Analysing inequalities in tourism activities between local municipalities in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa

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Abstract

Past official government policies on development under apartheid created unequal opportunities at different levels for the population in all the sectors of the South African economy. This study on the relations between tourism policies and the tourism development conditions in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, is a contribution to the on-going research projects on the transformation that has taken place in the post-1994 development process of South Africa. To find out the concrete nature of the changes associated with the current tourism development policies, data was collected on certain variables from the 39 local municipalities of the Eastern Cape Province. The use of factor analysis led to the identification of five hierarchies or clusters indicating the levels of inequalities in the tourism development of the province. The findings indicate that generally, much has changed since 1994, as a result of the levelling of the playing field in the tourism sector for both the producers and consumers in the industry. However, much is still expected to bridge the chasm that exists in the country. It is recommended, however, that measured in terms of the maximum benefits that could be derived from the provincial tourism sector, the government officials associated with tourism in particular need to provide more effective leadership in the implementation of the current tourism development policies. Tourism policies in the Eastern Cape can only generate the maximum positive benefits if, inter alia, all the stakeholders in the industry are empowered to produce at their maximum.

Keywords: Inequalities in development; social transformation; development policies; sustainable development; critical theory.

Introduction

There are numerous publications (Acheampong, 2015: 744-754; Acheampong & Tichaawa, 2015; Bond, 2007; Kirsten, 2006) specifying the role of past official South African government policies in influencing the conditions of development of the country. The government employed the policies through the ideology of *"apartheid"*, which means "separate development". This concept was based on a framework or development policy whose goal was to create unequal development opportunities for the population, with attendant unequal development conditions in all the sectors of the economy in the country. The unequal development conditions pertained to different levels in the country – at the national, provincial and local (Lemon, 1991; Hall and Page, 1999). Academics, politicians and other members of the public have used terms such as *"the first-second economy system" "formal-informal sector"* (Marie Kirsten, 2006: 1-2; Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006: 302-323, quoting former South African President, Thabo Mbeki in an address to the National Council of Provinces in November 2003) or *"black-white" categorization, "urban-periphery dichotomy"* (Bond, 2007: 1-22; Aliber, Maharaj, Kirsten & Nhlapo-Hlope, 2006: 45-61) among others, to broadly analyse this phenomenon of inequalities in the development in the country (ANC, 1994: 5-8; Acheampong, 2011:100; Acheampong & Tichaawa, 2015:112).

The study of inequalities in societal development occupies an important topic in social and geographical research discourse because of the enormous political and social unrest associated with the problem (Acheampong, 2011; Armstrong & Taylor, 2000; ANC Today,

2004; Kanbur & Venables, 2005). Civil unrest is one common problem associated with inequalities in the development of different parts of the world (Davis, 1962; Smith, 1987; ANC, 2004; Acheampong, 2015). The major problems associated with inequalities in development have been documented in various works in South Africa (Acheampong, 2015; Bond, 2007; Devey *et al.*, 2006). The post-1994 Constitution and the related democratic development policies and plans have helped to reduce the otherwise potentially explosive political unrest that could have engulfed the country (ANC, 1994; Padayachee, 2006). This study is thus a contribution to the increasing attention that societies, in general, now pay to the important relations between development policies and reductions in spatial inequalities, poverty and social unrest in general (Armstrong & Taylor, 2000; ANC Today, 2004; Kanbur & Venables, 2005).

There is the general concern that inequalities in development tend to amplify with time because of the positive feedback effects. Thus, social upheavals are most likely to occur when the inequalities tend to persist for long (Davis, 1962; Smith, 1987; ANC, 2004; Acheampong, 2015). Fortunately, development policies and plans exist as powerful tools for mobilising resources for intervening, reducing and ultimately removing the existing inequities.

Problem statement

The major problems associated with inequalities in development have been documented in various works in South Africa. The relationship between underlying development policies such as the post-apartheid policy guidelines and the development conditions currently being experienced in South Africa is the theme in this study. This theme has captured the imagination of the public because it is now common knowledge in South Africa that the previous apartheid system, whose major goal was to deny development opportunities to the majority of the population, was largely responsible for creating the inequalities in the living conditions of the population. Since 1994, a new democratic constitution has been introduced in the lives of South Africans together with several development policies and plans whose goals are to level the playing field to make possible the reductions in the existing inequalities in all spheres of life of the population (Schrire, 1992; Freitag, 1994; Government of South Africa, 1996). The post-1994 Constitution and the related democratic development policies and plans have helped to reduce the otherwise potentially explosive political unrest that could have engulfed the country (ANC, 1994; Padayachee, 2006).

The elements of societal development are now conceptualized as inseparable. This study is based on the idea that an equal opportunity-inspired development policy has the potential to contribute to maximum production and the other elements needed to promote sustainable development, whilst the opposite is the case with policies which are based on sectionalism, unequal opportunities and discrimination (Acheampong & Tichaawa, 2015:112). These development policies and plans are tools that have evolved over the decades indicate to us that change is possible in social life, and, that development policies and plans can be used to actualize social transformation in certain ways. Tourism development policies under the apartheid era also perpetrated inequalities between the first and second economies, creating an intolerable gap between the urban and the peripheral areas of South Africa. This is because the tourism development policies focussed on the development of resources such as hotels, museums, theatres, swimming pools and marine resources in the urban areas, to the detriment of the vast peripheral regions (Acheampong & Tichaawa, 2015:112).

Literature review

The regional inequalities dimension of tourism analysis

The impacts of tourism businesses on the spatial dimension of development constitutes one of the objectives in this study. The concept of the region has become important in the world of economic development because in the long run, development projects need to be located somewhere. A region is an area, which has certain uniform characteristics, setting it apart and making it distinctive. Regions can be centres of innovation, ideas and fashion, which gradually become established at regional, national or international scale (Acheampong, 2011). The concept of the tourism region can be applied in policy formulation and in decentralised development planning issues (Blomley, 1994; Sorensen, 2010). Single-feature regions, for purposes of tourism analysis, including game parks, vegetation regions, cultural regions, industrial and science parks and others, are ideal for development planning purposes (Acheampong, 2011).

Tourism development in South Africa, like all other sectors of the economy, in the period pre-1994, was influenced by apartheid and its official policies of segregation and separate development along racial lines. Segregation and apartheid assumed their shape, in part, as a white response to 'non-whites' increasing participation in the country's economic life and their assertion of political rights from 1948-1994 (Smith, 2014; Acheampong, 2011; Chaskalson, 2003; Freitag, 1994). The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No 49 of 1953, formed part of the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa. The Act legalized the racial segregation of public premises, vehicles and services. Only public roads and streets were excluded from the Act. Section 3(b) of the Act stated that the facilities for different races did not need to be equal, while Section 3(a) made it legal not only to supply segregated facilities, but also to completely exclude people, based on their race, from public premises, vehicles or services. In practice the best facilities were reserved for whites while those for other races were made inferior (Smith, 2014; Acheampong, 2011; Chaskalson, 2003; Freitag, 1994).

