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Ecologies and tourism development: Planning and design contradictions and the consequences for historically disadvantaged communities in South Africa

Abstract

Contradictions exist between the theoretical ecologue as the idyllic rustic shelter set amid a variety of ecotourism destinations and its actual realization as a tourism-architectural object. This article briefly illustrates the discrepancy between the theoretical 'ideal' ecologue and ecologies in general. The former or ideal ecologue is an adoption of the traditional buildings of the communities at the tourist destinations. The latter is often an eclectic commodification of the indigenous artefacts by architects for developments by large investment corporations. This article hypothesizes that the repercussions of 'ecologue contradictions' are readily recognizable in the instances when Historically Disadvantaged Communities (HDC) wish to partake in the tourism industry. The irony is that the indigenous people whose architecture, art forms and other cultural symbols are commercially imitated, are not in the position to enter the mainstream of the South African tourism industry because of the high inset costs.

Keywords: Ecologue, tourism architecture, historically disadvantaged communities, commercial developers, South African tourism.

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EKO-GASTEHUISE EN TOERISME-ONTWIKKELING: TEENSTRYDIGHED E IN DIE BEPLANNING EN ONTWERP EN DIE INVLOED OP HISTORIES-BENADEELDE GEMEENSKAPPE IN SUID-AFRIKA

Teenstrydighede bestaan tussen die teoretiese 'ideale' ekogastehuis, 'n oorspronklike skuiling teen die elemente aan die een kant van die spektrum van ekotoerismebehuising, en die moderne eko-gastehuis wat uiteindelik tot stand kom. Hierdie artikel illustreer kortliks die verskille tussen die teoretiese, 'ideale', ekogastehuis en die eko-gastehuis wat oor die algemeen opgerig word. Eersgenoemde is 'n geringe aanpassing van die oorspronklike tradisionele bouvorm en meublement van die onderskeie kulturele gemeenskappe, terwyl die tweede tipe eko-gastehuis, wat deur groot beleggingskorporasies ontwikkel word, 'n eklektiese samevoeging is van inheemse argitektuur, kunswerke, tradisionele meublement en gebruiksartikels in eietydse, moderne toeriste-behuising. Die gevolge van hierdie 'eko-gastehuis teenstrydighede' word in die artikel aangedui, veral ten opsigte van Histories-benadeelde Gemeenskappe (HBG) wat tot die toeristebedryf wil toetree. Dit is ironies dat die gemeenskappe wie se argitektuur, kunsvorms en ander kulturele simbole kommersieel nageboots word in ekogastehuis-beplanning en -ontwikkeling, weens die hoë insetkoste, uitgesluit word uit die hoofstroom van die Suid-Afrikaanse toerismebedryf.

Sleutelwoorde: Toerisme-argitektuur, ekogastehuis, histories-benadeelde gemeenskappe, kommersiële ontwikkeling, Suid-Afrikaanse toerisme.

1. Introduction

This investigation starts with an interpretation of the 'contradictions' with regard to ecolodges. The second part of the article deals with the economic magnitude of tourism in South Africa, followed by a sub-section on the impacts of the tourist market on the planning and design of ecolodges. South Africa's tourism policies and the barriers to Historically Disadvantaged Communities (HDC) participation in tourism are also delimited. The fifth section is an outline of the diversity and variety of lodges in the South African tourism scene as well as a comparison of the costs involved in the erection of a simple tourist rondavel. The sixth section is a description of some of the consequences of the situation to HDC aspiring to develop their own facilities. The article concludes with lessons learnt by stakeholders in the processes of trying to empower HDC in small-scale tourism.

