CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW: APPROPRIATE PLANNING FOR TOURISM IN DESTINATION COMMUNITIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Following on from the review of the socio-cultural impacts resulting from host-guest interactions contained in the literature as presented in chapter 3, this chapter introduces the views of various authors concerning feasible approaches to managing tourism impacts in destination communities. Chapter 4 addresses a fundamental objective of this study, which is to review suitable tourism development strategies and approaches for tourism planners, managers and communities for managing the effects of tourism on host communities. Sustainable development and sustainable tourism have been signalled by most researchers as the way forward for tourism development and planning in developing countries such as South Africa. Based on the discussions in this chapter and the findings in chapter 6, appropriate strategies will be recommended for the Soweto township tourism context in chapter 7.

4.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

Although societies are able function harmoniously in the presence of tourism, the possibility nevertheless remains that relationships within that society and its lifestyle, customs and traditions may well change as a result of the introduction of visitors with different habits, styles, customs and means of exchange (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). Even if a society survives under these circumstances, its culture can undergo irreversible alterations (Burns & Holden, 1995). Vital to sustainable tourism is responsible behaviour on the part of the visitor and the prevention of any form of distortion of the local culture (Greenwood, 1989; Nash & Smith, 1991; Graburn, 1993). To sustain the hosts' desire for tourists to visit and the guests' desire to return, the negative impacts of cultural tourism must be kept to the minimum through skilled management, an area in which social scientists and anthropologists can offer assistance (Greenwood, 1989; Graburn, 1993; Burns & Holden, 1995; Burns, 1999).

Social sustainability is the ability of a community to absorb visitors for either long or short periods of time without being influenced negatively by people different from themselves (in other words, without experiencing social disharmony) or attempting to alleviate any disharmony by adapting their functions or relationships (Weaver & Lawton, 2002).

4.3 THE NON-SUSTAINABLE DIMENSION OF CULTURAL TOURISM

4.3.1 Continuous use of cultural sites

The overuse of sites such as cultural villages and townships can become a particular problem, as has happened with heritage tourism elsewhere in the world. This overuse can result in both damage to buildings and landscapes and an unsatisfactory experience for visitors (Boniface, 1995). The problem can be caused by too many visitors in total, too high a proportion of consumers visiting at the same time, or the wrong kind of visitors whose behaviour is not appropriate (Swarbrooke, 1999). All of these are management problems, and often it may be beyond the skill or financial resources of those who own the cultural tourism resources in question to solve them.

4.3.2 Lack of local control

There are many interest groups and many individuals hold their own viewpoints, with the result that there is no easy way of reaching a consensus. Communities rarely, if ever, speak with one voice (McIntyre, 1993). The mechanisms that are used to elicit the views of the community provide an opportunity for a minority of self-appointed community spokespeople, or people with strong views, to dominate the process (Swarbrooke, 1999); the views of the so-called 'silent majority' may thus often go unheard. Moreover, professionals may undervalue or even ignore local views that run contrary to their own. This is particularly prevalent when 'public participation exercises' are held to legitimise decisions that have, in all probability, already been taken (Ashley & Roe, 1998; Swarbrooke, 1999).

Even if a community could speak with one voice, its ability to control local tourism development would be limited by a number of factors, including the following (DEAT, 1996; Swarbrooke, 1999):

- If a destination community tries to control tourism activities, the power of the tourism industry allows for tour operators simply to move on to another destination where they will not face similar constraints.
- ? A community may wish to limit the growth of tourism in an area, but government policies may require the maximisation of the attraction of foreign tourists to the destination to help the balance of payments of the country.
- ? Externally based organisations may already have a strong voice in the area because of their ownership of local businesses. An example of this would be hotels owned by national hotel chains or transnational companies.
- ? The stimulus and funding for the development of cultural tourism in South Africa often comes from outside the local area due to lack of economic empowerment in both rural and urban communities.

In South Africa, amongst indigenous populations in particular, history has shown that in most cases, local people may have little say in the process, which is clearly at odds with the concept of sustainable tourism (DEAT, 1996). It is perhaps especially a problem in the heritage field, where the story of a community is told to tourists by outside professionals rather than by local people. This is an extremely contentious issue in South Africa, particularly in the cultural tourism context, where there is a scarcity of site guides. The lack of local control may often lead to developments that are inappropriate for their location because the outside agencies lack the necessary knowledge (Goudie *et al.*, 1999). Furthermore, it can lead to some or most of the benefits derived from the development being exported away from the local area (DEAT, 1996). The challenge is, therefore, to find ways of making cultural tourism products such as township tourism and cultural villages more sustainable in themselves, and to be better able to contribute towards the development of sustainable tourism in general.

