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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN KWAZULU NATAL SOUTH AFRICA IN POST-APARTHEID: WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN TOURISM

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Declaration

I certify that the research described in this dissertation has not already been submitted for any other degree.

Signature: Sibongile P. Tshabalala

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AsgiSA	Accelerated and shared growth initiative for South Africa
BANKSETA	Bank Education Training Authority
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BWA	Business Women Association
CEU	Central European University
CIT	Centre for Information Technology
COSATU	Confederation of South African Trade Union
CTO	Community Tourism Organisation
DMA	District Management Area
DTF	District Tourism Forum
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry (also know and the *dti*)
FEDHASA	Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa
FET	Further Education and Training
FIFA	Federated International Football Association
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Programme
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICC	International Convention Centre
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFC	International Finance Corporation

IFM	International Finance Market
JIPSA	Joint Initiative in Priority Skills
KZNTA	KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority
LED	Local Economic Development
MFIs	Microfinance Institutions
MSME	Micro small and Medium sized Enterprise
NDP	New Development Path
NTSS	National Tourism Sector Strategy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAT	South African Tourism
SEWU	Self-Employed Women's Union
SMMEs	Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises
TEP	Tourism Enterprise Development
THETA	Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority
TIKZN	Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal
TSA	Transport Security Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIVISA	One Visa for Zambia and Zimbabwe
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WEF	World Economic Forum
WID	Women in Development
WSSD	World Summit for Sustainable Development
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

Acknowledgements

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Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral explora los obstáculos y las restricciones que las mujeres, particularmente las mujeres negras, enfrentan en la Sudáfrica post-Apartheid, en el sector del turismo, clave para el desarrollo del país. Me interesa especialmente visibilizar las contribuciones de las mujeres al mercado en tanto que participantes activas (agentes) del desarrollo, a pesar de las adversidades. En este sentido, exponemos la naturaleza de los problemas que impiden a las mujeres africanas una participación efectiva en el ámbito de los empresariados turísticos y analizamos la exclusión femenina del desarrollo, lo que no impide por cierto que encuentren vías de acceso a la esfera económica o que reten las políticas del desarrollo. Sudáfrica proporciona un buen ejemplo para analizar la complejidad de la igualdad de género en el desarrollo durante la última década. Desde el fin formal del Apartheid (desde 1994) se han desarrollado políticas específicas para abordar la subordinación femenina por lo que la igualdad de género (las mujeres, más bien) se han convertido en centrales para el desarrollo nacional del país. En apenas unos años, Sudáfrica ha subido a los primeros diez puestos de la representación política femenina en el mundo. Con todo, muchos aspectos necesitan estudiarse en mayor profundidad. Esta tesis doctoral se centra en los siguientes aspectos, con vistas a explicarlos, entre otros, a saber:

- Las mujeres escasamente participan del empresariado turístico como resultado de la discriminación por género, raza o clase.
- Muchos obstáculos previenen a las mujeres para participar del desarrollo turístico, por ejemplo, debido a la ausencia de apoyo, de espacios adecuados para operar, y de acceso a la tierra; debido a políticas exclusivistas, prácticas culturales y estereotipos tradicionales; debido a dificultades para financiar sus proyectos o falta de acceso a micro-financiación.
- Las instituciones y las agentes de desarrollo no usan criterios específicos para que las mujeres se involucren de forma efectiva en los negocios turísticos.

- Algunos enfoques de desarrollo necesitarían ser reformulados para lograr la participación; las cuestiones de género deberían ser articuladas/incorporadas en las políticas.

- Numerosas percepciones negativas (como no ser lo suficientemente creativas o competitivas) limitan que las mujeres recurran a los empresariados turísticos.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the constraints that women, particularly Black women, face in post-Apartheid South Africa, towards development by looking at tourism. I specifically search for ways of making visible women's contributions to the market economy as active participants of development despite the odds. Thus we intend to expose the nature of problems that inhibit Black women from effective participation in tourism entrepreneurial engagements by analysing, among other things, how women's marginalization in economic development do not prevent them from carving themselves out a space in the economic sphere or challenging some development policies. South Africa provides a good example to analyse the intricacies of gender equality and development for the last decade. With the formal end of Apartheid (1994 onwards) specific policies have been passed on to overcome women's subordination, putting gender (mostly women) at the centre of South African national development. In just a few years South Africa has raised his position to the first ten positions on female political representation worldwide. Still, many aspects need to be study further in depth. This dissertation focuses on some contradictions to provide answers, among others, the following:

- There is a low participation of women in tourism entrepreneurial ventures as a result of layers of discrimination such as race, gender/sex and class differences.

- May obstacles hinder women from participating meaningfully in tourism entrepreneurial venture, such as lack support, spaces for operation, access to land, exclusive policies, twisted cultural practices, traditional stereotypes, difficulty in accessing financial assistance from banks and microfinance/microcredit institutions.

- Institutions and development agents do not use specific criteria to effectively engage women in entrepreneurial engagement in tourism.

- Some models of development need reformulation for meaningful participation of women in tourism entrepreneurship. Women's issues are not articulated specifically in policies.

- Many pervasive negative perceptions on women have caused limitations and drawback to explore tourism entrepreneurial opportunities, for instance, lack of competency, not being creative enough, and that women cannot compete with men.

*Illustration 1. Views of Durban: beach (above) and neighborhood from Olwandle Suite Hotel (below).
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala*

INTRODUCTION: Background to study (I)

The complexity of the South African economic development draws a lot of research attention of serious and critically minded scholars due to political and social structures that tend to put women on the margins. The situation in South Africa is a bit skewed, in that, Black South Africans are unequal when it comes to share of national resources with Whites, Indians and Coloureds (previously advantaged group) are in the majority, yet have only recently received citizenship in the country and in that way still lag behind in development benefits. According to the Gini coefficient, South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world.

This is largely so the case for women. What this is seen is that the evident low participation of women in entrepreneurship emanates from a history of domination, subordination, exclusion, lack of support and discrimination which is perpetrated by race, culture, religion, laws and regulations that are silent about the nature of women's involvement in economic growth. This condition makes development system more complicated and difficult to analyse using existing models. Nevertheless, I employ the theory of development empowerment based on exclusivity and exploitation to explore women's plight in setting a basis for debating on socio-political constructions hindering women's socio-economic enhancement.

The complexities can be noticed and observed in empowerment and affirmative action programmes' implementation, which are gendered and political. Programmes that are

meant to reach women entrepreneurs fail to directly improve women's conditions because women tourism entrepreneurs experience exclusion, through their names only being used in men's businesses but not actually getting a chance to participate in them as owners. Women entrepreneurs operate as 'baits' for starting businesses and end up invisible in economic development. Women are not utilizing their creativity, skills, strategies and experiences maximally in economic development because of marginalization and inequality. Some cultural practices and religion have aggravated the condition women are positioned in, and like any other distressed group, the condition they are in makes them to believe that changing the situation would be an inevitable exercise.

Overall aim

The aim of the dissertation is to examine the constraints posed by development such as finance, society and support from public and private sectors that women, and particularly Black women, who are most, marginalized, yet in majority, encounter due to race, class and gender differences. I search for ways of involving women as active participants in economic development who will see their contribution through to the market.

Research Question

What is the nature of problems that inhibit Black women from effective participation in entrepreneurial engagements thus contribution in post-Apartheid economic development more meaningfully and visible? In other words, I hope to show how through (a) entrepreneurship, women, although marginalised in economic development are able to

carve out a space to belong in the economic sphere, or (b) some policies are detrimental to economic development, I show the challenges these pose.

The study seeks to answer the following questions that impact negatively on women participating in the tourism industry.

- In what way and to what extent are women involved in tourism development? (Looking at tourism development in areas where there is very little or nothing, and areas where there are tourism businesses but women are for some reasons not involved)

- What obstacles hinder Black women's involvement in entrepreneurial tourism development? (More or less the same comment as above)

- How suitable and beneficial to women are the economic development tools and institutions in poverty alleviation and empowerment? (Considering microfinances and entrepreneurship in tourism).

- Are there any feasible tourism projects that can be evaluated using the criteria of meaningful involvement?

- What are women's views on and or understanding of tourism entrepreneurship in enhancing living conditions?

- What lessons can be learnt from the experiences of women involved in entrepreneurial development with reference to poverty alleviation and wealth creation?

- What theory can best treat the issue of low participation of women in tourism entrepreneurial development? (How effective are feminist theories, like Women

in Development, Women and Development, and Gender and Development; WID, WAD, and GAD, respectively).

Problem Statement and hypothesis

Black women experience a lot of discrimination in accessing finance, support, favourable policies, and inclusion in socioeconomic initiatives because of race, class and gender differences perpetrated by cultures, institutions such as education, religion, policies with their laws and regulations that are silent about the nature of their involvement in economic growth. I chose both the Apartheid and the post-Apartheid period because Black women became regarded as part of entrepreneurship in this period and the tourism industry opened its gates for the first time in South Africa to Black people.

To place this chapter and the related hypotheses in context it is convenient to produce the hypotheses that are postulated below in order to prepare the reader through the whole text. Once they are tested I will then draw conclusions and make recommendations, which will be presented in the last chapter. After more than two decades of transformation in South Africa, women in general and Black women in particular have not derived the full socio-economic benefits of the new dispensation. Non–significant participation in tourism industry is one of the main factors of this situation, which is fuelled by their low participation in the tourism industry. It is hypothesised that:

- There is a low participation of women in tourism entrepreneurial ventures as a result of layers of discrimination such as race, gender/sex and class differences.

- Obstacles such as lack support, space for operation, land, exclusive policies, twisted cultural practices, traditional stereotypes, difficulty in accessing financial assistance from banks and microfinance/microcredit institutions hinder women from participating meaningfully in tourism entrepreneurial ventures.

- There are no criteria directly used to indicate effective involvement of women in entrepreneurial engagement in tourism.

- There are models/theories that need to be formulated for meaningful participation of women in tourism entrepreneurship.

- The perceptions such as lack of competency, not being creative enough, and that women cannot compete with men, created by society for women regarding participation in tourism development have caused limitations and drawback for women to explore tourism entrepreneurial opportunities.

- There are still challenges that face women tourism entrepreneurs in most tourism businesses.

- Black women who are already in tourism business face unbecoming conditions such as gender discrimination even in the new democratic government.

- The policies and initiatives on equity that seek to govern and influence tourism entrepreneurial development do not directly and clearly articulate women issues for development and welfare of women although they seem to be well framed and articulated in the constitution.

The analyses and interpretation that follows in the dissertation describes intensively the preliminary findings based on the hypotheses above. There is absolutely no empowerment on the ground and therefore discrimination or inequality, lack of support in various forms, comes up often in the narratives of these women during the time of registration, resources coordination and the operation of the business.

Justification of the research

I chose tourism entrepreneurs because tourism and entrepreneurship have been earmarked by the government as one of the industries with huge potential of enhancing economic growth, and creating job opportunities (Tourism White Paper 1996 and Tourism Provincial White Paper for KwaZulu Natal 2008). Tourism is also an industry in which certain classes of people like upper and middle participate because they have surplus expendable income of more than R5000, 00 a month. This type of character makes tourism to be an exclusive, oppressive and exploitative industry. Women are being integrated into the economic mainstreaming since the new democratic change.

In view of the fact that the literature that critically explores participation of women entrepreneurs in local economic enhancement of developing countries like South Africa is limited and that the literature in industrialised countries seems not to be relevant to African situation and conditions the study will contribute to theory and knowledge building. The present study is aimed primarily at examining the entrepreneurship practice viewing it from the women lens. The study is therefore building on theoretical understanding that might culminate into practical implementation of workable and economically viable as well as collective women businesses.

The study therefore seeks to come out with policies and strategies for funding women businesses through group savings for start-up capital and using family and friends as alternatives for start-up capital for their businesses. It will also sensitize the government about the views women suggest would work best for them as a result of limitations they experience on day-to-day operations in entrepreneurship. For young women I suggest that the government will have to provide women friendly funding schemes that will be specifically designed to sustain tourism businesses as part of entrepreneurial development.

Dissertation outline

The study encompasses the following chapters, which directly explore and analyses the situation building up to a possible increase in the number of women owning viable enterprise. In total, the dissertation will have seven chapters.

Chapter One will discuss the overview of the dissertation and will also give a background to the study and site. It will also give an introduction of Black women enterprises using money as a form of exchange started during industrialization of South Africa during colonisation and the Apartheid eras. These eras demonstrate the historic land grab by western countries in Africa which culminated in those countries fighting for land as witnessed by a series of wars between English and Dutch settlers as well as between English and Zulus and Boers (Dutch settlers) and Blacks/Zulus in KwaZulu Natal. Women and men had lived together and supported each other in forming economically sound families. Men would on one hand hunt and gather to bring food to the table for the family. Women on the other hand would till the soil for ploughing the crops that would sustain the families. Women are capable and able; nothing can stand

on their way to achieve what they believe in. Historically up to today women in KwaZulu Natal could negotiate their space and seat in the counsel of men and share ideas up to taking decisions on issues pertaining to family and societal matters, including disputes. That is why the existence of matriarchal societies in Africa, as Amadiume (1987b) attests cannot be easily ignored, and in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa traits and effect of such structural institution still prevails of which the western anthropologists have little or no knowledge about the idea. In that case knowledge from the South is equally important if the intention is to come up with universal knowledge that is inclusive of other 'knowledges'.

Tourism seems to be a good mechanism in creating platforms for sharing knowledge embedded in cultural practices of the people. Beside the Tourism industry is a key contributor to the KwaZulu-Natal economy (TIKZN, 2009) as well as the tool for preserving culture and heritage that people's knowledge. The government therefore views tourism as a catalyst for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of payments advantages and important infrastructural developments benefiting locals and visitors alike (Glasson *et al.* 1995). In order to achieve that it prioritized integrating women into economic growth by encouraging Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) to be a way of earning income and getting out of poverty. Thus entrepreneurship became a draw card for women to venture into businesses with promises of receiving support from the state aided organs such microfinance institutions.

The chapter will also focus on the physical setting of the study area.

Chapter Two examines the history and state of entrepreneurial conditions of women. The chapter elicits at the theoretical framework where I draw on in this study broadly theories on development and economic empowerment; in the African continent and particularly the South African perspective.   Perceptions of development by the state and citizens will be highlighted to reflect the opposing views of the two groups involved. I touch on disempowering through dispossession of Apartheid policies, and also view how empowering are the post-Apartheid policies and legislative laws to Black people and particularly Black women. I further explore whether tourism entrepreneurship is really improving lives of people in the country, taking into consideration women case in KwaZulu Natal.

The chapter demonstrates the extent of the lack of empowerment entrepreneurship on women. My outlook has been influenced by feminists' perspective of affirmative action and other initiatives, which serve to promote economic development. The question the chapter is trying to answer rests upon women in entrepreneurial empowerment: Is tourism entrepreneurship improving women's lives in South Africa? For this I will employ Cornwall's (2010) theory of empowerment. She argues that empowerment has been embedded in many historic struggles for social justice. Its trajectory to developing countries and especially to South Africa during democracy has been so transformed that it landed itself more into economic empowerment of certain sectors of the community, thus doing injustice to the rest of the society. Empowerment was read and understood by the masses as bringing a kind of social change, upliftment from oppression and subordination of Black Africans from White supremacy as a universally accepted worldview which was entangled with democracy, which a lot of us then and even now did not clearly understand what exactly it entailed.

Frederick Cooper's (2005) knowledge formations of development about Africa by the west reflect the western perceptions on Africa and the Africans. Cooper's arguments emanate from a historical knowledge perspective located in the eras from 1492-1960 that centred on Western Universalism that moves from Africa to South Asia and to Europe. He argues and proposes for a fuller engagement of history rather than it to be "a give-and-take of historical knowledge; not least in the ways in which concepts usually attributed to Western Universalism-including citizenship and equality" (Cooper 2005: 47) are defined and reconfigured politically and economically. This universalism ideology is manifested in government system of South Africa, which is one of the colonies where every project, programme or initiative due to communities flows from top to bottom, or from developed to developing countries (universalism inherited) in an unequal and unjust manner. This formation leaves the vast knowledge the developing countries have from their cultural and traditional sources that have been regarded as traditional hence not modernized or westernized. I will further examine the relationship between development and economy in terms of winners and losers in this inseparable pair. I will argue the type of injustice that development brings to women which results into marginalization and exclusion of individuals or groups of people it targets to assist, which violates the aspired wishes of communities on the ground.

Lastly my theoretical framework draws on entrepreneurship and empowerment in order to discuss and evaluate the nature of participation of women in entrepreneurial economic development in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, using the cases of tourism women entrepreneurs. The reason for this perspective in approach is triggered by the fact that economic development is defined by United Nations as improving the income status of people in developing Third World countries (GEM 2012).

Chapter Three of the dissertation will look at the research methodology study uses. This chapter is divided into three sections: the methodological approach, data collection and the analytical approaches I draw on for the analysis of my data. , I have used ethnography because it entails both the basic classical ethnographic research and qualitative and quantitative methods. I will do so because I want to have an understanding of the conditions under which women entrepreneurs operate especially those in the tourism industry. The methods employed in this research are grounded within the critical social science framework where critical social science is a "critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (Neuman 2003:81). Random stratified sampling will be used to identify women tourism entrepreneurs within various KwaZulu Natal municipalities where the study is conducted. Samples are sourced from four district municipalities.

The second part of the chapter discusses how I collected information in the field and how I chose my participants and the methods I used to gather data from four district municipalities of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. I intend engaging in interviews using questionnaires as well as recording narratives of women tourism entrepreneurs using both audio and video recorders. I also used the camera to capture the memories and for these I had to request permission to use all these equipment for ethical purposes. I will further use auto-ethnography to position myself in the study as I am both the researcher and the researched in this particular research as I have indicated in introductory part of my thesis.

In this chapter I further describe the interviewing techniques that I utilised in the field and also how this led to me to have repeated visits spending time in observing women in their everyday interactions with business at various transport convergence nodes in cities and towns, along the freeways and highways, at filling stations on national roads and at their facilities, curio shops and at accommodation establishments.

Finally the chapter in the third section outlines the approaches used for analysing data from different perspectives, and how I will verify my findings. For that I will work closely with key participants from my research sites consulting them on my interpretation of the data. Analysis and verification of my findings involved revisits to the field and in-depth discussions with key informants.

Chapter Four revolves around gender and development; entrepreneurship in South African situation. In evaluating the relationship between the concepts of gender and development politics, economy, history, society and cultures that I prefer to call beliefs, form the centre stage if one has to explore gender and development. Thus the history of feminism/women in economic development and entrepreneurship is discussed in order to highlight some differences between gender from a western perspective and that of African perspective from a South African context making use of tourism women entrepreneurs in KwaZulu Natal. The reason for this inclusion of history is to demonstrate that Black women in South Africa still experience racial subordination born from Apartheid nourished by racism up the point of writing.

In this chapter I try to translate how problems women entrepreneurs encounter relate to discrimination on race, gender, class as well as other axis intersecting in entrepreneurial growth, using practical issues raised by my interviewees during my fieldwork in July-

August 2013 as well as interviews conducted from 2009 and 2009 and 2011. These problematic issues are access to finance, land, space for operating, market, and training and material support.

The issues I am addressing in this chapter as Crenshaw (1989:149) suggests relate to Black women experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by White women and Black men hence double discrimination.

The priority here is examining critically the strategies that are being used to engage women in development such as integration, empowerment and entrepreneurship for economic enhancement contribution. A policy strategy guiding the shift from being passive contributors to seeing their production through to the market would make a turning point if economic improvement is required. In this chapter my goal is exploring how effective is entrepreneurship in boosting the economy of the country if literature indicates that entrepreneurship is still gendered in South Africa. As women are targeted for microcredit borrowers because of being 'poor', can loan repayment at high interest rates improve their economic situation and thus lifted out of poverty?

Since access to start-up finance is a problem with women, formulating a kind of funding strategy would be another way considered as an alternative where Collective Effort, meaning bringing together different classes of entrepreneurs to solicit a viable *stokvel* (traditional microcredit) to address the problem not investors who dispossess women financially and materially and in the process accumulating their own wealth. Through a self-defined woman, other ways to engage women could be found if they are given an opportunity to be listened to not be silenced by policies instead be heard by financial donors, institutions, policy makers. And this calls for a Black feminist awareness to

groups or women movement with a difference where the mind-set is provoked to think differently from the norm.

Chapter Five looks at tourism as a vehicle for development: in an exclusive an exploitative nature. What the chapter will show is that tourism a tool for development is exclusive in nature. The definition of tourism attests to its exclusivity, where not everyone can participate. Besides that it is also exploitative both at the place of origin of a tour and people at the destination are exploited especially women, as providers of and owners of tourist facilities, cheap labour. Furthermore it is selective in terms of who can participate and who cannot. In this chapter I aim at examining the questions: 1) How discriminatory is tourism? 2) Who are key participants in tourism? 3) How does tourism hope to achieve development? 4) Why tourism for economic development now in South Africa/ who benefits and how in the industry. In addressing these questions I will make use of the South African Tourism White Paper 1996, KwaZulu Natal Tourism Strategy Development 2008 and other policy documents. My experience with tourism industry as an intern with KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority in 1997-98 and as lecturer in the Department of Recreation at the University of Zululand will provide practical realities of how exclusive and discriminatory the industry can be. I will also engage the theories of Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) that were propounded by feminists working in economics and especially development studies (Peterson 2012: 15). The inclusion of this theory is to demonstrate how women are integrated into economic growth and development in the country.

Chapter Six is entitled "Women Narratives/Stories: Analysis and interpretation of data". Cases of women entrepreneurs in the tourism industry are analysed and evaluated

to determine the discriminatory, exclusive, exploitative and oppressive nature women experience in entrepreneurship. This chapter seeks to present the results of the interviews undertaken with women tourism entrepreneurs and district officials in four district municipalities of the province KwaZulu Natal. Experiences of these women entrepreneurs trigger debates for addressing segregation and discriminating activities which can be connected to the larger and underlying marginalizing strategies embedded in development in South Africa. These women are found in various sectors of tourism such as tour operators (tour operators and tour guides), crafts, accommodation, tourism officers at district and local municipality levels.

The desired goals, the various responses based on the fieldwork are presented and analysed in tabular form or graphics such as histograms, pie and linear graphs in order to bring out any model, pattern or paradigm pertaining to the study. I have used for my analysis and interpretation field notes, ethnographic log, transcripts of interviews, and notes on interviews that I took while in the field. The process of data analysis and interpretation forms an important section of any research work because conclusions and recommendations deduced are influenced by the findings emerging from the research analysis

Chapter Seven will discuss recommendations and conclusion for the dissertation. This chapter entails drawing of a summary, contributions and future issues as well as recommendations. The summary is formed of conclusions drawn from chapters focusing on issues of empowerment, exploitation in the form of commodification of people by tourism, exclusivity embedded in entrepreneurship and economic policies, negative impact of integration of women in economic development and other problems

faced by women in local areas. There exists a thin line almost invisible amongst development, economy and entrepreneurship. Women still lag behind and experience different forms of discrimination, exploitation oppression in tourism industry as reflected in entrepreneurship. I therefore propose the establishment of a feminist group (not exactly a movement) to effectively drive the desired change. My priority is establishing a Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Development at the University of Zululand, which will be based on collaboration between institutions nationally and internationally. Getting existing women groups together and setting up a movement at grassroots level.

Self-reflection on the dissertation topic (II)

I am the youngest of the family of three, two girls and one boy, that were raised by a woman after the tragic loss of her husband during his blossoming farming years as an entrepreneur in rural KwaZulu Natal province in South Africa.

My life has been a series of events and circumstances peculiar to a single woman from the 1950s to date, even though I got married early in life. My experiences and life during marriage did not differ that much from that of a single woman. It did not worry me because I was coming from the family where women can do things that men do; heading the families, educating and supporting their children to go through life, and teaching them ways of how to face, deal and overcome challenges that they might come across in life.

From the early stages in life, coming from an extended polygamous family I was surrounded by women who had a great impact in my life. I had a lot of mothers, aunts and sisters but boys in my family were very few. Each mother had one boy and two or more girls. The only parents we could depend upon were our mothers and aunts (sisters to our fathers). I lost my father when I was like one and a half years, and for this reason I did not have any male figure to depend on for support during the growing years. I could only see my mom and aunts taking care of us.

Unfortunately for us the brother to my father, who is supposedly responsible for partial support by our cultural standards and or custom, was blind. He had his half-brothers from his uncles (*ezinye izindlu*). If I translate this into English it loses its meanings

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because there is no such a thing in western cultures. That is the only men I knew during my early years of life that I would associate a male figure with. He would be assisted by my aunts, meaning his sisters, if he needed extra sensitive help, otherwise he could do many things on his own yep. He loved his family, even though he was blind he could be there doing whatever possible he could to render assistance, for that I love and cherish him a lot.

This gives you a picture of the situation into which I "joined" living a life or introduced to life with. A group of single, strong, determined, focused and winning women and a man living with disability who supported one another in everything they did especially taking clever decisions about their lives especially running the farm and household after the death of my father. I grew up knowing that women are capable and able, nothing can stand on their way to achieve what they believe in. They could sit in the counsel of men and share ideas up to taking decisions on issues pertaining to family matters, disputes with neighbours, farming business challenges as well as education of their children. This like pattern followed me throughout my life up to today, being surrounded with strong and able women. I have learnt that women can do things that men do equally if not even better.

