).

The **recruitment mechanisms** used by companies to recruit new staff have a substantial impact on access by the poor to information regarding employment opportunities. With regard to low-level positions, at Coral Divers, Phinda and Jackalberry Lodge, existing staff are informed that a job opening is available, and are asked to spread the word. Family and friends apply for the position, and obtain work. People applying directly to the enterprises on an ad-hoc basis are also considered. At Coral Divers this policy has led to over 33 per cent of the permanent staff coming from one family – the Zikhali family (Spenceley *et al*, 2002c). This indicates that employment opportunities are not equitably or equally distributed throughout the local community. However, at Sabi Sabi vacancies are initially posted internally, and promoted through external advertising and word of mouth through staff. Psychometric testing is employed to ensure that candidates are suitable for positions. As a result 71 families are represented within the staff complement, with only 7.6 per cent of staff originating from the dominant Khosa and Sibuyi families (Spenceley, 2002d). When Phinda was started in 1991, the company preferentially employed people who turned up at the gate without transport, using this as a measure of locality. Today Phinda recruits general staff primarily through word of mouth and the employee grapevine (Spenceley and Seif, 2002b).

The demand for local employees from Jackalberry Lodge, and other tourism enterprises near to Thornybush Game Reserve has led to the general manager's suggestion to the local Mnisi Tribal Authority that they could create a community-based employment agency. If developed, this would have the potential to incorporate students from the nearby Southern African Wildlife College (SAWC) who had been educated in tourism and game farming. This strategy would solve a problem faced by the majority of lodges in the area, namely that existing formal recruitment agencies only have highly skilled staff on their books. If new semi-skilled employees are required by lodges the 'bush telegraph' is the only practical solution currently available for finding them (Spenceley, 2002c).

An earlier study of Wilderness Safaris operations highlights a recruitment strategy that promotes equitable local access to employment opportunities. At Rocktail Bay Lodge, the lodge manager approaches the local community leaders (*izInduna*) of two villages regarding candidates. The Induna puts the names of interested villagers in a hat, and then draws a selection at random. Subsequently the lodge manager interviews those chosen, and the most suitable person is selected.

This policy has led to a situation where 24 of the 29 staff are employed from the local villages of Mqobela or Ngwanase (~83 per cent). The system had significant implications for the distribution of wage and training benefits to small proportions of the rural poor. It also had fundamental impacts on the level of power held by certain families and groups (e.g. traditional leaders) within the staff complement and the wider community, as accessibility to employment opportunities was not dependent on an individual's social status (Spenceley, 2001).

Enterprise use of **sub-contractors with preferential local employment policies** can also be economically important in poor areas. For example, Sabi Sabi utilises the services of an environmental management company, Enviroserve, to operate the habitat and safari management on the reserve. Through this outsourcing the lodge directly supports the livelihoods of a further 150 local people employed by Enviroserve (Spenceley, 2000d).

Interestingly, the **employment of local people has knock on benefits** for enterprises in terms of the stability of their staff complement. It appears that local staff retain their employment with enterprises for longer periods of time than non-local staff. Local staff from the impoverished rural areas tend to be black and historically disadvantaged in terms of educational opportunities, employment and training. Therefore when employment is obtained, and in the previous absence of work-based training and qualification programmes, people tend to stay with their employer due to a lack of opportunity to work elsewhere, and due to local family ties. Non-local staff, on the other hand, tend to be educated, predominantly white people from major cities or abroad. They usually lack close family ties in the area and may have better opportunities to further their careers by moving to other companies after a couple of years (as was observed at Coral Divers, Sabi Sabi and Jackalberry Lodge).

3.1.2 Business opportunities

A range of business opportunities have been made available to local poor people by the five enterprises. The level of local purchasing by tourism enterprises of products and services was ascertained and is reported in Table 2. This also details the level of procurement from Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and HDI companies.

The responsible tourism approach endorsed by DEAT encourages enterprises to report on and increase the level of local and BEE/HDI purchasing. The information presented in Table 2 therefore reflects the baseline level, from which enterprises are expected to improve towards the national guideline to source 20 per cent of all purchases within 50 km. The table shows that although none of the enterprises exhibited even moderate levels of purchasing locally made goods, some were purchasing items from local retail outlets. Local purchasing was most significant in relation to total purchase expenditure at Phinda.

Large enterprises, such as Sun City, can have considerable 'muscle' in the local area with major purchasing budgets (R120 million {~US\$14 million} p/a). This creates considerable potential economic impact for poor local communities – provided that small enterprises can be nurtured and supported.

While there may currently be limited local purchasing, use of local services appears to be more common, with Sabi Sabi sourcing 65 per cent of its services from the local area. Records of procurement from BEE and HDI companies were more difficult to verify, since enterprises seldom maintained records of whether suppliers were or were not HDI-owned.

Table 2: Levels of local procurement of products and services by tourism enterprises

	Local Products made within 50 km	Local Products purchased within 50 km	Local Services within 50 km	Local Products made/purchased from HDIs, or BEE
1. Coral Divers (2001)^a	1.1% expenditure 100% crafts bought made within 20 km (but low volumes)	23.1% expenditure	1.9% of total expenditure on local vehicle maintenance, taxis and kit hire	6.6% expenditure 100% local services procured from BEE companies
2. Jackalberry^b	0.2% expenditure 0% crafts purchased within 20 km	59.6% of purchases	38.3% of services sourced locally (<50 km)	0.2% expenditure
3. Phinda^c	Craftwork from Ilala weavers, and made by poor, rural women in the area. Organic food purchased is grown nearby at False Bay.	45-50% of expenditure on goods including fruit, vegetables, fish, and organic product purchased from within 50 km.	10% of services sourced within 50 km, including maintenance	Electricians and other maintenance companies; brick-making SMME and Ilala Weavers
4. Sabi Sabi^d	0%, but new contract to purchase safari clothing from local BEE company – and will be 5% of all curio purchases Staff may make craft to sell in the shop if quality is sufficient ¹¹	5.3% expenditure (fruit, vegetables, coffee, flowers)	65% services sourced <50 km – gardening, laundry, dance troupes. Dance troupes of 12-16 dancers perform 1-2 x p/w and are paid R7-800 (~US\$80-92) per performance ¹²	Gardening and laundry are outsourced to BEE companies. Approximately 1/3 all curio stock from BEE companies.
5. Sun City^e	Local vegetable purchases from the hydroponics farm, of about R28,000 (~US\$3207) per annum.	5.6% of goods purchased from within 50 km (of R120 million {US\$14 million} total annual spend)	12.1% of services sourced from within 50km (of R120 million {US\$14 million} total annual spend). Bulk of expenditure on laundry and cleaning.	Hydroponics SMME Boston laundry

Sources: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001, b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b, d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, e) Seif and Spenceley, 2002

Factors influencing the level of local procurement include commercial issues such as availability, quality, cost, variety, reliability, and service – all-important to commercial tourism enterprises. In impoverished rural areas neighbouring the enterprises, the poor face considerable difficulties in providing services and products that meet the expectations of the private sector. These may include:

- **Transport** – Poor quality of roads and unreliable vehicles;
- **Information** – Lack of information within the community regarding the operational needs of tourism enterprises, due to minimal interaction between the stakeholders;
- **Publicity** – Local skills and products may not be suitably publicised to enterprises – and therefore formal sector operations may be unaware of their availability;
- **Finance** – Lack of access to capital to secure loans to initiate or expand businesses.