4.3.3 Trivialisation or loss of authenticity

The needs of the tourism industry, and the tastes of tourists, can lead to the trivialising of culture and a loss of authenticity (Cohen, 1995; Swarbrooke, 1999; Dondolo; 2001). Traditional dances, for instance, are shortened to accommodate the schedules of tour groups, and traditional cuisine is internationalised to make it acceptable to the palates of visitors. This topic was extensively covered in the previous chapter.

4.4 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development emerged in the mid nineteen-sixties. However, the term was first used in the Bruntland report, entitled *Our Common Future*, prepared by the World Commission on Development and Environment in 1987. Sustainable development brings together the apparently contrasting concepts of economic development and environmental conservation. The vision put forward by the Bruntland report was one of economic development not concerned purely with attaining maximum economic growth (i.e. pursuing economic efficiency), but also with issues of fairness between the individuals and groups making up today's society as well as fairness between the present generation and those generations still to come (Bruntland, 1987; Harris *et al.*, 2002; Keyser, 2002).

The sustainable development approach implies that the resources for development are conserved for indefinite future as well as present use; sustainable development is considered to be "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Bruntland, 1987). This approach thus ensures that future generations everywhere will have sufficient resources to adequately sustain themselves and maintain a reasonable quality of life (Harris *et al.*, 2002; Keyser, 2002). For people whose present quality of life is not of an acceptable standard, the resources, if sustained, will be available for them and their children potentially to achieve quality of life in the future.

Achieving sustainability is now the underlying principle for all types of development, including tourism (Hunter & Green, 1995). The achievement of sustainability is an

objective that will require much time and effort, and careful planning and management of resources development are the key means to achieving it (Inskeep, 1991). Keyser (2002) argues that the use of phrases such as 'beyond the rhetoric of sustainable development' and 'operationalising sustainable development' clearly points to the need to stop talking about sustainable development and start acting to turn it into reality. Figure 4.1 illustrates the cornerstones of sustainable development.

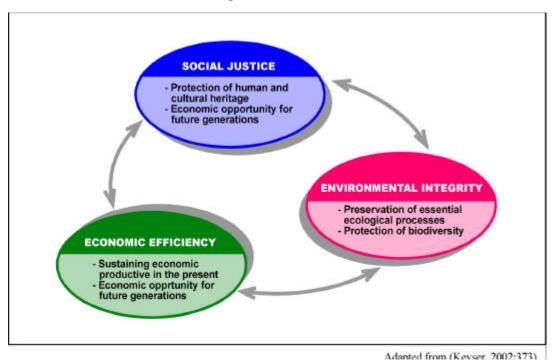


Figure 4.1 THE CORNERSTONES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

4.5 SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Cultural tourism and sustainable tourism are often seen as virtually synonymous. The former is seen as sensitive, soft, 'intelligent' tourism that is complementary to the concept of sustainable tourism (Weaver & Lawton, 2002). However there are several aspects to cultural tourism that may well prevent it from being a sustainable activity in its own right, and may in fact make it incompatible with the principles of sustainable tourism.

The concept of sustainable tourism, popularised following the release of the Bruntland report, represents a direct application of the sustainable development concept.

Sustainable tourism, in this context, is tourism that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Hunter & Green, 1995; Harris *et al.*, 2002). Some commentators, such as McIntyre (1993) and Mowforth and Munt (1998), prefer the term 'sustainable tourism development', since the term 'sustainable tourism' could imply an emphasis on the well-being of the tourism sector itself, in the sense of 'sustained tourism', rather than on the communities where tourism takes place. The term 'sustainable tourism', however, is more widely used, with some arguing that the concept of sustainable tourism should take into account the sustainability of tourism as well as that of the local community (McIntyre, 1993). This contention is based on the argument that the term is meaningless if there is no tourism sector to which the adjective 'sustainable' can be attached (Hunter, 1995). As with 'sustainable development', the label 'sustainable tourism' is susceptible to appropriation by those pursuing a particular political agenda (Weaver & Lawton, 2002).