2. Ecolodge contradictions

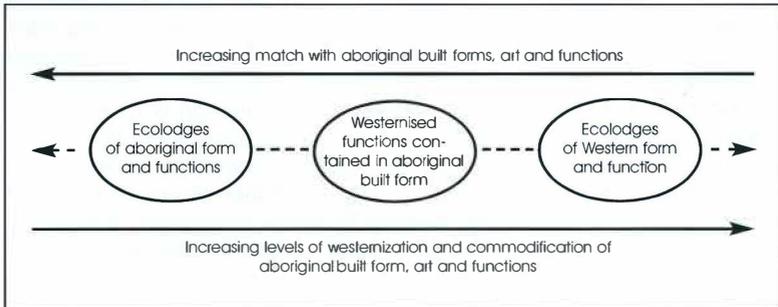
There is a general consensus that ecotourism is essentially a tripartite partnership between the native/ aboriginal communities, tourism developers, and tourists. The sustained custodianship of the environment is the common denominator. Under the conditions of ecotourism as opposed to traditional tourism relationships, this partnership attempts not to be intrusive or over bearing onto the life styles and the environments of tourism's destination communities.

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The ecolodge is rightly a piece of the ecotourism experience. It is the shelter that welcomes the ecotourists at the commencement, the intermediate or the termination of the tourist's adventure and learning and interpretation processes. The ecolodge thus has both functional and symbolic attachments. The ecolodge's major function is to shelter, to varying degrees, the human tourist from the unacceptably hostile elements of the environment. The ecolodge is therefore a temporary home/retreat. The ecolodge is also the container of nominal human functions, such as eating, defecating, bathing, resting and sleeping. It is the place where the ecotourist can plan, entertain and reflect on the day or night's experiences.

A variety of symbolisms are attached to ecolodges. The ecolodge symbolizes the resolution of the tension between modern man and the untamed elements of the wild. At one level this means detaching the sophistication of modernity and the acceptance of the rigors the 'primitive' that environment demands. The ecolodge is part of the environment to which it should be 'harmless' and synchronous both in the short and long term (Anyumba, 2001). Another symbolic tenet is the utilization of the building materials, the codes and icons of the destination communities in a new guise by developers. In other words the 'ideal' ecolodge should be 'place specific' and not harbour the character of 'placelessness' (Bair, 1995:127-131; Hardley & Handesty, 1995:131-135).

Arising from this design philosophy, the aesthetics of the ecolodge is ideally linked or integrated to aboriginal built forms and the cultural symbols attached thereon. However, there are contradictions between the theoretical ecolodge as the idyllic rustic shelter set amidst a variety of ecotourism destinations, such as tropical forests, Savannah grasslands or motane environments, and its actual realization as a tourism-architectural object in many parts of the world. There are discrepancies between the theoretical ideal (outlined above) and the ecolodge that is developed by small family businesses as well as the large investment corporations. The former is an adoption of the existing or past built form traditions of the communities at the tourist's destination. It is more often an eclectic architectural co modification of the indigenous artefact. The extent of the architectural transformation process depends on the interpretive skills of the architect/planners, the cooperation and articulation of the client and the sustainability of the enterprise (Daroll 2000:38-43). On the other hand the indigenous built form artefact, in traditional societies is erected by the community through rituals, utilizing local building resources and varies in physical-spatial size. In the architect designed product, the ecolodges tend to be large and complex, more often miniature eco-resorts in many instances. These developments as a rule are undertaken by medium to large financial investment corpo-



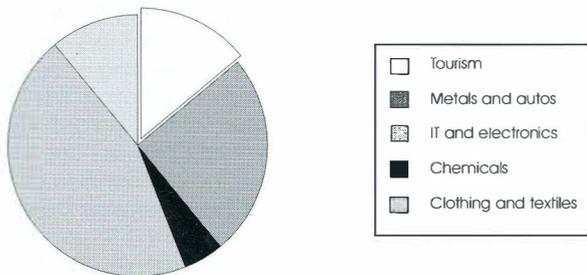
Source: Author

Figure 1: Differentiation of the form and function of the ecologue

rations. The interrelationships between indigenous design and construction and their commodification by architects are depicted in *Figure 1*. In theory all ecologies fit the spectrum illustrated below.

3. Tourism and eco-tourism in South Africa

From the point of view of wealth and infrastructure, South Africa is essentially two nations in one: a 'first world' and a 'third world' side by side. Almost four centuries of concurrent development and under-development at the Southern tip of Africa, culminating between 1948 and 1994 as apartheid or racially separate development is the reason behind these contrasting worlds. Until recently, South Africa has been described as one of the most sophisticated and promising emerging markets in the world (Stals 1999).