¹¹ Spenceley, 2002d

¹² Spenceley, 2002d

However, even low levels of demand for local produce can be significant. For example there was a demand for locally produced fresh produce (e.g. fruit, vegetables, bread and milk) at Coral Divers, due to its remote location and transportation time from major centres. Maintaining or increasing this demand would lead to greater job security for those working for local suppliers. For example, four enterprises used by Coral employ a total of 203 people, and on average 89 per cent of the staff employed were local (Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni 2001). Similarly, there are a large number of local small businesses, crafters and cultural tourism projects that could be supported by the Jackalberry Lodge. However, this would require a support programme to help identify opportunities and to make local suppliers known to lodge management (Relly with Koch, 2002). Similar interest in a support programme was expressed by management at both Phinda and Sun City. This assessment actually prompted Sun City's Concessionaire Manager to begin thinking about how to improve local purchasing, for example by raising this issue at the regular Concessionaires' Meetings and by undertaking an audit of goods available locally (Seif and Spenceley, 2002).

Craft made from natural resources, or from waste, can provide the rural poor with the opportunity to sell unique, locally made products to tourism enterprises. Phinda's upmarket craft outlets feature woven pots and beaded gifts from nearby Ilala weavers, as well as handmade items produced under the LOSA (London-South Africa) Initiative, which matches British designers with rural craftswomen to create trendy home fashions.¹³ The majority of craftwork within Sabi Sabi's curio shop is made by BEE companies and HDIs, although none are located within 50 km. The products include high quality fabric dolls, lead-wood animal carvings (see Plate 1 in separate file), beaded items and woven pots. The manager of Coral Divers noted that:

' There is good possibility to develop a craft retail outlet at Coral where suitable crafts and curios could be sold. The profit generated when the project gets large enough could be used to employ a local person to run it with guidance from Coral Divers. Guest's feedback and Coral's input would ensure that new ideas are developed and quality control feedback is given to the manufacturers. The situation of curios made from indigenous trees on an unsustainable basis could be monitored as it is a serious threat to local forests. Encouragement could be given to locals to manufacture from pine that is sustainable, available and abundant in this area.' (Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001)

Coral had already been working with local craftswomen at a nearby market to promote new products that could be used at Coral – such as woven lampshades (see Plate 1). These women were often the sole wage earner in the family, using the money for basic food supplies, clothing and children's school fees (Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001).

In relation to local services, Coral Divers preferentially employ the services of local taxi drivers (Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001). The company actually subsidises two local taxi owners to bring backpackers from Hluhluwe town – 100 km away from Sodwana. At Sabi Sabi, a group of 12-16 local dancers performs cultural (Shangaan) dancing for guests once or twice a week at dinners and bush braais. The groups are paid R700 to R800 (~US\$80-\$92) for the performance and come from Mkhushlu – a village around 20 km from Huntingdon (Spenceley, 2002d).

Tourism enterprises can also make an impact by encouraging their guests to buy locally produced goods from poor people. Efforts made by enterprises to promote local expenditure by tourists are summarised in Table 3. It indicates that most of the enterprises work to promote some local trips where guests have the opportunity to spend money for products and attractions that directly benefit the rural poor.

¹³ Information on LOSA can be obtained by contacting Siyazisiza Trust at tel +27 (0)11 883 7407 / fax (0)11 783 8395. A website is currently being constructed.

Table 3: Levels of local procurement of products and services by guests

	Encouragement by for guests to buy locally	Local Services within 50 km	Local Products purchased within 50 km	Organised Trips
1. Coral Divers^a	Recommendation to use local diving kit-cleaners on beach	Dive kit-cleaners, girls making hair ties (individual entrepreneurs). Usual fee paid by 6 guests was R10 (~US\$1) for kit clean	Craft from Sanlam Ubumbano Craft Market. Average local spend by 9 guests was R157 (~US\$18) on food and curios	-
2. Jackalberry^b	-	-	Estimates of R56 (~US\$6) guest/night in curio shop R59 (~US\$7) guest/night on drinks	-
3. Phinda^c	Local excursions advertised as 'Phinda Adventures' during guest orientation.	Dumazulu-Bushlands Zulu cultural village	Craft from Ilala Weavers.	Community trips can be organised to visit Phinda's social investment projects.
4. Sabi Sabi^d	Trips to attractions promoted by rangers to guests.	Balloon and helicopter flights. Dinner and cultural entertainment at Shangana Cultural Village	Craft from Shangana Cultural Village. Approximately 6 trips per month	Organised on request to local attractions (e.g. Shangana Cultural Village; Lillydale Environmental Centre) Approximately 2-3 trips per month
5. Sun City^e	Welcome Centre and concierge desks provide information to guests on demand but tend to recommend trips further afield.	Shebeen tours	Craft market at PNP's Manyane Gate; Craft Planet project produces soft furnishings from old linen donated by the resort	Trips can be organised to suit client's needs but emphasis is on more 'established' attractions which are roughly 100-120 km away

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni (2001), b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif 2002b, d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, e) Seif and Spenceley, 2002.

The five enterprises all demonstrated direct support for local small and medium-sized enterprise (SMME) development – in both the product and service sectors. Their approaches are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Types of support for local SMME development

	Product development	Service development
1. Coral Divers^a	Advice to craft makers on types of products needed for specific orders	Training for dive kit-cleaners in good service
2. Jackalberry Lodge^b	-	Computer Centre was to be run as a profit-making business, and a business plan devised by community member. Encouragement to start community employment agency
3. Phinda^c	School children making high quality recycled paper for welcome notes	Charcoal business utilising alien vegetation from the reserve Sewing group make uniforms for staff Brick-making business
4. Sabi Sabi^d	Supported local vegetable growing project. Worked well for a year, and then quality declined. Donated R15,000 (~US\$1,718). More monitoring was required. New vegetable growing activity at Lillydale Centre (see Plate 2). Pig farm – providing food for pigs from wet-waste	-
5. Sun City^e	Support of R130,000 (~US\$14,891) to Craft Planet project, which employs 12 women who turn discarded linen from Sun City into attractive soft furnishings (see Plate 1) Initiated and supported hydroponics farm that supplies exotic lettuces to restaurants (see Plate 2).	Start-up funding for Thula Baba babysitting project Concessions awarded to BEE companies for scheduled and unscheduled tours. Waste management company pays R20,000 (~US\$2,291) per month to remove paper, tin, glass, plastic – 81% of waste is recycled with SMME retaining the proceeds.