Sustainable tourism embraces a community-oriented approach, encouraging community involvement and participation (Keyser, 2002). Keyser (2002:381) notes that definitions of sustainable tourism emphasise three fundamental features:

- ? *Quality* Sustainable tourism involved providing quality experiences for visitors, while improving the quality of life of the host community.
- ? *Continuity* Sustainable tourism ensures the continuity of the natural resources upon which it is based, and the continuity of the culture of the host communities.
- ? Balance Sustainable tourism balances the needs of the tourism industry, supporters of the environment, and the local community.

According to Ritchie and Crouch (2003), the social dimension of tourism has received little attention in impact studies, compared with the attention paid to the environmental impact of tourism. Socio-cultural impacts usually occur slowly over time and tend to be invisible and intangible (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Swarbrooke (1999) notes that the social impact of tourism is usually permanent, or all but impossible to reverse. Figure 4.2 presents a model of the social dimension of sustainable tourism that offers a complete perspective on the socio-cultural aspects of sustainable tourism (Swarbrooke, 1999). All

the stakeholders in tourism are clearly interrelated, and indeed interdependent, each with both rights and responsibilities that need to be recognised.

THE TOURIST

- > Who can, and cannot, afford a holiday
- Paying a fair price for the holiday
- The legitimacy or otherwise of the benefits gained from tourism, from relation to having sex with children
- Visiting destinations with poor human rights records
- The need to feel safe and secure
- Interactions and relations with fellow tourists and the host community
- Attitudes towards staff
- Exploiting low wage-earners to enjoy a cheap holiday

FOREIGN TOUR OPERATORS

- Relations with the local tourism industry and the host community
- Exploiting low cost economies to reduce their costs
- Images and expectations created by their promotional activities
- Doing business with entrepreneurs who may have a poor record as employers
- Lack of long-term commitment to local communities

DESTINATION GOVERNMENT

- Restrictions on, and harassment of tourists from particular countries and cultures
- Devoting resources to tourism that could otherwise be allocated to other priorities such as health and education
- Subsidizing the cost of holidays for tourists
- Creating images of the destination for tourists through their promotional activities
- Deciding how tax revenues from tourists will be used
- Degree and nature of regulation of the tourism industry
- Attitudes to traditional cultures and indigenous people in the destination

LOCAL TOURISM INDUSTRY

- Human resource issues including pay, working conditions and promotion opportunities
- Influence with government decision-makers
- Value for money, otherwise, offered to tourists
- Representations of local cultures for tourists

HOST COMMUNITY

- Attitudes towards, and relations with, the tourists
- Level of involvement and degree of influence on public sector decision-making in relation to tourism
- Impact of tourism on the society and culture
- Strengths of, and commitment towards, conserving the society and culture

Source (Swarbrooke, 1999:70)

Figure 4.2 THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

A very useful summary of the principles behind sustainable tourism management, as originally proposed by Bramwell, Henry, Jackson, Prat, Richards and Van der Straaten (1996), follows in table 4.1.

- The approach sees policy, planning and management as appropriate and, indeed, essential responses to the problems of natural and human resource misuse in tourism.
- The approach is generally not anti-growth, but it emphasizes that there are limitations to growth and that tourism must be managed within the limits.
- · Long-term rather than short-term thinking is necessary.
- The concerns of sustainable tourism management are not just environmental, but also economic, social, cultural, political and managerial.
- The approach emphasizes the importance of satisfying human needs and aspirations, which entails a
 prominent concern for equity and fairness.
- All stakeholders need to be consulted and empowered in tourism decision making, and they also need to be informed about sustainable development issues.
- While sustainable development should be a goal for all policies and actions, putting the ideas of sustainable tourism into practice means recognizing that in reality there are often limits to what will be achieved in the short and medium term.
- An understanding of how market economies operate, of the cultures and management procedures of
 private sector businesses and of public and voluntary sector organizations, and of the values and attitudes
 of the public is necessary in order to turn good intentions into practical measures.
- There are frequently conflicts of interest over the use of resources, which means that in practice tradeoffs and compromises may be necessary.
- The balancing of costs and benefits in decisions on different courses of action must extend to considering how much different individuals and groups will gain or lose.