In the period pre-1994, South Africa was divided into four provinces, namely: Cape Province; Natal Province; Orange Free State Province and the Transvaal Province; and ten ethnically-based homelands, created for the black population of which four were granted "independence", two of which, Transkei and Ciskei presently form part of the Eastern Cape. The four provinces, excluding the former homelands, formed the main tourism development regions in South Africa prior to 1994. All tourism developments that took place during this period strictly conformed to apartheid's policy of *Separate Development*. Tourism was basically urban-centred and products were developed to satisfy the taste of minority whites, of which about 80 to 90 per cent was urbanised. It was, therefore, not by accident that emphasis was put on the development of beaches, water sports, museums, theatres, war memorials and nature reserves. These activities were of little or no interest to the black majority, not by choice, but due to their economic circumstances and also apartheid's *Influx Control* and *Separate Amenities* legislations (Plate 1) (Acheampong, 2011:106-107).

Plate 1: **Durban Beach sign in English, Afrikaans and Zulu, declaring Beach "Whites only".**
Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/DurbanSign. (1989)

The ANC-led government embarked on a programme to promote the reconstruction and development of the country and its institutions. This called for the simultaneous pursuit of democratisation and socio-economic change, as well as reconciliation and the building of consensus founded on the commitment to improve the lives of all South Africans, in particular the poor. This required the integration of South Africa into a rapidly changing global environment. The "First Decade of Freedom" (1994-2004), the government placed emphasis on meeting basic needs through programmes for socio-economic development. Tourism was then recognized as one of the economic activities that would help accelerate the development goals of the country because of South Africa's tourism potential (Acheampong, 2011).

Conceptual framework

Roy Bhaskar's (1991) three-tiered ontology which is made up of an empirical layer, representing the outcomes of the interactions between the hidden mechanism (the real) and the actual level forms the conceptual framework of this study. The critical realist approach, as applied in this study, is based on this idea that explanations in the social sciences cannot be undertaken meaningfully under any of the individual models since any one model can only be reductionist producing partial or incomplete theories (Burrows, 1989; Chambers, 2007). By combining the merits of the various approaches, however, a holistic picture can be obtained incorporating the empirical, actual and real as displayed in Figure 1 (Bhaskar, 1991; Downward & Mearman, 2004a; 2004b; Downward, 2005). The critical realist philosophy prioritizes ontology (the study of being or existence) over epistemology in the sense that it is based on the principle that the way the social world is structured needs to guide the way knowledge of it is obtained and used to transform society (Bhaskar, 1991; Downward & Mearman, 2004a; 2004b; Downward, 2005). From the ontological perspective of the social world, this study on the tourism development process of the Eastern Cape is based on the 3-tiered stratification model of Bhaskar (1986) – the empirical, real and actual - as elaborated

by Pleumarom (1994); Archer, Bhaskar, Collier and Norries (1998); Downward (2005); and Katie (2005) among others. Figure 1 illustrates the key features of these three layers.
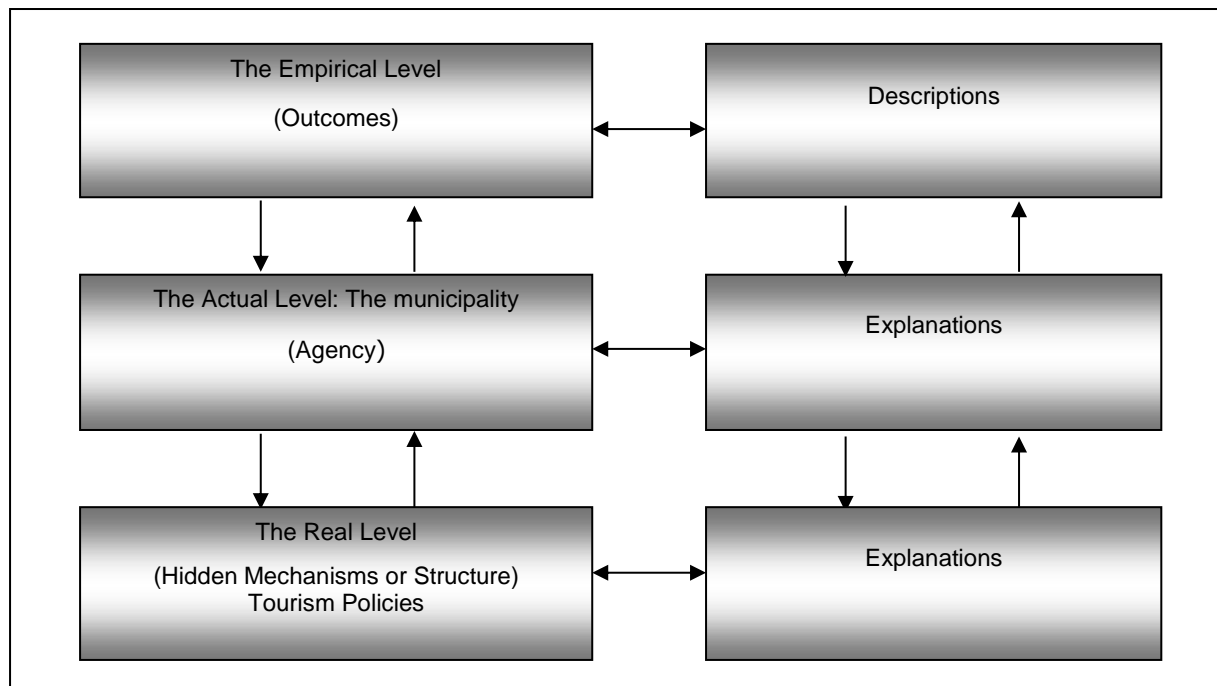

Figure 1: The three-tiered ontology as applied to the explanations used in this study;
Source: Yirenkyi-Boateng (2010), cited in Acheampong, 2015: 746-747)

This model (Figure 2), gives a broad overview of a critical realist conceptualization of how the objective of this study needs to be organized taking cognizance of the above discussion. The model indicates that the guidelines and policies in place at the government offices in Bhisho, the provincial capital, need to constitute the locus for finding information relating to the relevant provincial tourism policies. Secondly, the model indicates that processes taking place in the municipalities need to constitute the second level where information needs to be collected from all those stakeholders who take decisions to relate to the tourism policies. Finally, the model demonstrates that interactions between the two domains produce the outcomes at the empirical level (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991; Pratt, 1991, 1995; Harvey, 2006).
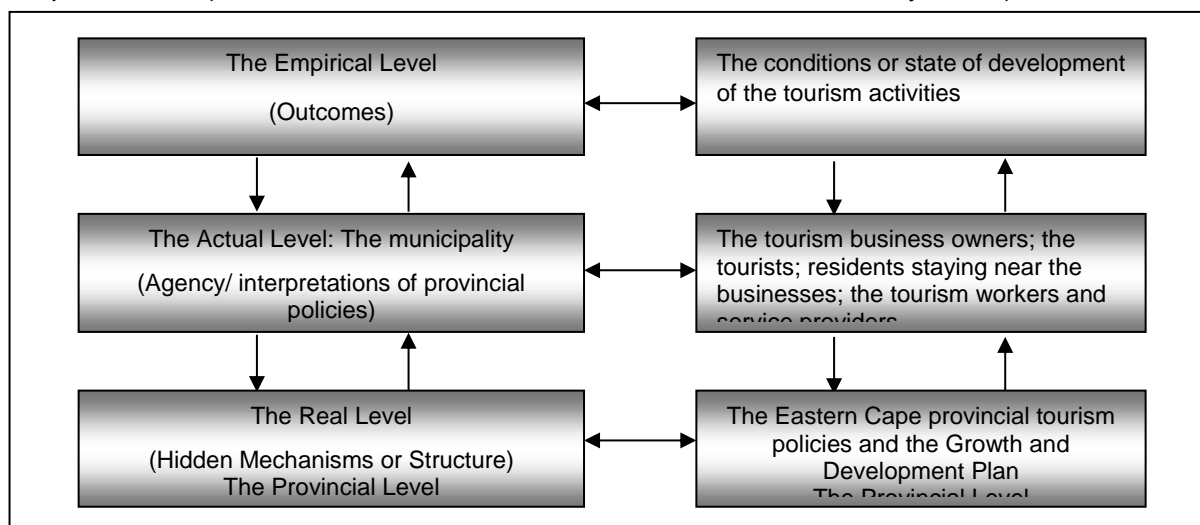