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001, b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b, d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, e) Seif and Spenceley, 2002

Indirect support of local SMMEs has also been illustrated at Coral Divers. The tourist fees and levies that are paid to Kwa-Zulu-Natal (KZN) Wildlife, the conservation authority, indirectly supported a process to develop the business skills of local enterprises, and have facilitated the development of a number of local SMMEs. Eighteen companies ranging in size from one to ten employees were trained in business skills including tendering, calculating fuel costs, estimating person-hours, and invoicing. During 2001 around R250,000 (~US\$28,637) of business was outsourced to local SMMEs by KZN Wildlife for jobs including grass cutting and general maintenance. Training for new companies has also been undertaken on an informal basis by KZN Wildlife staff (Spenceley, Roberts and Myeni, 2001).

It is important to note here, that although business opportunities for the poor can be increased through the implementation of responsible operating processes by the private sector, government policies can sometimes inadvertently act so as to limit options for the poor. A good example of how conflicting environmental and economic government policies can impact on the poor's ability to take advantage of tourism opportunities was found at Sodwana Bay, where Coral Divers is based.

Initially, the Government's Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) programme was developed to unlock investment opportunities in infrastructural development and tourism in a relatively underdeveloped area that has significant tourism potential (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2001). The completion through the SDI Programme of a tarred road from Hluhluwe to Mbazwana in 2001 dramatically improved access to Sodwana by tourists from major centres to this rural, remote area. However, in December 2001 legislation was passed by parliament to prevent 4x4 vehicles driving

on the beaches in South Africa and was implemented on 20th January 2002. This ban was primarily motivated for conservation reasons, including the protection of endangered species such as nesting loggerhead and leatherback turtles as well as the protection of wilderness areas.

However, a small pilot study conducted in July 2002 found that this conservation policy induced a knock on decrease in the tourism turnover in the area (e.g. 45% of the 18 formal sector retail outlets reported an average turnover decline of 38% due to fewer tourists visiting the area.) In addition, the informal sector curio sellers, and dive-kit cleaners were affected negatively: Curio sellers noted a drop of 42% in weekly earnings while dive kit cleaners reported a drop of 23% (Spenceley and Bell, 2002). Revenue from craft sales was being used to pay for essentials: school fees, books and uniforms as well as groceries, clothes, and supporting their families. Thus, the decline in business meant that some people could no longer afford to pay school fees, and therefore their children were not attending school. One woman noted that business was so quiet that baskets were getting old and rotting (Spenceley and Bell, 2002).

This is an illustration of how the facilitating or constraining policy environment must be considered when evaluating the impacts of PPT.

3.1.3 Cash and material donations

Philanthropic donations of cash and materials were made by all of the enterprises towards local community projects and individuals. Table 5 summarises their efforts.

Perhaps the two most significant of these donation systems are from Sun City and Phinda. Sun International spends 1.5 per cent of profit after tax on Corporate Social Investment (CSI) initiatives. All of Sun City's CSI funds are spent within 45 km of the resort, and have financed R8 million (~US\$1 million) of local infrastructure as outlined in Table 5 (Seif and Spenceley, 2002). Similarly, at Phinda a fundraising body called the Rural Investment Fund (RIF) was established in 1990 to facilitate international financial support for responsible, consultative community projects in rural Africa (Africa Foundation, 2000). The RIF subsequently developed into an independent body called the Africa Foundation (AF), which seeks to channel its expertise from community development initiatives associated with CCAfrica lodges to a multinational level with other conservation areas and tourism partners (Africa Foundation, 2001). The AF obtains financial support for its programmes through donations sourced from philanthropists, corporations, trusts and tourists (Spenceley, Roberts and Myeni, 2001). In contrast to Sun City, this financial support is not channelled from tourism revenue, but it still generates significant amounts of cash.

Table 5: Local donations

	Infrastructure	Cash	Other
1. Coral Divers (2001)^a	Guests to Coral paid ~R31,000 (~US\$3,551) in KZN Wildlife Community Levies. It is being used with other funds to electrify all 15 local schools, and upgrade a high school.	R500 (~US\$57) donated to local soccer tournament in 2001	
2. Jackalberry Lodge^b	-	0.8% enterprise revenue contributed to local community projects in 2001 Gratuities to theatre groups from tourists of R1,000 (~US\$115) p/a Community tourism rally donation R1,500 (~US\$172)	Entertainment of local VIPs (chief, Induna) of R3,000 {~US\$344} p/a Support of shows at the SAWC (R2,000 {~US\$229} p/a) Waste is collected by a local community group for recycling
3. Phinda^c	Phinda has catalysed the construction of 46 classrooms, 3 libraries, 18 pre-schools and a clinic. Total value of donations over 10 years is of R6 million (~US\$687,285) (including equipment, see Table 6 below)	Gratuities to local musical groups. R3.5 to 4 million (~US\$400,916-\$458,190) per annum has been invested in species conservation and habitat conservation since the reserve was established.	Wet waste donated to pig farmers. Waste paper is used by local entrepreneurs to create recycled handmade paper products, using additional local seeds, grasses
4. Sabi Sabi^d	Lillydale Environmental Centre: R100,000 (~US\$11,455) towards renovation, electrification, and stocking of local centre with computers and recreational equipment, and encouraged donation from American Express. Guests donated books (see Plate 3). Huntingdon pre-school, in collaboration with Reservations Africa. Provided equipment for school and R12-15,000. (~US\$1,375-\$1,718)	-	Wet waste (food) is collected by a local pig farmer, who uses it as fodder for his pigs. Recyclables are taken to a locally run depot, which is then paid for them by a company called Green Waste for their glass and tin.
5. Sun City	Since 1996, about R8 million (~US\$1 million) has been invested in social infrastructure including classrooms (see Plate 3), bus shelters, early learning centres and an AIDS hospice.	R500,000 (~US\$57,274) donated to the Pilanesberg Wildlife Trust. R200,000 (~US\$22,910) for computers to a primary school in 2001.	Wet waste is collected daily by 2 local pig farmers. Community policing. Sun City fire engine team supplies water for funerals (to soften earth to dig graves) clean-up campaign, training of Lifeline counsellors Waste linen to Craft Planet

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts and Myeni, 2001, b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a

3.2 Non-economic strategies and Impacts

The pro-poor strategies illustrated by the enterprises that focussed on **non-economic impacts** on the poor included:

- *Capacity building, training and empowerment* – through providing and supporting environmental, academic and health education.
- *Access to natural resources* – including plants and animals located on the enterprise's property.