From (Bramwell et al., 1996)

Table 4.1 PRINCIPLES BEHIND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM MANAGEMENT

4.6 CRITIQUE OF THE SUSTAINABLE TOURISM APPROACH

The researcher believes that it is necessary to recognise that sustainable tourism may be an impossible dream, and the best we can hope for is to develop sustainable forms of tourism. This may be because tourism is inherently non-sustainable, or because unforeseen future political, economic, social and technological change may make current approaches to sustainable tourism management obsolete (Bramwell *et al.*, 1996; Ashley & Roe, 1998). We must recognise that sustainable tourism is an overtly political subject, in that it concerns the distribution of resources, both now and in the future (Timothy, 1998). The fact that some people will gain and some people will lose as a result of sustainable tourism means that it is inherently political, and its political nature means that sustainable tourism is about who has the power — host communities, governments, the industry or the tourists — and how these role-players recognise that definitions of sustainable tourism and devising strategies to try to achieve it will normally reflect who has the power in any particular situation (Richards & Hall, 2000; Sharpley, 2000).

The idea of community involvement as a cornerstone of sustainable tourism is problematic (Reed, 1997). Communities are rarely homogeneous, and thus will rarely take a single homogeneous view on any issue. There is a need to develop mechanisms for arbitrating the conflicting views concerning tourism that will emerge in any community. Tourism management should not allow articulate minorities to dominate the process to the exclusion of other citizens; sustainable tourism is thus about stakeholders whose interests have to be balanced (Richards & Hall, 2000). Swarbrooke (1999) notes that in some instances the community may wish to pursue policies that run counter to sustainable tourism; it cannot thus be assumed that community involvement will automatically ensure more sustainable forms of tourism.

The sustainable development strategy needs to shift towards emphasis on implementation, since many sustainable tourism strategies have been devised, but there are as yet few examples of successful initiatives (Mann, 2000). This is quite evident in the White Paper on Tourism Development and Promotion of 1996. Sustainable tourism development needs to be interpreted in terms of what destinations and the tourism industry can do to implement and operationalise sustainable tourism development (Mann, 2000). In other words, we need to ask what steps destinations, tourists and tourism businesses can take to make sustainable tourism development a reality, and what changes tourism destinations and the tourism industry need to implement in their daily operations and ways of doing business in order to become more sustainable.

4.7 Responsible tourism development

Responsible Tourism as a concept has gained much momentum in the 1990's and is quite synonymous with the concept of sustainable tourism development, alternative tourism, ecotourism, green tourism, and soft tourism. The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa identifies the concept of 'Responsible Tourism' as the most appropriate concept and guiding principle for tourism development in South Africa (DEAT, 1996). The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Mohammed Valli Moosa emphasises that, "Responsible tourism destinations conserve nature and increase the living standards of local communities. By supporting these destinations, and

contributing to their success, you can help them achieve these aims. Responsible tourism allows you to meet local people and experience their culture and way of life, which will make your visit more meaningful and enjoyable. As a responsible tourist, we encourage you to ask your hosts what they are doing to develop the local economy and protect the environment"(SA Hospitality Industry Responsible Tourism Guide, 2002:2).

Responsible tourism is seen as a positive approach by tourism industry partners to develop, market, and manage the tourism industry in a responsible manner, to create a competitive advantage. According to the Responsible Tourism Handbook (2003) and the South African White Paper on Responsible Tourism of 1996, responsible tourism implies:

- ? Tourism industry responsibility to the environment, through the promotion of balanced and sustainable tourism, and a focus on environmentally based tourism activities;
- ? Responsibility of government and business to involve the local communities that are in close proximity to tourism plant and attractions, through the development of meaningful economic linkages;
- ? Responsibility to respect, invest and develop local cultures, and protect them from over-commercialization and over-exploitations;
- ? The responsibility of local communities to become actively involved in the tourism industry, to practice sustainable development, and to ensure the safety and security of visitors;
- The responsibility of both employers and employees in the tourism industry, both to each other and the customer (responsible trade union and employment practices); and
- ? Responsible government as well a responsibility on the part of tourists to observe the norms and practices of South Africa.

According to the Responsible Tourism Handbook (2003) and the South African White Paper on Responsible Tourism of 1996, the key elements of responsible tourism include:

- ? Avoidance of waste and over-consumption
- ? Using local resources in a sustainable manner
- ? Maintenance and encouragement of natural, social and cultural diversity
- ? Sensitivity to the host culture
- ? Local community involvement in planning and decision making
- ? A prerequisite assessment of the environmental, economic and social impacts prior to tourism development
- ? Ensuring that the host population is involved in and benefits from tourism
- ? The tourism that is marked should be responsible, respecting the local, natural and cultural environment
- ? The impacts of tourism must be monitored and open disclosure of information ensured.