Figure 2: A three-tiered model of the actors in the Eastern Cape tourism sector.
Source: Yirenkyi-Boateng (2010), cited in Acheampong, (2015: 746-747)

Research methodology

The main research problem of this study is to investigate the extent to which tourism policies have succeeded in addressing the problem of inequalities in the development of the Eastern Cape Province. As the main objective, the study examined how far tourism policies of the Eastern Cape, post-1994, have transformed the provincial tourism sector. The three-tiered ontology (Figure 2) also underlies the research methodology.

Methodology

In terms of the empirical level, descriptive information was collected on certain demographic variables of stakeholders involved tourism activities and other quantitative information on tourism businesses, in order to generate maps indicating regional inequalities in tourism activities. From the perspective of the actual level, explanatory-based information was collected from stakeholders to obtain an understanding of the concrete factors influencing inequalities. At the real level, information was collected on the nature of tourism policies.

Data analysis technique

The multivariate technique of factor analysis and regionalization was applied to all the 6 variables with reference to the tourism businesses registered with the 39 local municipalities. The preliminary processing of the information entailed the checking of the completed questionnaires, coding and data capturing for the subsequent application of a technique involving the SAS JMP Version 8 for Windows by the Statistical Consulting Services Company in Pretoria. This statistical programme was used to execute the factor analysis (O'Leary, 2004: 38).

The 39 local municipalities of the Eastern Cape were used as the taxonomic units of observation in this study. The Eastern Cape Province has six district and two metropolitan municipalities, namely: Alfred Nzo, Amathole, Cacadu, Chris Hani, OR Tambo and Ukhahlamba District Municipalities; and the Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipalities. These eight district municipalities are further broken at the grassroots level, into 39 local municipalities. Each municipality has a Local Economic Development (LED) unit whose functions are basically to promote, facilitate, co-ordinate, strengthen and monitor: LED policies, strategies, programmes and plans; institutions and forums; research and database management, monitoring and evaluation and integration of local government support programmes to municipalities. These regions, under the 39 tourism officials, have specific mandates to oversee the tourism activities in their respective zones.

Variables used to measure variations within the tourism sector

The criteria for selecting variables for measuring or describing the levels of inequalities in development went through a series of debates culminating in the current position that variables selected must be made up of several quantifiable and/or qualitative, descriptive indicators that could be considered as performance measurements, problem indicators, and as data for measuring development challenges and future decision making of the sector concerned (Bennett, 1998). Furthermore, the position is that the variables selected must also be comprehensive enough to cover the geographical, political, historical, environmental, economic, cultural and other important dimensions of the issues at stake. Employing several variables or indicators to measure variations in certain social conditions helps to present comprehensive pictures of those areas which could then be subjected to explanations. Each

of the selected variables is therefore expected to constitute a meaningful indicator of the condition to be analysed (Aliber *et al.*, 2006).

Municipality	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10
Amahlati	14	50.8	20	1.35	101.3	81.69	5.7	74.6	1.47	44
Baviaans	6	90.2	12	0.36	12.55	21.784	3.2	24.7	0.75	23
Blue Crane	31	91.3	15	0.37	12.85	22.389	3.1	26.2	0.73	25
Buffalo City Metro	492	80.1	48	21.4	1228	1294.9	19.3	92.3	11.8	198
Camdeboo	57	55.5	30	2.16	130.2	130.7	18.3	84.5	3.52	54
Elundini	17	92.8	8	0.22	6.69	13.312	2.2	24.2	0.52	24
Emalahleni	3	93.1	11	0.23	6.84	13.918	3.2	18.6	0.59	27
Engcobo	5	94.3	6	0.21	5.43	12.707	1.2	9.6	0.53	23
Gariep	25	50.7	14	1.17	86.83	70.798	5.8	74.3	1.45	43
Great Kei	37	50.5	20	1.41	104.4	85.321	5.3	74.8	1.63	43
Ikwezi	10	90.7	10	0.25	8.25	15.128	3.1	25.1	0.64	24
Inkwanca	1	91.3	10	0.23	6.84	13.918	3.1	22.3	0.58	23
Intsika Yethu	5	94.4	6	0.24	7.14	14.523	3.5	10.8	0.65	25
Inxuba Yethemba	31	55.6	31	2.05	129.8	124.05	18.5	83.8	3.38	54
King Sabata Dalindyebo	93	65.2	37	3.83	261.4	231.76	14.1	89.9	5.51	69
Kouga	117	63.8	34	3.57	246.2	216.02	12.9	91.4	5.32	67
Kou-Kamma	40	55.7	30	2.21	136.1	133.73	18.1	85.3	3.47	53
Lukhanji	38	55.8	32	2.08	123.7	125.86	19.5	85.4	3.43	57
Makana	74	63.5	34	3.26	212.8	197.27	13.7	90.2	5.34	65
Maletswai	45	56.3	32	2.02	124.4	122.23	18.7	84.7	3.34	53
Matatiele	8	93.4	15	0.37	10.93	22.389	3.1	23.7	0.64	30
Mbashe	6	90.7	14	0.38	13.0	22.994	2.3	24.7	0.73	28
Mbizana	2	50.7	24	1.5	109.2	90.767	5.4	74.5	1.42	44
Mhlontlo	6	94.1	8	0.21	5.43	12.707	1.7	9.2	0.51	28
Mnquma	35	51.1	25	1.53	115.7	92.582	5.1	75.2	1.45	45
Ndlambe	101	64.3	34	3.22	228.2	194.85	12.5	89.6	5.23	63
Nelson Mandela Metro	311	99.2	82	31.5	1712	1906.1	24.1	94.2	14.5	371
Ngqushwa	3	91.2	12	0.28	9.95	16.943	3.2	24.3	0.68	25
Nkonkobe	32	51.4	20	1.54	112	93.187	5.8	75.4	1.61	45
Ntabankulu	0	93.2	7	0.23	5.88	13.918	1.6	8.9	0.53	29
Nxuba	9	89.6	14	0.29	10.1	17.548	3.3	25.8	0.71	26
Nyandeni	2	90.8	6	0.22	6.69	13.312	1.4	8.4	0.52	23
Port St. John's	32	64.7	34	3.45	243.6	208.76	14.2	89.5	5.45	66
Qaukeni	7	90.1	15	0.39	10.42	23.599	2.3	10.1	0.58	29
Sakhisizwe	7	92.6	7	0.22	7.65	13.312	3.8	19.1	0.54	24
Senqu	37	56.4	31	2.18	133.6	131.91	18.6	85.2	3.53	55
Sunday's River Valley	66	63.5	33	3.27	232.1	197.87	13.2	89.7	5.41	64
Tsolwana	5	90.1	10	0.2	6.24	12.102	3.2	25.4	0.56	22
Umzimvubu	16	93.7	15	0.4	10.56	24.204	3.4	15.5	0.75	31
Total	**1826**	**2952**	**846**	**100**	**5934**	**6051.1**	**320.7**	**2041.1**	**100**	**2042**
Average	**46.8**	**75.7**	**22**	**2.56**	**152.2**	**155.16**	**8.223**	**52.336**	**2.56**	**52.4**