Women that I surrounded myself with are mostly single, professionals holding high positions and entrepreneurs and also ordinary women who have a passion to change their status quo like those in the church and in my neighbourhood. They are all determined, focused, have a story to tell, happy in their own ways, have pushed themselves up to where they are and have not allowed circumstances to define their fate. Besides there are also those who did not make it in education but have climbed up or

moved to greater heights in various sectors of entrepreneurship like my mom and my mother in law as well as many more. I love these women very much. Their motivation to achieve was and is intrinsic not extrinsic.

The story as it unfolds will make you understand the reasons why I chose the topic women and entrepreneurship or women in entrepreneurial development as I also was once involved in entrepreneurship.

My mother and woman entrepreneurship (1958 to 1995)

My mother comes from a religious family background the only daughter among many brothers, two direct brothers and three half-brothers and a sister from her extended/polygamous family. Although they had a farm, she never practised any farming chores because there were boys who would be doing that with her father. She could not finish school though, because she had to leave and give the opportunity to her brother with whom she was doing the same class and performed even better than him. Culture did not allow women to study very far away from home. Mobility of women was constrained and I am a witness for that as my mom could not go for training for any qualification despite of her excellent performance at school then.

She left school after passing standard 6 to allow his brother to continue studying. This was during the 1930s and 1940s. Girls were not allowed to study more than their brothers and there were very few high schools and secondary schools during their time. [Culture not favouring women regarding education], the Black people in those day were speculative about education as we are still not sure of the real benefits of this education even up to today as more educated people do not get the jobs.

She had to get married as women were expected to and it is a practised highly respected and held in high esteem in our society from both cultural and religious perspectives and benefits. Women that are married have a platform in the society to say and do things that single women would not say and participate in. That hurdle was over with her unfortunately her husband passed on earlier in life. She faced a task of raising children alone through working the farm her husband had left behind and returned to be a single woman or mother again which has got its own challenges.

She had to quickly adapt to the new way of living, which meant, mourning for years could not work for her. Since I had indicated above that she was never introduced to tilling the soil because she had many brothers and she married a responsible farmer and entrepreneur who had people working on the farm. This was a new world to adapt to but with the assistance of a cousin, her nephew, who volunteered to help her with the farming business, together with her two sisters-in-law supporting her she managed. Even though she got the support, it was not enough; my elder sister had to leave school to join her and give extra right hand assistance and support, being a closer biological person to her.

During winter after harvest my mom would change to something like a battering system exchanging crops for chicken locally that she would sell at the market in order to balance the income throughout the year. This means I am coming from a background where a woman is able to sustain her family through farming and also assist others with crop produce in exchange of live indigenous chicken that would sell at a better price at the market, that was creativity at its best. She never got any assistance of training or

attended any workshop for capacity building but the business ran smoothly and through it we ended up all having qualifications.

My aunt with whom I was staying ventured into another business. She opened a grocery shop in end of 1975 beginning of 1976 it was fully operational. I was involved in the establishment of the shop. During the holidays I would be working full time helping her. I learnt that it is possible for a single woman to run a different business from a farm that my mom was running. The challenges my aunt faced here was that she did not know how to drive and would rely on other people to drive her van. Sometimes, for buying the stock she would go to the whole sale by bus and they would deliver her back with her stock. With a standard two she ran a successful business competing with men in the area.

Siblings

The passing on or the death of my father, "absence", led to worse scenarios. The family was disrupted; my brother was given to another aunt to stay with for what was believed to be his "safety" as the flourishing of the farming business prompted jealousy within the close family relatives within the same kraal/homestead or neighbourhood. I was also given to another aunt to stay with. Imagine the impact of this on my mother, after losing her husband her children leave her to stay with relatives and she was left with one, my eldest sister. I was staying a kilometre away from home, which means my mom as her child never spoilt me. This situation made me stronger and was now being raised by two women, my aunt whose husband had passed on and she returned from her in-laws to stay closer to her family and my mom. Here is a woman who defied the culture and religious beliefs by returning to live closer to her family and bought her own farm

next to her brother's. Feminists regard the decision she took then as empowerment and I regard it as self-empowerment.

I need to mention here that my brother through all the isolation from the family he ended up returning and joining the family. After qualifying as a builder he later opened a building construction company and ventured into building business which he ran from 1982 up to 1999 and because of tendering bureaucracy he ended up going back to employment but is doing well though.

My primary and secondary school years (1963-1973)

The school where I started my primary education had a woman principal who had three children and supporting them as a single mother because I never saw their father. Whether he was alive somewhere or dead I could not tell as we related with our teachers on class matters/subject only and cleaning the school or sometimes the houses where the teachers lived. That woman was not only a professional but managed the school; another exposure: women are capable.

During my last two years of my primary schooling, my sister pleaded with my mother to return to school. Although it was hard for these two women, my sister and my mom to reach a consensus, my sister insisted forcefully to return to school. We finished primary school education at the same year. She did not mind being older to be in the same class with her younger sister. The vision of being a professional teacher was stronger than any other thing that could be an obstacle in her life. Another woman, a young girl this time determined to even forfeit love of a parent rather than not realising her desire and dream, and very close to me. This highlights the role of education and the

eagerness of women to be educated, meaning that women realise the importance of education in their lives, while other situations and circumstances are not regarded by those close to me as obstacles or barriers. That woman hoped that education was going to make her an independent person.

After primary school I went to secondary school, which was about 35-40 km away from home, renting a room with my eldest sister. The owner was a widow and surviving through renting rooms for students. I got another exposure to a woman entrepreneur at an early stage in life.   She struggled to support very old sons who were not working together with their wives and children.   Black women do not get into business to become rich but to be able to support the family. At the secondary school most teachers were males with the exception of one woman who was teaching Afrikaans, the not so much liked subject in South Africa by Black pupils. At secondary school I experienced sexual harassment by teachers. Refusing the teacher's advancement or proposal was tantamount to lashes at the back and sent out of class for the whole period, which I would sometimes enjoy, being out of the classroom as a child/learner.

My high school and early marriage life (1974-1977)

The high school I went to was very far from home 300km away. The important role that this high school did to me was to influence me with University education because it was located close to the University where I am teaching now. I experienced the worst form of punishment here by the vice principal. Girls and boys were given brutal lashes the same way for very minor offences like making noise during afternoon study sessions because it was a boarding school. Once a girl is caught that she is in a relationship with a boyfriend, she would be made to dig a pit or be sent away home. We had to be "pure",

and for this treatment by teachers who were like policemen, I hated men in the teaching profession especially those who punished us. This kind of beating at high school made me to develop a negative attitude to the manner in which education is enforced to the students.

In 1975 the political situation was not stable in the country because the education system. The Nationalist Government passed the law in parliament that the medium of teaching was going to change from English to Afrikaans at all schools in the country. Racism was rife and Black students started to defy some of the discrimination laws and practices and protests started to intensify in townships. I was involved in the plan to state some grievances at high school because of the treatment we endured as students preparing for the strike. In 1973 the school experienced the first student protests where they revolted against the teachers. In 1976 the National Black Student body planned a trike themed "Freedom now and education later" where all students in SOWETO boycotted classes and took to the streets stoning and burning all the buildings that were symbol of oppression in the townships to rebel against Afrikaans as medium of teaching in schools. The situation got out of proportion and the army, South African Defence Force, killed students. Education was disrupted all over the country as many students escaped the country and went into exile that meant the matriculation results, between 1975 and 1976, were badly affected.

I could not go straight to the University from high school. You know in life there are those experiences though bad as they might be but will impact in one's life for a good course, as there are always two sides of the coin. After high school I got married and had to start the family without a qualification. It was a negotiated arrangement though

that I would after marriage return to school, which happened with the support of my mother in-law, my sister and my husband. Unfortunately I had to take my first son with me for one year to the college where I was training as a teacher from 1979-1980. Because of that I could not stay in the residences but rent a room close to the college and have a nanny/maid looking after him. When I left the college I had another little boy that was in 1980. I was studying and also a mother at the same time.

Mother-in-law an entrepreneur

I got married to a family run by a single woman with three kids. My mother in law was running a very classy *shebeen* when I joined her family, and also a businesswoman specialising in women style or design clothing. Her market for clothing was nurses and teachers. These kinds of customers provided her with a sturdy income and reliable and stable market. As they held accounts with her and paid their instalments monthly, my mother-in-law was able to pay her bills and support her family. As a self-made entrepreneur she influenced her kids to be attracted to businesses. They did not believe much in education but in business hence they have businesses in Lesotho, which is outside South Africa where they used to stay with their father.

I assisted my mother-in-law in business for one year before returning to college.

I followed her route of the type of business she was engaged with but could not chase customers, as there was no dignified way or strategy for collecting debt from those who would not be paying on time and would also skip instalments. My mother in law would go to their homes to collect instalment. I called it a quit in clothing business in 1979. Although I would assist her by getting her customers in the schools where I was

teaching and others where my sister and friends were teaching to me it was not a kind of business that I became attracted too. I needed a business where I would not be going to the customers, but customers coming to me. Also where everybody is a potential customer not a particular segment, hence the food or grocery outlet as I indicated above that I hated chasing after customers to collect debt.

My teaching career and experience (1981-1998)

My teaching career started in a high school in Zululand away from Durban called Mathubesizwe. The school was in the farming area, surrounded by sugar cane farms. I liked this rural life and more the sugar cane farms because to me I saw the opportunity of being a farmer availing it to me. Within a month being there I had already started negotiations to buy land, as I believed in survival through farming, as my mother was a farmer. I knew that it was possible to change your life for the better. Unfortunately my husband who just came and fetched me without prior arrangements to go and teach in Durban cut my stay in the school and the areas short. I left the area without even serving a notice at work because he had already arranged with a friend who was a principal for me to go and teach in his school. That on its own is abuse of power by men and culture favouring them, that as a woman you cannot work away from home.

Ziphathele high school was not in the same township as where my mother in law was, about 40 km away which still required me to get a school in the township where the home was. I taught for one year in Clermont and then moved to Zwelibanzi high in Umlazi in 1982 and remained there up to 1998. When I joined the high school the principal was a male and some of the heads of departments were women and after a few years the woman teacher became a principal. Now I was exposed to a woman in top

position and about two years later my friend got a post of being the inspector of schools another top management position in education. These women that I knew well experienced different challenges up to a point where the lady principal had to quit but my friend stayed in her position because I had to support her sometimes even accompany her when she had to discuss delicate matters at schools that she was managing. She survived the challenges because we would formulate strategies to together of how to deal with critical matters. Currently she is a Deputy Director in Education running a division with a staff of 36 people of all races and gender. She is a hard working single woman that I know and admire.

While still at this high school two of my colleagues resigned and went to entrepreneurship and they are running butcheries as I write. What I didn't like and still what I have seen happening men when venturing to business would make women to resign first and start working the business and when they see it doing well then they join in full time. That is what happened to my colleagues and friends who left for business. To me this means they use women to test whether the business would be a success on not and when they come they take over the management of a business that was started by a woman. Women are not scared to venture into something new and challenging, risking all what they have and hoping to make the best of the opportunity. Men push them to the front to explore new ventures and opportunities for them especially the married women.

These women are doing well in business. One is running a butchery out of the two butcheries they have with the husband meaning she is managing one butchery and the husband another one. The other one is working in partial partnership with the husband

responsible for handling accounts as a supposedly "co-director" of their chain of butcheries, a family business.

While still here at Zwelibanzi High school I ventured into selling home baked cakes at school to students to supplement my income as I have indicated that I have six boys and to support them in an urban environment is not easy and it taxes more financially. I had also other kids I/we was/were assisting to further their education that was coming from homes in worse situations. Forced into business by circumstances one finds her in.

Besides my children being at school I was also at the same time pursuing my University education. Fortunately for me the University of Zululand opened a second campus in Umlazi, which offered evening classes to people in and around Durban who would like to further their studies. We registered with my husband for our different degrees in 1982 which was the reason I left the school I was teaching at in Clermont to Umlazi in order to be closer to the University that had classes commencing at 16h30 to 22h00 at night and also offered Saturday classes. Because of my background where women could work and bring up children at the same time, I taught during the day and studied at night. To me there was no choice of separating work, studying, wife and motherhood.

Doing Internship with Tourism Authority (1997-1998)

One of the requirements for fulfilling a master's degree in tourism is to undergo a six months on the job training like an in-service training with a recognised tourism organisation establishment. I received an offer from KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA), where I was placed under the mentorship of a development manager, who happened to be a woman. While in this company, I became involved in a Tourism

Awareness Programme that I was facilitating the whole ten KwaZulu Natal District Municipalities. I was in charge of educating members of the Tourism Steering Committees at these districts about what tourism is all about and how can they participate and benefit from tourism. Together with my manager we would explain the tourism policy and some development initiative strategies to the tourism stakeholders at district level. It is during these meetings where I developed the love of development and tourism because we would be assisting crafters to attend exhibitions some of whom it was their first time to be exposed to an exhibition and hotel environments. That changed the lives of many ordinary women.

This was an encounter now with a Black woman heading a division of development in an establishment where there were White men, Indian and Coloureds. The others were overseeing marketing, communications, research and information divisions. There were a lot of challenges where her division would not be allocated enough budgets as the chief executive officer (CEO) would argue that one of the most important mandates of the authority was to market and promote the province not to develop tourism in the province. She would argue that how could you market something you do not have. In this case she was referring to many Black people especially women who did not have any tourism products. This meant automatically that they were shut out of the tourism industry. We continued with our awareness programme and more people were venturing into tourism businesses and the CEO opted for closing the development division and the woman had to leave tourism and went to work for the Department of Social Work Development. This is the worst scenario I witnessed of a Black woman striving to run the department on her own without the support of the CEO, and ended being pushed to

resign. These are bitter experiences faced by women in top positions where men would frustrate the women until she resigns.

When I was doing my internship with Tourism Authority in 1998, I was forced to resign from teaching because of the newspapers that published an article that I was working for two departments, meaning that I was getting a double salary. I did not know who was behind all this but I learnt that when you try to move up as a woman you do not get the support instead you are stabbed from the back by either your colleagues who can be other women or men. I had to choose between the career as a teacher then and my dream of achieving the highest level of qualification in education.

That meant then I would stay without income. In 1999-2001 we ventured into a business with my husband, a supermarket in the township. I was then a full time entrepreneur specialising in "vet cookies" (*churros*), which was a draw card for the business. We did very well in business but our stay there was short-lived because we did not have our own operating place but were renting. The landlord became jealous as the supermarket was doing extremely good in the township consequently he terminated the contract and took over the business which he did not last long in it because in a year's time he committed suicide.

After this episode I did some temporary jobs like being outsourced by Department of Education, Arts and culture coordinating and training crafters in the province. I became involved with women now from a different angle. Because of the passion of wanting to see people especially women changing their economic status through craft and arts I did not mind whether I was being paid for that or not. My satisfaction came through the

realization that if women are educated in alternatives of earning a living and thus improving their economic status they are more than willing to participate.

I also worked for National Business Initiatives (NBI), where the private sector (businesses) adopted some poor schools in rural areas to assist in improving their education standard and results output. I was a facilitator of an education project aimed at training the community and the staff of a school with a development collaboration project to come up with ways and means of complementing norms and standards (financial assistance that they receive from the government) in order to help the learners that cannot afford to pay for the school fees. It was a good project because it made to realize that they can do things together for the development of their schools and they can take decisions and formulate strategies for what is good for their schools. The community members experienced a kind of ownership of the schools and came out with wonderful projects.

As I have indicated that these were piece or temporary jobs I had to get a full time job as my children were al at school and life was really tough. We survived through the family support for the months before I got back to teaching in 2003. I got a post in Chesterville, one of the townships closed to the city about seven to ten minutes' drive to the city market. I was teaching science and geography because there was no science teacher at the school when I arrived. When tourism was introduced to this school I had to assist a lady that was teaching tourism. I had become more practical as an entrepreneur, and hands on in tourism because of my exposure during internship and after working with training people in other organisations besides schools so I would steer anything towards a practical approach.

The practical activity I introduced here was to make learners to do a stage play a performance for the community during the celebration of the tourism month in the province that is September, which is in spring. I didn't write the script for the learners but just gave them the theme or topic. The learners then did everything from organising themselves into a cast and sourcing the attire and some equipment that they would use in the play. It was one of the new and successful activities for the school. The idea behind here was to motivate learners to be creative, come up with ideas that gave them a sense of pride when they saw that they could organise themselves. This meant they could be trusted with a project and it made them to think independently and to practically engage in an activity where their own community will be seeing what they learn from school. At the same time the whole exercise brought together learners, parents and other community members. To me this meant I can and am capable of mobilising the people using what I have and the skill acquired from experiences and qualification. Learning strategies of mobilising people here in Granada into a movement is what I need to acquire and it will be like a cherry on top of what I am able to do naturally without studying it.

When I was still at Chesterville high school I studied an educational environment improvement project, which entailed involving students and community members in a "green" programme. Students were expected to come up with initiatives within the school that would make the school to save on electricity consumption and would make them to plant gardens where they would be taking their harvest home to support their parents with vegetables. This programme would make students clean the school while at the same time learning ways of cultivating gardens, teaching them that the soil is a source of life and living. They would also look for licking taps and pipes and fix them a

kind of being responsible for your environment. This to me is development and empowerment at its best. One finds here students empowering themselves without expecting someone from outside to empower them. All this requires one to acknowledge that people no matter at what age they are, need to be regarded and treated as equal human beings. In that case you get support of whatever activity you come up with to them.

At University of Zululand 2007 up to date

Through what one might call fate, I ended up joining the University of Zululand in 2007 as a staff member when had gone to apply for registering as a doctoral student. As I learned later on, a single woman headed The Department of Recreation and Tourism, known as Centre for Recreation and Tourism by then. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts under which tourism falls was also a single woman and finally the rector of the University was also a woman. I became exposed to a chain of single women holding top positions of leadership at different levels. To me this was a good reflection of empowerment.

Being a leader is not an easy exercise especially if you are a woman. Your subjects especially those that assist you in the office are the first ones to sabotage you by not giving you the support that you need to run the organisation. Since most of the faculties were and are headed by men with the exception of one, men would frustrate the women until she leaves or is forced to resign or expelled. This is the experience I encountered and learnt from the first women rector of the University. I also learnt that the political deployments are not positions or posts suitable for women because men would not support her yet, all the closest offices to her are managed by men. Most of them would

want to show the world that as a woman you are a failure and you do not deserve a position of leadership.

Coming back to me here my responsibility was to teach Tourism Development and Business Tourism and Entrepreneurship. I had to introduce the practical component in the module Business Tourism and Entrepreneurship. I believe that a person needs to apply what he or she has learnt in order to assess its value, whether what is learnt can benefit people or not. Furthermore can he or she make use of the knowledge to earn a leaving while still at school? The student can change to a different stream before she or he leaves or call it a quit the University or school. I suggested that students in groups start and run businesses on the campus to apply the theory that they have learnt in class to a practical exercise. Students came up with wonderful business ideas that they present in class for approval, which would be an activity similar to registering a business or company with Companies and Intellectual Property Registration Office (CIPRO) or Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC).

The students learn to work together in business and others end up setting up companies that they run eve after leaving the University. There was a case where a student left the University at the second year because he believed that he could do better in business than "wasting" time at the University. He got a bursary to study business and entrepreneurship studies and from there he has been exploring different kinds of businesses and currently he is running even a driving school. Another one fortunately he graduated and in a year's time of working as a teacher he is also running a flourishing car wash business and has already have car of his own. On a busy day he makes about R5 000.00 through washing cars. He is operating in a rural township not in the city. He

has created employment for people, which is a positive contribution through the knowledge he acquired when he was doing practical for Tourism Entrepreneurship in class.

Besides these there are others who operate from within the University. One girl is running a hair salon and beauty related business. The other two boys started in a class group providing hand wash laundry services; currently they have a mini laundry because they have a washing machine and a drier. Through this business they are able to support their mothers back home. I had hoped to see the module translating to something bigger and better, the University being an incubator of young students' entrepreneurs. Tourism is very practical my dream is to influence for the establishment of a Hotel School at the University, as it is the only University in Zululand offering tourism full time from level one to a doctoral level. My life being practical and entrepreneurial from young age I have learnt that everything that one dreams of achieving is practically possible irrespective of the person's gender orientation.

One of the responsibilities at the University besides teaching and research is community outreach. I proposed and implemented a Tourism Awareness Project for Umkhwanazi Community where the University is located. With the cooperation of my department the project is running. I wanted to take it to the level where a tourism facility like a community museum would be established because the area has a lot of the history of the Zulus during the formation stage of the kingdom. Also a monument with dignity for the king will have to be erected where the first King in the Zulu kingdom bordered a ship, when he was summoned to Britain because he defeated the British soldiers at the war of Isandlwana during colonialism. I left the project with the department to run. I sourced

funds from the development department of the University. The students work in collaboration with the Tribal Authority, a counsel for community matters. This is a development project where the community is working together with the University to develop their area. There is nothing that the University is imposing and this had made the community to develop trust for the first time at the University.

Through this project I have learnt the negotiations skills and to observe protocol and also to address the chief, headsmen, community structures and all stakeholders involved. As a woman I have learnt that it is possible to made deals with the counsel of men as long as the deal is for the good of everyone. Patience, respect, collective effort, acknowledging the person's position without claiming to know better than community members is pivotal to see cooperation and collaboration with the community.

There is another women project that I left unimplemented because it was about gardens in the community. I was at a stage of negotiating with the University to assist the women with a tractor to plough the 20 hectares of land that a group of 60 women had. I had already started negotiating with the Department of Agriculture in the University. The challenge was that the assistance was going to be sourced from another department, which was not a big deal but University policies regarding to the extent of involvement with or in the community are not clear regarding women. I am saying this because the department of agriculture was involved with commercial agriculture with communities that are about 300 km away from it. The problem I faced was that these women wanted to grow food crops for their families and if there were surplus they would sell them along the freeway as they had stalls for selling what they produce in their fields.

Because of my engagements I regard myself as a self-made developer, starting a project for the benefit of other people. I have been involved in setting up women union in the church and also have been co-opted into development of committee of the church. I recommended that they use the houses in the church for tourism purposes, accommodating groups for conferencing and workshops at a price because the headquarters of the church is built in a very big farm in the Free State Province. The project has started and is bringing income to the church.

In 2010 I started a women project with my friend and we called it "Women with a Difference" which was aimed at establishing a platform for women to voice out their concerns about the abuses of every kind they experience from men and the lack of agency and urgency also support from men as well as all stakeholders and organs in every sector of their lives from the women child to a full adult woman in addressing issues pertaining to women. We started by assembling women graduates and students to ascertain whether these women could assist with their expertise when we move to women in the grassroots level. The women we targeted had similar if not worse stories and experiences than the less educated ones. We had about 4 successive meetings to get the feel of women about the idea or concept. Women started to tell their stories and we felt it was too much because in some cases we had to source volunteers to counsel the women with problems dating back in their youth years. We decided to close the project because it became too big for us to handle. We dealt with women in the church that happened to be close to where the office was. Although it was not yet an organisation people already talked of joining and then we said we could not do this huge project part-time and on volunteering basis. Besides politicians who had heard about the project from relatives and friends wanted to come in and "assist". We had under estimated the

idea and we felt that there is a lot of planning and strategizing required and we just put it aside until we retire from our careers.

I realise now that all these projects needed a certain kind of knowledge and a certain kind of education which would equip me with approaches and methods suitable in dealing with women issues, hence the reason for me to be here. I need more than knowledge that the ordinary education offers, a more practical and wise way of dealing with empowerment and development related issues. I do not want to produce a document on women that lies in the shelves of libraries for academic purposes which in my observation is rarely used for its recommendations.

Lessons learnt

My mom's early life experiences taught me that as a young woman is South Africa and Zululand or Natal in particular culture will always be not favourable to you. She had to leave school in order to allow her brother to pursue the studies. Women have a problem of access to education. In the family of three and being the only daughter no consideration was taken into account for her to finish her schooling only the brothers were given the chance. Hence her first brother trained to become a reverend (priest) and the other one a teacher. She had to get married as it is expected of a young woman in the society and have children hence two girls and one boy.

Fortunately for her she got married to a man, my father who turned an entrepreneur, farming with crops; maize, sugar beans, sorghum, nuts etc. During this time most men in the area even his half-brothers were working in big cities like Johannesburg. He worked for less than three years and saw that he could not be an employee forever

working for another man. He was working in the hotel and I think the kind of job he was doing made him to think of an alternative of earning a living besides working for a White man, another man who treated men like young boys and real Zulu man do not like that. They want to be recognised as men not boys. Some Black men even during that time could figure out that it would not be worthwhile for them to remain employees forever, hence after accumulating enough capital in the form of savings from his wages my father was able to secure a farm for cultivating crops for home consumption as well as the market. He passed on earlier in life before even reaching 35 years. That meant mom as a widow had to take over the responsibility of raising children as a single woman.

As a woman without any experience and exposure in farming as her husband was doing everything for her it was not easy to adapt to the new farming experience. Moreover it was considered a man's thing to engage in such an entrepreneurial activity. A nephew from the family volunteered to leave school and help her with farming. The family support in business is equally important at whatever stage in business.

Land ownership if you are a woman in South Africa becomes a mammoth task to acquire. Up to today the transfer of land ownership from the deceased to my mom has not been done and she is now 84 years (in time of writing this as a class task in 2012). Unfortunately for her, her brother in law was blind who had to sign documents for emancipation application, which aggravated the situation. The law demanded that as a woman you need documents to empower you and elevate you to a level of a man. Those documents needed to be signed by your next of kin, an adult male; my brother was too young for that. As a woman you cannot inherit your husband's estate directly.