"Responsible Tourism" is therefore a concept underpinned by sound environmental, social and economic principles, offering a way to minimise environmental and cultural impacts, by benefiting local communities and reducing poverty (SA Hospitality Industry Responsible Tourism Guide, 2002). Responsible tourism therefore involves participation by all stakeholders. This includes private sector, government, local communities, disadvantaged communities, minority groups, consumers, NGO's, the media, employees and others. By comparing the description and principles of responsible tourism defined in the White Paper with the principles of sustainable tourism development described previously, one will see that the principles and descriptions are essentially the same.

4.8 RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY TOURISM AS THE WAY FORWARD?

The sustainable tourism development concept embraces a community-oriented approach, encouraging community involvement and participation. It is therefore useful for the purposes of this research to provide a critical review of community tourism as an approach, bearing in mind that Soweto township tourism emanates from the community. A critical question then relates to the extent to which the community tourism management approach may be effective for destination communities such as Soweto in creating opportunities for township residents.

As in Soweto, host communities throughout the world play an integral role in the tourism industry. What they typically lack, however, is the power to influence the nature and direction of tourism development (Ashley & Roe, 1998). The level of choice exercised by host communities in becoming a destination is questionable in the case of tourism in general, and particularly so in developing countries. Thus, in worst-case scenarios, host communities are actively disadvantaged by having tourism occur in their own backyards, which is why the term 'host' can be hotly contested (Singh *et al.*, 2003). For example, in many contexts in South Africa, indigenous peoples have been displaced from land so that national parks or wildlife areas can be created (Keyser, 2002). In such cases the rewards reaped from subsequent tourism development are typically pocketed by outside tourism operators and the government, while local people must deal with diminished livelihood options.

4.9 TOWARDS A RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY TOURISM APPROACH

The concept of community has been significant in tourism, and tourism planning in particular, for over 20 years (Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1988; Prentice, 1993; Jurowski, 1997; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Tosun, 1999; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Richards & Hall, 2000; Mann, 2000; Tosun, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002). Indeed, the central role of the community in tourism planning has come to be recognised as one of the tenets of sustainable and socially responsible tourism. However, while community-based planning is an important driver in academic and bureaucratic approaches to tourism development (Murphy, 1988), it is important to recognise that such an approach does not automatically lead to sustainable tourism development (Richards & Hall, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002); a key point to remember is that the local should not be romanticised, as often seems to be the case in discussions of tourism planning. Nevertheless, a community-based approach provides the possibility that the need for consultation regarding the use of shared resources and the needs of neighbours will open the way to the resolution of tourism conflicts (Ashley & Roe, 1998; Tosun, 2000). When examining the role of the community in tourism it is impossible to separate the social, economic and political processes operating within a community from the conflict which occurs between stakeholders (Singh et al., 2003). Conflict and

disagreement between members of a community over the outputs and outcomes of tourism are, in fact, the norm.

Tourism planners therefore typically have to achieve a compromise between various stakeholders and interests in tourism development in an attempt to arrive at outcomes acceptable to stakeholders within the wider community (Inskeep, 1991; Hall, 2000). Indeed, much of the recent proliferation of tourism literature dealing with co-operation and collaboration in tourism destinations is a direct response to the need to find mechanisms to accommodate the various interests that exist in tourism development (Selin, 2000; Timothy, 1998, 1999). One of the responsibilities of the host population is to recognise the desire of many tourists to meet and interact with local people and to be prepared to foster the host-guest relationship in tourism (Tosun, 2002). The host population should have an active say in the kind of tourism appropriate to their own lifestyle, culture and natural resources, and to be free to reject tourism as an economic option if other options are available (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

Participation by host communities in tourism planning and development is fundamental to the process (Selin, 2000; Timothy, 1998). In this context, Dowling (2000) asserts that "the host population and local services are important in themselves and are incidentally basic resources in relation to tourism". The United Nations Environment Programme (1986) advocated that tourism should be subject to environmental planning and management, taking into account the well-being of the local population, which too often has to accept a large influx of tourists without having had a voice in such development. The demands of the public that their concerns be incorporated into the decision-making process has resulted in the emergence of public participation programmes and requirements that environmental impact statements be prepared.

Prentice (1993) and Sharpley (1994) note that the community approach to tourism development in its original form was, in effect, the precursor of what has become sustainable tourism development. Fundamental to this approach is the recognition that a thriving and healthy tourism industry depends upon an equally healthy and thriving local

community (Tosun, 1999, 2000). It is the local community that benefits from tourism but, at the same time, it is the local community that bears the costs of tourism and has to pick up the pieces once the tourists have gone (Haywood, 1988; Jurowski, 1997; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). In other words, tourism is a resource industry, and local communities are as much a resource, or part of the tourism product, as are tourist facilities and attractions.