Source: Business and Economic Information Centre, SA Embassy

Figure 2: The tourism sector in foreign direct investment: 1995-2000

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Today South Africa is classified as a 'middle income country' with a per capita GDP of R22 000 or US\$3 215 (South African Embassy 1999). Despite a policy to diversify its economic base South Africa still relies overwhelmingly on the export of primary and intermediate commodities to industrialized countries. However, Africa absorbs 70% of the country's manufactured goods. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) between 1995 and 2000 was R83 billion (US\$12,2 billion). Tourism (at R21 619 500,00) constitutes, in the above period, 13% of the total FDI sector investments (South African Embassy, 1999).

Tourism like all sectors of South African economy and society did not escape the strong dual character. Consequently tourism was historically a "White South African Affair" (White Paper on Tourism, 1996). Other communities, including Blacks, Coloured and Asiatics were not central role players in the tourism of the pre-1994 era. Years after the 1994 watershed elections, these communities are still not significantly part of mainstream South African tourism. There are no national figures to substantiate the implied magnitude. However, the skewed corporate and white ownership of the industry is well attested at Tourism Indaba (conferences) and exhibitions nationwide.

Tourism is an important economic activity in South Africa. There is an average of 400 000 to 500 000 foreign tourist arrivals in South Africa every month (South African Tourism Satour.com). 70% of the above arrivals are from Africa. Arising from its dual character, the 'New South Africa' inherited a very well organized tourism superstructure in the parts of the country where tourism development took place. Tourism development within this framework is reflected in the contrasting discrepancies in that areas where infrastructure is well endowed also have the best Government agencies provincially and locally. In addition, the same areas are the ones that have attracted and have been complemented by private sector tourism investments both large and small.

Ecotourism on the other hand is a comparatively new concept. The White Paper on Tourism defines ecotourism as "environmentally and socially responsible travel to natural or near natural areas that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of the local people" (White Paper on Tourism, 1996). Although the Government recognizes the existence of this special sub-sector of tourism, ecotourism statistics are not kept as such. It has been estimated that for every eight foreign visitors to South Africa, one tourism job is created (Media releases, 1999).

At this point we need to note that South Africa's wildlife and scenic beauty are the leading attractions for its international visitors (Tourism Sector www.satour 1999) This fact is important for the ecolodge because

the vast majority of these structures are found in the above-referred areas of South Africa.

3.1 The tourism market and its impact on the ecolodge

In terms of the total numbers of visitors South African tourism is predominantly African (Shevel, 2002). This is a contrasting picture compared to many African tourist destinations, where the market is focused on the foreign tourist component for its survival. This however, does not mean that the foreign tourist is unimportant in South Africa's tourism plans. To the contrary, the foreign tourist is valued as a source of foreign currency earnings, binding of international friendship amongst other things (Bennett, 2002).

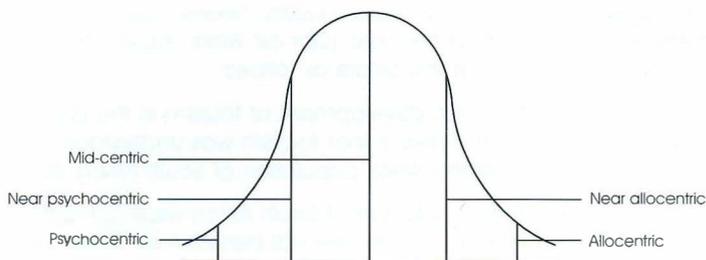
The South African tourist market has traditionally catered for a relatively affluent populace both domestic and foreign. This fact must account historically for the planning and design of tourism facilities and today on the design of the ecolodge. To try and find a relationship between the tourism market, tourist type and the resultant ecolodge designs, I have applied Plog's notions of 'psychocentrics' and 'allocentrics' as a tool to 'demarcate' and to come to terms with the range of tourist/ecotourist expectations (Plog, 1991: 55-74).