She learnt of switching over roles quickly from being a housewife to an induced woman entrepreneur (farmer). She learnt fast to be a farmer running the business with the support of her sisters-in-law, my aunts. No male except employees to help with cultivation and looking after cattle together with my sister who had to leave school to assist my mom. My brother was living with an aunt 350 kilometres away from home. During winter after harvest my mom would change to something like a battering system exchanging crops for chicken that she would sell at the market in order to balance the income throughout the year.

The family was broken my brother away and me living with another aunt. Here there is a compromise that women have to make in order to earn a living; choosing to doing or taking a decision that is against what you really want to see normally happening; kids staying away from you for years. Aunts were playing father role, guiding her in taking decisions, protecting, assisting, supporting and defending her.

My family did not disrupt my education but my choice was to get married early in life. My life became like literally "inverted" in a way meaning started with marriage before getting a qualification and hence the job. There was no proper guidance as the religion also took its toll in my life. Culture plus religion impact enormously on women resulting into confused counselling, and guidance. Young women need assurance from a person they can trust that I would for now call a *confidante;* for a better future through meaningful guidance and explanations to questions they have as they grow.

This need or desire makes them to be vulnerable to many opportunists of both sexes. Since the desire is embedded in them, there needs to be a way in which to address this critically as it makes them to delay their progress in life or others end up not achieving

those desires.   These women might live compromised life experiences or choose to "quit", resulting into them becoming addicts of various and diverse forms.

Women are capable of working even better under stressful and challenging conditions and end up performing even better. As a woman you cannot choose between being a mother, work and education, usually circumstances push you to do all at the same time. At least a woman requires a kind of a support to accomplish all this simultaneously, a kind of recognition that women usually get from friends, her children, relatives and sometimes colleagues.

I have also learnt that women who have similar way of thinking, experiences and perception about life or living can work effectively together and support one another in business and be successful. I have further learnt that women get into business in order to support their families and improve their standard of living not to become rich.

Concluding remarks

Single women can be entrepreneurs, mothers, employees at top positions, members of the society and perform amazingly at all these positions and roles with or without the support of their male counterparts and or subjects. Determination and passion are the driving forces behind success and endurance of women. I have no doubt that I AM A BORN AND SELF-MADE DEVELOPER that can work well with women, men, and the youth at all levels from grass roots to community leaders, from students to the top academics and entrepreneurs, through stating facts and acknowledging that the other person knows better than me and that working collectively and collaboratively with him or her can take both of us to the next level and beyond. Any project or programme that

is for the good of everyone is a possibility, with or without financial assistance. Maybe it is better off for women to start projects and businesses with their own savings like "*stokvel*" collective way of savings without putting money in the bank, which is very popular among women. Self-empowerment is the best for women if they want to make it in life. Furthermore regulations and policies need to recognize the agency of women and thus be designed in a women friendly way especially land and property laws otherwise women stand to lose and not benefitting anything in the country.

Illustration 2. Women crafters sell their product on the streets of Durban.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

CHAPTER ONE: The context

1.1   Background to the study

The emergent of Black women enterprises started during industrialization of South Africa during the Apartheid era. Women and men had lived together and supported each other in forming economically sound families. Men would hunt and gather to bring food to the table for the family. Women on the other hand would till the soil for ploughing the crops that would sustain the families. The system for running families was so clear that parties, males and females contributed in the economic welfare of the household. When the mining industries started men were forced to go and work in the mines, leaving behind women that had to run households alone without men complimenting thus engaging in collaborative homebuilding service. Families started breaking and new families started being formed in big cities. Men had a responsibility of supporting two homes that are kilometres apart. This was a new family set up men were not used and some of them ended up disowning the rural home and never returned home. Women followed their husbands/ men but the hard laws were against them in accessing jobs and they were arrested for being found in cities without passes that allowed them permit to work or roam the streets. Those that were lucky to evade arrests worked as domestic workers and earned very low wages. They started brewing beer, sold it under the trees to the Black men that were working in those cities. Their creative minds made them

entrepreneurs without papers, and if caught were arrested. That is how *shebeens* and *shebeen* queens started (cf. Vieitez 2009).

How do I then feature in women entrepreneurship as a source of income because I am a teacher by profession? In response to that from the early stages in life women who had impact in my life socially and entrepreneurially, as I come from an extended family surrounded me. I had a lot of aunts and sisters but boys in my family were very few. Each mother had one boy and two or more girls. The only parents we could depend upon were our mothers and aunts *oBabekazi* (sisters to our fathers). I lost my father when I was almost one and a half years, and for this reason I did not have any male figure to depend on for support during the growing years except my father's half-brother who was born a blind man who also needed special care and treatment from his sisters and wife. I could only see my mother and aunts taking care of us, providing food, safety and security, regarded as complete male roles. My mother quickly adapted to farming and learned fast the dynamics of being a farmer in collaboration with her sisters-in-law. The money she made from farming produce she used for paying our education as my father had insisted before he died that his kids should be educated not follow their parents' pattern of quitting school early.

I grew up knowing that women are capable and able of doing everything and anything, nothing can stand on their way to achieve what they believe in. They could sit in the counsel of men and share ideas up to taking decisions on issues pertaining to family matters, disputes with neighbours, farming business challenges as well as education of their children. This similar pattern of women headed households followed me throughout my life up to today, and being surrounded with strong and able women has

become the way to do things with me. I have learnt that women can do things that men do equally if not even better. Unfortunately my mother could not finish school though she was brighter at school than her only two brothers. She had to leave schoolings during the early 1940s and give the opportunity to her brother with whom she was doing the same class and performed even better than him. Culture did not allow women to study very far away from home. Mobility of women was constrained and I am a witness for that, as my mom could not go for training for any qualification despite of her excellent performance at school then. How do we ensure, as women that we voice our concerns in a manner that any other human being would do in a situation where he or she feels discriminated and subordinated in any interaction? This is the ultimate goal of the study where I believe women of the same mind-set will collectively provide a solution. We need to come out of our silos as academics and collaborating with other women tackle the problem head-on.

1.2   The study area

The study area focuses on four of the eleven district tourism municipalities found in KwaZulu Natal Province, South Africa. These district municipalities are UGu, EThekwini, uThungulu and uThukela. The Tourism industry is a key contributor to the KwaZulu-Natal economy (TIKZN 2009). KwaZulu-Natal ranks amongst the most popular visited destinations in South Africa, with excess of 35% of the domestic tourism trips in the country (TIKZN 2009). This translates into 65% being shared by eight provinces as South Africa has nine provinces. This is a significant percentage that the province can use to capitalise over in terms of providing the best service and the

best attractions that the tourist might dream about without putting some other groups like women particularly Black women, at the margin.

This section of the chapter focuses on the physical setting of the study area. As the research seeks to investigate the extent and nature of involvement of women in tourism entrepreneurship, the chapter while discussing the research setting will also touch on tourism attractions in KwaZulu Natal. I will therefore identify some women tourism enterprises in Ugu, Ethekwini, UThukela, and Uthungulu districts, to determine whether those have brought some kind of economic change and enhancement in the communities around them. Furthermore, I will explore the influence the women tourism enterprises have in changing the standard of living of people, thus improving local economic development. In my dissertation, these women enterprises will be used as case studies to emphasise the dire need of women participating and engaging in tourism economic development provided the issues that women will raise are addressed. The types of tourism facilities found in the vicinity reflect the level of economic growth the area has and general development stage the place is at although it is facilities found in affluent Hibiscus coast which has to do with strategic location and historical past, where economic development centred on the White areas.

According to Tourism KwaZulu Natal vision, the province has to be positioned as Africa's leading tourism destination, nationally and internationally White Paper (2008). To achieve this vision the province has to make sure that districts as well as local municipalities are identified as best suited for driving non-discriminatory tourism development through tourism enterprises. Furthermore the stakeholders in the districts should understand that in poor countries, regions, cities, and towns, tourism is seen as

the fast track to development (Glasson *et al.* 1995). Hence the government perceives tourism entrepreneurship, which integrates women as the best innovative way of boosting the economy in rural and urban peripheral areas for the benefit of the country.

The government therefore views tourism as a catalyst for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of payments advantages and important infrastructural developments benefiting locals and visitors alike (Glasson *et al.* 1995). But from critical point of view it is through effective implementation of its vision that KwaZulu Natal will move beyond seeing itself as a leading tourist destination in Africa to the realization and actualization of this kind of development where a stable economy becomes a driving mechanism. This idea invites officials that transcend theories and move into practically implementing viable and appropriate projects that are not selective but aim at changing the status quo of the majority of the people. It is important on one hand to recognize that enterprises depend on the continuous increase of flow of tourists into the province for tourism projects and enterprises to survive and be sustainable. On the other hand the effective, efficient and tourism friendly services inclusive of even Black women as owner managers would display their strong sense of customer recognition, care and respect which form the pillars of tourism industry. The big businesses have realized the importance of women in their operations and prefer to have them at their front desks for a lasting image that the women are capable of displaying to the visitor. Unfortunately the trend has been that these women are just used as cheap labour providers for the companies to accumulate more wealth.

The maps are provided below to elucidate to the reader where the study area is located in the country and in relation to other provinces in South Africa. A relevant map accompanies the discussion of attractions and tourism enterprises and or entrepreneurs in each district.

1.3 The South African map: its relevance to the study

The study is conducted in one of the nine provinces of South Africa KwaZulu Natal. The map of South Africa is included in order to make the reader aware of the province in the rest of the country where women businesses were identified for the research (see Illustration 3 beneath). The map also enables the reader to see the neighbouring countries of South Africa as well as the provinces that are neighbours to KwaZulu Natal which tend to have influence on the flow of tourists to the province both domestic and international. What I argue is that the province is strategically positioned which gives it a chance of benefiting more from tourism than any other province. Its climate, people hence culture, topography resorts, nature as well as game reserves/parks, palaces, history and heritage especially wars and battles all contribute immensely to the provinces tourism competitive advantage. The only problem is in sharing the market equally but without the province, district and local municipalities have clearly defined policies, laws and regulations, the master plan for effective delivery of all the strategies, and knowledgeable human capital in the offices, the chances for Black women to benefit from the positioning of the province cannot be realized. Their location in the periphery of economic hubs and rural terrains exclude them automatically.

llustration 3. Map of provinces (Republic of South Africa). Source: Statistics South Africa (2005)
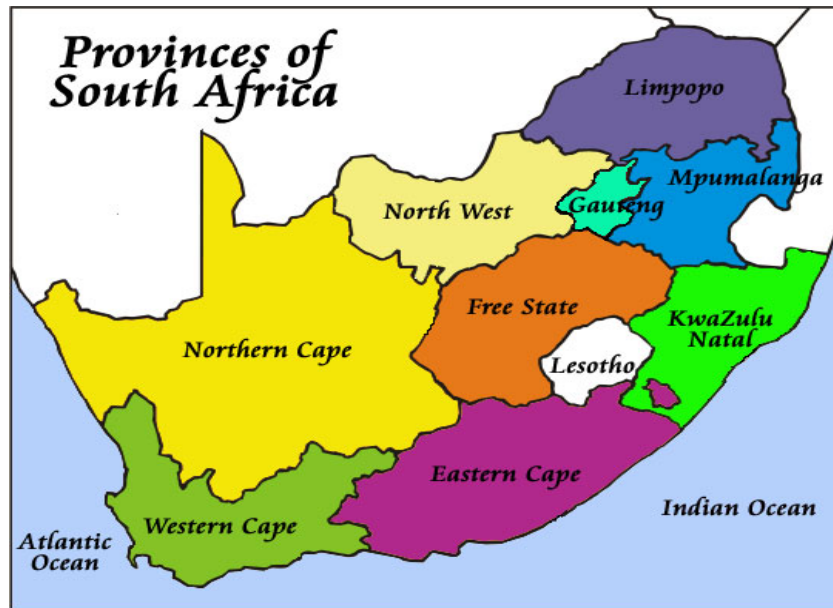
1.4 KwaZulu Natal Province

The following map (Illustration 4) shows districts and local municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal along with the names of surrounding South African provinces. The four districts under study are highlighted or coloured for them to be easily identified from the other seven districts. The tourism businesses and activities in these districts act like draw cards for tourists to visit the districts.

KwaZulu Natal is bordered by three of the nine South African provinces namely, Eastern Cape, the Free State and Mpumalanga as well as three of the fourteen Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries that is, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique. This unique nature of the positioning of the province makes it to be the most visited province by domestic tourists and the second to be visited by international tourists in South Africa after Western Cape. Hence the market for tourism women

entrepreneurs should not be the problem taking into consideration the increasing number of tourists who come to the province and those who pass through to the neighbouring countries and provinces. The only task to focus on is to make the tourists to spend money and time in one way or the other in the KwaZulu Natal.

Illustration 4. Map of KwaZulu Natal Districts and Local Municipalities
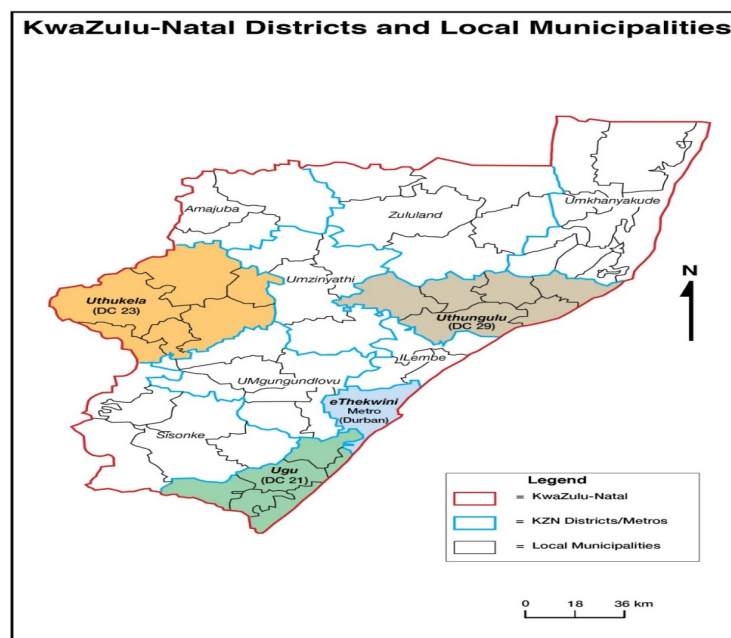
Source: Statistics South Africa 2005

This province extensively uses land border posts such as Golela and Lebombo between KwaZulu Natal and Swaziland for the transfer of tourists. The sea and air are not exploited as for the purposes as mentioned above. This is mainly because the tourists do not make KwaZulu Natal their first destination but that a larger number of tourists enter the province using the roads from neighbouring countries. The port development (King Shaka International Airport and Dube Trade Port) has increased the influx of tourists into the province. This has been proved successful by the wonderful turn up of the FIFA soccer fans during the 2010 Soccer World Cup. The coordination and

collaboration of the government and tourism agencies made immense contribution in the excellent service delivery to tourists for their safe and memorable stay in the area during the period May-June 2010.

It is an undisputable fact that tourists do come to the province. What is uncertain is the time they spend in women tourism accommodation facilities and the money they spend on tourism products owned by these women especially those run by Black women. This proves that the marketing slogan "Home Away from Home" impacts negatively on Black women who are located out of cities and urban areas. The special attractions that the province has, like beaches suitable for swimming throughout the year, the game reserves with big five in their natural environment and nature parks, the international renowned mountain ranges, the Drakensberg, the fresh water lake at *Simangaliso* Wetland Park that has been recently proclaimed as a World Heritage Park, the rich history of the Zulu Nation with its resistance wars to colonisation and White rule to name just a few attest to the potential the province has economically. There is no doubt that the creativity and strategic action of women has produced even a huge market for the tourism women businesses in the province besides relying on foreign market, as some traditional and cultural practices become a source of income for informal entrepreneurs as well.

1.5   Description of the study area

Four districts are described to establish the tourism status of women entrepreneurship found in each district. The tourism entrepreneurial facilities and activities in the study area are also discussed. In other instances a facility may just be mentioned because there is not much to write about as a result of its condition but can still be of service to

the tourists. Important attractions and other tourism products and events are discussed as they fast trek and bring tourists that support enterprises in the areas. Each district is discussed individually to emphasize its significance in the study. The chosen districts municipalities are Ugu, uThungulu; EThekwini and uThukela (see Illustration 4 above) were selected for the study because:

- These municipalities are found along the east coast and inland of the province of KwaZulu Natal where a lot of attractions, history, culture, and game parks/ reserves are found.

- Tourism facilities (hotels, lodges, resorts, bed and breakfast) and various tourism recreational events are located within these districts (the beach and the mountains as well as craft businesses) that are predominantly operated by women.

- Ugu, uThungulu, and uThukela districts have very untapped sustainable tourism potential in the form of eco-tourism, adventure tourism, agricultural tourism and cultural tourism with a potential of involving women as entrepreneurs thus standing to benefit from such business ventures.

- These districts are suitable positioned and hence the most visited ones by tourists in the province. There are tourism as well as leisure related establishments and facilities found in these areas.

In district municipalities of uThungulu and uThukela there are aspiring tourist product owners, the researcher personally observed this during tourism stakeholder meetings that are held regularly in the district municipalities especially at uThungulu at which the

Department of Recreation and Tourism University of Zululand is a stakeholder and within which the University is located. In most instances at these meetings the product owners are White and are males. Moreover the managers and officers are predominantly male who would easily invite other males to participate in such meetings. Women would know about workshops, which provide information related to marketing or opportunities if a woman councillor deliberately invites them. Otherwise getting any form of support is not easy. Women councillors experience and officers receive less recognition as to their equivalent counterparts[1]. The section below is a description of the four district municipalities in the study.

1.6   Geographical location of research

The district municipalities under study are discussed individually to show their uniqueness and potential in tourism industry, such that they complement each other instead of competing in that way sharing special tourists.

1.6.1 Ugu District Municipality

Ugu District Municipality is located on the southernmost part of the KwaZulu Natal Province. It is located on the border between KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape Province. The Ugu nodal area covers approximately 5866 kilometres square. Ugu district municipality lies in the South East of the province of KwaZulu Natal. It is bordered by the Indian Ocean on the east, in the southwest by the Eastern Cape Province, on the west by Sisonke District Municipality, in the north by Umgungundlovu

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[1] These issues will be further discussed in the dissertation when I unpack the role of women in the tourism industry.

and Ethekwini District Municipalities. The region boasts 42 traditional authorities, which all form part of the Zulu Kingdom and its monarchy.

Areas along the coast have a well-developed infrastructure and thus a reasonable economic growth, whereas the poor infrastructural provision and high unemployment levels characterize the hinterland. The most popular and visited town in the district municipality is Port Shepstone followed by Margate, and these towns are the tourism hubs of the area. Scottsburg town is the third most popular tourists' area. Port Shepstone remains the major employment centre in the area. There are other rural towns that become administration centres in the rural Ugu, like Umzinto, Harding, and Dududu/Vulamehlo.

Port Shepstone is the biggest town in the area, followed by Margate, being these towns also the trading centres of the area. Scottburgh town is the third most popular tourists' area. Port Shepstone remains the major employment centre in the area. There are other rural towns that act as administration centres in the rural areas. These towns do not have proper economic activities hence a lack of access to economic opportunities and social services for the larger population living in rural local municipalities. The manufacturing sector also contributes a little in the development of the area and it is concentrated in the Port Shepstone area, however there are few industrial areas that are scattered in other parts of the District like Sezela and Umzinto with sugar milling station and light clothing industries respectively.

Based on observations, the businesses in the towns are owned and operated by predominantly White males and White couples. Few tourism businesses are Black and female owned and are not found it these tourist towns instead they are in the outlying

areas. It therefore reflects tourism female business owners to economic development and growth of local municipalities are contributing that little.

The expected outcomes of tourism sector growth plan in Ugu by the people, is the contribution of the sector in providing empowerment, economic upliftment, employment and poverty alleviation to the poorer areas of the district. Women are still lagging behind in tourism entrepreneurship programmes in Ugu. This is reflected in their minimal participation in ownership of tourism enterprises if not at all participating.

1.6.2 Uthukela District Municipality

Uthukela District Municipality is one of the eleven district municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal that is found inland. It is located on the western boundary of KwaZulu-Natal Province (KZN), and adjoins the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Free State Province. It borders Umzinyathi District to the Northeast, Amajuba District to the North and Umgungundlovu District to the Southeast. It is approximately 1100 km square in extent (refer to map below). The district consists of five local municipalities and one District Management Area (DMA).

Uthukela District Municipality derives its name from the major provincial river UThukela that rises from the Drakensberg Mountains along the western boundary and supplies water to a large portion of KwaZulu Natal and also to Gauteng. Before colonisation the area was under the governance of Princess Mkabayi aunt to Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, and other brothers.

The popular town found within Ukhahlamba is Bergville. The neighbouring localities are Jagers Rust, Ladysmith, Escourt, Springfield, and Winterton. Ukhahlamba local

municipality is the most visited place in UThukela District because of its comprehensive rich infrastructure, scenery and attractions. Below is a detailed discussion of what Ukhahlamba has to offer as a preferred destination in KwaZulu Natal.

1.6.3 UThungulu District Municipality

The seat of UThungulu district municipality is Richards Bay. ILembe, Umkhanyakude, Umzinyathi and Zululand district municipalities surround UThungulu. The district is made up of six local municipalities namely, Umhlathuze, Umlalazi, Nkandla, Mbonambi, Ntambanana, and Mthonjaneni local municipalities. The rapid growing city of Richards Bay which is also a harbour and port in the province of KwaZulu Natal sees a number of passenger liners docking for few days in the city bringing tourists through the ocean.

Besides uThungulu forms a gateway to some of the country's finest game reserves also rich in cultural heritage, offering a unique Zulu Kingdom experience. Esikhaleni Senkosi is a natural bay where King Cetshwayo took a ship when he was arrested and taken to account in England. The site remains a major historical heritage in the district as Cetshwayo was the first King to be charged by Britain for defeating the Queen's soldiers during the Isandlwana war. Unfortunately the municipality does not appropriately market this very important historical event, consequently history lovers and researchers are missed for this opportunity. UThungulu shares the branding, 'Heart and Pulse of the Zulu Kingdom' with UMkhanyakude District Municipality. The city of Richards Bay and Empangeni town serve as industrial and service centres to many other parts of the district. Nkandla, Melmoth, Ntambanana, Bucanana, KwaMbonambi,

and Eshowe are other administrative towns/ nodes of economic significance in the district. Tourists who love nature from the cruise liners utilize tour-guiding facilities to nearby game reserves.

1.6.4 Ethekwini Metropolitan Area

EThekwini is bordered by iLembe to the north, UGu to the south, UMgungundlovu to the west and the Indian Ocean to the east. EThekwini sits on the southeastern coast of Southern Africa, meeting the Indian Ocean and having the second highest Indian population in the world after India. It comprises of a number of well-known suburbs and townships like Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Claremont, and KwaMashu.

The Ethekwini municipality covers a total area of 2297 km2 with a population of approximately four million people. The eThekwini Municipality consists of land of which 36% is rural and a further 29% is peri-urban. The municipal area stretches from Umkomaas in the south, including some tribal area in Umbumbulu, to Tongaat in the north, moving inland to Ndwedwe, and ends at Cato Ridge in the west. The municipality is structured geographically such that it includes all the towns that formed the previously economic nodes of the province. Ethekwini is South Africa's favourite holiday destination because of its 320 days of sunshine a year. It also contains Durban harbour, being Africa's premier port and a vital cog in the South African economic engine. Ethekwini is the economic centre of KwaZulu-Natal, the South Africa's second most populous province. EThekwini is the Zulu name for Durban. Ethekwini and Durban are used interchangeable in this study. Despite the popularity of Durban as the convergence point of tourists throughout the year tourism entrepreneurs in the townships still complain of the unequal sharing of tourists thus income from tourists

who prefer hotels in the city than bed and breakfast for Blacks in the periphery of the city.

Durban has a progressive municipality that celebrates diversity of attractions, ranging from events, business tourism for example Tourism Indaba has been held in the city for more that fifteen years drawing tourists nationally, internationally and abroad. This diversity is at the heart of Durban's cultural and economic life and gradually, as the legacy of the past begins to fade, the various racial groupings separated under Apartheid are coming together in a new and exciting collective culture. This is clearly observed amongst the elderly people are still held back by their bitter or sweet experiences of the past depending on the nature of the individual.

1.7   Resident Population Demographics

The rural local municipality areas have high levels of unemployment and poverty. Households rely on remittances for survival. Local Economic Development Initiatives are critically needed in the district to address the appalling socio-economic conditions. The initiatives need to consider the inclusion of programmes directed at addressing women issues. Most women in the rural areas, particularly those less educated, are always associated with household chores as husbands leave them behind when they migrate to the cities for better employment opportunities. Tourism business development tends to come up with an alternative to their rural lifestyle that promises improvement in their daily living patterns by generating income within the usual environment.

According to Urban-Eco Tourism Sector Report (2007) tourism is an economic sector that is generally extremely beneficial to a local economy generating foreign exchange and stimulating a sustainable economic growth. It is for this reason that the researcher seeks to explore the extent of women participation in economic development of local areas as tourism entrepreneurs. In the South African context, the tourism sector has proven to drive socio-economic growth and assist in redistribution in the country.

Uthukela District Municipality has a population of approximately 559 129 with Africans being the majority making up to 92.65%. Whites, Indians and Coloureds account for the remaining 7.35%. The population is distributed evenly in the district but scattered, as the district is wide. There is not much involvement of Black people in economic activities of the area as there are very industrial activities going on. The geography and topography being mountainous of the district has contributed immensely to it being industrially inactive.

The uThungulu district has a population of approximately 885 944 people (2001 census) and has the third highest population in the province after the eThekweni (Durban Metro) and the uMgungundlovu districts.