Therefore, the basic requirement for the community approach to tourism development is that all members of communities in tourist destination areas, rather than just those directly involved in the tourism industry, should be involved in the management and planning of tourism (Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Murphy 1988; Jurowski, 1997; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Mann, 2000). Pearce *et al.* (1996) include the education of both local people and communities, community ownership of tourist facilities, the facilitation of local residents' way of life and the undertaking of constant monitoring and research as equally essential ingredients of community-based tourism development. The purpose of this approach is to ensure that the objectives of tourism development coincide with the community's wider social and economic goals, that the tourism industry gives back to the community while extracting a living from it, and that both the industry and its community base can benefit mutually from a long-term partnership (Pearce *et al.*, 1996; Richards & Hall, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002).

Tourism is an economic activity that involves tourists who are willing to spend money in return for certain goods and services, and organisations and businesses that will provide those goods and services at a profit. Under such circumstances, balanced and harmonious tourist-host relationships will occur only when the tourism product is small scale, locally owned and controlled, and not the major source of income and employment for the local community (Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1988; Mann, 2000). As soon as the hosts become dependent, either on tourists or on outside organisations, a form of exploitation results. The tourist-host relationship becomes based upon conflict and the local community begins to suffer from the social and cultural impacts of tourism.

4.10 WHY COMMUNITIES NEED TO BE EMPOWERED TO HAVE A MANAGEMENT ROLE

Clearly most destination communities currently do not dictate the terms or conditions on which tourism takes place in their home area, yet it is they who must live with the direct consequences of tourism (Timothy, 1998). These consequences often include negative social and environmental impacts, even in situations where communities are benefiting economically from tourism. To ensure a strong likelihood of economic, political and social benefits of tourism accruing to host communities, there needs to be full participation (Murphy, 1988; Prentice, 1993; Timothy, 1998; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Richards & Hall, 2000; Tosun, 2000). Full participation is said to occur where communities supply the majority of goods and services to tourists, have considerable input into planning decisions, and collectively manage common resources (Timothy, 1998; Tosun 1999, 2000). The latter point is particularly relevant in situations where tourism is based on natural and cultural features. When tourism ventures are largely dependent on local cultural resources, and are locally managed, this allows communities to participate with equity in the tourism process (Timothy, 1998; Tosun, 2000).

Thus access to information pertaining to the pros and cons of tourism and how it may impact on their lives is important for host communities, particularly for those in less developed countries where information flows are often poor. Some of the questions local

communities may want to consider include the following (Haywood, 1988; Prentice, 1993; Mann, 2000; Richards & Hall, 2000; Singh *et al.*, 2003):

- ? What forms of tourism are desirable in our community?
- How can we ensure that the majority of benefits from tourism accrue locally?
- ? What measures need to be in place to ensure that tourism takes place in a controlled manner?
- ? How can we ensure that tourism does not undermine our culture, our society, or existing livelihood activities in this community?

Empowerment is not an easily defined concept, yet it is a term that has been enthusiastically adopted by agencies with diverse social and political aims because it is both attractive and seen as politically correct (Scheyvens, 2002). Empowerment should be a precursor to community involvement in tourism, as it is a means to determine and achieve socio-economic objectives. The local community needs to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders (Scheyvens, 2002; Singh *et al.*, 2003). A framework that specifies four dimensions of empowerment (economic, social, psychological and political) helps explain what empowerment can mean for host communities involved in tourism, as well as how disempowerment may manifest itself (Scheyvens, 2002). It demonstrates multiple ways in which communities need to be empowered if they are to have at least some management control over tourism and secure maximum benefits from engaging in tourism initiatives (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

4.10.1 Economic empowerment

Economic gains from involvement in both formal and informal sector activities can lead to empowerment for host communities, but what is more important than the total amount of these economic benefits is the spread of the benefits (Scheyvens, 2002). For a community to be economically empowered it will need secure access to productive resources in a tourism area. This is particularly important in the case of common property resources and in situations where protected areas have been established.

4.10.2 Social empowerment

Social empowerment refers to a situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened through its involvement in tourism (Scheyvens, 2002). Social empowerment perhaps most clearly results from tourism when profits are used to fund social development projects identified by the community, such as water supply systems or clinics in the local area (Scheyvens, 2002). Social disempowerment may occur if tourism results in crime, begging, perceptions of crowding, displacement from traditional lands, loss of authenticity or restitution and inequities in the distribution of the benefits of tourism (Timothy, 1999).