According to Plog the psychology underlying travel and the type of travel destination is bewildering but is broadly divisible into two personality types; the 'psychocentric' and 'allocentric'. The former is the 'worrier' whose preferences are for the familiar and secure environments they can readily relate to. The type also leads a 'non-active life-style'. The allocentric is the opposite. He or she is intellectually curious, adventurous, enjoys discovery flexible and feel challenged to explore unfamiliar environments.

Without the proper market survey and analysis, one cannot without doubt state the predominant psychological characteristics of any given tourist population. However, it seems that the majority of the South African tourism market lies in the 'near psychocentric' to 'mid-centric' part of Plog's distribution of psychographic segments. On the other hand, the conceptually restricted ecotourism market segment may be situated in the region of the 'mid-centric' to 'near allocentric' tourists (*Figure 3*).

The range of tourism and ecotourism adventure marketed in the electronic and print media points to the availability of tourist outlets for the 'extreme' allocentrics. Bungy jumping is an example of allocentric exploits. An interpretation of Plog's classification is that the tourists with allocentric inclinations would readily choose to stay in the 'aboriginal' end of *Figure 3*. The mass market and less adventurous tourist (of the

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Source: Plog (1991:68)

Figure 3: Distributions of psychographic segments

psychocentric end of the market) would prefer in accommodation, termed 'the ecolodge of Western form and function' in *Figure 1*. What this section is trying to state is that South African tourism caters for all types of tourist psyche, but one suspects that the majority are inclined to the left end of Plog's normal distribution curve.

4. The 1996 White Paper on tourism and historically disadvantaged communities in tourism

The 1996 White Paper on 'The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa' is a watershed Government document. It is a policy document, which appraised all facets of tourism in South Africa and made recommendations in the mid-1990s on the new directions for tourism development for the Government, private sector, the non-governmental sector and for all its communities in an integrated manner.

As our central concern here is with Historically Disadvantaged Communities in tourism it ought to be noted from the onset that the geographical regions of South Africa, which were designated as the homelands for the Black population, were not and are not short of outstanding features with tourism development potential. In these previously neglected areas are scenic landscapes, ecological diversity, archaeological sites, historic ruins, mythical geomorphological landmarks and divergence of peoples and cultures. The major problem here is that all the above were and are still on the main known or familiar to the local/indigenous peoples, but remain largely unknown to tourism planners and developers in mainstream tourism circles (Anyumba, 2000: 15-25).

One of the most outstanding aspects of the White Paper on Tourism is its

address of the problem areas curtailing the potential role of Historically Disadvantaged Communities in core tourism. Twelve interlinked problem areas were identified at the time (*Opt cit* White Paper on Tourism 1996). They are rephrased in this article as follows:

- 4.1 The first obstacle to the development of tourism in the previously neglected communities is that tourism was understood as an activity reserved for the White population of South Africa (*Ibid*)
- 4.2 That the non-White populations of South Africa were not exposed to the tourism industry, nor did the HDI benefit from tourist activities
- 4.3 There is the 'suspicion and mistrust' of tourism plans. This arose from the fact that tourist/protected areas were proclaimed without the consultation or the approval of affected communities. Furthermore, communities had to bear the costs of having been restricted from exploiting natural resources from protected areas. Furthermore, communities were not compensated directly or indirectly
- 4.4 There is the lack of knowledge of what tourism is about by HDC. Therefore, the greater opportunities offered by tourism are not cherished
- 4.5 There is the lack of training opportunities in these previously neglected communities. This in turn severely limits their participation in the tourism industry
- 4.6 A serious constraint is the inability of HDC to accessing finance and to take advantage of the entrepreneurial opportunities provided by the industry (Graham 2002)
- 4.7 HDC were not involved in the planning process. The White Paper identified these as 'planning, decision making, investment, and in the development and promotion of tourism'. Neither were communities involved nor consulted with respect to developments in their localities (Musyoki, Anyumba & Bikam, 2000)
- 4.8 That the present inequalities, arising from historical inequalities had lead to the 'abuse of power' and the 'exploitation of local cultures and community groups'. There have been several examples of attempts at replicating aboriginal arts and crafts by the White South African groups possibly as economic survival strategies. However the inauthenticity of the exercise shows clearly in the marketed product. Two examples include firstly, the sale of curios at Phalaborwa by retrenched White mine worker

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families and secondly a Venda traditional village at Tshipise.