3.2.1 Capacity building, training and empowerment

One of the major problems faced by the rural poor in South Africa has been their historical inequality in access to education. Despite the reforms that have taken place within the education system since 1994, it is estimated that around 7.5 million people in South Africa are functionally illiterate (18.4 per cent of the population in 1996) while 19.3 per cent of the population have had no education at all (DEAT, 1996). Historically speaking, tourism enterprises with philanthropic activities for poor rural people in South Africa have traditionally tended to concentrate on core problems faced by the poor – access to education and educational facilities. Table 6 presents a summary of the types of activities in poor communities around the case study sites.

Table 6: Local donations and loans for Education and Capacity building

	Loans/Bursaries	Materials	Labour
1. Coral Divers^a	Loans to 3 students in 2001 paid by enterprise, who worked them off at Coral	Marine tank for a teachers' environmental awareness workshop supplied by Coral	-
2. Jackalberry Lodge	Environmental education for local children at adjacent Ilkley School (R9,486 {~US\$1,087} p/a from lodge) ¹⁴ Computer training for 2 community members to lecture at new centre ¹⁵	Computer Centre in Timbavati – donated 10 computers, furniture and upgraded security ¹⁶	-
3. Phinda^b	86 bursaries for tertiary studies funded over 10 years through the RIF and AF	Books, laboratory equipment, computers and other equipment donated through the RIF, AF and guests.	-
4. Sabi Sabi^c	Reach and Teach: R36,000 (~US\$4,124) p/a Teach the Teachers: R48,000 (~US\$5,498) p/a from lodge HIV/AIDS: Medical community visits paid for at a cost of R60,000 (~US\$6,873) p/a	-	We Care: Bring groups of 16 underprivileged children to the bush camp 8 months p/a (~2300 kids over 18 years)
5. Sun City^d	Lifeline training for black councillors (R10,000) (~US\$1,145) in '97.	Donation of computers to local primary school (worth R200,000 (~US\$22,910))	Training of deaf learners at the Palace (worth R126,000 (~US\$14,433))

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001, b) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, d) Seif and Spenceley, 2002

¹⁴ Relly with Koch, 2002.

¹⁵ Spenceley, 2002c.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Jackalberry Lodge's staff have encouraged other neighbouring landowners on the Timbavati Private Nature Reserve to contribute towards environmental education of local school children at the Ilkley Centre (Relly with Koch, 2002). Thornybush Game Reserve pays for local students from eight local rural schools to attend **environmental education** courses at Ilkley Environmental Centre. The reserve funded 60 children per school grade, with eight trips booked during the year from primary (grade 6) and high schools (grade 10)¹⁷. The aim of the environmental education is to allow local children, '... to experience the wonders of nature' and see what is on the other side of the electric fence (Godding, Undated). The Environmental Centre itself finances the remaining students in each grade when they have space and time to teach them, by using the fees paid by more privileged scholars to subsidise the costs of local ones (Spenceley, 2002c).

HIV and AIDS education is of particular importance to the rural poor in South Africa, and both Phinda and Sun City have begun to address this with their staff. In 1999 South Africa reportedly had the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS on the continent. It is estimated that of 45 million South Africans, 4.2 million are infected with the virus, and projections for South Africa include a reduction in life expectancy to 40 years by 2010, and a loss of 20 per cent of the work force by 2006 (DEAT, 1999).

The 86 bursaries made available from Phinda over the past decade through the RIF and AF have been used to fund courses as varied as teaching, communications, environmental health, nature conservation, business, traffic safety, motor mechanics, and social work – up to the level of 3-year undergraduate degrees. In return for their bursaries, students are expected to contribute to their home communities for a year after studying, or to at least deliver motivational talks if this is not possible (Africa Foundation, 2000).

3.2.2 Access to Natural Resources

Communal areas in South Africa provide a wide diversity of wild resources that support land-based livelihoods of the poor. Such resources include fuel wood, construction wood and thatch, craft materials, food and medicines (Shackleton *et al*, 2000a). Private sector enterprises (such as the five assessed here) sometimes have access to land that neighbours communal areas. When the prevalence of wild resources may be higher on private than communal land, rural communities can obtain considerable livelihood and commercial advantages through accessing privately controlled natural resources. For example, an ecologist who worked in the Sabi Sand Wildtuin in the 1970s and 1980s noted the importance of sustainable utilisation of natural resources on behalf of local communities, and stated that

'In densely settled parts most . . . resources have already been stripped off the land enforcing an ever-greater dependence on a shop-based cash economy. The Sabi Sand could demonstrate how such resources can be used on a sustained yield basis to the advantage of both.' (Tinley, 1979: 21)

An example of this type of distribution was seen during a drought in the early 1980s, when the SSW was forced to cull wildlife on a large scale to reduce grazing pressure, and provided skinned, boiled carcasses¹⁸ to local people as a valuable source of protein (Clarke, 1990). Then again in 1997, 400 impala were culled and given to local people.

¹⁷ Pers. Com. S. Godding, 2002

¹⁸ Due to foot and mouth restrictions

Table 7 describes the resource-access situations for the five enterprises, and how they have made resources available to the local poor. Phinda appears to have made the most significant impact from local resource use – which has led to the creation of local SMMEs.

Table 7: Access to natural resources by local people

	Access to natural resources by enterprise	Access to natural resources by local people
1. Coral Divers^a	None. Access to natural resources is controlled by the conservation authority, not the enterprise	-
2. Jackalberry Lodge^b	Lodge located on privately owned land within conservancy. Managers have total access to floral resources, and controlled access to harvesting game.	Reeds to make mats; fish from dams for personal consumption; termites, and marula fruit. All may be taken with permission
3. Phinda^c	Lodge located on privately owned land, therefore managers have total access to floral and faunal resources.	Local communities can remove grass, reeds, palms and fruits from the reserve. Access is controlled through the Tribal Authorities. Ad hoc donations of impala. Access to alien species of woody plant, and bush-cleared material for charcoal production. Local collection of buffalo manure to be sold as organic fertiliser. Women pay nominal fees to collect reeds for craftwork and building
4. Sabi Sabi^d	Lodge located on privately owned land within conservancy. Managers have total access to floral resources, and controlled access to harvesting game.	Thatching grass – once a year two families come to the reserve to harvest it Game – when significant cull of game, local people obtain meat.
5. Sun City^e	Resort located on privately owned land with Botanical Garden and dams. Bulk services are purchased from the municipality, and grey water is used to water the two golf courses.	Improved access to water, through investment in freshwater infrastructure provision for the resort. Water made available for the hydroponics development

Source: a) Spenceley, Roberts, and Myeni, 2001, b) Relly with Koch, 2002, c) Spenceley and Seif, 2002b, d) Spenceley and Seif, 2002a, e) Seif and Spenceley, 2002

3.3 Local perceptions of economic and non economic impacts

Reports from members of local communities are particularly important in evaluating the overall effectiveness of PPT strategies, and determining which benefits derived from tourism enterprises are of most benefit to the poor.