Legend
V1 (variable 1) Number of tourism businesses registered with Eastern Cape Tourism Board
V2 (variable 2) Percentage of tourism businesses based in the urban centres
V3 (variable 3) Number culture-based tourism products in the municipality
V4 (variable 4) Tourists' visits as a percentage of total visitors to the municipality per day
V5 (variable 5) Amounts spent by tourists per day in R1 000
V6 (variable 6) Estimated contribution by tourism sector to Eastern Cape economy in R millions
V7 (variable 7) Percentage of tourism businesses which were BEE-owned
V8 (variable 8) Percentage of tourism businesses owned by whites
V9 (variable 9) Percentage of employees working in the tourism sector
V10 (variable 10) Number of tourism service providers and related activities

Table 1: Distribution of sample sizes among the observation units. Source: Fieldwork (Author, 2010)

From these perspectives, seven variables were selected for this study to serve as the attribute indicators: number of tourism businesses registered with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board (v1) percentage of urban-located tourism businesses (v2); the number of culture-based

tourism products (v3); tourists' visits as a percentage of total visitors to the municipality per day (v4); estimated amounts spent by tourists (v5); estimated contribution by tourism sector per municipality to Eastern Cape economy (v6); percentage of tourism businesses that are BEE-owned (v7); percentage of tourism businesses owned by whites v8; percentage of employees working in the tourism sector (v9); and number of tourism service providers and related activities (v10). Table 1 and are practically adequate indicators for measuring the current inequalities in the tourism development process of the study region.

Analysis of inequalities in tourism activities between the municipalities

This aspect of the study will begin with a summary of the information as already highlighted in table 1.

Inequalities in tourism businesses registered with Eastern Cape Tourism Board (variable 1)

The first column of Table 1 (v1) indicates that tourism businesses that have registered with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board, the marketing arm of the Provincial Department of Tourism, is urban biased. Only four municipalities have in excess of 100 businesses registered with the Board and all these four municipalities are urban-based. The municipality with the largest registered businesses is Buffalo City Metro (492), followed by Nelson Mandela Metro (311), Kouga (117) and Ndlambe (101). These four municipalities are home to 1021, about 55.9 per cent of the officially registered businesses in the Province. This is an indication that those four municipalities derive more revenue through taxes from these businesses to support tourism infrastructure. In some municipalities only a paltry number of businesses are registered for whatever reasons, and it is difficult to realize enough revenue to develop and maintain the very infrastructure the industry depend upon.

Inequalities in the rural/urban component of the businesses (variable 2)

Reading down the column indicated V2 in Table 1, one cannot fail to recognize the concentration of the few tourism businesses in the rural municipalities in the only urban centres in such regions. Thus, one realizes that literally all the tourism businesses in the rural municipalities currently have no choice but to locate in the single urban centre where electricity, water and other basic infrastructure are available. This situation was evident particularly in the rural municipalities of Blue Crane Route (91.3%), Elundini (92.8%), Emalahleni (93.1%), Umzimvubu (93.7%), Engcobo (94.3%) and Sakhisizwe (92.6%). Great Kei Municipality had the lowest urban concentration of 50.5% of the tourism businesses. These percentages (in brackets) were calculated from the total number of the tourism establishments in the largely rural municipalities which were located in the few urban centres in such municipalities.

It is in such rural areas that the issue of the impacts of the tourism businesses on the living conditions of the surrounding rural communities became very crucial. Some towns in which studies of this nature (Acheampong, 2015; Acheampong & Tichaawa, 2015; Nkazane, 2003; Ansong 2002) were undertaken to obtain information on the impacts of the tourism businesses on the surrounding rural communities included the following: Coffee Bay in the King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, Cofimvaba in the Intsika Yethu Municipality, Cala in the Sakhisizwe Municipality, Peddie in the Nqushwa Municipality, Willowvale and Idutywa in Mbashe Municipality, Tabankulu in Ntabankulu Municipality and Tsolo in Mhlontlo Municipality. It was also in such rural-based towns that the research assistants were able to interview tourists.

Inequalities in the culture-based businesses (variable 3)

From Table 1, one observes tremendous differences between the numbers of culture-based businesses in the municipalities. Businesses related to culture include the traditional handicrafts and other western artefacts. These products are increasingly becoming popular with foreign tourists in particular. Variable 2 indicates that as at 2009, there were about 846 culture-based tourism businesses in the province. Out of these, Nelson Mandela Metro and Buffalo City had 130, giving a percentage of 15.3. The rural municipalities, such as Nqushwa, Mbashe, Engcobo, and Nyandeni are the custodians of the authentic indigenous Xhosa cultures, traditions and local arts and crafts of the province.

Inequalities in the number of tourists visiting and the sizes of their expenditures (variables 4 and 5)

The variables 4 and 5 in Table 1 provide the necessary information concerning the variations between the 39 municipalities. The table indicates that the tourist figures are skewed in favour of the affluent municipalities. For instance, Nelson Mandela Metro and Buffalo City are the most visited municipalities in the province, accounting for 31.5 and 21.4 per cent, respectively, that is, about 52.9 per cent of the total provincial figures. They are followed by King Sabata Dalindyebo Municipality, the third most visited municipality, at a distant 3.83 per cent and Kouga, at 3.57 per cent. Approximately, a third of these figures, that is 33 per cent, were foreign tourists, while 19 municipalities attracted less than 1 per cent of the tourists, of which only 10 per cent were foreign tourists in 2009. The reason for the gulf between Nelson Mandela Metro and Buffalo City and the rest of the municipalities is that they have some of the best quality and variety of tourism products to offer, that is, they are competitive with the top tourism facilities of Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. The selection of Nelson Mandela Metro as a host city of the FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2010 also enhanced its appeal to the international and domestic community.

The information on the amounts spent by the tourists indicate that the provincial total stood at some R 5.9 million per day with the two top metropolitan centres accounting for R2.94 million per day (Table 1, variable 4 and 5). This indicates that the tourists spent about 50% of the provincial expenditures in the two centres at the time of this study.

Inequalities in the estimated contribution of the tourism sector to the Eastern Cape economy (variable 6)

Fieldwork data as reflected from Table 1 (that is, variable 6) indicates that the contribution of the tourism sector to the economy of the Eastern Cape as at May, 2009 was about R6.05 billion. The provincial geographic product was then estimated at about R15 billion which meant the tourism sector contributed about 45% of the provincial geographic product. This was a very important piece of information which indicated that the tourism sector needs to be taken seriously by the authorities.