The population of EThekwini comprises of Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds. Blacks include Zulus that form the majority, Xhosas, Sothos, Ndebeles, Northern Sothos, Swazis, Tsongas, Tswanas, and Vendas. The warmth of the temperature translates into the warmth that people who visit the city experience in the Metro and they end up living rather than staying in the city.

There are also a huge number of foreigners from Africa who have made Durban to be their home. Unfortunately they came with vending activities that end up making

Durban look dirty, and for that reason the number of women participating in informal businesses on the pavements has escalated since arrival of foreigners thus competition rising. It is not easy to tell who is who because even the formal businesses would take their stock on to the pavements competing with female Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) on the pavement.

1.8 Economic status in the district municipalities

On the 29th of March 2015 South Africa has been engulfed with violence directed at shops belonging to foreigners operating mostly in the townships and in the city centres. This is a reflection of dissatisfaction and frustrations local Black people have about the injustices in terms of policies that are silent about the nature of participation in entrepreneurship in the country. The bylaws and regulations pertaining to business enterprise operation are non-existence or non-operational in the country. As the conflicts focused on foreign owned businesses in the rural areas, cities, towns and villages of South Africa, it sends a clear message that the meaning of 'foreign' in South African context needs review and clarification. Why were the businesses of other nationalities not affected but only Black foreigners if we all understand that South Africa is a rainbow nation? Is it because the White colour in the rainbow is invisible or is it about who is the type of private investor in South Africa? Furthermore the concerns indicated cheap labour wages that foreigners easily accept from their employers, in that way shutting down opportunities on wage negotiations at work places. People are complaining that foreigners own businesses everywhere. They mushroom in each and every corner of the streets, whereas when it was them who were given bylaws that stipulated the distance between each business. What was being traded

with was well monitored in order to determine that it was the products that are legal consumables. The complaint is that foreigners are bringing drugs to the country and are selling them to learners, in that way destroying the future of the youth of the country. The issue is regarded as being Xenophobic by the government instead of addressing the complainants of illegal immigration. Policies are quiet and as such people do as they please, whether foreign or South African.

The economic backlog in the area is very high, but the people that are affected most are the rural communities in the hinterland. There is lack of access to economic opportunities and social services. There is also a high level of unemployment in the district. The unemployment level within Ugu District municipality is currently estimated at 30% (IDP 2007). The majority of the people within Ugu are employed in the domestic industry, tourism industry, and sugarcane as well as banana farms in the area. The manufacturing sector also contributes a little in the development of the area and it is concentrated in the Port Shepstone area, and in other parts of the district like Mzwabantu local municipality where there are small-scale timber factories.

Extending tourism development to include women businesses means an improved infrastructural development as tourism comes with improvement in infrastructure. Another advantage tourism enterprises offer is that they do not depend on flat undulating land to thrive well. The worst topography is an attraction in tourism, which translates into a huge potential for rural areas to be changed into world attractions. The land that most industrial developers regard as unsuitable for development is regarded as the best land by tourism developers. Automatically the migration to cities would be

reversed and huge investments brought to rural areas, thus enhancing the economy of rural areas.

The Ugu District municipality especially the south coastal areas receive an estimated 2.2 million visitors annually, which is a good and stable tourism market for the area.

Local Economic Development Initiatives including programmes directed at addressing women issues are critically needed in the district to address the appalling socio-economic conditions experienced by rural municipalities.

1.9   Conclusion

The four district municipalities discussed above reflected similar attractions and common challenges which can be easily translated into the other seven district municipalities that the study could not cover. The sustainable tourism entrepreneurial development lies therefore in balancing of social, economic and environmental needs of district municipalities resulting in the efficient usage of all relevant resources, and therefore guaranteeing that all forms of development occur within the carrying capacity of the natural environment especially tourism development.

Illustration 5. Production on the streets by Black women crafters, and vendors.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

CHAPTER TWO: Entrepreneurship and Empowerment

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I am examining the history and state of entrepreneurship in South Africa whether it has some influence on the positions of entrepreneurial conditions on women. In the previous chapter, I briefly discussed the economic state that contributes to enduring conflicts within the country because of the lack of clarity on the democratic system through which socioeconomic issues are dealt with in the country. I have touched on disempowering through dispossession of Apartheid policies, and also viewed how empowering are the post-Apartheid policies and legislative laws to Black people and particularly Black women. I have further explored whether tourism entrepreneurship is really improving lives of people in the country, taking into consideration women case in KwaZulu Natal.

In doing so, I examine the extent of the lack of empowerment entrepreneurship on women. A perspective of affirmative action and other initiatives that serve to promote economic development have influenced my outlook on these matters. I do so by taking into consideration why and how entrepreneurship originated and whom it serves best. Consequently, I will explore whether post-Apartheid policies do address gender entrepreneurial engagement. The question I am trying to answer rests upon women in

entrepreneurial empowerment: Is tourism entrepreneurship improving women's lives in South Africa? For this reason an overview of historicity of entrepreneurship becomes inevitable to draw from it lessons that can serve to guard against repeating mistakes that were brought by proponents of economic system using entrepreneurship. The idea is evaluating the effectiveness of empowerment that entrepreneurship provides in order to improve the grassroots living conditions in the country.

My theoretical framework draws on entrepreneurship and empowerment in order to discuss and evaluate the nature of participation of women in entrepreneurial economic development in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, utilising the case tourism women entrepreneurs. Economic development is defined by United Nations as improving the income status of people in developing Third World countries (GEM 2012).

2.2 Entrepreneurship: tool for economic development

There is a strong correlation between economic development and entrepreneurship as a vehicle for economic growth and empowerment for women. The development machine that I call vehicle is an apparatus for reinforcing and expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power, which takes "poverty" as its point of entry and justification in Third World and African countries (Ferguson 2002). What this shows is that, economic development in Africa has been twisted as it comes in the form of 'that which is carried' to the people at grassroots by stating that the traditional modes of living, thinking and doing have doomed them to subhuman condition; and that change from their conditions will earn them respect from the civilised modern world (Rahnema 2003:384).

While economists like Schumpeter (1943:132) view an entrepreneur as an innovative and determined person to maximise profit. Ricketts and Kirzner (1992) regard "alertness to new opportunities" for effective participation of the entrepreneur in business venture as a point of departure. Although these two economists focus on the personality characteristics of the entrepreneur, Kirzner and Ricketts (1992) demonstrates that the methods of equilibrium overlooks the entrepreneurial role and thus present a distorted picture of economic system. The issue is that economy depends on the products and the market, and the balance between supply and demand; it does not matter much the contribution made by the producer of those commodities, it matters who is the entrepreneur. This ambiguity of the economic system tends to place some elements in the economic equation as least important. We need to understand that entrepreneurs operate in an environment guided by socioeconomic rules and principles, and the same environment tends to marginalise women in various ways. Thus concentrating the efforts on figures and ignoring the human element that is affected by historicity of socio-economic environment in which economic systems operate, jeopardise all other efforts by entrepreneurs. Kirzner and Ricketts (1992) claim that the capitalist economies require explicit consideration of the role of the entrepreneurs, which I believe if they receive reasonably equal attention irrespective of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation, can make their contribution noticeable in economic growth.

Empowerment is defined as "the process of giving people power and status in a particular situation" (Barrett and Weller 2009) but is a controversial issue in South Africa because of power relations that exist between those who claim authority to give power to those who are powerless. The question that should be posed is what/which

power, and who is on the receiving end. Pertinent questions would be, first, what is empowerment replacing or what is it that it is adding on? Secondly, are the people really powerless or are they denied of power by environmental circumstances?

Ligthtelm and Wilsenach (1993) attest that the critical levels of poverty and unemployment currently experienced in South Africa means that considerable pressure must be exerted on the economy to increase growth rates and to provide all people with access to economic opportunities. Can we therefore say that power is equivalent to economy or economic status? The focus is mainly on the process of economic growth of the country that is usually measured in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which determines the power that country has. The real objects, human beings involved in creating that growth receive very little attention, as long as they supply their labour, they cannot become subjects in wealth creation. Unfortunately, increasing growth in the country is inseparable from the continuous marginalisation and non-recognition of women and their ability in contributing to the economic growth and in changing the economic status of their families. In reality empowerment seems twisted and the reasons for the twist are never articulated or investigated.

2.3 South African entrepreneurship and problems

Research conducted in South Africa for example by O'Neill and Viljoen (2001) on entrepreneurship support it as an economic growth driver without critically evaluating its effectiveness in poverty alleviation and empowerment. What I will show is that, this further exacerbates the situation. Our intellectual thought in South Africa is influenced by Europe a lot. Goffee and Scase (2007) argue that, in Europe, research into female entrepreneurship and the role of women as proprietors and employers had

until comparatively recently been largely neglected as an area of serious academic study, despite the fact that greater numbers of women were then choosing self-employment. As a result, there were no researches undertaken on gender, tourism and development in South Africa in the period 1986-2002. The Table below shows participation of women in tourism in South Africa is less significant in academic research as well in entrepreneurship.

Illustration 6. Research themes. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala inspired by Roggerson & Visser (2004:71)

No.	Research area/Theme	Years for research output	Total
1.	Tourism and policy/legislation	1986	0
2.	Tourism and gender development	1987	0
3.	Tourism education	1988	0
4.	Tourism and entrepreneurial development	1989	0
5.	Tourism culture/ history and development	1990, 2002	2
6.	Management of the tourism system	1999, 2000, 2001	3
7.	Tourist as consumers	1993, 1996, 1997	3
8.	Development impacts of tourism	1991, 1992, 2001, 2002	4
9.	Tourism marketing strategies for development	1986, 1987, 1992, 1999	4
10.	Nature-based tourism and development	1995(2), 2000, 2001, 2002(3)	7
11.	Community participation and tourism development	1995, 1996, 1998, 2000(2), 2001(2)	7
12.	Tourism facility/resource description	1990, 1992, 1996, 1997, 1998(2), 1999(2), 2001	9
		Total	**39**

The table above illustrates well that there had been no tourism gender and development research thesis or dissertation completed under Geography since tourism entered the debates and research studies in South Africa from 1986 up to 2002, which is 17 years. There is very little research on issues that relate to tourism and policy or legislation up to 2002. Research undertaken by Roggerson and Visser (2004) as reflected in the above table further shows that tourism education and tourism entrepreneurial development have not been researched thus the table shows zero findings. This situation on its own makes tourism studies to be a discipline that has for a

long time been neglected in South African Universities, of which some of the themes (as the Table of Illustration 6 indicates) have not been academically researched. The poor participation can of course be attributed to curriculum development in higher education institutions.

When evaluating "Thesis and Dissertation Themes" for 1986-2002 in Rogerson and Visser (2004:71), it becomes evident that there was no written research on the theme: Tourism, gender and development and also on tourism and policy or legislation. The issues of economic growth, social equity and improved living standards, of sustainable development, of community empowerment are large and dominate much of the debate about development globally (Sofield 2003). In other words, the lack of research conducted on gender and development has affected policy and legislation therefore the lack should not be ignored. While tourism is being considered as a vehicle for economic growth globally, particularly South Africa, critical analysis of development and empowerment in tourism is of utmost importance, hence this study. This situation on its own makes tourism studies to be a discipline that has for a long time been neglected in South African Universities, of which some of the themes (Illustration 6 above) have not been academically researched.

Sofield (2003) in work undertaken suggests that, clarity on redress can be achieved and deserves more attention in the academic and policy space. If tourism is ignored at Universities, how can it be critiqued academically such that the findings inform and influence policies and change? This is the part of the twist that requires deeper scrutiny to determine whether it is an oversight or a deliberate action for political correctness. The study of tourism industry development and entrepreneurship considers these

components as being very important in reliability and effectiveness for tourism to deliver the best for the country as it expected to do. The reality reverts the challenge to the system of education in the country as a whole. The organization and coordination within education institution leaves a lot to be desired, as crucial aspects are generalized than being specified resulting into incoherence and inconsistency within organisations and leaving the recipients thereof with undetermined or bleak futures. The state needs to encourage institutions to conduct research more in areas that are seen as the pillars of economy and livelihood of the people in the country with major focus on critical more than statistical researches. How can entrepreneurship be infused in primary education for it to inform researchers at University levels needs a collective activity and a priority for a country that is transitioning like South Africa in order to determine what works best for everyone.

To further argue this, I draw on the case of China. The country set to nurture a pioneering approach to entrepreneurship in its classrooms (Friedman 2005). In terms of educational initiatives, China has recognized that if "one wishes to be more of a systems thinker, you need to engage the creative imagination of people in formulating the problem in diverse and multiple ways," (Mitroff 2005:53). It is not surprising that China businesses are found all over the world. In South Africa you find them operating business enterprises in deep rural areas, because entrepreneurship has been part and parcel of their curriculum from early lower classes.

2.3.1 Lack of creativity in education for entrepreneurs

Many countries promote creative and innovative thinking, as a necessary component of a strong education; emphasis thus falls on mathematics and science. However, in some

countries, when cuts are to be made in a school's budget, the arts (music, theatre, painting, as well as team building disciplines such as physical education) are the first to be eliminated. Why in South Africa are we not following Carnegie Mellon's lead and implementing an interdisciplinary master's program bringing artists and technologists together to envision, explore, design, and create (Smith and Hunt, 2007), instead of promoting and putting money on science related researches more than art related researches. It is creative minds that will come up with ideas not a math and chemical sciences create money, but any creative mind for entrepreneurial best results. Creativity is found in invention—technological, entrepreneurship, economic, as well as artistic; that is why entrepreneurship in this study comes up with more challenges than benefits because the twist is in education and training where people are taught differently expected to follow a particular field of creativity not exploring their maximum potential in creativity. Women need to maximize their intrinsic creativity as (Csikszentmihalyi 1996) attests it involves the ability to synthesize what is useful in such varied ways as to produce a practical device, theory, or insight that can be applied to achieve a problem resolution or develop a work of art.

What this shows to a large extent is that the current education system (in South Africa) does not equip individuals with creative skills in order to face the ever-changing creativities of the economic system. What I argue in light of the discussion above is that, the education system should be augmenting this creativity than limiting it through a certain pattern instead of allowing children from early schooling years to explore their creative individually. In other words, a liberal and more democratic system is vital for a person to understand who they are and what position or role in development the individual plays, as well as which are crucial aspects to grasp in these uncertain

economic environment terms. Therefore understanding the role and type of education in development becomes very crucial if the main objective is to empower people. Hence, not just any education, but, the better and true education leads to enlightenment and critical thinking for enhanced performance of the country. Research conducted at the Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurship, University of Cape Town (CIT/UCT) in 2010 recommends the reviewing of the education system in South Africa for more productive entrepreneurial system (GEM 2011). The recommendation of findings of CIT, University of Cape Town (2006) further stipulates that South Africa needs to pay more attention to primary and secondary school curriculum, so as to grow a nation that has an entrepreneurial mind-set. Implementing these findings such as teaching entrepreneurship at primary level at the University level is more empowering than providing financing in the form of loans those women entrepreneurs need, as it will enable people to create ways of improving their income situation at the local level. Authors Feldman, Csikszentmihalyi, and Gardner (2008:xii) argue that creativity can be "the achievement of something remarkable and new, something which changes a field of endeavour in a significant way." Entrepreneurship can therefore change predicaments if utilised properly, thus women with their inborn creativity and strategies can enhance their families and communities' economic status irrespective of the high level of education.

Caputo (2006) believes that Universities need to do more than teach their students how to adapt to change, but to educate then as agents of change and develop then as future entrepreneurs. Drawing from Caputo's (2006) claim that, Universities need to do more, some Universities like the University of Zululand has embarked on practical subjects where women cooperatives are trained in setting up and running cooperatives at the

Richards Bay Campus. Through internships, Universities and colleges of education can create new entrepreneurial thinkers while still at the University by inviting students to come up with business plans and proposals as ways of addressing needs in the communities through competitions and that becomes part of credit in the modules. Such students will get into the creative minds that will enhance productivity at the workplace and within communities. When explaining the creativity in technology Romer (1994), the developer of New Growth Theory remarks that ideas do not fall from the sky but come from people who write software, design products, and start businesses. In other words Romer (1994:27) is saying "ideas and technological discoveries are the driving engines of economic growth, especially ideas that can be codified in a chemical formula improve organisations of an assembly line or embodied in a piece of computer software". In this case the entrepreneur is the generator of ideas, knowledge and contributor to economic growth of which many women are denied access by various discriminatory positioning as women against men. He further argues that every new thing that gives us pleasure or convenience, for instance, an iPhone or a well-run chemical plant, is traced to ingenuity. The basis of economic activity is an iterative knowledge-based economy with increasing speed (Carlson and Wilmot 2006). Unfortunately the conditions under South African economic system with entrepreneurship as an option for economic growth tend to push women to the margin but expect them to be well clued with the global market. Where and how do the ingenuous rural women who venture into entrepreneurship fit in in this 21st competitive global economic system that cares less about the others except the technological ingenious people?

2.3.2 Agencies and the role of institutions

In this section I discuss women entrepreneurs in the South African context. Research conducted seems to suggest that women entrepreneurs are considered the new engines for growth and hopefuls of the economies in developing countries to bring prosperity and welfare (Keating *et al.* 2010). What this seems to suggest is that, empowerment of women takes a secondary role where the primary focus is on rectifying the economic crisis with a focal point on the role women can play. The question that needs to be asked is: Why women and why now? A number of researches undertaken seem to suggest that women have been pointed out as an important 'untapped source' of economic growth and development (Minniti and Naudé 2010). The World Economic Forum identified women entrepreneurs as "the way forward" at their annual meeting in 2012 (WEF, 2012). Others speak of women entrepreneurs as if they are the 'New Women's Movement' (Vossenberg 2013). They state: "forget aid, focus on foreign investment in women entrepreneurs as key drivers for growth and development" (Vossenberg 2013:15).

In response to the call by economic development planners the organs and advocates of development such as donors, international public institutions, national and local governments, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), private companies, charities, knowledge institutes and business associations have initiated programs or policies to promote and develop women's entrepreneurship. These policies are geared consciously at ensuring that economic efficiency is guaranteed and they completely ignore the women issues and agency. The above organs involved initiate programs for capacity-building of entrepreneurial skills, strengthening women's networks, provide finance and

trainings, or design policies that keep women integrated more and become embedded stronger business enterprises for national economic growth. These groups benefit in one way or the other through being self-sufficient by responding to the call of focusing foreign investment on women entrepreneurs through their projects. They all claim that women entrepreneurship is essential for growth and development while there is no benefit to grassroots women. This confirms the pertinent question rose by Ferguson (1996:85), "What do aid programmes do besides failing to help the poor people?"

Some scholars such as (Minniti, 2010) have argued that women entrepreneurs' contribution tends to be higher than that resulting from entrepreneurial activity of men. Leftist political economists have often argued that the "real" purpose of development projects is to aid capitalist penetration into the Third World countries. Hence microfinance and microcredit have mushroomed as a form of assistance/empowerment to women entrepreneurs to alleviate poverty those countries.

Empowerment unfortunately changes researchers into collaborators (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995:570) rather than giving them authority to use knowledge acquired for the benefit of the local society. Perkins and Zimmerman (1995:577) further argue that the advocates of empowerment apply a partnership approach that uses coalitions of non-profit organisations to bring government and private service agencies into cooperative relationships with local communities.

2.4 Entrepreneurship as a concept

Fatoki and Chidongi (2011:162) argue that entrepreneurship including youth entrepreneurship improves the general standard of society as whole, which leads to

political stability and national security. What happens in a case where entrepreneurship operates as if it is reserved for certain individuals as against the majority of the citizens in the country where policies become mechanisms to protect economic growth in a gender, race and class manner? If the main objective involved job creation and enhancement of income to majority of the population, can we then conclude that entrepreneurship practiced in South Africa is not entrepreneurship?

The history of entrepreneurship is as old as development and economy. It is born of necessity and a need to acquire more. According to Schumpeter (1951:263) the focus of entrepreneurship is more on the function not the person, meaning the entrepreneur. His statement that "all men who actually fulfil entrepreneurship functions have certain interests in common, more than operating entrepreneurial functions, but acquiring capitalist positions in case of success", *(after accumulating wealth which will give them power to acquire those positions*) [emphasis mine].

Historically, entrepreneurship is about attaining success through capitalism system. Vishwananthan (2001) considers entrepreneurship to imply being in control of one's life and activities. In this view, it offers independence that society and economic system have denied to women. Entrepreneurship is accompanied by a huge unpacked package that focuses on the entrepreneur and the market while completely ignoring the other components of the economic quiz such as the producer and the consumer. Hockfield (2006) finds the 21st century economy "fuelled" by competition. Saffo (2006:56) comments, "…the most important economic actors are neither producers nor consumers, but creators."

Like any other entrepreneurs, women used this initiative, although they encounter obstacles, which have made them to be more creative within the creativity. For that reason a lot of women tourism entrepreneurs operate on pavements, along the transport routes for survival, not being ashamed of their working conditions but driven more by the desire to succeed and subvert the situation. Entrepreneurs as risk takers—people who, in the context of a business venture, pursues a business idea even when the probability of succeeding is low but both passion and reason compel them to move on with the process. Passion motivates because entrepreneurs love their work. Women only need certain qualities to pursue their independence as identified by Chell, Haworth, and Brearley (1991) which are general personality traits for entrepreneurs namely: extroversion, emotional stability, openness to experience, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and need for achievement, risk taking, autonomy, innovativeness, and internal locus of control.

The status quo in South Africa has forced women to venture into negotiated service enterprises that keep them around home most of the time and more on operational than marketing roles. "Entrepreneurs, through their thinking and actions, integrate human and financial resources to organize, produce, and market goods and services that yield value for customers and workers" (Baum, Frese, and Baron 2007:62). Hence the main entrepreneurs who are beneficiaries of affirmative action and Black economic empowerment have become the emerging Black middle class and elite, not the vast majority of truly disadvantaged South Africans. The question is how empowering is empowerment and who benefits from it, not the disadvantaged women for sure. Although feminists have done quite a lot to push for women's equality, some things must be kept in mind in order to understand what remains to be done. The

context of gender equality varies from nation to nation in Africa and the western nations need to comprehend the fact that South Africa and its notion of gender differs due to the country's historic and cultural backgrounds which people cannot completely denounce for modernity, which bears no fruit for the majority of the population. It depends on whether women see their cultural practices as an oppression as western might perceive it.

2.5   Entrepreneurship in South Africa

In 1994, the first democratic government faced the enormous political and societal task of transforming South Africa from a nation that only knew segregation, marginalisation and exclusion to one based on cohesion, inclusion and opportunity. The economic challenges were equally daunting. The inherited economic environment claims (Faukner and Loewald 2008:10) was precarious, suffering from both short-term crises and long-term structural weaknesses manifested in the variable and, on average, declining economic growth of the previous decade.

The structural expulsion of Black people from economic power began in the late 1800s with the dispossession of land and continued throughout the 20th century with the first Mines and Workers Act of 1911, the Land Act of 1913, and the raft of Apartheid Laws enacted after 1948 (Strategy for Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment, BBBEE). The impact of this system of disempowerment was that a majority of Black people became landless and meant restricted access to skills development. Blacks were deliberately prohibited from generating self-employment and entrepreneurship. That is why my study focuses on post-Apartheid era where I am now investigating the disadvantaged group women of ages from 18 years across the race barrier with major

focus on Black women. The idea is to determine whether there are still problems prohibiting them from entrepreneurial engagement because of discrimination.

During Apartheid South Africans were systematically deprived in the following ways:

- Confinement in Bantustans or homeland towns without infrastructure and lack of business infrastructure environment.
- Racial segregation enforced through Group Areas Act uprooted many people from their residential areas where they lost they capital resources and their social fabric of Black small enterprises were destroyed. That is where women had started their *shebeens* to sell their home brewed liquor to men, as they were not permitted to enter bottle stores. Men started cooking meat and dumplings to sell on open spaces for their fellow men working for whites. These eating-places were called *eMatsheni*, meaning the Rocks.

The policies of Apartheid used racial discrimination to deny Black South Africans access and control of the economy. South Africa's history has been one of confrontation, resistance and underdevelopment of certain groups using tools such as inferior education to Blacks so that they will never compete with their White counterparts as the system of education produced Blacks only to provide cheap labour. Hence Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment strategy is necessary government intervention to address the systemic exclusion of South Africa from full participation in the economy with major focus on Black women, as they are double marginalised.

In 1994 the government put in place some policies and strategies with one main objective of addressing the past political, social and economic disparities. The policies, strategies and programmes implemented for overcoming inequalities and

underdevelopment included; integrated human resource development strategy, urban renewal programmes, integrated sustainable rural development programmes, tourism transformation strategy, strategy sector plan for agriculture and national small business development promotion programme in 1995. It is an irony that even in 2015 we still talk of exclusion issues. A number of legislative acts have been introduced but it seems none of these policies and legislation provides solutions to people's economic problems. The way Black Economic Empowerment was introduced and handled in the country resulted into the creation of the rich elite middle class at the expense of the majority of poor working class and the unemployed majority, which stands currently above 36%.

If there were a reasonable number of women employed in top management positions maybe the situation with women entrepreneurs would improve, as they would be pushing issues of concern for the people of their same sex. Women in management according to CEE Report (2004) in South Africa reflects 16% White and 7% Black females. This compares fairly with what Annushka who works for Uthungulu District Tourism Department (Uthungulu Interview August 28, 2013) stated that at their district had only 4 Indians who were employed under junior posts when she started 17 years ago and there was no Black person. The report further displays that only a large percentage of women are found in paid workforce (39%) which could be industries and service sector employees make up 68.4% (Khoza 2004). Women whether Black or White experience discrimination in formal sectors of business, and as far as top management positions additional factors impedes them from full involvement in economic development. This reflects that equality at the job places is something that women researchers should critically examine if the objective is to realize it.