During the assessment of Sun City, the authors visited the local Bakubung Tribal Authority in Ledig village. A meeting was held with eight community representatives regarding their relationship with Sun City. The meeting highlighted that unemployment is a major problem in the area, as are the accessibility of water and health and recreational facilities. One person stated poignantly that ‘Sun City is our mine’ – referring to the Bakubung's lack of mineral rights, in contrast to their neighbours the Bafokeng and the Bakgatla ba Kgafela, whose platinum mining rights have made them relatively rich. The meeting revealed definite expectations that Sun City should benefit the Bakubung community economically. While the community representatives acknowledged past donations by Sun City (e.g. classrooms, early learning centre, hydroponics

project), it was reported that communication channels between Sun City and the community were not effective. The Bakubung perceived that their two richer neighbours (Bafokeng, Bakgatla) were benefiting more than them. The group indicated that they would like Sun City as well as government to assist them to improve the agricultural potential of the area through training, capacity building, equipment and improved access to water. In addition, they would like to receive (Seif and Spenceley, 2002):

- ‘Learnerships’ in tourism which would allow scholars from Bakubung to work at Sun City and the nearby upmarket Bakubung Lodge;
- Opportunities to display crafts to tourists en route to Bakubung Lodge;
- Opportunities to entertain Bakubung and Sun City guests (e.g. with songs and dances); and
- Access to micro-credit facilities to catalyse community-based initiatives.

These are complex issues, emanating from just a few members of a larger community. To obtain a more representative understanding of neighbouring people’s perceptions, a more strategic investigative approach is necessary. More detailed information was obtained regarding local perceptions during doctoral research by the first author in the two communities closest to Jackalberry Lodge and Sabi Sabi, consisting of hundreds of structured one-on-one interviews. In his master’s research, Currie (2001) also conducted over 100 interviews with people from two of the communities neighbouring Phinda. In both cases, poor local people were asked to comment on the importance of tourism in their lives, and the benefits and costs associated with wildlife and tourism. These findings are summarised in Table 8 in relation to economic and non-economic impacts.

Table 8: Perceptions reported by local community members of tourism impacts¹⁹

Issue	Timbavati Community ²⁰ (near Jackalberry Lodge)	Huntingdon Community ²¹ (near Sabi Sabi)	Mnqobokazi and Makasa Communities ²² (near Phinda)
Sample details	Population of village ~ 11,240 Sample of n= 314 158 men, 156 women	Population of village ~ 6,500 Sample of n= 350 164 men, 186 women	Population of villages ~ 5,760 Mnqobokazi and ~ 8,000 Makasa Sample of n=120
Perceptions of economic impacts			
Employment potential	The majority wanted to work in the tourism industry if possible (66%) and suggested activities that they could do included selling food or drink (8.8%), field guiding (7.2%), cultural tourism (6.6%), farming (6.3%), clerical work (5.3%), transportation (5.6%), and 4.4% of the sample thought they could start their own tourism business.	The local municipality reported that 35% of women and 40% of men in Huntingdon were employed at local game reserves and at Skukuza in KNP. 88.6% of the sample interviewed wished to work in the tourism industry.	30% of the interviewees noted that employment was a benefit of the neighbouring reserve.
Local purchasing – by tourists	Tourists only appear to buy a small amount of produce in the village, with 12.4% of the sample stating that tourists purchased curios, and 7.3% saying that they bought food items. 82.3% of the sample said that tourists purchased nothing within the village, and 1.7% stated that they did not come to the village at all. Some people noted that if tourists were to come to the village, then they might be able to provide them with some of the things they wanted (27.1%) but the majority thought they could not provide tourists with anything (72.9%). Those who were positive, noted that they would need money (10.6%); materials (9.6%) and training (1.9%) to be able to provide things for tourists. Others practically noted that they needed opportunity to sell items (2.9%) and also needed customers! (3.5%).	79.8% of the sample said that tourists purchased no produce within the village. Of the 19.1% of respondents reporting that tourists did purchase products in the community, it appeared that they mainly purchased wooden artefacts (5.1%), drinks (2.9%), crafts (2%), traditional clothes (1.7%), pots and bowls. A proactive 30.3% of the sample stated that they could also provide tourists with some of the items they purchased. In order to do so, they noted that they would need access to financial assistance (53.7%), materials (e.g. tools, wood, wire, water, used glasses: 10.3%), permission to do so (0.8%), customers (0.6%), and business skills (0.6%).	Although not addressed directly, 65% of the sample noted that tourists visiting the reserve was good for the community
Local purchasing – by tourism companies	Little produce appeared to be purchased within the community by safari companies or representatives of Kruger National Park (KNP), with 62.9% of respondents stating they bought nothing. Some said that the companies purchase curios such as pots, baskets, bracelets, mats, shields and wooden products (31.1%), while others noted that food items were purchased (6%).	Little produce appears to be purchased within the Huntingdon community by safari companies or representatives of KNP, with 83.9% of respondents stating they bought nothing. Some said that the companies purchase craftware such as ‘artificial arts’ wooden spoons, jewellery boxes, and pots (12.2%), and a few noted that food and drink items were purchased (2.3%).	N/a

¹⁹ Note that the data collection methodologies varied between the Currie and Spenceley interviews, and have been compared where possible.

²⁰ Spenceley, 2002c.

²¹ Spenceley, 2002d.