The contributions from the various municipalities portrayed a rural-urban tourism development dichotomy, with the bulk of the contributions coming from municipalities that are largely urbanized. For instance, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan and Buffalo City Municipalities contributed approximately R3.2 billion, that is, about 52.9 per cent of the provincial annual tourism income of R6.05 in 2009. Whilst Nelson Mandela Metro was the highest contributor of

R1.906 billion, followed by Buffalo City with R1.294 billion, 20 out of the 39 municipalities contributed an average of R16.725 million each during the same period. This is due to the fact that both Nelson Mandela, which is a Metropolitan Municipality and Buffalo City, command the largest economy among the 39 municipalities They both offer a comprehensive list of tourism products and a variety of activities for the benefit of tourists visiting the Eastern Cape Province.

Inequalities in the ownership structure of tourism businesses (variable 7 and 8)

Variable 7 in Table 1 indicates further that the Black Economic Empowerment policy has had a tremendous impact on the ownership structure of the tourism sector of the Eastern Cape. The percentage of businesses owned by BEE entrepreneurs has risen since 1994 to as high as 24% of the total number of tourism businesses in the Nelson Mandela Metro for example. It is interesting to note from variable 7 in Table 1, however, that the few tourism businesses in rural municipalities such as Amahlati, Engcobo, Ikwezi, Mhlontlo, Mnquma Mbashe and Nyandeni are still owned by whites most of who reside in urban centres outside their businesses. The information on that section of Table 1, further indicated that white ownership of tourism businesses (variable 8) in the two top municipalities stand at some 93% which is very remarkable indeed. The lowest in this respect was the municipality of Nyandeni where the 101 businesses had a very low white ownership of nine.

Results and discussions

One of the conditions for addressing causality is to establish the associations between the variables concerned. Such associations can be calculated from the type of raw data presented in Table 1. A key feature of the matrix table is the obvious inequalities existing in the distribution of the 6 variables in the 39 municipalities. The information shows the varying conditions of the variables, as found in the 39 municipalities. However, a problem of information overload exists in relation to Table 1, as one cannot detect a general or broad pattern in the variations as they are presented. Correlation coefficients can be calculated as a first step towards obtaining a bigger picture of the statistical relations that actually exist between the variables and which must, therefore, be found out (Creswell, 2003; Manly, 2004).

In Table 2, such associations are indicated in terms of correlation coefficients. Correlation coefficients are statistical indices indicating how certain variables co-vary. They range from -1.0, for the highest possible negative relationship which could occur, to +1.0, representing a perfect positive relationship. In between these extremes, there are various values representing the different types of relationships existing between those variables.

Table 2: Table of correlation coefficients

Multivariate correlation										
	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10
V1	1.00	-0.0	0.75	0.89	0.91	0.89	0.60	0.49	0.89	0.83
V2	-0.0	1.00	-0.4	0.05	0.00	0.05	-0.5	-0.8	-0.2	0.00
V3	0.75	-0.4	1.00	0.84	0.86	0.84	0.87	0.80	0.95	0.88
V4	0.89	0.05	0.84	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.60	0.45	0.91	0.99
V5	0.91	0.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.63	0.50	0.93	0.98
V6	0.89	0.05	0.84	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.60	0.45	0.91	0.99
V7	0.60	-0.5	0.87	0.60	0.63	0.60	1.00	0.84	0.81	0.64
V8	0.49	-0.8	0.80	0.45	0.50	0.45	0.84	1.00	0.70	0.49
V9	0.89	-0.2	0.95	0.91	0.93	0.91	0.81	0.70	1.00	0.91
V10	0.83	0.00	0.88	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.64	0.49	0.91	1.00

Source: Fieldwork (Author, 2010)

A way of further reducing the information contained in Table 2 into fewer dimensions is still necessary. Factor analysis has been developed to provide this type of more simplified information. Through this type of analysis, the inequalities within the tourism sector could be described in terms of far fewer constructs instead of concentrating on all the individual correlation coefficients. The SAS JMP Version 8 for Windows Factor Analysis Model was used to perform this data reduction exercise.

Table 3 indicates that two principal dimensions could, in fact, be abstracted from the 100 variables to do the descriptions. Thus, instead of working with all the 100 variables, that is with a 10 x 10 matrix structure, the application of the technique of factor analysis indicates that just 2 factors, could in fact, be used in this study to get the broader picture of the dimensions associated with the many relationships.

Table 3: Rotated factor patterns

Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2
Est. contribution by tourism sector to Eastern Cape economy in R millions (variable 6)	0.97	0.21
% of total tourists to the municipalities (variable 4)	0.97	0.21
Amount spent/tourist/day in R 1000s (variable 5)	0.96	0.27
No of tourism service providers and related activities (variable 10)	0.95	0.27
% of Employees in tourism business (variable 9)	0.83	0.54
No. of Businesses registered with ECTB (variable 1)	0.84	0.31
No. of culture-based tourism products (variable 3)	**0.72**	**0.65**
% of BEE tourism business owners (variable 7)	0.46	0.78
% of Urban-based tourism products (variable 2)	0.28	-0.88
% of White owners of tourism businesses (variable 8)	0.24	0.96

Source: Based on Author's Relation (2016)

There are two basic structures that could be used to describe the relationships associated with the inequalities between the variables concomitant with the tourism sector in the Eastern Cape. The loadings on the two factors in Table 3 represent the degree and direction of the relationships of the 10 variables on the factors.

The task was then to name the two factors in Tables 3 and 4. In naming these two dominant factors, the nature of the loadings was taken into account. It is clear from Table 3 that the variables which loaded highly and positively on factor one were 6, 4, 5, 10, 9, 1 and 3. Factor Two also related highly (negative and positive) to variables 7, 2 and 8.

In naming the two factors, it is clear that factor one was very much associated with the high income generating variables. These variables relate to incomes generated in million South African Rands per year, amounts spent by the tourists per year, the provincial employees in the tourism businesses, and the number of tourism facilities and related services. The variables associated with factor two on the other hand, deal basically with the ownership patterns of the businesses. BEE ownership is an important attribute of the variables which have relatively low levels of investments and business networks and are largely non-urban in terms of location. A central theme of the two groupings is thus the clear distinction between the largely high income generating functions of the variables associated with factor one as against the largely rural-based businesses with their Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) component characteristic of factor two.

The implications of these two factors will be mentioned from time to time in the following pages. The above pattern reflects the fact that the dualistic structure associated with the provincial tourism economy is still intact in which the old (pre-1994 tourism business system) and the new (post-1994 system) operate side by side in a palimpsest sort of situation. This is the situation where pre-1994 tourism development legacies co-exist with post-1994 tourism policies. It is one of the current realities in the development of post-1994 South Africa, where massive efforts have been made by the various administrations to spread the tourism activities widely in the Eastern Cape through various intervention packages. However, the old established tourism businesses continue to dominate the economic landscapes. New entrants are merely welcome into an already established framework of regional imbalance between the urban and rural tourism sectors, thus, creating inequality in the spatial development of the Eastern Cape Province.