2. 6 Tourism and the economy

Tourism is regarded as a modern-day engine of growth and is one of the largest industries globally. In 2012, G20 heads of state recognised tourism as a driver of growth and development, as well as a sector that has the potential to spur global economic recovery. Consequently South Africa has earmarked tourism as a key sector with excellent potential for growth.

The government further launched the National Tourism Sector Strategy, in 2011, which aims to ensure the sector realises its full potential in terms of job creation, social inclusion, services exports and foreign exchange earnings, fostering a better understanding between peoples and cultures, and green transformation (SouthAfrica.info 15 April 2015).

In terms of tourism being a job creator the reality on the ground says the opposite, making tourism not to be considered a good employer or good career choice. Students who obtain qualifications in tourism from Universities (University of Zululand in particular) change their career path and venture into teaching profession because of no jobs offered to them even if they had done their internship with tourism establishments.

Some students complain that the salary is not appealing and most managers are less qualified, thus become threatened in their positions. Despite the 2011 National Tourism Sector Strategy tourism still remains an exclusive industry. Consequently women in general and tourism entrepreneurs as well as women tourism officers at UThungulu District Municipality, under the Tourism Department, in particular feel discriminated in participating equally and fully in the industry.

2.6.1 Tourism Contribution

The government aims to increase tourism's contribution, both direct and indirectly, to the economy from the 2009 baseline of R189, 4-billion (7.9% of GDP) to R499-billion by 2020 (National Department of Tourism, 2012). The question is how the government is going to achieve this if there are not concrete policies at local level guiding inclusivity and also the growth of the tourism industry has yielded no real benefits for rural communities (Umhlathuzi Local Municipality Tourism Strategy Review 2013). The partnerships between the government and private sector as well as non-profit agencies results into the communities' natural and cultural resources are taken advantage of, without benefits accruing to communities themselves.

The tourism sector was given a massive boost by the successful hosting of the World Cup in 2010, when the country received a record-breaking 8.1-million foreign visitors (SouthAfroca.info April 15, 2015). While applaud goes to the 2010 World Cup where many people were wooed into opening up bed and breakfast, there were no measures put in place regarding the aftermath of world cup. This event was over exaggerated in terms of benefits to the local people which in reality did not make any difference among locals except infrastructure structures in the form of stadiums which provided short term jobs for them during the construction period only. What would happen to the stadiums and the many beds that were provided then regarding their sustenance was never discussed with affected individuals. In other words there were no marketing strategies for drawing the similar numbers of tourists even domestically in order to sustain and maintain the equilibrium and income. Despite tough global economic conditions, tourism grew in 2011, with 8.3-million international tourists (SouthAfrica.info 2015),

but some Black women entrepreneurs are still battling with repayments of the loans acquired financial institutions, family and friends in 2009/2010 to refurbish their homes for tourists, so that they become; "home away from home". Who benefits more from this if not the investor while very little accrues to locals. The monopoly exerted by tourism in developing countries like South Africa, emanates from the political and economic point of view as in United Kingdom where few companies control 90% of outbound charter capacity (Roggerson and Visser 2004: 189). These companies own tour-operator businesses in the United Kingdom and abroad, own hotels, self-catering accommodation, airlines, cruise ships and retail chains. The tourism businesses in South Africa are chain hotels such as Holiday Inns, Sun International Group, the Hiltons, Protea Hotels, City or Road Lodges to cite a few of which none of these has any partnership with South African Black woman tourism entrepreneur in KwaZulu Natal. This situation is common everywhere in Third World Countries where wealth generated which seems to be concentrated in few hands leaks out of those countries. Seasoned entrepreneurs own a combination of businesses like accommodation, transport, tour guides and tour operating companies among which they rarely subcontract to tour guide small businesses of young women on daily or weekly bases rather than going into partnerships with them. There is a lot of monopoly in the tourism industry which makes it to be less applauded by women as a tool for development because it does not favours economic enhancement of the local people and areas.

In South Africa where the hope of economic growth lies on tourism, partnerships that are forged between investors from overseas countries tend to benefit those investors more than the people at the destination. Unfortunately the profits accrue to investors who happen to be international companies and some few local elites. Ashley, Boyd and

Goodwin (2000:149) warn that the profits are repatriated abroad or to metropolitan areas. This shutters all the dreams of economic benefits from tourism by local people and women in particular and this condition I believe is linked to state policies and resource allocation. The issues of economic growth, social equity and improved living standards, of sustainable development, of community empowerment are large and dominate much of the debate about development globally (Sofield 2003:1).

The issues on paper are so convincing and attractive that almost every South African now hopes that tourism and in particular entrepreneurship in tourism is indeed going to change their condition dramatically because they do not understand the difference between economy and politics. They might not be aware that entrepreneurship is governed by economic principles that are market defined. As it is still a labour-intensive sector, with a supply chain that links across sectors, tourism is a priority sector in the government's planning and policy frameworks – it is one of the six job drivers of the New Growth Path framework.

2.6.2 Economic policies and tourism

There are number of economic policies introduced from 1994 to 2014 and the present, most of which raised hopes to Black Africans who equated political freedom to economic freedom. These policies include among others the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR), 1996-1998, the Accelerated and shared growth initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) 2006, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), the Broad Base Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) 2003, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2006, and the New Development Plan (NDP) 2011. Women in South Africa

still have far less access to material resources, economic and political power than men do even after the new democratic South Africa. The White Paper (2008:46) eloquently states, "Equality and equity are the cornerstones of our development", yet women have still not been major beneficiaries of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) process. These policies were initially based on the Freedom Charter, which was signed by Mandela in 1955, which promises work, education and the sharing of the country's vast natural resources (Makate Rapulane, 13 December 2013).

The first economic policy put in place after Apartheid was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994. RDP focused at setting the broad framework of the new government's economic and social policy. In reality the Reconstruction and Development Programme aimed at the creation of employment; secondly, at the "alleviation of poverty, low wages and extreme inequalities in wages and wealth generated by the Apartheid system to ensure that every South African has a decent living standard and economic security" (RDP 1994:20). During the Reconstruction and Development Programme era which lasted for two years only the economy grew by slightly over 1% (Weeks 1999:3) better than the previous year but well below population growth. Weeks attest from 1995 the economy grew by 3% but the growth could not favour redistribution because of stagnation of 10 years during Apartheid. Even though the economic performance of 1994 and 1995 was better which raised some hopes for a better future, it was short lived because redistribution was not what the global economic system advocated.

The Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) was introduced in 1996 as a macroeconomic policy to cater for South Africa to fit in the universal

economic trends of the time. GEAR stressed at reducing the deficit and tight monetary policy combined with trade liberalization (Weeks 1999). The purpose of GEAR (1999) was to explain was to increase economic growth with a 4.2 rate programmed for 1996-2000, but it did not succeed due to the disappointing performance of fiscal contraction and excessively high interest rates. When the new government took power it was not aware that macroeconomic policies of neoliberal approach followed during the years of its reign were of interest beyond the country itself. South Africa as an "experiment" for neoliberal policy purposes: first of all, strong economic growth; secondly, reduction of employment; and third a more equitable distribution of income and wealth. GEAR policy made a significant contribution to the collapse of growth in South Africa, due to its emphasis on deficit reduction.

The South African Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) 'experiment' and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) presume that automatically women will benefit from these two policies, as they are silent about direct women issues of employment and wealth creation. Besides the GEAR "experiment" cannot be the best model for instruction in other countries hence a lot of modification is required for it to suite the real South Africa situation. The Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) macro policy in South Africa situation would be to redress inequalities rather than a master of creating economic growth.

The third policy for economic growth: the Accelerated and shared growth initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA), implemented in the year 2006, focused on infrastructure investment, sector strategies, education and skills development, eliminating the second economy, strengthening macroeconomic policies and governance, and institutional

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interventions. The main aim of AsgiSA was reducing poverty through increasing employment and social grants by the government, but did not overall reduce inequality.

The fourth policy, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is an integrated and coherent socio-economic process. It is located within the context of the country's national transformation programme, namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It is aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past by seeking to substantially, and equitably transfer and ownership, management and control of South Africa's financial and economic resources to the majority of its citizens. It seeks to ensure broader and meaningful participation in the economy by Black people to achieve sustainable development and prosperity" (Black Economic Empowerment Commission Report; paragraph two). Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a racially selective programme launched by the South African government to redress the inequalities of Apartheid by giving certain previously disadvantaged groups (Blacks, Coloureds, Indians, and Chinese who arrived before 1994) of South African citizens economic privileges previously not available to them. Although race is the overriding factor, it includes measures such as Employment Preference, skills development, ownership, management, socioeconomic development, and preferential procurement.

The fifth policy Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) act specifies the importance of "increasing the extent to which Black women own and manage existing and new enterprises and increasing their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training" (Paragraph 2d). The act further notes that "in order to comply with equality provision of the constitution, a code of good practice and targets herein specified may distinguish between Black men and Black women" (DTI and IFM,

Paragraph 9.4). The Financial Sector of 2003 only specifies gender targets (which are extremely low) in staffing. It is totally silent on gender equality in enterprise development or in procurement finance.

According to the Tourism Black Economic Empowerment Charter (2005), women are favoured by the government policies such as Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), yet women are still invisible in participation in economic growth. The observation is the government supports women to get on board entrepreneurship and after being integrated they are then expected to tow the rope. The policies are design such that they want women as are told to participate in the economy. These policies do not expect women to voice what they want the state to do for them in other words stating what benefits they require from the state as women not as the population or just citizens of the country.

The sixth policy Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight international development goals that were established following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000, following the adoption of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. These eight goals are eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowerment of women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and promoting global partnership for development. The MDGs aim at striking the balance between growth in the economy on one hand and social welfare and development needs on the other hand. The target for MDGs is 2015, the current year. The challenge here is trying to redress gender equality promotion while at the same time developing global partnership for

development, which is problematic for South Africa as race discrimination in economic growth inherited from the past history, needs to be critically reviewed for the benefit of South African citizens. The Black Africans are facing another problem of being grouped as Black with Indians, Coloured and Chinese which makes their being disadvantaged becoming more complex. The other Black categories were enjoying some benefits even during the Apartheid era. Then Black African women in this case are at the margin of the Black groups. This controversial "Blackness" needs to be tackled as no Black South African can claim citizenship in countries abroad from where the Chinese come. The label you get abroad is immigrant thus qualify for limited benefits.

The seventh policy National Development Plan/Path (NDP) aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. South Africa can realise these goals by drawing on the energies of its people, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capacity of the state, and promoting leadership and partnerships throughout society. To achieve its goal of rolling back poverty and inequality, NDP hopes to raise the living standards to the minimum level by involving combination of increasing employment, higher incomes through productivity growth, a social wage[2] and good quality public service (NDP 2011). As it stands though still early to assess NDP since 2011, instead of the situation improving taking for example employment, the percentage of youth only that is out of employment at more than 36% is alarming.

From the policies above the view of the government is the "belief that capital investment is the most important ingredient in economic growth and development (Escobar 1995: 86). Escobar further argues that although domestic savings is the best "the Third World countries are perceived as being "trapped in a 'vicious circle' of

poverty and lack of capital so that a good part of the 'badly needed' capital would have to come from abroad." Reviewing what Escobar in the above statements advocates and evaluating the policies and their failure in achieving their set objectives of improving socioeconomic conditions of the population of South Africa, the failure seems to rest upon operating on borrowed capital whose interests accrue to the lender abroad at the detriment of the vast majority of the country which are women.

2.6.3 Understanding policies: women and economic policies

The implementation of these policies showed that, although finance is important to economic development and to the growth and sustainability of the enterprise, it is not clear from these policies how to redress the challenges faced by women entrepreneurs with regard to accessing the financial services providers. Despite being sensitised by the Gender and Economic Unit of the Department of Trade and Industry (known as the *dti* in minuscule) through the study conducted by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) on BEE in 2005; after 10 years, the condition of women entrepreneurs is still the same. What then is the significance of the revelation by Labour Force Survey (2005) that Black women are in fact the largest single self-employed segment of the population, if not to influence attention of the government that women are as equal capable entrepreneurs? The study by IFC in particular examined the potential for BEE strategies to adequately service the needs of female entrepreneurs and to make recommendations. The observation is that gender neutral economic strategies do not sufficiently empower except those in politics (cabinet and parliament) (IFC Report 2006), consequently the claim is there is no even playing field for economic opportunities in any society.

Bond (2010) claims that this condition is not due to the economic policies of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR), the Accelerated and shared growth initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) or even the presidents after transition. The root problems emanate from the neoliberal policies that were introduced by the National Party in the early 1990s, the late Apartheid era. The problems is how can the situation be reversed to be totally inclusive without impacting negatively on the privileged groups since the current policies that follow the trend of previous policies continue to perpetuate differences and divisions? For example the empowerment policies like the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) create class divisions even amongst the Black people and that are already gendered.

Unfortunately the government keeps on using strategies that involve loans or microfinances to boost entrepreneurship instead of grant funds such as the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). That is why institutions such as Khula and Ntsika came about to focus on women entrepreneurs as their customers for "accumulation of wealth through dispossession by financialization" (Keating *et al.* 2003:22). Microcredit as seen by Bond (2010:3) is an attractive palliative that lubricates the on-going super exploitative 'first economy'. What this means is microcredit stands in between the two economies in South Africa to soothe the first economy, through its high interest rates, which exploit the borrower for the benefit of the foreign investor.

It is important to note that the policies centre on growing the economy both First World and Third World economies for the country to acquire a global status. In the process a need had to be created of providing a kind of monetary assistance to enable the very

poor, "non-world class" to contribute to the economic growth through what many people regard as empowerment. Nevertheless this kind of empowerment through pumping the money (microcredit, microfinance) that is lending the poor fails to address the reality on the ground where the local 'poor' are found as the number of poor people escalates instead of decreasing. Microcredit as seen by Bond (2010:3) is an attractive palliative that lubricates the on-going super exploitative 'first economy'. What this means is microcredit stands in between the two economies in South Africa to soothe the first economy, through its high interest rates that exploit the borrower for the benefit of the foreign investor.

Empowering women and in particular Black women is an economic factor". The policies are therefore exclusive and real empowerment of women is something that is neither on paper nor in any strategy for economic development in South Africa. If the policies have been formulated to address inequality in South Africa their implementation reveal the opposite. This is observed that since 1994 no policy was able to address the problems for which it was created. In that case if the policies do not work it is imperative that they are revised as the majority of the country is excluded from these policies.

Consequently the Tourism Charter of 2003 emphasises that women become a priority in business tourism ownership probably to act as objects to rescue the economic crisis. The persistent inequality as reflected in the BEE statement above indicates that there is no room for women subjectivity in entrepreneurship as the masses of women are regarded as non- contributors in the economy. This means companies owned and run by women become illegible for finance access from the state. Women automatically become an

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economic factor without consideration being taken in terms of what percentage of women really benefit from this government priority initiative. The reality is there is no equality on the ground. The findings from research indicate only about 40% to 43% of women operate businesses in tourism in KwaZulu Natal. The 57% involved in entrepreneurship do not have ownership rights due to a number of reasons prohibiting them from ownership. That is why I refer to women as 'baits' for males to access finance they are on paper but participating effectively in business entrepreneurship is still farfetched from them.

These post-Apartheid policies and initiatives which seem to be favouring inclusion of women in development (Tourism Charter and BEE 2006) in reality act as window dressing because the majority of women are excluded and benefit much less from the policies. It is surprising that most Black women know nothing about them, as they feel unattached to them. These policies include the Accelerated shared growth initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA), the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), and the Joint Initiative in Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA), the Growth Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR), and the others (Roggerson and Visser 2004:7; White Paper 1995 and White Paper for Tourism Development in KwaZulu Natal 2008). The observation is that there is omission of entrepreneurship initiatives in the policies

The high unemployment rate despite policies being amended demonstrates that the wealth still accrues to people who do not care about seeing other people's lives being improved. While tourism institutions at regional and local government levels are applauded for preparing policy directives which aim at enhancing involvement of communities in economic development programme such that communities have a

significant stake in participation in programmes effectively directed at their areas (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin 2000). What this means is that there is still much left not articulated by them as far as equality is concerned. Nevertheless meaningful participation is still a problem as women are considered for provision of cheap labour only in the community based businesses run by private companies, partnership or outsourcing some jobs to local women entrepreneurs is not even in their ten year growth plan strategies.

The government had set up its main objective to reconstruct tourism as a 'Responsible Tourism' and advocating responsibility in involving local communities that are in close proximity to tourism plant and attractions as employees only (Tourism White Paper 1995). Seeing women as employers especially the Black one is still farfetched from the thinking of the traditional business owners who see them as passive participants that supply labour. In KwaZulu Natal most local employees in the tourism industry are not registered and remain temporary employees, some for more than 10 years especially in the accommodation sector. Keeping them at temps help employers to avoid contributing to the pension fund and also health insurances. In that case there is nothing supporting the employee, there is no security for him or her at the workplace and policies are silent about benefits of the employees within the tourism industry. The employers are not keen at registering the employees for their own benefit and because of unemployment employees who are mostly women pretend as if all is well within the industry.   Critics and analysts believe that a job in tourism industry is one less of a job than the one in manufacturing industry.

The Tourism White Paper 1996 promotes "Community Based Tourism" which advocates a private investor constructing a tourism establishment in community areas for creating employment opportunities. Wealth accrues to the private investor using the community resources which the communities have no control over. Instead of the project being valuable to communities it enhances economic status of the already rich investor from a developed country. Communities have no shares in such establishments and they are quiet about women involvement. Roggerson and Visser contend that what really occurs in local areas conflicts directly with what the democratic government purports to do. Policies in a nutshell seem not working for the development of the majority of the population of South Africa. Instead of these policies supporting the development of the people of South Africa, they have protected and made development a sacred cow (Rahnema 1997:ix). Illich's idea of development although contented by drivers of development, perceives it as a threat to people's' economy. He further refers to this form of development as responsible for "under developing the Third World."

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed what the literature states about entrepreneurship and tourism as the mechanisms used to drive and promote economic development, with presumption that these will empower and enhance living conditions for women, thus alleviating poverty. The South African economic history and tourism policies do not present women as contributors to economic growth; also the involvement of women does not clearly show articulated in policies guiding development. The assistance and inefficient support that is supposedly directed at lifting women out of poverty are the ones that

strip them off of the resources they have for survival, thus deepening them into severe desperate situations.

The history of entrepreneurship from Apartheid to the current democracy that extends from 1994 up to date demonstrates that entrepreneurship and tourism cannot on their own address conditions that women face in the country taking into consideration women tourism entrepreneurs in KwaZulu Natal. Policies of economic development that link to affirmative action and empowerment have been discussed and evaluated in terms of their effectiveness, inclusivity or exclusivity in driving, guiding and guarding economic growth for all the citizens.

Disempowering and dispossession came out to be stronger than empowerment in the case of African Black women through 'financialization' that is embedded in the poverty cycle which needs to be alleviated international finances from abroad to drive entrepreneurship. Gender and race emerged as major concepts in the institutions, which support and promote development such as education and training as well as economy. The misrecognition of women in equal access to finance, land or space, raw material for production, relevant training and also policies that are silent on women issues tend to perpetuate the injustice prevalent in the country.

The South African economic history and tourism policies guiding development do not clearly articulate the involvement of women in the tourism industry and as such women still feel ignored and discriminated against because of gender, class and racial differences. Likewise entrepreneurship is not benefiting the poorest women instead it enhances the living conditions of the average and the rich people of the country mostly those with good social standing. Academic and organizational environments that

facilitate a greater degree of self-discovered knowledge are needed such as marrying the arts and sciences, which means a relevant and alternative education needs to be the key to close the gap that exists within the population.

Illustration 7. Various hand crafted products: Production done on the pavement.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections: the methodological approach, data collection and the analytical approaches I drew on for the analysis of my data. As this study is concerned with the nature of problems inhibiting Black women from effective participation in entrepreneurial engagements thus contributing in post-Apartheid economic development in a more meaningful way, I have used ethnography because it entails both the basic classical ethnographic research and qualitative and quantitative methods. I have done so because I wanted to have an understanding of the conditions under which women entrepreneurs operate especially those in the tourism industry. The methods employed in this research are grounded within the critical social science framework. Critical social science is a "critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (Neuman 2003:81). Hence I have used random stratified sampling to identify women tourism entrepreneurs within various KwaZulu Natal municipalities where the study was being conducted. Samples were sourced from four district municipalities.

The second part of the chapter discusses my time in conducting the research and how I collected information in the field and how I identified or chose my participants and the methods I used to gather data from four district municipalities of KwaZulu Natal, South

Africa. I describe the interviewing techniques that I utilised in the field and also how this led to me to have repeated visits spending time in observing women in their everyday interactions with business at various transport convergence nodes in cities and towns, along the freeways and highways, at filling stations on national roads and at their facilities, curio shops and at accommodation establishments. I also explain how I got the understanding of tourism women because of my previous involvement with entrepreneurship as well as how I became involved with tourism entrepreneurship. I also visited district municipal offices, during tourism forum meetings, where I met managers and officials responsible for promoting tourism in district and local municipalities. The intention was to participate in debates representing the organisations that I worked for, so that these would supply a database of women tourism entrepreneurs in their areas of jurisdiction, as I had worked with KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority, Department of Education and Culture out of School Programme, and the University of Zululand (Department of Recreation and Tourism).

In the third section, I outline the approaches I utilised to analyse my data from different perspectives, and how I verified my findings. To analyse my data I worked with key participants from my research site consulting with them on my interpretation of the data. Analysis and verification of my findings involved revisits to the field and in-depth discussions with key informants.

3.2. Methodological approach

This study is ethnography, specifically ethnography of participant observation because my aim is to understand the role of entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development and poverty alleviation among women. Traditionally ethnographic

research has focused on describing cultural patterns of behaviour, norms, and beliefs amongst other characteristics from the perspective of its members (Labov 1979). Ethnography is seen as a collection of systematic qualitative observations of culture, but also a study of communities/ populations or any setting in which humans are interacting (Whitehead 2005). The process of doing ethnography lays the groundwork for collecting data on the complexity of economic development and constraints inhibiting women generally and Black women in particular in effective participation in entrepreneurial engagements. Through ethnography one continues to provide detailed accounts of everyday life and social practices, 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) through various forms of informal and semi-structured ethnographic interviews (Whitehead 2005).

3.2.1 Secondary data analyses

To begin my analysis, I drew on data on economic development and entrepreneurship as a tool for empowerment and poverty alleviation, sourcing it from books, seminar papers, journal articles, and newspapers. The aim was to get the meaning and claims by various authors on economic development, entrepreneurship, poverty alleviation and empowerment. The clear understanding of their meaning helped me determine how these relate to one another for the 'acclaimed' improvement of marginalised women's socioeconomic condition status. I then developed hypotheses based on the information I gathered as it reflects on Chapter (Theoretical Framework). These hypotheses had to be researched on the field. This helped me to generate open-ended research questions for my qualitative ethnographic approach. The secondary data analyses assisted me identify the gaps in tourism researches done like examining barriers inhibiting women

entrepreneurs from maximising their potential. I have also used scholarly and popular publications and other products such as media to verify and demonstrate the limiting nature of entrepreneurial participation to women.

While there are researches done in tourism entrepreneurship in South Africa, I have not came across any in KwaZulu Natal that critically evaluated the effectiveness of Black women participation in entrepreneurial engagements thus contributing to post-Apartheid economic development. In order to come up with informed claims and recommendations I have made use of scholarly and popular publications and other products such as media. I have also read official documents such as Tourism White Papers and Tourism Strategy Documents for national, provincial, district, and local municipality levels, especially those for the area under study.

Creswell (1994:129) defines qualitative study as an "inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting". Qualitative research takes an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter through the study of phenomena in their natural settings, thereby attempting to make sense of or interpret such phenomenon in terms of the meanings that people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Consequently, it became imperative for me to try by all means to try to find a way of reaching almost all categories of business women in tourism related activities/ facilities out there that would represent the diverse races and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry as well as those holding top positions to gather their experiences of entrepreneurship.

Consequently, cases of business women experiences became a component of qualitative narrative analysis as well as quantitative research that I used to obtain relevant information for my arguments in analysis and hence recommendations for women in entrepreneurship after and or during democracy. The narratives that women related of their experiences with entrepreneurship raised issues that I foresaw in my research problem statement; "Women generally and Black women in particular experience discrimination in accessing finance, land, space, support, favourable policies and inclusion in socioeconomic initiatives because of race, class and gender differences perpetrated by cultures, institutions such as education, religion, and policies with their laws and regulations that are silent about the nature of their involvement in economic growth". I chose the post-Apartheid period because Black women became regarded as part of entrepreneurship in this period and tourism industry opened its gates for the first time in South Africa for Black.

I could have chosen to use outright feminist theory approaches as women face multiplicity intersections of oppressions. The focus has mostly been on White women and White men and this has resulted in the marginalisation of Black women in feminist theory and in antiracist politics I made another option (Crenshaw 1989). The travelling of the feminist theory across the Atlantic Ocean gave birth to new but related feminist such as the Liberal Feminism, the Marxist Feminism, the Radical Feminism, the Socialist Feminism Crenshaw (1989:140) argues that Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourses because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interactions of race and gender. With the understanding of the complexity of the South African situation, some women might not be in a position of speaking out their minds

because of the sensitive and uncertainties around women's issues. That is why I thought ethnography would help a lot in addressing women problematic issues in tourism entrepreneurship. Qualitative research facilitates detailed accounts of everyday life and social practices, the so-called 'thick description' (Geertz 1973).