²² Currie, 2001

Dependence on tourism	Widespread belief that the community did not depend upon tourism and could survive without it (69.1%). This was because they did not see employment benefits, and did not have a great deal of interaction with tourists or the industry (71%). Some said the only employment opportunities in the area were at the game lodges, in jobs such as guides (16.2%). Two people noted that the lodge had provided the village with computers, and therefore a link had been made between tourism and community benefits. Three people stated that their children <i>depended</i> on reserves for education. A small number of people blamed their leaders for the lack of benefits from tourism (4.5%).	Most said the community did not depend upon tourism and could survive without it (69.1%). 60% of the sample remarked that they would not do anything differently if tourism were no longer there. Of those that would alter their lives, the majority would take up a farming-related job (27.9%).	Although 'dependence' was not addressed here, 88.3% of the sample reported that the reserve was very important for the people in the village. When asked how they would feel if the reserve was abolished, 91.7% reported that this would be bad – because it was important to protect wildlife (39.1%); that it provided employment (69.1%) and protected them from wildlife (26.4%). However, some reported that they wanted their land back (40%) and that they would be happy (8.3%).
Perceptions of non-economic impacts			
Natural resource use	60.5% of respondents said that they could not use any resources from Jackalberry Lodge, while 24.3% noted that they could use wood, 2.2% said they could get meat, and 1.1% said they could get water. Two people mentioned the computers that had been obtained for the Pfunani Computer Centre. There were reports that some of the resources they had taken in the past (e.g. bush meat, fish, firewood) had been stopped by the creation of the game reserves a long time ago (1.8%), and some said that it was the white people who had stopped it (2.7%). The majority of people did not know why the resources had been stopped (61.5%), but other said it was for the creation of game reserves and tourism (22.2%), because they said they destroyed nature (8.1%), because of racism (3.8%) and because they said they owned the land (1.7%).	Widespread perception that it was not possible for the community to use natural resources from Sabi Sabi (96%). Only a small proportion (3.7%) mentioned the use of wood, grass, old clothes, and water rollers (supplied by neighbouring Londolozzi). 93.7% of the sample state that they could not use resources in whatever quantities they desired from the reserve. It was widely perceived that villagers had never been able to use resources from the reserve, and therefore nothing had changed (91.7%).	People reported that they were able to use natural resources from the reserve. These included thatching grass (37.5%), firewood (58.3%), Ilala palm (58.3%) and medicinal plants (57.5%).
Wildlife problems	The majority of the sample stated that they did not have any problems with wildlife emanating from the reserve (69.4%). Of those who did, there were mentions of a lion that tried to kill a person, (2.7%), that the wildlife killed their animals (4%) and damaged their crops (4%). Wildlife that was mentioned by the sample to cause problems was lion, baboon, jackal and hyena. However, of those who had experienced problems, there were indications that they were infrequent, generally around harvest time, and had not happened for a long time. When asked what problems other people in the community had experienced, the most commonly cited problem was lions killing cattle (18.4%) and of wildlife damaging crops (6.6%).	Most do not have any problems with wildlife emanating from the reserve (53.1%). Of those who did, some knew people who had been killed by wildlife (22.6%), and some stated that lions that sometimes attacked people (4.5%). Others noted that people's livestock had been killed (6.4%) and crops had been destroyed (3.6%). Attacks by buffalo, elephant and snakes were also reported. The problems appeared to be infrequent, with 20.9% of the sample stating incidences of between 1-3 times per annum. When asked what problems other people in the village had had with wildlife, it was noted that people had been injured by leopard (50.6%) ²³ , that people had been killed by buffalo (5.3%), and injured in general by animals (5.3%).	Most people noted that their families had experienced problems with wildlife in relation to their crops and livestock (75%).

²³This appears to refer to one very nasty incident when a leopard attacked local people travelling to work in the reserve on bicycles. After attacking men on bicycles, it also attacked men in a bakkie who stopped to help, and was eventually killed by the group.

Compensation	<p>Most people said that there was no-where that they could go to for compensation for damage done by wildlife (67.8%). A few mentioned that they could see the induna (12.2%), civic association (3.6%), local government (2.3%), the police (3%), and some said they would see the lodges or game reserves (5.3%).</p>	<p>Most people said that there was no-where that they could go to for compensation for damage done by wildlife (92.1%). A few mentioned that they could see owner of the game reserve (2.3%). A very small number of people said they would report problems to Skukuza, to the game guards on the gate, the police, or community forums. Overwhelmingly it appeared that there was no compensation available for human-wildlife conflict problems (85.1%).</p>	<p>N/a</p>
Perceptions of overall impacts			
Benefits vs Costs	<p>Many people noted that the benefits from tourism were NOT enough to make up for the problems with wildlife (49.1%). In addition, the benefits did not make people want to look after the reserve and its wildlife (55.5%), and in order to do so, compensation (9.1%), more protection (6.7%), meetings and discussion (9.1%), improved opportunities (6.3%) and environmental education (2.8%) were proposed. 37.4% said that they did not know what they would need to make up for the problems.</p>	<p>Most reported that the benefits from tourism were not enough to make up for the problems with wildlife (76.9%). In addition, the benefits did not make 17.1% of the sample want to look after the reserve or its wildlife, while 9.7% did. In order to do so, compensation and money (61.8%), employment (2.8%), and a committee to deal with problems (2.8%) were the most frequently cited solutions.</p>	<p>Many interviewees noted that the community benefited from the reserve through the donation of classrooms and schools (76.7%), bursaries (18.3%), a health clinic (20%), creche (20%) and meat (13.3%), and conservation education (3.3%). Only 17.5% of the sample did not think that their community benefited from the reserve. 44.2% noted that there were conflict problems between the reserve and the community. Problems included poaching (43.4%), employment issues, (34%), and a lack of resource utilisation (5.7%).</p>

4. Discussion

A number of critical issues affecting the viability of pro-poor tourism strategies, and subsequent implications for the poor were identified during the ODI/IIED/ICRT study in 2001. These are outlined in Table 9.

Table 9: Critical issues and implications of PPT

Issues		Implications
Market access	Strength of existing economic elites	Breaking in is not easy. Government intervention, marketing links, intensive communication, profit motives and realistic expectations are needed.
	Location of poor people	Poor people – and hence PPT products – are often in remote areas with poor infrastructure. Investment in infrastructure – particularly roads and communications – may be needed to ensure viability.
Commercial Sustainability	Attractiveness and quality of product	Unattractive products do not sell and will threaten the commercial viability of an enterprise. Involving the private sector in product development should help ensure that initiatives are commercially realistic.
	Marketing	Marketing is critical if PPT is to compete in the crowded tourist product market. Government or private sector support may be needed to develop effective links and marketing strategies.
	Cost benefit	PPT can be expensive, especially when transaction costs are included. Costs may exceed the capacity of a company, community, or even government tourism department, making external (donor?) funding important.
Policy framework	Land tenure	Secure land tenure is important for attracting PPT investment. Land rights need to be clarified before tourism development goes ahead.
	Government attitudes	Government attitudes can be the driving force or the stumbling block for PPT. Commitment is critical but not enough, on its own.
Implementation issues	Skills and capacity gap	Capacity building is likely to be an essential part of any PPT initiative. Some form of external facilitation may be required.
	Communication and collaboration	PPT is most effective when different stakeholders work together. Investment in communication is required.
	Meeting expectations	Mismatched expectations and benefits can kill initiatives. It is important to deliver short-term benefits while long-term schemes are developing.