The spatial dimensions of the two factors

This section of the findings now turns attention to the second objective of this study – a description of the spatial dimension of the tourism businesses with a disclosure of the distribution of the two factors among the 39 municipalities. This aspect of the research was addressed by calculating the scores of the 39 municipalities with reference to the 2 factors.

A striking feature of the factor scores on the above table is the dominant position occupied by the Nelson Mandela Metro with the top score of 5.07 on Factor One. As was mentioned earlier, Factor One is associated largely with the high income generating component of the tourism businesses.

Second on the list was Buffalo City Metro which covers the East London-King Williamstown region with a score of 3.07 on this factor. As could be seen from the above table, the other municipalities scored very low or even negatively on Factor One. Thus, only the two major cities in the Eastern Cape, Port Elizabeth (Nelson Mandela Metro) and East London (Buffalo City Metro), with their surrounding satellites, scored positively on Factor One. These two municipalities, thus, emerged as the most important in the tourism development of the Eastern Cape.

To get a picture of where the remaining 37 municipalities belong, the technique of Cluster Analysis was used and from the information that emerged, they could all be put into two groups. Thus, the third on the list according to the total scores of all municipalities in this group under Factor One were the following municipalities in the same group with Amahlati Municipality, Camdeboo, Gariep, Great Kei, Inxuba Yethemba and King Sabata Dalindyebo, among others. This group is, thus, referred to as the Amahlati Group.

Fourth on the list were largely rural municipalities such as Baviaans, Blue Crane, Elunduni, Emalahleni, Engcobo, Ikwezi, Intsika Yethu, Matatiele, Mbashe, Ntabankulu, Nyandeni and Umzimvubu, with the lowest total scores of all municipalities in this group on Factor One. In fact, this group scored negatively on both Factor 1 and 2. An important point that needs to be noted here is that these municipalities formed part of the former poor homelands of the Transkei and Ciskei. This group is, thus, termed the Baviaans Group. Table 4 which follows shows how the 39 individual municipalities scored on the two factors.

Table 4: Distribution of the two Factors among the 39 municipalities

Municipality	Factor One	Factor Two
Amahlati	-0.56	0.66
Baviaans	-0.31	-0.65
Blue Crane	-0.24	-0.77
Buffalo City Metro	3.07	0.48
Camdeboo	-0.30	1.07
Elundini	-0.17	-0.95
Emalahleni	-0.17	-0.93
Engcobo	-0.12	-1.20
Gariep	-0.55	0.60
Great Kei	-0.56	0.66
Ikwezi	-0.32	-0.77
Inkwanca	-0.29	-0.83
Intsika Yethu	-0.10	-1.16
Inxuba Yethemba	-0.34	1.07
King Sabata Dalindyebo	0.22	1.23
Kouga	0.04	1.35
Kou-Kamma	-0.33	1.10
Lukhanji	-0.22	0.99
Makana	-0.06	1.35
Maletswai	-0.35	1.11
Matatiele	-0.06	-0.98
Mbashe	-0.11	-0.92
Mbizana	-0.43	0.50
Mhlontlo	-0.05	-1.21
Mnquma	-0.39	0.52
Ndlambe	-0.08	1.36
Nelson Mandela Metro	5.07	-0.11
Ngqushwa	-0.22	-0.89
Nkonkobe	-0.48	0.59
Ntabankulu	-0.14	-1.18
Nxuba	-0.27	-0.75
Nyandeni	-0.08	-1.19
Port St. John's	-0.05	1.31
Qaukeni	-0.05	-1.09
Sakhisizwe	-0.21	-0.95
Senqu	-0.28	1.06
Sunday's River Valley	-0.14	1.40
Tsolwana	-0.32	-0.78
Umzimvubu	-0.05	-1.08

Source**:** Based on SAS JMP Version 8 for Windows (Acheampong, 2015)

For easy identification of towns and cities that are incorporated into the new municipalities, refer to Figure 1. In the following sections, the terms Port Elizabeth/Nelson Mandela Metro, Buffalo City Metro, Amahlati and Baviaans will be used to designate the 4 hierarchies.

When it comes to the distribution of Factor Two, one notices that it is the rural-oriented municipalities such as Camdeboo, Nxuba Yethemba, King Sabata Dalindyebo, Kouga, Makana, Maletswai, Ndlambe, Port St John's and Sunday's River Valley regions which scored significantly with the values ranging from 1.07 for Camdeboo to 1.35 for Makana. Other municipalities which scored positively on Factor Two include Amahlati (0.66), Gariep (0.60), Great Kei (0.66) and Mnquma (0.52). These figures help to disclose the fact that BEE-owned businesses and the other variables associated with "rurality" are prominent in these municipalities. The Amahlati Group tops Factor Two. It needs to be noted that Buffalo City came second with a score of 0.48 whilst the Nelson Mandela metro came third with a score of -0.10. The Baviaans Group again came fourth with a score of -0.96. Table 5 gives a summary

of the average scores associated with the 4 clusters as derived from the cluster analysis on both Factor One and Factor Two. See Figure 2.
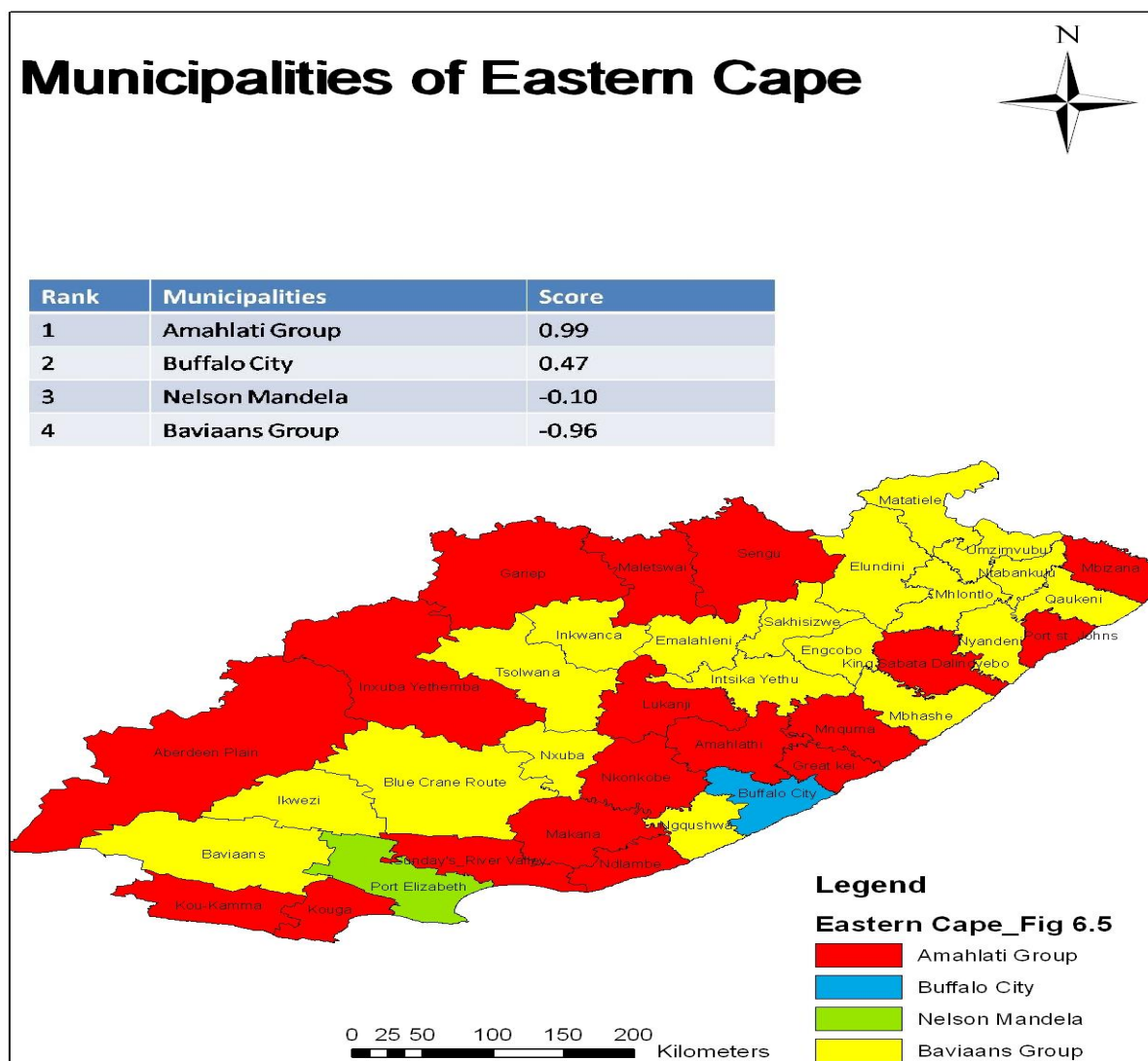