3.2.2 Ethnography of participant observation

As this study focuses on problems inhibiting women in effective entrepreneurial participation in enhancing economic development thus harnessing benefits of true empowerment that will alleviate poverty in their community areas, it situates itself theoretically and methodologically within the framework of ethnography of participant observation (Whitehead 2005). The problem of the nature of participation in entrepreneurship becomes the core around which all deliberations are centred. Hence questions are constructed around the research problem to obtain answers that are aimed at addressing or nearly addressing the problem.

Participant observation has its roots in ethnographic fieldwork. It has been utilised in this research as a tool to gather data and also as part of the verification process. As a tool, observation provides in-depth data on the everyday practices of entrepreneurs such as crafters, tour operators like Riette in the boat interaction with their customers. The approach helped me gain insight into the perspectives of the different business location and ownership in terms of race and gender/ sex influence its performance, especially those in rural as against the ones around big cities. I took into account multiple perspectives that exist on female township enterprises like tourists being sourced from other townships in the country, which make their businesses to be viable. On the contrast those in the city source their tourists or customers from both within and outside

the country. Through participant observation I was able to get their meaning of being an entrepreneur in the male dominated industry.

3.2.3. Doing auto-ethnography: the process

Auto-ethnography is a form of self-reflection and writing that explores the researcher's personal experience and connects it into biographical story to a wider cultural, political, and social meanings and understandings (Ellis and Bochner 2004). Using auto ethnography I was able to relate the story of my house being repossessed by financial institution because of the problems we encountered with repayments of the loan. An emotional story but it reveals the kind of pressure that loans can bring to the entrepreneur. In doing auto ethnography, I acknowledge and accommodate myself, as well as my informants, as emotional subjects. I exposed the influence that I have on the research, "rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they do not exist" (Ellis and Bochner 2004:59).

Telling the personal and emotional stories as the auto ethnographer, I intend to evoke similar emotional reaction from the readers. For example, my experience of being almost the land or site because of "women cannot own land unless a man approves." The problem I encountered when buying a site, where the official told me that as a single woman I would need to bring a man during the official handover of the site to me. This experience being expected to pay but at the same time having limited freedom of access to the land is explained better by auto ethnography such as (Bochner 2004) indicates the a person who is an outsider might not understand the dynamics within culture and politics. Bochner (2004) avows to this method as "the researcher retrospectively and selectively writes about epiphanies that stem from, or are made

possible by possessing a particular cultural identity." Bochner (2004) claims auto ethnography as involving storytelling that tries to make personal experience meaningful and cultural engagement, but also produce accessible texts to reach a wider and more diverse mass audience.

Thinking of my role as an auto ethnographer, and drawing on the method of participant observation, I could appreciate an efficient data collection method typically done in the qualitative research paradigm (Spradley 1980). This is mainly because participant observation is widely used methodology in many disciplines, particularly cultural anthropology across Europe and the United States. Participant observation is ideal because it helps clarify contradictions between what people say and what happens in reality. For example provision of microfinance and or microcredit to assist women venture into business enterprise is regarded as tool for alleviating and finally eradicating poverty among women in Third World countries. In reality microfinance dispossess people of their property like houses that they cede with as a collateral which when the repayment is not honoured by the borrower the financial institution confiscates the house and sell it to recover the balance owing even if it is only less than a quarter remaining. This is the experience I went through when I was running retail and restaurant business in 2003 in Umlazi Township. I was bailed out by a friend who has businesses in the same township and in the towns around Durban.

Participant observation is a qualitative method with roots in traditional ethnographic research, whose objective is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by study populations (Hymes 1972). As qualitative researcher I had some presumptions that there would be multiple perspectives within economic development and women

entrepreneurship. I was interested both in knowing what those diverse perspectives are and in understanding the interplay among them. I accomplished this through both observing and participating, to varying degrees, in the study community's daily activities. As participant observer I had to personally go to the places where the women operate the businesses in both community and urban settings, as these locations had some relevance to the research questions. The participant observation ethnographic method is distinctive because the researcher approaches participants in their own environment rather than having the participants come to the researcher (Geertz 1979). Generally speaking, the researcher engaged in participant observation tries to learn what life is like for an "insider" while remaining, inevitably, an "outsider." While in these community settings, researchers make careful, objective notes about what they see, recording all accounts and observations as field notes in a field notebook.

The ethnography of participant observation allowed me to explore narratives of the women experiences at their businesses in their natural setting to understand how women deal with exclusion and marginalization in entrepreneurship from they start developing the idea, undergoing registration processes until the business operates. The methodological enquiry provides a space to explore the mechanisms by which challenges of finances, land and operation space are constructed through exploitative empowerment or disempowerment initiatives that are government led and private sector or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) implemented.

I used participant observation to facilitate and develop positive relationships with my key informant Annushka for Uthungulu District as well as the Manager Tourism

Department at UGu District Municipality, stakeholders, and gatekeepers, whose assistance and approval are needed for the study to become a reality.

3.3 In the field

In this chapter and previous chapters, I showed that I have spent a number of years in the field from 2009 to 2012 where I would informally observe women tourism entrepreneurs in their various forms; crafters, artists like dancers, praise poets, *Indlamu* (traditional Zulu dance, tour guides, tour operators, bed and breakfast and lodge owners, groups). Due to my background in the sector, I also have in-depth knowledge as I have been an entrepreneur and been part of the process.

To start off on my journey in the field, in 2009, during the period of initial observation, I spent every day of the week observing student tourism entrepreneurs starting and operating tourism related businesses in groups as part of their credit subject for their first year second semester. On campus there are women who have table stalls selling fruit and vegetables as well as cooked food that I encounter on daily bases as I work at the University, teaching Business Tourism and Entrepreneurship as one if the modules for a degree in tourism. During weekends I would visit townships around the University and transport convergence points in Richards Bay and Esikhawini/ Esikhaleni to observe businesses that are operated by women in the city, town and townships. I would usually visit friends and students some of whom ran Bread and Breakfast at Esikhawini in Zululand where I was renting then. I would discuss the topic I was interested in exploring. As my house is in Durban I would visit home fortnightly to check my children. On the way to Durban on the highway N2, there would be women selling to motorists along the road, beadwork, fruit and vegetables raw and cooked food. I would

stop and buy and engage in conversation on challenging issues to the experience of selling to the passers-by. At home in Umlazi my mother-in-law is an entrepreneur who sells new and second hand clothing. In short women entrepreneurs surround my life. This exposure made me to learn that there were a number of challenges that women entrepreneurs experience in their small businesses.

I began getting in-depth data from early February 2010 and I was on and off in the field until July 2013 when I returned to South Africa from Granada, Spain to do interviews with my participants. I was fortunate that in the interview team included Soledad Vieitez-Cerdeño, my professor and thesis supervisor at the Universidad de Granada, and Marian, a researcher and my classmate specialising in African filming, both of whom assisted with the interview process. I had people who had expertise in their fields; Sole with her expertise in anthropology and ethnological research methods would steer and guide me through the process during August 2013 in KwaZulu Natal. Recording the data became a shared exercise. And this made my field life easier, effective and meaningful.

To have broader view of data found in various administrative sources at the national, state, and local levels I phoned the officers at municipality levels like information offices but data on women was very limited that I got. When searching for the database of women entrepreneurs in offices (e.g., national censuses, government agencies, state, and local planning offices) as Whitehead (2005) suggests, I came against a blow, there was no database, only the successful entrepreneurs that they had previously supported that they would know by heart was available. In Durban they only had information on one ward, even then the names were given in surnames and initials, which was not

useful to me because I could not tell whether the entrepreneur was a male or female. The tourism information office Ethekwini boldly and without any shame told me that I could go to one woman somewhere at the offices, building number 75, Winder Street, I will get the woman that has got a list of tourism women entrepreneurs around Durban/Ethekwini. The importance of women related information is undermined, ignored, and underrated, as they are not perceived as contributors to the economic development. During the research I knew that I was not going to get much on women because even when I was still with KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA) 1998-1999, the tourism regions then which are now called district tourism forums did not have data bases, those that we worked with in compiling the data base did not have interest of including Black women onto their lists. The reason then was that the Black women were just included as crafters for producing souvenirs, not that they can run accommodation facilities or tour operating companies.

3.3.1 Entry into the field

I have lived in rural and urban environments including various townships such as Umlazi, Claremont, Chesterville, and Esikhawini in KwaZulu Natal South Africa. I also have vast experience of city life I acquired in Eshowe, Richards Bay and Empangeni during my studying and career life. I was born in Mkhunya a location at Vulamehlo-Mzinto under the jurisdiction of UGu District Municipality. The secondary, high school, college and University education exposed me to rented accommodation and sharing rooms and dormitories with other students. My family life, study life and career life have exposed me to entrepreneurship, and augmented my understanding of the subject as well as exposing me to relevant and important associations in the field.

I am the youngest in my family of three surviving children, two girls and one boy, who were raised by a single woman after the tragic loss of my father during his blossoming farming years as an entrepreneur in rural KwaZulu Natal province in South Africa. My life has been a series of events and circumstances peculiar to a single woman from the 1950s to date, even though I got married early in life. My experiences and life during marriage did not differ much from that of a single woman because of a less committed husband. It did not worry me then because I was coming from the family where women can do things that men do; heading the families, educating and supporting their children to go through life, and teaching them ways of how to face, deal and overcome challenges that they might come across in life.

I took all these experiences into the field, knowing that Black women are marginalised because of gender roles; my mother and my sister had to leave school after completing standard 6 and 4 respectively. They had passed with distinction, but could not proceed to college to train for a teaching profession. My mother had to stay home be groomed for womanhood or wife product which was expected for every women to undergo at certain age in life. My sister on the other hand had to leave school to help my mother with farming after the passing on of my father at a young age of 33 years. There are different roles that women have to play in marriage and society. On the other hand after marriage the woman needs to engage in farming with food production to cater for her family. I draw on the experiences of my sister who resisted following my mother's career path of farming without finishing her education and become a professional exposed me to a critical evaluation of conditions that women positioned in. I also got into the field knowing that women have been pushed to entrepreneurship -my mother-in-law ran a s*hebeen.*

My role had taken a dual position of the experiences with my mother and sister but also because I have been exposed to environments of women in top positions and businesses because of my career path; women principals at schools and two University rectors at the University of Zululand where I worked as well women directors and managers of departments at various institutions, colleagues and friends owning business enterprises some tourism guesthouses and bed and breakfast, crafters as well as me running a retail shop with cooked food counter that I can call *Kasie-restaurant* because it was not a full time restaurant, a grab and go or sit outside with just one table, four chairs, a bench and crates. I provide this information to describe my immersion in entrepreneurship.

My first field sites visits as a doctoral student were interesting in the sense that I was observing interactions and conversations of the tourism entrepreneurs not as an inside only but also an outsider, trying to gain practical understanding of women owned and operated enterprises. I was relaxed and comfortable in the township, rural and urban settings and could drive around freely without any problem in KwaZulu Natal. This is also grounded on the fact that I had lived and worked in different environments throughout my life as the paragraphs above articulate. I chose to work with women tourism entrepreneurs in the three plus one district municipalities of KwaZulu Natal namely UGu, Ethekwini (Durban), Uthungulu and uThukela respectively. The reason for the choice is tourism industry is a key contributor to the KwaZulu-Natal economy (TIKZN 2009) as KwaZulu-Natal ranks amongst the most popular visited destinations in South Africa, with excess of 35% of the domestic tourism trips in the country (TIKZN 2009). Furthermore I knew that these areas have women entrepreneurs because when I was doing monthly visits participating in Tourism Committee Forums at various

districts, problems associated with business and operation of the organisation would always feature as items in the agenda.

During the early stages of my research, I would take occasional pictures of the different women businesses in townships, rural areas, and street pavements market places and transport convergence points as well as accommodation facilities. I would also hold conversations with women whose husbands were co-owners of the businesses in the townships, towns and cities. I knew them before they got into business, as we were teachers together at the same schools or neighbours in the same township. We would visit hotels and lodges, groups of women only with no husbands. From their narratives I could detect that they had deep rooted secretes about their lives in businesses. The freedom they had hoped for before venturing into business turned to be enslavement in business in a very subtle way.

This helped me formulate an understanding of the groupings found in the township, cities and rural areas because their dress code and cars they drive define these women. It seemed that there were a number of young girls joining in crafters and vendors because access to such businesses does not require much capital and formal trading space. Some young women were being employed by their mothers despite the fact that they had qualifications from colleges and Universities but unemployment pushed them to entrepreneurship. I have a case of such young women that I interviewed at Durban station on the 27th of August 2013. The decline in economic situation due to 2008 global economic crises channel young women to go for survivalist enterprises and their mothers become their rescuers. One graduate young girl it is better to come and work

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with your mother rather than staying in the house for the rest of year because there is always something that you take home every day.

I did not have problems in identifying the entrepreneurs that I wanted to interview because I had worked with a number of women in tourism businesses when I was doing my internship with KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA) and Department of Education and Culture out of School Programme. Furthermore while at the University of Zululand I visited tourism students at their various internship sites to assess how they integrate theory from class into practice at tourism establishments. Having identified the sections that I was working with made it easier to begin to identify the individuals and groups that I wanted to work with. This worked on my advantage as I became more acquainted with manager owners who were supervising those students.

I initially had an idea of researching on very small businesses only but internship sites were tourism organisations, hotels, game reserves, heritage sites and so forth. I remember even going to assess a student who was at Robben Island and another one at the game reserve in the Western Cape outside KwaZulu Natal. This intensified my desire to interview entrepreneurs of all races and any tourism establishment, facility and activity where women participated. The view had been based on preconceived ideas around tourism and associated businesses that that Black people in townships could engage in to draw tourist into their areas that were linked to my previous Master research. It was based on the feasibility of township cultural tourism to attract tourists from the cities to have a drive through and stay over in townships.

3.3.2 Getting my study participants

I also administered questionnaires with women tourism entrepreneurs in four district municipalities of KwaZulu Natal Province to contribute to the body of knowledge of tourism. According to McCurdy and Cleary (1984:53), the aim of the research should be to build the knowledge base of a subject. Marias (1993) states that, the substance of the reality that is being studied, plays a vital role in determining the data, sources, and methods for collecting data. Bell (1994:325) however observes that methods are often not justified by the context of the research project, but are imposed in an arbitrary fashion called `tyranny of the traditional scientist approach.

I used district municipality managers and officers to find women entrepreneurs like Annushka at uThungulu district from the records they have in the case there is no data base for women entrepreneurs in the office. She supplied me with names of the women entrepreneurs under their jurisdiction. She even phoned some of the women to secure appointments for me. My friend Muzi whom I used as my research assistant in 2010 would accompany me to district and local municipalities to secure appointments while we would be explaining our wishes about seeing tourism becoming meaningful to local communities. As a male it was easier for the managers to quickly attend to us, which reflects general stereotypes at work places. Usually the manager would refer me to people who were heading divisions in his or her department to provide me with information. In certain situations he would give me names of women that they use as service providers in their offices.

In earlier discussions I indicated that I have worked with tourism product owners or entrepreneurs when I was an intern and also while teaching at the University, attending

meetings as a stakeholder representative I got to some of them well. It became therefore easy for me to choose my sample, which comprised of entrepreneurs from all sectors/components of the tourism industry. My sample is a representation of women from accommodation, tour operators, tourism municipality offices, crafters, tour guiding, and safari van owners for game reserve tours, food catering as well as restaurants. After choosing the sample I then had to conduct face-to-face interviews. In certain instances I would just go to the facilities on my own to secure appointments for interviews because the phone did not work well for me in setting appointments.

Due to my knowledge and access, it did not take me a long time to get the research interviews completed within a month because I had an advantage of being the native researcher and working with people I had previously met as I have detailed my entry in the field above. My position as an entrepreneur and exposure with various entrepreneurs for a long time; 2 years with KZNTA/TKN, 1 year Department of Education and Culture, put me in a position of trust. The reality is that ethnographers who are not native in the study area would take a year to get acquainted with the language and other sociocultural aspects of the place. My approach contends what Guba and Lincon (1997:198) suggest that hypotheses theories and interpretative frameworks brought by outside investigators "may have little or no meaning with the emic view of studies individuals, groups, societies and cultures. I am part of the researched and I am writing about me the researcher and the researched meaning that some of the issues being raised I have personally experienced, and in that way I would me keener in seeing the recommendations being implemented. In my unique case I just concentrated on research questions and interview process. Another advantage my informants spoke and understood English w except for some of the crafters, few though. Because of the type

of industry they are in the knowledge of other languages especially spoken English as a business language becomes a priority as they interact with travellers on daily bases, not just White tourists only but also travellers from other provinces in South Africa who speak other ethnic languages than Zulu.

My first participant to be recorded and interviewed was Babo Hadebe along with his wife are co-owner of Olwandle Suite Hotel and Olwandle Guest House both businesses in Durban with his wife. I was acquainted with him from school in the 1970s. I also knew him in later years as he was in business I learnt about him and their family business when I doing internship in 1998 at Tourism Indaba which is an exhibition which is held yearly in Durban. By that time they only had one business that was a guesthouse located in Durban North but now they have 4 accommodation business facilities 3 around Durban and one in Kimberley Northern Cape Province. Before living in Durban the family lived in Umlazi the township in which I live. When I met him in 2008 on a business trip in Richards Bay he told me that he had already opened a new business, a hotel in the city. In 2009 a group of tourism students that took a Tourism Business and Entrepreneurship Module visited the hotel for a workshop organised by the tourism department, to have an experience of tourism business, a hotel owned and operated by Black people in the city centre where most business buildings are owned and operated by whites or foreigners from some countries in Africa. Other departments at the University of Zululand used his hotel for conferences and workshops too and that is how the relationship developed.

The second participant was P. P., a woman who owns 'Ekhaya Lentokozo', a Bed and Breakfast at Kwa-Mashu Township D section. P. P., Director in the Department of

Education, converted her house to an accommodation facility because all her children are working and no longer stay at home with the parents. I know her from the University when we were studying our doctoral degree and also as a colleague and friend in the teaching profession. She is very business minded and has been catering before deciding to venture into a full time accommodation venture. She is married and her husband assists to a certain extent but does not have power and control in the business, as it was the wife's idea. The business started well and by 2010 she was able to buy a second house and converted that into bed and breakfast. Been going well so far as a result she has a second accommodation facility within the same township but in a different section.

The third participant is Janet who owns Emthini Holiday Resort at Nyangwini, Umthwalume under UGu District Municipality. I knew about her and her facility from workshops and conferences that I would attend and she would be asked to make presentation about how she started her business and how it was faring. Her establishment had won a prize and she was all over newspapers, that is where I began following her story until I was able to talk to her personally at in 1998 when she provide a catering service for Ugu municipality and I was present representing KZNTA. Thereafter she was asked by Weziwe Thusi, then Provincial Minister of Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal to motivate women from rural areas that it was possible operate successfully an accommodation facility.

The fourth participants are crafters at Durban station. They are a diverse group of women young and old, as well as men because of products they produce and sell. Ncamisile is selling bead products and carved wood products. She works with a partner

of Zimbabwean origin who plays the role of a lover and an employee. Crafters in Durban Station transport convergence point rent the pavement and then put the small tents with tables, which they sometimes convert into a producing place and sleeping place at night.

The fifth is Annushka- tourism officer at UThungulu District Municipality. She has been working for the municipality for 17 years under what I can call marketing division of the department. She has been involved in most areas of this department because of her long stay she was there when the district municipality offices were opened. There were four Indians and the rest were whites and the Indians held lower positions. There was no Black person when the tourism department in the municipality was established. Because of the love for crafters she described her first visit to craft groups at Nkanlda local municipality for the first time. She was disheartened to see the conditions under which the two groups of crafters were operating. Note first time after 17 years visiting one of the municipality as an officer in the division of tourism. She also runs a baby's shop in Richards Bay city centre besides coordinating tourism events and promoting them in the district.

The six is Riette the only woman skipper who owns a boat on the St Lucia Lake at iSimangaliso Wetland Park, a heritage sight. I got to know about her through Anushka the tourism officer because I was interested in knowing about women who are in the tour operating business. She started the tour operating business years ago in 1996 when sanctions were lifted after 1994 democratic change. Before 1994 she owned a travelling agency. In 1996 she applied for a licence to operate cruises on the lake. She had been in the cruise business for 15 years, being the only. Riette has two children, a boy and a

girl, 28 and 23 years old respectively, by then (2013). They have four boats that they own with her husband who operates the whale watching and fisheries boats. What is unique about her is she taught herself to be a skipper.'

The seventh one is Gwebu a student-converted entrepreneur because of the influence of the module I taught him on entrepreneurship at the University. He lives at Mhlathuze Township running a car wash business. Otherwise he is a qualified teacher by profession and does washing cars for local people as well as tourists as a side job. He employs young boys that are full time on the job and has also started a block making business to keep his boys throughout the week busy as most people bring the cars over the weekend to be washed.

In my research, I utilised this approach in understanding the challenges and problems that women face in entrepreneurship which tend to marginalise them because of many intersections such as gender, race, class, age, location and many more. The issues raised by entrepreneur that obstruct them from maximal participation and thus contributing to economic growth run across gender boundaries such as the case of lack of access to finance. The Hadebe's, a Black couple in Ethekwini (Durban)-who I also interviewed for the research- that owns the Olwandle Hotel experienced rejection by three different banks when applying for the loan to buy the building they now use for their hotel.

Likewise gender and or sexuality will always act against women entrepreneurs irrespective of race where male employees would defy Riette one of my informants, the woman skipper that owns the cruise boat on Lake St Lucia at Isimangaliso. Men that she employed as skippers would come to work drunk or they would not come to work at all. Participative observation helped in me ascertaining that some constraint issues

affect entrepreneurs the similar way although in Black women the problem may be worse, every issue of subordination entangling around them.

Illustration 8. List of interviewees. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

No.	Interviewee	Municipality	Company/Business	Position Held	Date
1.	Babo	Ethekwini/Durban	Olwandle Suite Hotel	Owner; director Marketing	26/8/2013
2.	P.P. Kganye	KwaMashu	Ekhaya Bed and Breakfast	Owner director	27/8/2013
3.	Philisiwe	Durban Station	Crafter Grass	Owner producer	27/8/2013
4.	Anushka	UThungulu	Tourism Division	Tourism Officer	28/8/2013
5.	Riette	UThungulu	Adventure Tours	Boat cruise owner	28/8/2013
6.	Ntokozo	UThungulu	Gwebu Car Wash	Owner	28/8/2013
7.	Janet	UGu	Emthini Holiday Resort	Owner	30/8/2013

While collecting data I also needed to ensure that beliefs that I had around male and female entrepreneurs practices would not influence how I thought about the activities that I was observing, freeing myself from stereotypes and prejudices and letting the data speak for itself (Brookes:2002). I had to keep in mind what Risman (2000) stated "gender is not something that one has, or something that one; rather it is something that one does."

3.3.3 Interviews conducted

Over and above observation I had to conduct formal and informal interviews to get the clarity of what it means to be a women entrepreneur in the 21st century especially post-Apartheid period. I had personally gone to entrepreneurs to secure appointments for interviews that were going to be recorded by tape and video. I did this arrangement because I knew that I was dealing with business people who might not be always on site as they have other things to take care of, like attending meetings, workshops hence I went to see them a week before to arrange for the interview meeting. But for

respondents who were out in the country I used the telephone to get confirmation of the interview dates.

The first formal interview I had was on the 26th of August 2013 at the Olwandle Suite Hotel in city centre of Durban. The hotel is a family business with 50 rooms and is owned by a Black couple. It is located at the corner of Stalwart Simelane and Monty Naicker Streets, 3 minutes' walk from International Convention Centre (ICC) and Hilton Hotel. We were a group of 3 researchers during the interview and we had different roles. The hotel was operating as usual and what was even more impressive there were even repairs being done at the reception, which was close to the lounge where the interview was proceeding. This made me to have a practical feel of the day-to-day operation of the hotel and see the employees interacting with the customers.

During the interviews, I would take notes and after the interviews would fill out my fieldwork diary, which would help me put things into perspective. This was done to get a sense of the interviewees' understanding of entrepreneurship and the challenges they encounter on the running of their businesses and how deal with the frustrations involved in order to grow their businesses. When returning from the interview session we would sit down as a group of researchers and discuss the issues that were raised by the entrepreneur to determine the type of discrimination the burning issue represents. We would also discuss the strategies of improving the way we conduct our interviews although in many instances the direction to take is determined by the narrator. This confirms what Spradley (1980: 73) propounded that you enter the interview process without any particular orientation in mind, only the general question. "What is going on here?" Especially when I was interviewing Riette the skipper I had no idea how the

business function. But to my surprise she experienced challenges that relate to some kind of subordination where her male employees did not respect her as their employer, and the job they were doing, instead coming to work drunk.

The interviews were tape-recorded and were also supplemented by the videoing of naturally occurring conversation and extensive observation. The interviews were also used to gain clarity on data that were collected and can also be seen as part of verification.

The general interviews and context were unstructured and conducted in varied locations from the reception lounge in the case of a bed and breakfast or hotel, boardroom for municipalities, on the street pavements for crafters and vendors, in the offices for managers of group of crafters/cooperative, in the boat for the skipper and boat owner. Sometimes we would meet at popular restaurants in the mall in case we ran out of time but forced to meet the entrepreneur such as it happened with Gwebu. It was in the evening after working hours. In this I had to negotiate with him to meet me halfway because I had already done 2 interviews on that day and he was the third one. Prior to entering the field I did have a set of questions that I would pose to get my respondents comfortable and talking, such as getting their historical background of where they grew up, and their views on the business operation spaces and their daily interaction as entrepreneurs.