4.10.3 Psychological empowerment

Psychological empowerment should ideally mean that a community's confidence in its ability to participate equitably and effectively in tourism planning, development and management is maximised (Scheyvens, 2002). This may involve capacity-building and reinforcement of the self-worth of community members so that they can play an active role in decision-making or power-sharing processes with external stakeholders (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

According to Scheyvens (2002), a host community that is optimistic about the future, has faith in the abilities of its residents. A community that is relatively self-reliant, and demonstrates pride in its traditions and culture, can be said to be psychologically powerful. Tourism that is sensitive to cultural norms and builds respect for local traditions can, therefore, be empowering for local people. Preservation of tradition is extremely important in terms of maintaining a group's sense of self-esteem and well-being (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

4.10.4 Political empowerment

Scheyvens (2002) asserts that it is at this level of empowerment that the issue of community management of tourism most clearly comes to the fore. Once community members are politically empowered by involvement in tourism, their voices and concerns guide the development of any tourism initiative from the feasibility stage through to its

implementation. A community is usually diverse in terms of class, gender, caste, age and ethnicity, so it is important that democratic structures that encourage the involvement of a range of interest groups are in place (Timothy, 1999). Forming organisations, or working through traditional organisations structures, can certainly help communities gain greater control over tourist development in their areas and give them political strength to deal with outsiders, including the private sector and government officials (Ashley & Garland, 1994).

4.11 APPROPRIATE FORMS OF COMMUNITY TOURISM: ISSUES OF SCALE AND THE NATURE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Another issue critical to understanding the management of host community tourism is scale. Studies by Britton and Clarke (1987), Opperman (1993), and Dahles and Bras (1999) reveal that small-scale initiatives have gained much support in discussions of community involvement in tourism because these initiatives are more likely to be owned and managed locally, and thus provide greater local benefits than tourism enterprises controlled by outsiders. Essentially, when local people can meet many of the needs of tourists themselves, they are more likely to retain some control over tourism (Opperman, 1993; Dahles & Bras, 1999). Controlling one's own enterprise is a positive step in the direction of self-determination for people otherwise dependent on the tourism industry for menial jobs or handouts, and is more likely to lead to self-fulfilment. If tourism moves 'up scale' in an area, local people can lose important economic advantages as well as control over tourism enterprises (Thomlinson & Getz, 1996).

While community enterprises certainly offer opportunities for residents to manage tourism on their own terms, other configurations, such as joint ventures with private-sector partners, also enable host communities to play a management role (Ashley and Roe, 1998). Whether destination communities always see small-scale or alternative forms of tourism as preferable to mass or luxury tourism should also be questioned. Thomlinson and Getz (1996) argue that while small-scale tourism is perceived to fit in well with the philosophy of alternative tourism, in practice mass tourism may be the preferred option if it brings in more money to local communities.

Table 4.2 indicates other opportunities for the involvement of host communities in the management of tourism.

TYPE OF ENTERPRISE OR INSTITUTION	OPPORTUNITIES FOR MANAGEMENT ROLES BY LOCALS	EXAMPLES
Private business run buy outsider(s) or local entrepreneur	Written agreement over nature and extent of the enterprise Agreement over benefits for the wider community	Tours of natural features in the area to take place only at set times and to be postponed during community rituals No more than two bus loads of tourists to visit an attraction within the community in a day Jobs for local people or donations to be a community fund based on the number of visitors
Community enterprise	Collectively owned and managed Collectively owned but individually managed	Community campsite run by a management committee Craft centre owned by the community but managed by an individual with business training
Joint venture between community and private operator	Revenue sharing agreement Participation in decision- making	Community has equity in lodge and representatives sit on board of directors Community leases land for tourism development and set conditions upon which development may proceed
Tourism planning body or conservation authority	Consultation Representation Participation	Local consultation in regional tourism planning Community representatives on tourism board or parks boards

Source: Adapted from (Ashley and Roe, 1998:8)

Table 4.2 OPPORTUNITIES FOR HOST COMMUNITIES TO BE INVOLVED IN THE MANAGEMENT OF TOURISM

Some communities may prefer mass tourism that involves, for example, one bus load of tourists arriving per day at a set time for a cultural performance and to buy crafts and then returning to their hotels, rather than tourism where outsiders come to stay in their village, as the latter is more culturally invasive (Britton & Clarke, 1987; Scheyvens, 2002). Communities may in fact be concerned that small-scale enterprises simply cannot compete with larger tourism ventures. Therefore, while some host communities will wish to pursue small-scale, alternative forms of tourism, others will prefer mass tourism (Opperman, 1993; Dahles & Bras, 1999). It is in the latter cases, however, that concerns are more likely to arise about the lack of community control over tourism.