Figure 2: Distribution of the factor scores among the municipalities (Factor 2). Source: Acheampong, 2015:13

The data below thus provides important information concerning the rankings of the 4 clusters on both Factor One and Factor Two.

Table 5: The average scores associated with the four clusters

Group/Cluster	Average scores for Factor 1	Average scores for Factor 2
Nelson Mandela Metro (PE)	5.06 (1st)	-0.106 (3rd)
Buffalo City Metro	3.074 (2nd)	+0.476 (2nd)
The Amahlati Group	-0.29 (3rd)	+0.995 (1st)
The Baviaans Group	-0.17 (4th)	-0.96 (4th)

Source: Based on Table 4

A three-dimensional impression of the factor scores, is illustrated in a bar graph on Figure 3. The map clearly shows the Port Elizabeth and East London regions standing out as islands of relative tourism affluence in islands of tourism underdevelopment. The map shows the distribution of the factor scores on the municipalities referred to by the names Amahlati Group

and Baviaans Group. It could be observed on both maps that the municipalities in the Baviaans Group are largely located in the former relatively underdeveloped homelands of Transkei and Ciskei. The maps portray a general south-west, north-east arc of low tourism development regions operating side by side with the two coastal nodes of relative prosperity. This information thus provides the answer to the research objective related to the inequalities associated with the tourism sector of the Eastern Cape. It is likely to be the first time that such information on the provincial tourism development condition is being presented to the public, that is, factor analysis has been used to generate a map indicating the classifications of the municipalities on the basis of their factor scores to review the extent of inequalities in tourism activities among the local municipalities of the Eastern Cape Province.
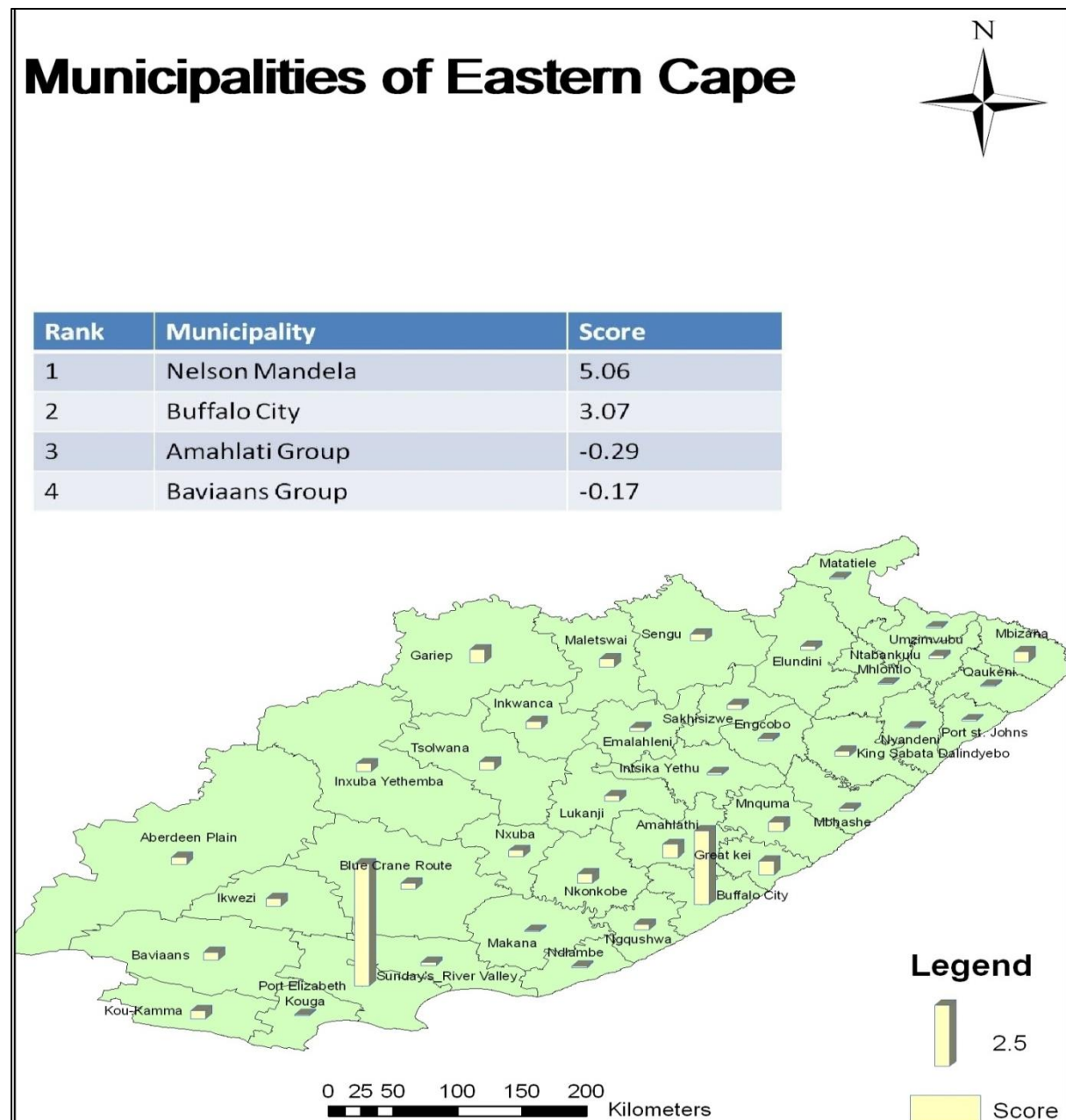

Figure 2: A Map of Bar Graphs indicating the distribution of Scores on Factor 1. Source: Based on Fieldwork Analysis (Author, 2010)

Recommendations

Considering the findings above, it is believed that maximum benefits can only occur when the stakeholders concerned work as a team in the social transformation process. This is based on the theory that the actual level-positioned stakeholders need to constitute the key actors in the social transformation processes. The position of this study is that only as a collective will the maximum benefits that could be realized in the tourism sector be realisable (Archer, Bhaskar, Collier & Norries, 1998).