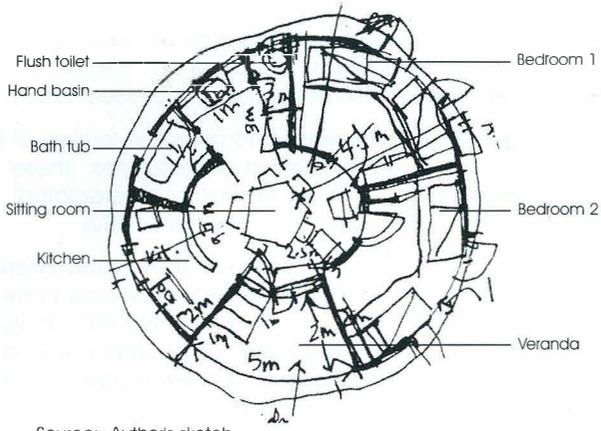
- 4.9 Language is a barrier to communications given that English was the predominant tourism language of communication. This resulted in the exclusion of the majority of South Africans
- 4.10 That negative attitudes tended to prevail in tourism of the products from previously neglected communities. These products were generally regarded as 'inferior' or 'depreciated'. Currently this appears not to be the case (Graham, 2002)
- 4.11 There is the lack of access to the lucrative tourism market by the local communities, as visitors tended to be kept in mainstream tourism establishments and rarely interacted with locals and their products (*Ibid*). Since these observations were made in the mid-1990s, considerable progress has been made in a number of directions. For example 'township tourism' has evolved in cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. However, this is a relatively new phenomenon (Wolff, 2002)
- 4.12 That there are barriers to the entry of the small to medium sized players into the industry. The White Paper identified the problem as caused by the 'very large companies and corporate structures, which control the market' (White Paper on Tourism, 1996).

Although the majority of the above hurdles were identified in the early 1990s, many still hold true. However, there have been positive movements in eroding some of the above barriers. Nevertheless, we may note that the cumulative historical conditions make it extremely difficult for HDC to partake meaningfully in South Africa's tourism development.

5. The ecolodge in South Africa

The first issue that needs clarification is the use of the 'ecolodge' label in South Africa. There appears to be a consensus of the meaning of an ecolodge by leading ecotourism and ecolodge consultants (Hawkins 1995). However, many entrepreneurs world-wide tend to apply the term 'ecolodge' as a marketing ploy, whereas their facilities do not strictly satisfy many of the tenets of ecotourism.

The South African Tourism Services Association (SATSA) is a national organization representing the interests of the tourism private sector. Accordingly its mission states "... to strive for professionalism and integrity and ensure the growth and recognition of the Southern African tourism industry for the benefit of all its members" (SATSA Directory 1999). According to SATSA classification there are eight distinct types of tourist related accommodation. These are: (i) hotels; (ii) game reserve lodges;



Source: Author's sketch

Figure 4: A sketch of a Adventura Tshipise ecolodge tourist rondavel



Source: Anyumba 2001

Figure 5: A frontal view of the Adventura Tshipise rondavel

(iii) safari lodges; (iv) guest houses; (v) backpackers residences; (vi) bed and breakfast; (vii) game farm; and (viii) game resorts.

From the descriptions of the SATSA classification, ecolodges are most likely to be located in 'Game Reserve Lodges' (*Ibid*) and to some extent 'Game Resorts' (*ibid*). A perusal of the latest tourist picture books of South Africa's lodges and the individual web sites of ecolodge operatives presents a more or less similar picture. The strong image of lodges that is conveyed is one of rugged 'indigenous' or transformed aboriginal architectural exteriors and 'comfortable' if not 'luxurious interiors'. In other words the built form structures have a remarkable semblance of a rich diversity of South Africa's indigenous built forms (Jordan, 2000).