4.12 HOW OUTSIDE VISITORS CAN MANAGE COMMUNITY TOURISM IMPACTS

With pre-travel information, visitors can often prepare themselves for travel to places where the culture is known to be quite different from their own (Swarbrooke, 1999). Tourists are able to obtain information about the culture of the host community, especially unacceptable behaviour, and essential actions, such as correct greeting behaviour and tipping, from commercial guide books, travel agents and tour operators (Swarbrooke, 1999; Keyser, 2002). Keyser (2002) suggests that the use of modern technologies such as the Internet, CD-ROMs, and in-flight videos or printed material, can also be used to encourage tourists to behave with sensitivity.

Each culture has particular values, habits, and norms, and tourists need to recognise and respect local cultures (Boniface, 1995; Smith, 2003), and codes of conduct or guidelines can be extremely useful as tools to minimise social and cultural impacts. Tourists often need and usually appreciate tips and information on how to behave. Much of the socio-cultural damage caused by tourism is due to a lack of knowledge and understanding (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Keyser (2002) recommends that the following points should be addressed in guidelines and codes of conduct for tourists: local customs and traditions; use of technological gadgetry; religious beliefs; bartering and bargaining; permission for photographs and videos; indigenous rights; language; treatment and status of local officials; invasion of privacy; off-limit areas; responses to begging; alcoholic beverages; keeping promises; smoking; and tipping.

There is a need for governments and the tourism industry to create tourism awareness by initiating programmes to inform the public about tourism, and to obtain feedback from local people about their perceptions of tourism (Mason, 2003). Tourism is particularly dependent on the use of community spaces and resources, and community receptiveness, as in the case of township tourism.

4.13 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the principles, characteristics and approaches to responsible community tourism destinations were explored. A sustainable tourism destination rarely occurs by accident. Rather, it is the product of the careful planning, management and monitoring of tourism development. This chapter highlighted the evolution of a new way of thinking about development in the form of the sustainability paradigm. The application of the concept of sustainability to tourism development was traced, and some of the initiatives of the tourism industry and tourism organisations in this field were noted, culminating in emphasis of the fact that planning is critical to the long-term economic, social and environmental sustainability of a destination and its tourism industry.

Chapter 4 also discussed the possibilities for destination communities to play a management role in responsible tourism, rather than assuming that they should be satisfied with simply gaining economic benefits from tourist activity. It was shown that economic gains do not always compensate for the social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism in destination communities. The tourism industry in many countries is dominated by foreign ownership and capital, with little meaningful local involvement. There is nevertheless a strong rationale for host communities to play a role in managing tourism when it is they who will endure the most direct consequences of poorly planned and managed tourism.

It has been shown that the form and nature of tourism can play a significant role in influencing whether or not communities will be able to play a management role. This is likely to occur if tourism remains small scale and caters to the budget market, and less likely to occur as resort development, other forms of luxury tourism and mass tourism come to dominate. In the latter cases it may be appropriate for host communities to establish partnership arrangements with private sector interest so they can share experience and resources

A responsible community tourism approach calls for active participation by locals, ensuring that communities are empowered through knowledge of their choices and

options regarding management of natural and cultural resources in tourism development. They can then decide what options to pursue and how they wish to pursue them. Only when people take the initiative to change systems themselves (for which they need psychological empowerment) and establish more equitable structures (a sign of social and political empowerment), can active participation occur. It is important to realise that the inclusion of local communities as more active participants in tourism development will in all likelihood result in increasing conflicts between them and other stakeholders, including the government. Finding effective ways of resolving such conflicts will be critical to the long-term success of such ventures.

It is clear that in many cases destination communities are at a disadvantage in that they lack the skills, experience and knowledge of tourism processes necessary to play an active role in managing tourism. It would be useful for future studies to reveal examples of collaborative arrangements initiated to overcome these disadvantages. Particularly pertinent would be examples of arrangements that secure a strong role for communities in actually managing responsible tourism to their areas rather than merely playing the role of beneficiaries.