The factor analytic technique indicated that the 39 municipalities can be classified into four on the basis of the socio-economic indicators used to describe inequalities of tourism development in the Province. This basic dualistic structure in the spatial dimension of tourism development in the Eastern Cape is very much inherent in the four groups. This should impress upon the government officials about what extra steps needed to be taken to restructure the tourism sector in the Province. It is, therefore, important that all the four clusters share resources to ensure that tourism businesses flourish and take care of the ecological conditions. A review of the current Eastern Cape tourism development policies and plans by the author indicates that the problem of implementation is one missing link in that sector. The government officials need to educate the stakeholders about the new roles that they would have to play to enable them to contribute to the sustained growth of the tourism sector of the Eastern Cape. They have to see themselves as business partners whose individual activities form part of the bigger whole and therefore, need to work as a team, as alluded to by Johnson (2002) and Guba-Khasnobis, Kanbur and Ostrom (2006).

The decision of the Provincial government to limit tourism operations into a directorate in the Department of Economic Development and Environmental Affairs, has seriously affected the capacity of the unit to tackle growth and development of tourism. An official who spoke to the author on condition of anonymity conceded that the unit was not coping at all in dealing with the numerous development issues associated with the tourism industry because of limited capacity in terms of resources, both human and finance. The province has huge tourism potential for development that is hampered by serious challenges like infrastructural development, poverty, disease, hunger and the general appeal of the region. The tourism industry will succeed if the provincial government could consider creating a stand-alone department incorporating tourism and environmental affairs, as at the national level and other provinces, beef up its capacity and tackle tourism development head-on. A provincial government department, solely dedicated to tourism development that will work in tandem with the environmental unit to aggressively tackle tourism development issues will be a great move in the right direction. This tourism-dedicated department can then work hand-in-hand with its marketing arm – the newly-created Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Authority (ECPTA) – to promote tourism development and market the Province in a regulated and co-ordinated manner.

In beefing up the capacity of its human resources, qualified and competent staff with proven track record should be employed to chart the course of tourism development out of troubled waters. Such officials should be able to implement tourism policies that are gathering dust in government offices and to cascade such implementation to the local government level. The government must also be prepared to substantially increase the budget for the proposed department so that highly capital-intensive infrastructure requirements for tourism development that the Province lacks seriously could be tackled expeditiously. The government-employed tourism officials should also be visible and accessible to tourism practitioners to offer support and guidance through workshops, seminars and in-service training.

The officials associated with the Local Economic Development units of the municipalities, and the tourism department need to be work- shopped about what their work entails and "traverse the dialogue between change and tradition" as discussed by Pritchard and Morgan (2007:11-28). The officials need to have detailed information and knowledge about developments going on within their municipalities and begin the challenging task of setting up a data base of all the tourism activities, the problems facing them and their recommendations. This critical role of information systems in social transformation is one theme highlighted by Scheyvens (1999); Swarbrooke (1999); Pillay, (2000); Downward and Mearman (2004a). Downward (2005), and Pritchard and Morgan, (2007) have also indicated how the government officials need to provide leadership by identifying the relevant information needed to attract tourism businesses to their areas of designation. Unless this important task of information gathering is made to constitute a key job description element of the municipality officers, very little can change in the tourism sector of the Eastern Cape.

The residents living near the tourism businesses also need to be linked to the tourism businesses in various ways such as getting employment and providing services of various kinds to the tourism business owners as discussed elsewhere by Keyser (2000); De Kadt (1992); and Oranje (2002: 56). It is the only way to empower them for socio-economic development of their local areas (Acheampong, 2015). Workshops will be needed occasionally between the business owners and the local communities where any problems in the localities could be discussed between the two. Currently no such interactions were found to exist.

McIntyre (1993); May (1998); Mahony and Van Zyl (2002); and Kirsten (2006) have all highlighted the importance of bringing people together through occasional workshops to promote certain activities. Through such interactions, rural communities living near the tourism businesses, for example, could be made to come to the business premises occasionally to entertain guests. The tourism activities in the Eastern Cape need to bring about greater understanding between the local communities and the businesses. This must lead to greater awareness and the renaissance of old Xhosa cultures and traditions such as "intonjane" (the passage of girls to womanhood); "ulwaluko" (circumcision − passage of boys to manhood); "imbeleko" (the welcoming of a new born baby); "indlame" (a traditional male dance) and "ukudlala intonga" (stick fighting among young men). By inviting the local community in to interact with the tourism ventures, the communities' cultures could be revived and advertised outside the Eastern Cape. Community cohesion will be improved as individuals, families and businesses work together to build the tourism activities. In this connection, the Small Micro Medium tourism businesses in such localities would grow and expand (Scheyvens, 1999).

Conclusion

Various constituencies in the Eastern Cape are, no doubt, endeavouring to make their contribution to the post-1994 development agenda of the province. This paper has discussed the post-1994 discourse in the Eastern Cape from the tourism development planning perspective. In so doing, it has brought to attention the fact that the stakeholders in the tourism sector need to recognise the links between the following: their day-to-day activities and their impact on the long term development of the Eastern Cape; the vital links between the activities of all stakeholders; the relations between the tourism activities and the spatial patterns of development in the province; the links between municipal-based development information and the broader structure of the provincial development process; and the links between the tourism sector and other sectors of the Eastern Cape economy.
Specifically, it has been argued that the tourism development officials of the Eastern Cape cannot afford to work with development models which tend to conceptualise development programmes in terms of the theory of chaotic conception - an arbitrary abstraction from a wider

range of relations which define a system (Sayer, 2000). It has been shown that to do so will be to risk drying up some of the key resources needed for the post-apartheid transformation of the province. In all their endeavours, the officials need to ask the question: who are the key stakeholders required to produce certain outcomes in the province and how could they be made to work as a team? What needs to be done today with the stakeholders to promote balanced, integrated and sustainable tourism development in the Eastern Cape?

To answer these questions, it has been shown that emergence theory (the consequence of an interconnected system of relatively simple elements, self-organizing to form more intelligent, more adaptive higher-level behaviour), will be central for widening opportunities for all stakeholders in the tourism sector to participate to their maximum. As was indicated earlier, providing information to prospective tourists that visit the province can be one activity that should trigger interactions between certain stakeholders to enable certain outcomes to emerge. How ready will the stakeholders be, in case thousands of tourists begin turning their attention to the Eastern Cape in the future? Will there be the tourism business owners and their support staff to address the demands of the tourists such as providing them with adequate rooms, quality food, security, tourism information, and all the other key elements that can satisfy them?

Eastern Cape tourism policy makers and the development planners need to recognise that so much work needs to be done to enable the tourism sector of the province to make the maximum positive impacts in obliterating inequalities in the development of the province. They need to recognise that no sustained development can take place in the various constituencies of the province without their involvement and that of all stakeholders. The officials need to work hard to enable the other stakeholders in the tourism businesses to increase production, investment and consumption opportunities in the sector. It is the only way inequalities in the development of the Province can be arrested.

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