This assemblage of high standards of architecture and support infrastructure is aimed at a market that expects these standards and is prepared to pay for it. The above observation reinforces the earlier note that tourism was historically aimed at the upper and middle-income groups in South Africa. It also reaffirms the White Paper commentary that the major players in this game are the very large investment corporations.

5.1 Tourist rondavel building cost compared

In the beginning, this article hypothesized that 'ecolodge contradictions' are recognizable in the instances when Historically Disadvantaged Communities (HDC) now wish to partake in tourism. This hypothesis will now be put to the test from interactions with Black communities contemplating the development of tourism, a clear initial wish appears to be to attract tourists. Communities envisage attaining this objective by offering what they are most familiar with; i.e. aspects of their cultures (a traditional restaurant, a cultural theatre and arena, accommodation in traditional rondavels, ethno-ecological bush treks etc). The communities also have an understandable preference to contain these tourism activities in distinctive ethnic built form structures familiar to the community (Musyoki, Anyumba & Bikam, 2000).

The African rondavel (or hut) is a built form which is well spread on the African continent and has been widely used in the tourism industry. Strictly speaking there is no such universal item as an 'African rondavel', but rather a variety of building forms depending on building materials used, geographical locality, ethnic design and planning traditions etc. In a case study the cost of a single 130 square meter tourist rondavel erected by a community is compared with one designed by an architect. The calculations are based the basic plan in *Figure 4* It is a study of a rondavel at the Tshipise Ecolodge in the Northern Province of South Africa. *Figure 5* portrays the front view of the Aventura Tshipise rondavel.

For comparative calculations the assumption are that:

- 5.1.1 The aboriginal rondavel is erected using commercially produced cement blocks, prefabricated doors and window frames, along with locally sourced rafters and thatch. The floor and walls are plastered. It is equipped with 'more affordable' beds in the two bedrooms, five easy chairs and a small dining table. Further assumptions are that the food is cooked in a communal kitchen, showers taken place outside of the dwelling and the tourist use pit latrines some distance from the accommodation.
- 5.1.2 The architect-designed variant uses the same building materials, except that the finishing is of a higher standard. In addition there is a fully equipped kitchen, a bathtub and shower, a WC toilet, four beds in two bedrooms, a sitting area with a table, four chairs and two easy chairs and two air conditioners.

The estimates in *Table 1* below exclude service connections such as electricity, water and sewers. The figures also exclude the subsequent expenses involved in infrastructure maintenance. It was hypothesized that the HDC cannot themselves erect ecolodges that are at par with the

Table 1: Compative costs of ecolodge rondavel

Items	Aboriginal built rondavel	Architect designed & built rondavel
The lodge	R40 000,00	R157 000,00
Furniture		
4 beds	R796,00 (R199,00 x 4)	R7 396,00 (R1 849,00 x 4)
2 bedroom cupboards	R550,00 (275,00 x 2)	R1 390,00 (R695,00 x 2)
4 lamps	R80,00 (R20,00 x 4)	R1 000,00 (R250,00 x 4)
table & 4 seats	R999,00	R5 999,00
2 easy chairs	R1 998,00 (R999,00 x 2)	R1 998,00 (R999,00 x 2)
54 cm TV	not provided	R1 799,00
Kitchen		
oven/stove	not provided	R1 499,00
refrigirator	not provided	R1 599,00
mini-cupboard	R1 999,00	R1 999,00
Sanitation		
bathtub and shower	R180,00	
WC/toilet	R150,00	R2 999,00
Sub-total	R6 752,00	R27 678,00
Total costs	R46 700,00 (US\$5 500,00)	R185 000,00 (US\$21 800,00)

Source: Quantity surveyors, ML Sultan Technikon, Durban

South African tourist market. This point is evident in the level of infrastructure and lodge standards that have been set in the market place. Furthermore one should take into account the absence of a disposable income in the local communities (refer to section 3). Under prevailing circumstances, it is impossible for HDC to entertain any thought of entry in this aspect of tourism, unless South Africa government authorities plan to meet the need. On the basis of the above cost comparisons, the aboriginal sourced and built rondavel of the same design but without the extra 'comforts' is approximately 25% (with generous over estimation) of the cost of a well equipped and typical tourist rondavel. A large development would of course lower the building costs of the tourist rondavel.