I would usually find my participants and spend time with them at their business setting where the environment allowed them to be more expressive and free. The advantaged is that they would continue with their daily engagements which would sometimes interrupt our conversation but relevant to understanding of the operations. The

observation, interacting, participating placed the study interview into a socio-cultural context that had a meaning for each of them as there are repeated observations, conversations. This was done in an attempt to gain a better feel of business in its natural setting. I had my structured interviews where I began with open- ended exploratory attempt to learn the frustrations; crafters operate under at the feeling stations. It emerged that the biggest frustration was signage as tourists could not know that they were there because their stalls are behind the garage buildings at Shell ultra-cities in KwaZulu Natal. Interviews and discussions also focused on the on the significance of different support they receive from municipalities and how much value they add if ever they do. Here the issue of workshop and trainings were perceived as being valueless in addressing the needs of women entrepreneurs. By also having maintained contact with the same informants has meant that rapport has developed in our interactions.

3.3.4 Filming and recording

In my attempt to document every detail about women entrepreneurial challenging experiences, I made sure that I brought some guiding structured questionnaires with me but also provided more space and time to allow interviewee to narrate as Bernard (2002) suggests for interactions in their natural setting. For recorded conversation as Bernard (2002: 204) asserts and hence I came without structure on the day of the interview but tried to remember questions and recorded everything. I did this to allow the respondents to be as free as possible to narrate everything they feel like saying. Consequently I had minimum control and interference over people's responses to allow them to open up and express themselves in their own terms, and their own pace. I also collected video recordings of naturally occurring interactions in a range of everyday situations. For

example we recorded people fixing something on the ceiling board in the hotel. Communicative behaviours that have been viewed through a lens (video recordings) provide the possibility of replaying and microanalysis, Saville-Troike (2003). The use of film is to record the events that have been observed. Through analysing film collected, it shows how participants navigate within the social spaces that they occupy.

Marian who was one of the interview team members specialising in filming and photography did the filming of the conversations and interviews with a Canon Video home camera. I saw that in order to gain natural data and natural scene, I used the experienced and professional person in recording as my supervisor Sole had suggested. In some instances we would use my nephew Zwakele, who was our driver because the province is huge and the study areas stretches along the coast of KwaZulu Natal for approximately 500 km. He would sometimes swap the roles of recording with Marian and does the filming and taking pictures too. I would also use the tape recorder to capture voice conversations. The recording of naturally occurring conversations was done in the following manner: the filmed conversations ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes long. In the case of Babo, PP, Janet and Annushka, we were able to film and observe without causing much disturbance to the natural flow of conversation because recordings were done in doors. There was much disturbance when doing film recording with the crafters at Durban station because it was windy and also the sound of cars, buses and taxis was disturbing. Likewise in Riette's boat as it was cruising over St Lucia, there was lot of wind and noise made by tourists but all reflected the natural daily operations of the business. In the case of Gwebu at the restaurant at Five Ways Mall there was no distraction in filming except customers that would stare at us because they would not understand a combination of Black and White people sitting for more than an

hour together in a peaceful and amicably way. The reason is that South Africa is still racist; such interaction between Black and White is on business matters only not other relations. Some of the whites you could tell from their facial expression that they were amazed.

I never experienced hardships with my recording except for one crafter at Durban station. All my respondents were cooperative in answering all the questions through relating the narratives of their experiences with business from establishment stage, which involves a lot of registration frustrations and other requirements. I gathered from her partner that the reason for refusing to be interviewed was she could not speak English well. I couldn't take that as a valid excuse because I remember in 2010 when I was assisting my colleague with interviews at the University, the issue that came out strongly was the bitterness and discomfort among participants about researches that are done and then no feedback and any other benefit for participants or recognition of knowledge they contribute towards the research studies, I associated her reaction with that previous experience which is a concern.

3.3.5 Use of key informants and verification

I had one person that I could regard as my key informant and that was Annushka, an Indian the tourism officer at UThungulu District Municipality. Her narrative of her experience working with the department revealed there are challenges that are faced by women in top positions where she. She cited an incidence that she considers discriminatory (because she female), where a male equal at the other local municipality gave her orders and an instruction, KwMbonambi, requiring her to do his responsibility of writing a report for him. She felt she was shouted at by him and commanded to do

the job that is not her responsibility. Initially she thought the man maybe wanted her to provide him with a report-writing frame as KwaMbonambi municipality falls under UThungulu district. In actual fact to her surprise the man wanted her to write the report for him, not asking her to do so but commanding her to write the report. My observation is that men at the workplace still regard women as their subordinates even if they hold senior or same positions. These informants also informed the data analysis process.

Key informants also provided data analysis by assisting in identifying and explaining the social meanings and significance of power relations. In addition to this, periodic field site visits representing the University as a stakeholder in district tourism meetings afforded me opportunity to consult with participants and gain consensus on the analysis that I made. Participants were also used to verify interpretations. During my visits I would bring data that had been collected and would go through it with them. How I would do this was taking a piece of a conversation I had analysed, and I would show it to them and ask their views. Usually they would agree with my interpretations, but at times they would also have further input. This approach of verification was also used with my other key informant where I would follow a similar process of showing them a piece of data and a discussion would ensue from there.

Conducting assessments for students who were doing internships at various tourism establishments equipped me with almost complete understanding of the operations of the tourism industry. Since students were both males and females I was able to gather problems that male owned and run companies encounter, which were almost similar to the women experiences but at a far less extent. The challenges male owned and managed businesses would relate to money issues they need to expand their business or

problems with the market.   Through this verification approach, I was able to engage directly with the participants and the interpretations that have been provided throughout the dissertation reflect this engagement that involved both my analyses and the views of the participants.

Additional to the key informants I had within the accommodation, tour operator, crafters, tour guide sectors, I fostered relationships with a number of people from the business sector. As I had indicated previously that I have past colleagues that were teachers with me, and are now in business. They are not in my focus or primary interviewees because of their knowledge and experience of entrepreneurship, the social context and business operations and contacts I often hold conversations with them on how the businesses are going. These two women are Jabu and Sonto who run butcheries that provide "*shisanyama*" or "*braai*", open fire roasted meat. If I take students out on excursions I order meals from their butcheries and they would deliver the order of "braai and papa" which is a popular meal in South Africa. Their businesses have restaurants that specialise in meals with meat only, as their core business is selling meat. We developed this trust and would tell me everything about their experiences. I see this participation in research as both a researched and researcher enhancing ethnographic participant observation. It provided me the researcher or insider with more knowledge and understanding of various issues faced by women in entrepreneurship, thus concluding that women in many instances experience twisted empowerment and constructed dependency/conformity. As wives they face gender and business challenges too, where they have to succumb and play a subordinate role although it is in fact them who started business. I call these women "baits" for men. The business limits their movement in terms of being hands on every day, and they also do not perform

marketing and promotion roles of the business, unlike Babo who stated that his role in Olwandle group is to market the business.

These discussions were usually conducted individually so as to allow informants to give their opinions about other entrepreneurs especially of the opposite sex. I would also have discussions with two individuals from the same group like crafters to get different views. The interviews were usually conducted to gain clarity on data that had been collected and also as a way of verifying and confirming interpretations of the data and social meanings. The use of key informants in conjunction with my own observations and recordings means data analysis occurred from multiple perspectives. Multiple observations allow for patterns to be identified and for verification of data. Through the exploration of context it enables for greater understanding of the cultural background and the social practices that male youth take part in. Key informants also informed data analysis by assisting in identifying and explaining the social meanings and significance of communicative features. In addition to this, I visited the field site periodically to consult with participants and gain consensus on the analysis that I made. Participants were also used to verify interpretations. During my visits I would bring data that had been collected and would go through it with them. How I would do this was taking a piece of a conversation I had analysed, and I would show it to Patricia and ask what her views were. Usually Patricia would agree with my interpretations, but at times she would also have further input. This approach of verification was also used with my other key informant where I would follow a similar process of showing them a piece of data and a discussion would ensue from there.

3.3.6 My role in the field

As this research is on working with women entrepreneurs, it is important to discuss my role in the field, the influences I had on the data collection and how my respondents in the end came to also influence and assist in the development of the research. Upon entering my field site I was aware of some important factors that would influence how I collected my data and interacted with the groups. The first point to consider was that my participants were a combination of highly educated, average and low educated people with primary school only. In places where they operated especially the crafters, there were also male ones who were working with their partners. Secondly my participants were multiracial as South Africa is now a rainbow country, I had to bear in mind that I was interviewing other races too, like whites who have been previously involved in the tourism industry who might know more about the industry and its practical operations than the Black(s) women in terms of to race and class, meaning businesses for low class people and those of high profile individuals. Thirdly I was a Black woman and this would mean that the way in which they related to me would be much easier and thus narrated their stories more relaxed.

I am of Zulu by ethnicity which is often looked down upon by other racial groups because of practising traditional customs even if we are educated and "modernised", but held in high esteem by other ethnic groups found in the country with double meaning though of which fear is one as we are associated with "*impis*" "warlords" referring to uncivilised people. Zulus are often the targets of ridicule by the label of being stubborn and aggressive; they have from both Black and White people in the country and province. We are just strategic in dealing with issues which is interpreted as being

stubborn so that we feel ashamed of who we are. Consequently it is likely that my participants might have seen me in a certain light. At the same time, I also have a certain level of education. My age, exposure and education would have elicited a certain respect while being Zulu, a woman and perhaps from the University of Zululand would have given me an identity that might have meant participants would see me as less clued in business as they do not have the whole profile about me and entrepreneurial background, and perhaps easily conned. But at the same time I understand better the broader issues that have some influence of the physical environment (location), history real and perceived human or women needs (Whitehead 2005: 6).

Also as I went on in the field, I began to understand more the way in which they could use their businesses to try to address other problems engulfing the communities within which they operate. For example Janet would put pressure on the municipality to provide water and electricity if those services were no longer delivered efficiently. Besides she would also organise staff from the health department to come and train older women on how to take care of their teeth, eyes, ears, and other services. Besides being a bed and breakfast it would be used to hold some essential women community meetings. Likewise at KwaMashu P.P. would organise speakers to come and motivate the out of school youth to avoid crime related practices such as doing drugs and house breaking and other social ill perpetrated by unemployment in order to boost their low esteem. This event would be free but indirectly she would be advertising and promoting her bed and breakfast to the township community that there is such a business in the township.

As my data collection progressed I was often found travelling through the four districts in KwaZulu Natal interchangeably. In that way I became integrated into the committees, as well as a customer in the case of vendors and crafters where I would buy the beaded items found in transport convergent points because most of the craft groups do not have a specific market centre. In case of Khushu's centre in Richards Bay, the craft market is located in the heart of an industrial area away from the city centre, place where most people converge to buy. Her concerning pressure is the inaccessibility of the centre to the customers. When I visited her craft centre I discovered that it was stocked with items that were having dust on them. The tourist would only come if the tour bus has included in its itinerary to make the centre a stopover. This only happens on peak seasons when there is a group of 50 plus tourists who would be driving through Richards Bay to visit the popular Game Reserves like Hluhluwe-Umfolozi.

My role in the field took a duel position of both the emic and the etic (Guba and Lincoln 1997: 198). An 'emic' account is a description of behaviour or a belief in terms of meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor; that is, an emic account comes from a person within the culture. Almost anything from within a culture can provide an emic account. I had grown up in the rural farming area of Mkhunya/Joni areas of South Coast of KwaZulu Natal, lived at Umlazi in Durban where I ran a "tuck shop" in the 1980s and a supermarket later on in the late 1990s and early 2000. I am therefore aware to a larger extent of the problems of women entrepreneurs in the rural, township and city settings. Even though I am working at the University of Zululand now as a lecturer I am teaching tourism entrepreneurship, which means I am well updated with the happenings in the business and entrepreneurial sectors. I was therefore aware of the socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economical environments under which

enterprises operate in both urban and rural areas. Hence I understood the context of entrepreneurship in KwaZulu Natal coastal more than inland. However quitting business and returning to teaching did not have much impact because I finally landed in the department where I would be teaching entrepreneurship. My passion for it made me to introduce the practical component of entrepreneurship into the module where student were expected to start and run businesses for a period of six months for mark credit.

Secondly having being almost at the same age with my participants and also dealing with entrepreneurship at University, also had some influence on how I interact with them. Those who know my background in business would always ask me to give advice as to how they can improve or innovate in the business. I remember a colleague at the University asked me to come and inspect the operations especially talking to her employees about maximal performance at work. I would sometimes advise others on how to treat their employees so that they work as if the business was theirs. I sometimes forget that I came for an interview session because I end up telling the crafters how to do proper finishing of their products because in that way the items will attract the customers if they look neat. In this way I become part of the participants, I immerse myself fully in the groups of my interviewees.

In this section, I discussed my role as a partial participant with the entrepreneurs and how this affected the process of collecting data. As I had introduced myself to the participants prior to observing them, it meant that they were aware of the work that I was a researcher from the University not a private company. My point here is that people were aware of my role and the research that I was undertaking as I did reveal my intentions at the beginning. Due to my previous experience of entrepreneurship and the

challenges that come with it, I could relate and understand the interview interact freer and easier in their natural setting and this enabled me to gain in-depth knowledge and enabled me to relate socio-cultural perspectives with the issues of domination and subordination of women in business and twisted empowerment to poverty alleviation. In this context I was able to engage with my research goals in exploring the problems inhibiting effective participation of women in economic development through entrepreneurship. This provided me with a greater understanding of the discriminatory hardships experienced women entrepreneurs in their day-to-day interactions and how they deal or respond to them while at the same time moving on with their businesses. I understood better why some businesses would shut because of the owner being stressed to an extent of getting strokes thus quitting business or even die because of the multiplicity of the problems.

3.4 Data analysis

In this frame I have used policies or politics, history, economics, gender (society and culture) as institutions that development utilise to try and show how these institutions impose some issues of discrimination, oppression and subordination of women in entrepreneurship; tourism entrepreneurs in particular are faced with from the start of the business, its running, up to its success or failure. I have put Black women in the centre of the analysis in order to contrast the multidimensionality of Black women's experience with the single-axis analyses (such as gender) that distort these experiences. For this I will engaged analysis approach by John Stuart which uses method of agreement; looking at what is common across the cases and how they agree as well as

the method of difference; by identifying what is different from among the cases and how they differ.

Bearing in mind the claim by Sierhuis (1996:2) that analysis is the strategic choice and construction of data available, I strategically selected the core issues raised by my interviewees. I learnt that interpreting and analysing data needed consultation and verification by interviewees, I therefore had to do repeated visits while I was still in the country and thereafter I to send emails and also phone my informants to verify, and discuss crucial and sensitive issues. I would make a selection of recorded data from the fieldwork to provide evidence for my interpretation to make it strong. For an example selection was done in the following manner:

- Traditional stereotype thinking by male; "women cannot do well in business because they bring emotions to the boardroom where decisions are taken for the smooth running of the company" (Babo August 26, 2013). On the contrary feminist such as Collins believes that 'emotional concepts are important' and they need not be suppressed.

- Women's integration into economic development; "we need women in business *as partners* (my own emphasis in Italics) because the government has come up with good initiatives and programmes to fund women owned and operated enterprises (Babo August 26, 2013). The government has further channelled funds in the direction of *helping* women to start entrepreneurial ventures. In this way men regard women as "baits" to access funds, hence men need women in business, organisations, even in politics for many hidden agendas for being politically correct as opposed to empowerment.

- Power relations-ordination and subordination binary; I gave my wife the responsibility of being a treasure, controlling finances of the business because she is good in handling finance; she is not extravagant. This (I gave my wife the responsibility) shows authority. It also reveals this component of acting as if doing *women favour.*

I see this case as shifting responsibility and have somebody to blame if things turn bad financially in the business. Why is she not given the responsibility of marketing in order to get more customers and hence more money accruing to the business. These reflect that a woman partner cannot go out to the outside world to market; a kind of setting boundaries-private space person not public space. Almost all my cases have been used to analyse the data as well as the data from first interviews. In case of exhibitions as she has won some prices to countries abroad, she would always be accompanied by her husband changing the business tour to a holiday with a partner. Some of the women have taken that as a pride while others want to experience independence in the world with friends than husbands or partners.

3.4.1 Transcriptions and field notes

I undertook all the transcriptions of the audio and video recordings. As the majority of the interviews in the audio were mostly in English and isiZulu, I also undertook to transcribe the data personally, as I am proficient in isiZulu and English. Transcribing and translating the data was an important part of my gaining insight into women and entrepreneurship and views that gender is entangled with women wherever they are. Riette's case showed that men employees are not supportive to women bosses or employers. It also shows that the creativity which is inborn in women helped her to be a

self-taught and trained skipper. The relations of her and the husband do not come out clearly from the data recorded. The question is where was the husband in terms of helping her with training as a skipper? Why did she have to go it alone "self-taught" boat driving. The claim that I can bring forth here is that women in South Africa, irrespective of race will always find a way of coming out with a solution to solve the problem. They face the problem as it comes and create a way out around the problematic issue. In other way they will defy the rules to help themselves out of the predicament. Likewise, crafters trade on the pavements to solve their problem of operational space. They are not intimidated by shame and threat by metro police who confiscate their products, but it does not make them to quit. They empower themselves, move on in spite of the problems as long as they are clear about their goals and mission nothing stand on their way resistance becomes the only options. In my transcriptions of video recordings all the entrepreneurs went through unbecoming situations but the determination and the drive to acquire self-sufficiency economically motivated them to surpass all hardships..

A concern to discuss in writing ethnography is writing with authority that is an issue that has been extensively debated in literature. The problem I struggle with is then how to interpret and analyse data to represent the voices of those we study? (Pawluch et al. 2005). For many researchers this has been overcome through bringing out the voice of the social actors (Hertz 1997, Richardson 1990, Pawluch 2005). This is something that I was faced with also while interpreting the data not to have my own biased views come across, but write a discussion informed by the data. To overcome this I had to focus on what was contained in the data. By this I mean, I allowed the meanings to emerge from the data.

During my time in the field, I kept extensive field notes and a field diary. The data was crosschecked with informants. This was to see whether findings and discussions would be representative of their views about reality they face as entrepreneurs on daily bases. This validity and reliability played an important role through the verification that was undertaken. After each interview, I would take the time to reflect on what had been said in the field. I would go through my notes and identify points that needed further expansion I noted these, and when I returned to the field, I would clarify my questions with the relevant informants.

3.5 Ethics

The area of ethics and how we have come to engage our participants has evolved over the last couple of decades. This section discusses ethical issues pertaining to the research. The participants were asked for their permission at the beginning of each interview Since this research used video and audio recordings, as well as obtaining interviews from participants, consent needed to be obtained for each method as video and recordings cannot be completely anonymous. This is because working with video recordings does not guarantee anonymity and some participants were comfortable only with the use of audio recording but not comfortable with being video recorded. The case of a crafter at Durban station who refused to be interviewed highlights the importance of asking for permission. But her partner insisted that he wanted to go through the interview on her behalf, volunteering to be interviewed. I regarded this as a good interactive with my participants. The participants were aware of this and did not object to filming. Those who did object to filming did consent to audio recordings. Often

participants would refer other individuals who they knew would not object to being videoed.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter also outlined and discussed the approaches I used to collect data which was participant observation and interviews as I started collecting quantitative data from 2009-2010. I collected data from different entrepreneurs namely crafters, tour operators, tour guides, accommodation facility owners, like hotel, bed and breakfast, "holiday resort" in rural areas, townships, suburbs and around towns as well as cities. I did interviews in their own settings to get the practical interaction in observing the day-to-day interaction with the customers. This helped me to in drawing findings for my analysis as I was able to gather from Riette, the skipper. As a White woman her employees coming to work drunk not recognising that she deserves the respect as an employer also treated her differently.

In the field I was both a researched and a researcher hence auto ethnography became the best method approach to engage in with my informants. While visiting the sites I would at the same time write my findings immediately after returning from the sites. Through auto ethnography my experience of entrepreneurship from childhood growing on my father's agricultural farm, to my mother-in-law a *shebeen queen* and a retailer with women clothing both new and second hands gave me an understanding of challenges faced by women in business. I took that experience with me to the internship and job place. While I was an intern with KZNTA I created the relationship with some of my informants and also while I represented the University at the Municipality's Tourism Stakeholder Forum, which deliberated on issues of success and failures in the

municipalities. It is in such forums where I was able to source my interviewees but others like tour operators I was given by my key informant at UThungulu District Municipality, Anushka, and a tourism officer. The discrimination challenges against women entrepreneurs came up clearly with Black women tour operators who owned Safari vans to take tourists around game reserves. Anushka herself would experience screams, harassment and demands by male subordinate who would refuse to recognise her as a women in the office with equal if not more responsibility since she was working at district level not local.

Developing these relationships was not a problem, as I showed in the discussion of my role in the field I was part of their culture. The participants in my research saw that they could trust me. Although this had been the case, there had been a few crafters who complained about being over researched and without any form of results being regarding their problems because the researchers would never bring back the findings to them. P. P., one of my respondents, reiterated the same concern differently by proposing a collaborative tourism business that would involve all the informants with me as an auto researcher coordinating that because she believed the knowledge I had gathered from them had equipped me with more entrepreneurial skills regarding areas needing change and improvement within the tourism business for enhancing participation of women effectively in tourism industry. I am also part of the culture of my informants and through the University of Zululand I would visit students at the tourist sites for assessment where I would get an opportunity to interact with their bosses regarding challenges they encounter at work. Women employers would ask me to train their employees regarding housekeeping and best service offering, something similar to on the job training.

The chapter that follows discusses women's issues that constrain entrepreneurs from effective participation in economic growth as they came out strongly during my interviews in the field.

Illustration 9. Babo's Olwandle Suite Hotel.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

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Illustration 10. Township Accommodation: P.P.'s Ekhaya Lentokozo Bed and Breakfast KwaMashu.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

CHAPTER FOUR: Women entrepreneurs

4.1 Introduction

Written rigid laws are difficult to negotiate than African, communal laws that are orally formulated. Huston purports what Bakwali (2001) stated that traditional African culture stipulated the different roles of men and women in society. Baden (1999) further claims that the colonialists changed the well-known laws and wrote down the new ones which gave women fewer rights than men; such as the woman's access to land depended solely to her relationship to a man. Traditionally culture prescribed the roles for boys that would grow up to become responsible men (husbands) through 'herding cattle and hunting' Bakwali (2001) and girls perfecting their cooking skills. With modernization and industrialisation men had to leave homes and go to work in cities leaving women behind, the structure started to crack and collapsed until women had to follow them to the cities where they met hardships with Apartheid laws and regulations (pass laws) prohibiting them from easy coming to stay in cities.

In this chapter I try to translate how problems women entrepreneurs encounter relate to discrimination on race, gender, class as well as other axis intersecting in entrepreneurial growth, using practical issues raised by my interviewees during my fieldwork in July-August 2013 as well as interviews conducted from 2009 and 2011. These problematic issues are access to finance, land, space for operating, market, and training and material support. In certain instances I have used my personal experiences in entrepreneurship

encounters from real life situation of growing up to my employment engagement to elaborate on the above issues since there very few articles, let alone books with relevant information on female entrepreneurs in South Africa. I also discuss the impact of these issues on women entrepreneurial businesses in real life situation in KwaZulu Natal to demonstrate some detrimental effects of problems encountered in entrepreneurship by women.

4.2 Women Entrepreneurs a brief history

Research into female entrepreneurship and the role of women as proprietors and employers has until comparatively recently been largely neglected as an area of serious academic study Goffee and Scase (2007) despite the fact that greater number of women are now choosing self-employment. Attesting to this fact, Carter (1993:149) argues that while many significant studies have been undertaken on small firms from economic, business, and sociological perspective, unfortunately there is limited knowledge on female entrepreneurship. Women have therefore been not regarded as subjects deserving equal attention as men do, because of marginalisation. Despite the involvement of women in entrepreneurship, stereotypes still believe women's attachment to conventional entrepreneurial ideals Goffee and Scase (2007) of individualism and self-reliance as a choice for women to accept gender roles of subordination to men. It is inappropriate to connect women's behaviour of conventional gender roles and adherence as a choice without inquiring from women the reasons behind such behaviour which may be linked to challenges they face on their daily operations. Gender scholars such as Oyewùmí (2005:3) advocates for a kind of

entrepreneurship, which considers space and time as well as meaning that African people attach to various gender roles.

What I argue in this chapter and drawing from the theoretical discussion, where I suggest that, women entrepreneurs are considered as the new engines for growth and hopefuls of the economies in developing countries to bring prosperity and welfare. Donors, international public institutions, national and local governments, Non-Governmental Organizations, private companies, charities, knowledge institutes and business associations Minniti and Naudé (2010), have pointed at them as an important 'untapped source' of economic growth and development. Despite the growing number of initiatives and resources made available by various stakeholders mentioned above to promote and develop women's entrepreneurship in developing countries, women still own and manage fewer businesses than men, they earn less money with their businesses that grow slower, are more likely to fail and women tend to be more necessity entrepreneurs (Vossenberg 2013, GEM 2010). Why does this situation generally persist to exist in these countries and particularly KwaZulu Natal in South Africa? Necessity-based entrepreneurship, then, substitute's employment during economic crisis when there are less jobs available (GEM, 2012). The evident low participation of women in entrepreneurship exists, from a history of domination, subordination, exclusion, lack of support and discrimination which is perpetrated by race, gender, class, culture, religion, laws and regulations that are not specific about the nature of involvement of especially Black women in economic growth. In this case, I argue that women were working and also brewing beer for sales during their spare time, which means they never rested but always finding ways to improve the livelihood of their families. Harsh laws, harassment

by police, arrests did not deter women from acting on their desire to see stable and well nurtured families.