Source: Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001.

This analysis has highlighted additional issues that are important in PPT approaches in South Africa. These issues are discussed further in Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

4.1 Cost and benefits of PPT strategies employed to enterprises

4.1.1 Which strategies pose the highest costs to enterprises?

Costs incurred by tourism companies in implementing pro-poor strategies include time and materials as well as money. Many interventions are time-intensive, for example locating and negotiating with legitimate community representatives to identify needs and barriers to economic development; establishing trusts and other mechanisms for distributing benefits; facilitating product development; and mentoring new entrants into the tourism sector. Some interventions take less time

but need cash injections to initiate and maintain them: for instance the construction of social infrastructure. Others are both time- and money-intensive, a good example is training entry-level staff and supporting them to advance within the company.

The costs incurred by providing capacity building, training and empowerment opportunities depend upon the strategies employed to provide them. For example, making existing facilities available for training and education purposes has organisational and time costs, but minimal financial implications. Similarly, by sourcing revenue from donors (e.g. as at Phinda for bursaries) to improve educational opportunities for the poor, the financial cost incurred by a company can be minimised. However, companies that utilise money from their profits to provide training (e.g. Jackalberry, Coral, Sabi Sabi, Sun City) directly incur the financial costs – which impinge on their profits. The strategies used to provide the educational benefit – be it through access to staff and facilities, or monies from donors or the enterprise itself – and in turn the level of investment impact on the financial costs incurred by the enterprise.

It was noted that long-term staff development is a fairly costly investment for smaller businesses, in light of high staff turnover and, more recently, the increase of HIV / AIDS in South Africa. This can pose problems for tourism enterprises like Phinda, which are located in predominantly rural areas and are trying to advance locally recruited staff. For larger companies like Sun City, staff development tends to be handled by dedicated human resource professionals, who are able to tap into national skills development funding to facilitate succession planning and other activities to support employment equity objectives.

It was also noted that **certain relatively ‘inexpensive’ strategies are extremely effective**. A good example was the implementation of ‘fair’ recruitment strategies that help to distribute the benefits of employment more widely within a particular community. Another example was the sourcing of locally made craft products for display / sale in lodge and hotel shops, although this is dependent on the availability of suitable quality goods and can be limited by certain operational factors like franchising (e.g. at Sun City). Alternatively, enterprises can simply provide guests with information: about the existence of local craft markets that may be visited en route; about the needs of local communities; and about the possibilities of spending money on broadly defined goods and services (ranging from cultural tours to petrol) that are available locally.

Allowing local people to access natural resources on private property requires organisation and planning. A number of issues are important and must fit within strategic environmental management plans, such as:

- Setting limits on off-take levels for different species;
- Controlling actual off-take; and
- Managing harvesting in temporal and spatial terms so that it does not conflict with operational activities of the enterprises.

However, the financial cost to an enterprise can be minimal, or even nothing. Despite low costs, such strategies provide the poor with access to resources that convey great financial and livelihood benefits.

4.1.2 Which strategies are of the most benefit to tourism companies?

Building good neighbourly relations through local employment, local purchasing and social investment has enormous benefits for tourism enterprises. The stimulation and support of local economic development is, in short, good for business. On one hand, activities that may impact

negatively on the tourism operation as well as on tourists' experiences may be curtailed and even avoided, e.g. poaching, criminality and even begging by children at the side of the road. On the other hand, the injection of cash into poor households through employment and procurement will help to secure local livelihoods. Also, the construction of social infrastructure like schools, food gardens and roads can help to unlock the socio-economic potential that exists in rural parts of South Africa, while simultaneously fostering goodwill for tourism enterprises (e.g. see Box 1).

By advertising the pro-poor strategies employed, enterprises may improve their market position within the industry and attract more clients who wish to purchase socially beneficial or ethically sound holidays. For example, Phinda, Sabi Sabi, Sun City, and Coral Divers were all promoted during the 2002 Imvelo Awards, through media coverage and showcasing at a gala awards function on the eve of the WSSD.

The provision of education and training by enterprises has knock-on benefits through the establishment of a **more capable and educated workforce** pool. Education and training also provide indirect improvements to other members of the community, especially when companies require learners to return to their homes and pass on what they have learned (e.g. at Phinda). The type of education provided also has an impact on the level of benefit. For example, environmental education (e.g. provided by Jackalberry Lodge, Coral, Sabi Sabi) provides local people with more information to interpret the **value of the tourism resource base** of nature-based enterprises. It is hoped that if local people prescribe more 'value' to conservation and wildlife resources, then they will better appreciate the importance of economic activities based upon them. In addition, HIV / AIDS education enhances **the stability and security of the local community** (e.g. by reducing the number of deaths caused by related illnesses), which is of great long-term benefit to enterprises working within rural, isolated regions. HIV / AIDS awareness also promotes the longevity of future employees as well as existing staff, in whom the company has invested in terms of their training and education.

Providing access to natural resources **improves relationships** between enterprises and local communities, and also **assist in the removal of unwanted resources** (e.g. at Phinda where alien/bush cleared plant species have been cleared for local charcoal production).

4.2 Impacts on the poor

4.2.1 Which strategies are of most significance to the poor?

There is little doubt that in terms of actual financial impact to individuals, the most significant impacts on the poor come from **employment and wages earned**. The impact is clearly felt by the employees themselves, but also by family members whom they support. In areas of high unemployment, there may only be one breadwinner in the household. It was estimated that between them, the five enterprises assessed here could be supporting the livelihoods of between 91 (Jackalberry) and 10,624 (Sun City) local people through employment. The majority of interviewees in the communities neighbouring Jackalberry, Sabi Sabi and Phinda reported that employment was a benefit of the enterprises, and that they wished to work in the tourism industry.

The pro-poor impact of employment from any enterprise is clearly related to the number of local employees. Given that larger and more upmarket enterprises employ more people, it follows that they have greater capacity to impact positively on poverty reduction at the local level. However, preferentially employing and training poor members of local communities can be practiced by all enterprises – large and small – given a shift in recruitment policy and a commitment to empowering the local poor.