If the earlier observation is correct the South Africa's tourism market lies in the 'near psychocentric' to 'mid-centric' part of Plog's distribution of tourist's psychographic segments. If this is not the case we would have to find other good reasons why most tourist outlets invest so heavily in the high levels of comfort that mark the present market standards.

6. The consequences for aspiring Black South African communities

Between 1998 and 2001 several Black communities, which had decided to explore tourism and especially ecotourism in their localities as a new survival strategy, serves as a basis for this study. The people collectively argued that tourism was a way of infusing finances, skill development, community development capacity building, environmental upkeep and employment creation. These views were for example strongly articulated by committee members of the King Mphhepu Community Tourism Forum (Musyoki *et al*).

The major consequence for the HDC is that because of a combination of current and historical reasons most communities will be unable to commence even the minimal levels of tourist built form developments. This is because having more or less established that there may be a potential market for tourists (indigenous, domestic or international) there is then the need to start with minimal facilities. The above simple exercise illustrated that the HDC will still face hurdles in attempting to do precisely this at the standards already set by the market.

On the other hand, if HDC decide to target the lower to middle class tourism market, which can live with lower infrastructure standards, then this may be a way forward. In this respect, 'township tourism' in Johannesburg readily comes to mind. But this implies an acceptance to forgo the opportunities that lie in the established tourism markets.

7. Conclusions

Ecotourism and the ecolodge can be interpreted to represent a late 20th century Western philosophy that attempts to integrate global and corporate investments in travel and accommodation with the custodianship of the environment and the development of the local communities at the tourist's destination.

The rondavel and other aboriginal built forms are of a particular interest in tourism because they have become the basis of merchandising ecotourism in South Africa as elsewhere in tropical Africa. It is of specific interest in HDC, because such communities appear to have a clear wish that their tourism packages be housed in the rondavel architecture or modifications of the same.

From a planning and design viewpoint, it is still too early to be conclusive on the potential impacts of the ad hoc efforts of incorporating previously neglected communities into South Africa's tourism and ecotourism developments. However, an important observation in the process has been a steep learning curve for all involved in planning for tourism in HDCs. The communities we interacted with had to come to terms with the potential to improve their lot. Consultants become facilitators and learners in the respective communities. The development aspirations of communities and the reality in terms of achievable objectives, were often some distance apart. Potential financiers and developers too had to face a sector hitherto neglected and were, for all intents and purpose, unfamiliar with unknown characteristics.

The premier conclusion is that the observations made in the 1996 White Paper regarding previously neglected communities in relationship to tourist developments is still valid and holds back the progress of these communities in tourism. From this fact we can tentatively conclude that nothing positive is going to happen to most HDC for the foreseeable future, unless specific policies are evolved to target their needs.

The second conclusion is that there are basic conditions for a community to make a start in tourism. Thus a community will probably succeed if it operates with the assistance of a benevolent government with the right policies and resources in place. All communities, on the other hand, need to network their way into provincial tourism plans or to non-governmental organization or an investment corporation's development plans. Unless these take place most communities will have to rely on community extension services from magnanimous local institutions to plan and design projects on their behalf.

The prime conclusion is that the potential and shortcomings of tourism observed in the 1996 White Paper regarding previously neglected com-

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munities is still more or less valid. However, due to the amount of work that still needs to be undertaken by existing and potential stakeholders, the progress of tourism development in these communities will take some time to bear fruit. From these facts we can tentatively conclude that what is required is some further 'fine tuning' of policies targeting HDCs tourism development needs.

The second conclusion is that there are basic conditions for a community to make a start in tourism. As already noted above, an 'enabling environment' has to be in place. Given these situations, communities need to network their way into provincial tourism, non-governmental organisations or private public partnership tourism initiatives. Unless these take place, communities may have to rely on community extension services from magnanimous local institutions to plan and design projects on their behalf.

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