Procurement of products and services by the five tourism enterprises and their guests did not appear to have a significant impact on the local poor. At both Sabi Sabi and Jackalberry, the type of tourism operated (mid-range and luxury lodge accommodation catering for photographic safaris within a game reserve) was not conducive to tourists passing through villages regularly, nor to conducting local cultural tours (as there were no local cultural attractions or crafts). It is likely that low-rainfall, and poor agricultural potential also impacted on the ability of local people to grow fresh produce to sell to the enterprises, among other constraints. However, there are also less tangible benefits from local purchasing that include improved self-esteem of historically and currently marginalised people, whose sense of self-pride and self-value can be affirmed when outsiders tell them what (little) they have is of value.

Natural resource use was positively perceived by a considerable proportion of the people interviewed from around Phinda, with thatching grass, firewood, palm leaves and medicinal plants all supporting livelihoods. However, there appeared to be less access to natural resources around Jackalberry and Sabi Sabi, and therefore a relatively lower perception of significance associated with them. However, in all three cases, the neighbouring communities also incurred costs posed by living in close proximity to game reserves. Although the majority of interviewees did not have problems themselves, reports of lions attacking people, and of wildlife damaging crops did feature highly in reports. In the main it appeared that there was little or no compensation or mechanism for dealing with offsetting such costs to local residents.

4.2.2 Are the major problems of the poor being addressed?

Within the communities adjacent to Jackalberry and Sabi Sabi, few of the interviewees reported that the benefits from tourism made up for the costs incurred. It was clear that the needs for employment, fresh water, access to resources and education were of great concern to local people. However, the positive impacts of small, isolated tourism enterprises must be regarded in relation to the capacity of operations to make a dent in the types of problems faced by the rural poor. When a small, 10 bed lodge such as Jackalberry, is the only operation attempting to assist poverty alleviation in a neighbouring community of over 11 000 people, it is not surprising that the benefits are not felt by many. However, in the case of Sun City, the opposite is perhaps true. Although the problems of the rural poor remain the same, issues that the resort tends to address through its CSI programme are mainly related to education. Improved consultation with the local people in order to focus efforts on the primary livelihood needs of the poor could improve the effectiveness of the resort's input. In addition, Sun City could exert some influence on their concessionaires (including franchisees) working at the resort to encourage greater levels uptake of PPT strategies. If the concessionaires were all to work together towards alleviating local poverty, they could create a significant force through which existing and even new local suppliers could be sustained.

In contrast to Sun City and other major operations, smaller tourism enterprises lack the purchasing and employment power associated with thousands of beds and employees. Perhaps the most important contribution that smaller tourism enterprises can make to improve the lives of the poor is to work together with other enterprises in the area, to create economies of scale that can support local producers and suppliers.

The enterprises working to promote educational improvements in poor rural areas may not immediately make impacts on poverty alleviation, but they are promoting self-sufficiency and empowerment for people to lift themselves out of poverty. If the poor can obtain a better education, they improve their chances of finding employment, and supporting their families. In addition, social infrastructure is highly valued by the poor, not least of all because it is concrete and visible marker of 'development', but also because such infrastructure is accessed by many more people than an individual job or contract.

Ultimately, the measure of the impact of PPT strategies on the poor should be determined not only by measuring the change in the numbers of people existing below the poverty line of US\$1 per day, but also from changes in people's perceptions of their quality of life.

4.3 Limitations of the assessment

Limitations of this assessment, in terms of extrapolating its implications to other enterprises lie in a number of areas that should be highlighted. By examining the limitations it is possible to realise the value of this assessment, and to avoid making exaggerated claims.

4.3.1 The case study sample

The five enterprises assessed here were selected from just six that had been evaluated using the same responsible tourism framework. The sixth (a camp in Kruger National Park) was excluded from this study since it was a public enterprise, rather than a private one. Of the five enterprises, three were safari operations, one was a diving operation, and the final a casino-resort complex. Therefore other types of mainstream enterprises such as chain-hotels, bed and breakfasts, and camping operations have not been addressed here. Despite this, some of the generic issues (e.g. impacts on poverty of local employment) are applicable to all tourism enterprises – whatever their size, market niche, or location.

4.3.2 Availability of information

The majority of the information required to implement the assessment was readily available through company accounts, existing financial monitoring and anecdotal information from staff. Some data issues that constrained certain aspects of the assessments included (Spenceley, 2002a):

- Level of interest and assistance from enterprise management staff had great implications for the level of success of the assessment.
- Lack of existing information regarding historically disadvantaged companies used for purchasing products and services, and the need for time to collect such data.
- Evaluation of how much money visitors spend in the local economy.

The assessments also promoted transparency through the use of proportional information rather than actual financial data, which made the collection of information far easier, since confidential aspects of the company accounts were not required.

4.3.3 Assessment methodology

Despite provision of a detailed methodology and reporting framework for assessment, the overview tables indicate that there remain some difficulties in collating comparable data between enterprises (Spenceley, 2002a). This was also true in the initial round of PPT studies, as reported in the ODI/IIED/ICRT overview paper. Clear assessment guidance is required for PPT assessments in addition to training in responsible tourism practices and evaluation for assessors and businesses.

5. Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to further the PPT research that has been conducted to date, by reporting on the range and effectiveness of strategies employed by a number of South African enterprises to alleviate poverty.

Within this analysis a number of the critical issues and implications of PPT have been supported, while new factors have been added. The relative costs of different PPT strategies to enterprises depend upon the process by which the strategy is implemented, and upon the scale of the intervention. The relative benefits of the strategies to the enterprise relate to whether these support the core operations, whether the impacts on the poor are promoted by the company to potential clients, and whether interventions are funded from enterprise turnover or external donations.

The most significant benefits to the poor clearly arise from direct employment within the tourism industry. Waged staff from rural communities frequently support 7-8 people, who rely on these salaries to pay for food, clothing, and schooling. However it was clear that small tourism enterprises – with their own capacity constraints – were unable to fully address the infrastructure, education and unemployment problems in local rural areas. By combining the efforts of smaller enterprises, and by re-directing those of larger establishments, a more co-ordinated, strategic and sustainable approach to local poverty alleviation and rural development could be established. Drivers of such collaborative efforts could come from motivated personnel within individual tourism enterprises; from calls for strategic action from community members; or from independent intermediary bodies (e.g. NGOs) working to promote a strategic and sustainable approach to rural development.

Thus, while policy can sometimes provide a key kick-start to motivating the private sector to think pro-poor, it but can also undermine efforts where it is counterproductive.

The authors believe that this analysis has made a positive contribution to the PPT debate. The paper has highlighted the fact that whatever terminology is used to describe interventions that benefit the poor (e.g. ‘pro-poor’ or ‘responsible’), standardised systems of gathering quantified data which are then transparently reported can be of great value.

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