The unrealistic economic conditions in South Africa started with the introduction of "modern economic development" prior the independence as in any African country, which Ferguson (2001: 96) explains has been a common problem for Third World countries. These countries are characterized by deterioration economically after independence, when they are supposed to improve. The disparities can be noticed and observed in empowerment and affirmative action programmes implementation, which is gendered and politically twisted. For example Programmes that are meant to reach women entrepreneurs fail to directly improve women's conditions because women tourism entrepreneurs experience exclusion, through their names only being used in men's businesses but not actually getting a chance to participate in them as owners. Women entrepreneurs operate as 'baits' for starting businesses and end up invisible in economic development.

4.3 Issues disconcerting women entrepreneurs

A number of issues emerged that the interviewees raised differing issues according to gender, class, race, age, group production, and location (rural, urban). Issues such as financial constraints, land, working or production space, market and marketing, training support, raw materials were among the priority in the list. In addressing the plight of poverty stricken areas it is imperative that equal opportunities are provided particularly to women entrepreneurs in areas of finance, education/training, access to land, and space for operating the business enterprise and other needs and benefits as women from

more than 50% of the population of the country (The State of World Population Study 2006).

In order to unpack this section further, I draw on the role of women in other African countries. Women-owned businesses are making a significant contribution to the Kenyan economy. According to Voices of Women in Kenya (2008) their businesses account for about one-half (48%) of all micro-small-, and medium sized enterprises (MSMEs) which contribute about 20% to Kenyan GDP. However women-owned businesses in Kenya are less likely to grow, are smaller and are twice as likely to be operating (despite their potential) because of a variety of barriers preventing them from reaching their full potential such as the issue of land where women owners of land make only 1% of the landowners.

This kind of incentive has loopholes in that it has caused a lot of controversial issues in KwaZulu Natal where the Macambini community was going to be relocated to give way for a massive Dubai linked tourism resort development in the east coast, north of the Thukela River. The example below shows how development by overseas investors can course disruption in the social order in rural areas because of its imposition to communities. This is how the Macambini community reacted to the development project, which came with threats of eviction.

4.3.1 Access to finance and financial institutions

I have chosen microfinance discursively to engage the importance of finance in entrepreneurship as there can be no enterprise, which can function without this important component. The definitions of institutions such as microcredit or

microfinance provide a picture of what kind of business it is, how it operates, who is its target market, why and how. Bankseta 2013, UP Review, uses the broadest definition of microfinance: *"the provision of formal financial services to low income households"*. In this definition, the word "formal" refers to a formal registered institution as the supplier of the service. The Microcredit Summit of 1997 defined microcredit as "a programme which extends small loans to very poor people for self-employment projects that generate income, allowing them to care for themselves and their families", care associated with women, my own emphasis hence it is gendered. Keating (2010:172) regards microcredits as a shift of the state its responsibility of economic well-being to groups like women in the form of self-help projects which in certain instances is referred to as empowerment projects as these women will be running businesses from the money borrowed from financial institutions at exorbitant interest rates.

The term microfinance in South Africa is largely associated with micro lending, or micro credit. Once one becomes a member or client he or she automatically is linked to micro lending and to consumer credit (The Microfinance Review 2013). As an alternative to formal banking institutions microfinance aims at providing affordable financial services which is linked to overcoming poverty, reducing income disparities and increasing economic growth. Consequently the government fully supports all microcredit agencies. Globally, policy makers have recognised the role of financial inclusion in both wealth creation and alleviation of poverty, what a contradiction; wealth and poverty alleviation through borrowing.

Whilst creating wealth through pumping in finance for lending, the institutions are in reality engaging in "dispossession by financialisation", in which the credit system is

used to extract wealth (Hartsock 2006:181) from the already poverty stricken women entrepreneurs who had had desires to break loose off poverty and dependency. These women become "new subjects that are brought into the structure of capitalisation in exploitative and often violent ways" as perceived (Keating *et al.* 2012: 153). Why exploitative, because the interest rate are so high ranging from more than 22% a month (Business Partners 1996). In some cases the interest may range from anything between 25-40 per cent or higher (Mayoux and Gopalan 2002: 540). The violent part of the learn is experienced where the borrower has to make the first repayment by using the loan itself instead of the money sourced from the enterprise as the microfinance lenders do not have a period of grace'. Consequently Harvey (2003:147-148) refers to microcredit as debt-based financing to the global south from global north, thus referring to the process as "dispossession by financialization."

In testing the viability of microfinance for women in entrepreneurship from the question how women entrepreneurs obtained their start-up fund, a substantial majority 67% (30% and 37%) of women obtained start-up funds from family, friends and own savings respectively. From the research findings a lousy 15% obtained loans from the bank to start business and this is an indication of how pathetic the situation is with regards to business loans for women. These women must have had a good understanding or experience of how loans can rip off people of their possessions financially or they might have been refused funding because of the terms and conditions of lending as microfinance institutions do not lend to the poor below a given commercial rate (Mayoux 1997, 1999; and Gopolan 2001). This indicates that for a woman to seriously venture into businesses she does not have to rely on external assistance for funding. This confirms what Brown (1997), Maysami and Gobi (1999) say; " The

uneven distribution of business ownership between males and females could to a considerable extent be attributed to entry barriers experienced by females in particular, for example insufficient access to finance and credit facilities". And the remaining 85% affirms that women have difficulty in accessing loans from the banks. Blacks especially women are even worse disadvantaged in accessing loans as they do not often qualify to meet the requirements like collaterals.

There are a number of facts that are not stated about microcredit for example that microcredit is the same as debt. Secondly microcredit programmes are made to look like voluntary coercion Cruikshank (1999:38) in which individuals are drafted into structures enabling "a form of government that is both voluntary and coercive. Much more than a way of organizing interest, such structures are also organizing power, a way of acting on people's actions rather than procuring their apathy,… They are modes of government that work upon the capacities of citizens to act on their behalf". This means the government has made empowerment the cornerstone of economic development for the impoverished classes through programmes such as microcredit by shifting responsibility for well-being not just at the individual level but at the collective level to the women who hold the economic balance of the developing world in their hands (Keating 2010: 165). The priority in the whole business is setting institutions to regulate, that is exercising power by micro financing and secondly the financial self-sufficiency (Brau and Woller 2004:6) to sustain the institution.

According to Brau and Woller (2004:7) microcredit lenders are divided into two types, profit seeking and social mission entities (NGOs) in Third World countries, both targeting different markets and class levels in communities with different levels of

commitment to social versus financial return. Even if they can be called microfinance or microcredit and perceived differently by institutionalists and welfarists their focus and business is lending money to the poor following the procedures set by the mainstream financial institutions; maximising the profit, self-sufficiency and or depth of outreach. Attesting to the fact that microfinance can be harsh and quick to repossess people's properties, 'dispossession through financialization' (Keating 2010). In 2001 the business I was running had to close because my landlord cancelled the contract. I had just operated the business for two and a half years and was still repaying my loan of R100 000 of which R70 000 were still owing. I had used the title deed of the house as collateral and also some fixed deposit certificates. In no time the house was for sale on newspapers. That was the most traumatizing experience of my lifetime. The high interest rate charged by microfinance institutions make it impossible to make repayments and at the same time be able to save. The institution confiscated the fixed deposit certificate and also was selling the house to recover the loan. Were it not for a good family friend who rescued the house by paying the balance I owed the institution after cashing the fixed deposit I would not have something called a home for my children. While I was in the field and engaging my participants, I saw this particular incident on microcredit as more oppressive than empowering if empowering means assisting people to enhance their economic status. In the section below, I discuss in detail how microcredit operates.

4.3.2 How microcredit operates

Instead of microcredit to soothe the poor it scratches them through to the bone where they bleed to death using its sharp scoured blades of high interest rates. (Notes from the field August 2013)

To start off this argument, I look at the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. It has been cited as the best kind of microcredit, but it is absurd that it ended up in a catastrophe. The death of more than 200 borrowers in Bangladesh (Rai 2011) is a practical example microcredit operation where extreme oppression by dispossession of life by the first economy of the investor in the name of profit seeking and self-sufficiency. Brau and Woller (2004: 7) state that microcredit lenders are divided into two types, profit seeking and social mission entities (NGOs) in Third World countries. Both target different markets and class levels in communities, with various forms of commitment; social versus financial return. Even if they can be called microfinance or microcredit and perceived differently by institutionalists and welfarists their focus and business is lending money to the poor following the procedures set by the mainstream financial institutions; maximising the profit, self-sufficiency and or depth of outreach.

For Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) to be self-sufficient they operate through extending larger loans to the marginally poor or non-poor Brau and Woller (2004), while Navajas *et al.* (2000) claim MFIs achieve true financial sufficiency by loaning the borrowers who are either slightly above or below the poverty line in their countries. For MFIs to achieve their goal of 'lifting people out of poverty' that is reaching out to the depth of poverty, can it be done alongside profit making and self-sufficiency? Poor people are easily misled because they are blindfolded by poverty such that they cannot

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tell between the vulture and the real assistance. I doubt whether this plan will ever make people come out of poverty by borrowing from somebody that expects the loan returned with interests.

There is a lot of contradiction if I try to analyse the actual role of microfinance institutions or microcredit lenders. Government recommends that institutionalization of microfinance is a necessity for its success in serving the poor and to cover their expenses (Morduch 2000; Woller *et al.* 1999). Here I encounter a created need for an enterprise (MFI) namely to assist the poor category of people. Secondly another need is to regulate the provision of assistance through institutions. This will sustain MFIs as business enterprises for the benefit of one party, the investor. The priority in the whole business is setting institutions to regulate, that is, exercising power by micro financing and secondly the financial self-sufficiency (Brau and Woller 2004:6) to sustain the institution. Now the question is where the poor people fit in this paradigm of micro financing and its protection by regulated institutions. How can it then be called an empowering tool for the poor, unless the meaning of the 'poor' and empowering are distorted or twisted?

It is important to note that the policies centre on growing the economy both first world and Third World economies for the country to acquire a global status. In the process a need had to be created of providing a kind of monetary assistance to enable the very poor, "non-world class" to contribute to the economic growth through what many people regard as empowerment. Nevertheless this kind of empowerment through pumping the money (microcredit, microfinance) that is, lending the poor fails to address the reality on the ground where the local 'poor' are found as the number of poor people

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escalates instead of decreasing. I concur with Bonds (2010:3) claim where he perceives microcredit an attractive palliative that lubricates the on-going super exploitative 'first economy'.

The conclusion that one can draw from this lending borrowing binary is that banks and microfinance institutions start money businesses to enhance their economic status through exploitation of the poor ceding to the bank by their properties such as investments, certificates for fixed deposits, title deeds of land or the house and so forth in exchange for the loan with its exorbitant interest rates in the case of non-repayment. No wonder that some critics refer to microfinance as accumulation of wealth through dispossession of resources as well as dispossession through financialization (Harvey 2003; Keating *et al.* 2004) respectively.

To unpack this issue, I firstly draw on Babo an interviewee that I used as a key informant. In his day-to-day business interaction, he was firstly concern with **financial institutions** not affording him and his wife finance, being blatantly rejected or being refused finance when they tried to borrow money to buy the residential building in the city to convert it into a hotel. Since the tourism industry was predominantly White dominated, to open the hotel in city centre as a Black person could not settle well amongst the bankers, because you cannot be trusted with operating the businesses well, you need someone different to manage it for you. It emerged from his experience that financial institutions do not want to support Black entrepreneurs unless the managers or such institutions benefit directly from the loan they offer to them. The three institutions they went to wanted to go into partnership with them before they could award them the

loan and the Hadebes did not want that kind of a deal. Consequently they could not get the loan and ended up using their savings to buy the hotel.

Regarding the issue of women running businesses successfully together, Babo saw that as not being a good idea. His claim comes from the societal construct that women are *weak* but he used the word emotional. "Women cannot work together and also they cannot take smart decisions" (August 2013) meaning their judgment becomes affected by emotions. Ntokozo and P.P. supported this claim, based on cultural orientation and the upbringing. Women are trained for perfecting caring for the home responsibilities not facing the harsh and cruel business world out there. The question I have is who at the workplace will trigger women to use emotions if it is not the man. It is his attitude and strategy to silence women at the workplace so that they are there as *beautiful and smiling faces* to assist men only. This affirms my hypothesis that the perceptions such as lack of competency, not being creative enough, and that women cannot compete with men, created by society for women regarding participation in tourism development have caused limitations and drawback for women to explore tourism entrepreneurial opportunities.

This particular outlook is why Black women in the tourism industry are at the front desk-receiving tourists not as managers to be involved in the decision making of the companies but only showing hospitality. Even training companies prepare women for that role only and in that way there are at the margins forever in business. It is satisfying on the other side to gather that women in tourism accommodation use that hospitality as strength to get more tourists coming in. PP and Janet attest to this, in PP's case when she was fully booked one woman came with friends and PP had to take her to the

neighbour's bed and breakfast for a sleepover. She preferred to sleep at PPs place on the floor than sleeping in her own room next door. It is the warmth and kindness these women entrepreneurs possess which makes the business and return visits to increase, although mostly domestic and Black tourists. Babo further declares that "we need" women in business, which means it is because of need that women are in business not because they are equally capable of operating businesses and creating job opportunities. The Tourism White Paper (1996, 2008) promotes the integration of local communities and previously neglected groups into tourism. Unfortunately up to 2013 there was lack of inclusive, effective national, provincial and local structures for the development and promotion of the tourism sector.

I now draw on the case of Riette who ventured into tour operating business from the other business of running her own travel agency prior to 1994 democratic government in a small rural town of St Lucia, north coast of Zululand. When sanctions were lifted she saw the opportunity and applied for a license to operate cruises on the lake St Lucia in 1996. She gets into business already privileged as a White woman who had been in business during Apartheid. She makes a good comparison in that though she was privileged by race she experienced gender maltreatment by her employees who were skippers. She also reflects the inequality that prevails in the tourism industry, as she is the only woman skipper in the industry who has been there for 15 years in UThungulu District Municipality. Like any other women she is married with children and working.

She portrays also that there are still businesses and jobs that are not for women as they are regarded as 'weak' human species. Her boats cruise on the lake while the husband operates boats in the ocean for whale watching and for fishing. Riette on the other hand

proves that women are capable of doing what men do if only access to such types of businesses can be equally opened to even women of colour with ease. What is also unique about Riette is that she had to teach herself to be a skipper because women were not allowed then to take licenses for piloting cruise boats. She practiced using her own boat after her employees came to work drunk putting the lives of the tourists at risk and also jeopardizing her business. She is the only woman skipper among the other 8 male cruise boat owners (Interview August, 2013).

After managing to get a skipper license Riette was able to train other women skipper's who work for her as a skipper that alternates with the men to pilot the boat. Responding to the question of whether she does have a plan of training a Black woman she indicated that there is a young Black girl who is 'clever' that she is considering training her to be a skipper in the future. So far skippers in the lake are all White and if you are Black you have to be "clever" first to qualify for training while she, Riette was able to train herself to be a skipper. It means she is far cleverer than any other women of colour.

Riette, women safari vans owners at Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Reserve, and Rose a case of tour guiding and tour operating businesses make one to have an understanding of the race and gender discrimination ideology. Gender ideology surrounds the issue of ignoring development policies for dealing with economic, social and cultural issues. The 1995 UNDP Human Development Report rightly stated, "For too long it was assumed that development was a process that lift all boats…that it was gender neutral in its impact. Experience teaches otherwise." These cases and more where women feel discriminated because of differentiation based on gender and or race, the difference is used to establish social position and hierarchy, providing access to resources and

participation in society, and creating stereotyped roles for men and women (1995 UNDP Report). If gender discrimination still persist after 20 years of the report it means gender is obviously designed to marginalize women and United Nations is aware of that since 1945 when UN took up women issues. Therefore chances for experiencing equality are slim or nonexistence as long as the difference is biologically sexual based. It is along this premise that women on the grassroots need to find a way of addressing their own issues without expecting much cooperation from those in power control. That is why in 1998 the Speak Magazine in Johannesburg came up with a poster, political art: "Women: We fought for the vote now we must claim our rights". Posters speak for women, a sign of oppression that women cannot speak for themselves. The poster depicted a Black woman clothed in traditional gear (Zulu) with superimposed drawings and statements of women's work, family, agriculture, physical and leadership rights. The reality is that it is not yet over for women.

The persistence of marginalization of women economically and women in the South being regarded as the poorest of the poor globally; marches, posters, negotiations proving to be failing to make voices of women to be heard to see their production through to the market because of various problems and challenges as some have been tabulated above through experiences of women in tourism is a reflection that there is more to be desired for women. New alternative strategies by women at grassroots need to be established since the problems continue to be reproduced through initiatives and state's interventions as in microfinance and microcredit that impoverish women than empowering them. Women seem to be lagging behind in every sphere of life in KwaZulu Natal that is why they are flooded as vendors, and all sorts of Small, Medium

and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) without any hope that they will ever grow unless they act on their predicament at grassroots level.

Tour operating business is still predominantly White and male owned in South Africa. In the four district municipalities where I conducted my research there was only two Black women who had two safari vans at Hluhluwe Umfolozi Game Reserve. The problem they encountered was that White males who would always have tourists to take around in the game reserve sidelined them and their safari vans would stand idle for days on end without tourists. I met these women at the District Tourism Forum meetings that are held monthly at Uthingulu. They felt they were discriminated against because they were Black and they were women. Here we see intersection of race and gender/sex discrimination overlapping in the supposedly democratic South Africa.

Likewise Rose who is a tour guide experienced the same discrimination where the international cruise liners would dock at Richards Bay Harbour but as a Black tour guide would get limited information regarding the length of stay and time of arrival of the ship. In that case White tour guides would take most of the tourists first. It is these problems that need the attention of the authorities so that they find ways of including women tour guides in getting a share of tourists from cruise ships and also from other group tours. It is not only the tour guides that have problems also the crafters; they cannot access the tables for displaying their crafters at the convenient spot where they would be visible to tourists at the harbour. There needs to be a way of making women entrepreneurs visible and also their voices be heard by authorities that control the tourism industry at local levels. What is the use of venturing into business where getting clients and customers are still racially biased?

4.3.3 Issues of land in the tourism sector and operating space

"I've approached several banks but they would not give us loans because of collateral. They do not look at a business as a profitable entity, they look for land or building; they are interested in collateral" (Roseanne Ndinga - Green Corner Café 2008).

The quotation above is a true reflection of the encounters that women entrepreneurs experience in Kenya and also in South Africa. It is a disgrace for a country that claims to support women, yet only 1% of them have land titles as against 99% of man landowners. I open the discussion of land and women by making use of a scenario in Kenya where tourism entrepreneurs seem to be supported by the government but that land issue is still a problem. In Kenya women own only 1% of land titles, with 5% to 6% held in joint names (Voices of Women in Kenya 2008).

Providing a brief of land issue in South Africa is necessary here to give the reader a picture that where Black people now live in deep rural areas came as a result of series of wars on land grab during colonization and forced removals during Apartheid era. I have elaborated on this in Chapter 2 (Theoretical Framework). The Group Areas Act of 1913 excluded Black people of South Africa of developing commercial agriculture and cities. Over and above the law promoted separate or segregated development where women found themselves living in barren mountains areas where agriculture was impossible to practice because of infertile land. What did this mean for women? Women needed to get an alternative way for earning a living; seeking employment on agricultural farms (their previous subsistence farms and places of residence) that were then owned by White farmers, supplying cheap labour.

The issue of land in South Africa is a very sensitive issue recently because of history of dispossession of Black land. With women the case of acquiring land with ease as men is still far from being realized. For example, my case of accessing and owning the land required a concession from my estranged husband before I could be officially allowed to occupy the land that I had acquired from the Chief. I also had to undergo a kind of 'screening' and approval of the Tribal Authority's council before I could put a structure on the land (August 2013). I was told that as a single woman you can not own land within a community that is predominantly made up of 'stable, normal and balanced' families. You are just alienated by the community especially married women regard a single woman as a threat to their marriages.

The perception of South Africa has always been an impoverished country, and thriving with conflict, whether between tribes, between husband and wife, or between people/citizens and the government. That is the picture that has been painted about the country in order to stigmatize, defame and denigrate it. However most of the conflict involves the discrimination and oppression of women (Huston 2007: 83). In pre-colonial South Africa, attests Huston, women had status and thus authority because they were the main agricultural producers. They had land to till to provide for their families, after all the land was communally owned as people were living together as a community, sharing everything they had. The change of the status quo, lowering of status for women, loss of authority (Baden 1993) of women was influenced by the establishment of commercialized agriculture where women were left without a say in society as up to that point agriculture gave them a voice (Anunobi 2003). Baden further claims that the colonialists changed the well-known laws and wrote down the new ones

which gave women fewer rights than men; such as the woman's access to land depended solely to her relationship to a man.

In light of the above, the issue of space has been a drawback in the operation of women in their businesses. The crafters, vendors of fruits and vegetables have complained ever since they started their trading about the space especially in the cities, towns. The first time I came into direct contact with women entrepreneurs' complains about the space was in 1998 when I was an intern under the development division for KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA). I was tasked with the responsibility of setting up Tourism Steering Committees for district or regions, as they were known then. Today these committees are called "Provincial Tourism Forums"(PTF) and "District Tourism Forum" (DTF) operating at provincial, district, and at local level there are "Local Tourism Forum and Community Tourism Organisation" (CTO) (KZN Tourism White Paper 2008). In the rural areas they have built stalls with plastics along the main roads like N2 and R102, R66 and 103. These roads are heavy in transport that links towns and cities and the prospects of getting tourists to buy their products are high. Although all women were encouraged to venture into entrepreneurship, measures and strategies to support them were not provided.

For example there are crafters in Durban that I met working on their bead work, who were offered the space by a White woman in her curio shop, for whom they will have to simultaneously make her beads products. These women would be seated inside the shop on the floor beading according to that woman's specification. Under her strict supervision they could not work or sell their own products because they would be running a risk of being expelled from the city. When the woman is not in, they would

switch to their own beadwork items but watchful of not being caught by the White lady. They were not paid for their expertise and skills. The White women are using their privilege of race to exploit Black women who on the contrary are disadvantaged by race to access space or land in the cities. From a distance one might think they are offered an opportunity to work indoors not outside as is the case with crafters in cities, or "empowered" by this women whereas they end up being producers for other women and will ultimately not seeing their products to the market. This trend of exploitation of skills has developed to a case where there was one woman who was bussed by another White woman to an exhibition in Johannesburg for a Summit for Sustainable Development (SSD) in 1999. This women would sit at the stall beading so that tourist would see her making products in that way became amazed of how much creativity and talent was possessed by this women. What they did not know was that she was not beading for herself, but doing it for the White woman. The question is why could this woman not produce and sell her own products there and then? The answer is, she could not afford in the first place be able to buy a stand for exhibition, pay for transport and accommodation to the summit, The situation of crafters and vendors in cities is not much different from those along national and regional roads. Black women use pavements at stations where the transport converges and also busy main streets where pedestrians walk. According to the woman at Durban station (27 August 2013 interview) the lack of space has made them to be harassed by police and their stuff confiscated while they are often arrested. They rent they pay for selling on the pavement increases as if they are renting for a proper shelter.

Women have been at the heart and centre of economic development of their families from the very beginning within their clusters and cultures and they still play a major

role in the well being of their families to this end. Hence women have become entrepreneurs at home and the most successful stories in tourism are mainly of those run by family members and/or family-based. The cases of Janet Hadebe of Emthini Resort, P.P. Kganye of Ekhaya Lentokozo, Riette of Adventure Tours, and the Hadebes of Olwandle Suite Hotel and Guesthouse are but a few examples of family owned, run, and operated tourism enterprises in KwaZulu-Natal.

4.3.4 Support: Training and material and market competition

Roggerson and Visser (2004: 15) suggest that, when identifying factors that constrain the expansion and transformation of South African tourism industry namely; tourism education, human resource skilling and the role of new Information Communication Technologies (ICTs), these authors provide the idea of how critical the importance of education and training is in tourism. Although they concentrate on education related discussion, there is an oversight on the nature and relevance of the training that women entrepreneurs need/receive during their operations for business enhancement. Thus the training does not in many cases benefit women as targeted recipients. For an example in my research P.P. expressed her concern about the training they receive as entrepreneurs from agents:

The facilitator would read from the notes of documents that they give to us. She or he does not care whether we all comprehend or not. The worse thing is that these facilitators use English while some of the participants especially those from rural areas do not understand the language. For people like me who are educated, we find it boring and a waste of time because I can read the document on my own (Interview 27 August 2013).

While there are trainings that are offered to women entrepreneurs (as a reasonable percentage indicated that they get business skills from agents sourced by district and local municipalities), the quality and relevance of the training is out of scope of what women entrepreneurs need. Pumping knowledge to participants at workshops without pre-determining the viability of that information is a major concern that was raised by P.P. one of the interviewees who could assess its value from the point of view of rural women entrepreneurs operating grass weaving or pottery from clay sourced in their locality. The examples they make are irrelevant to what women do and thus to them the training becomes meaningless as they feel that they are left out or ignored by the facilitator.

Another issue that was raised with my interviewees was that it would be beneficial for the assistance in bulk buying of raw material like the special grass called "Ilala" for weaving baskets. This grass is not found everywhere in the province but grows along the wetlands of northern coastal KwaZulu Natal. Such areas have been declared conservation areas and to access those needs long list of procedures and besides the grass is seasonal. Women produce baskets that serve as water and beer containers from this special grass and these containers can keep the liquids cool and fresh. Besides being picnic baskets they also serve as water containers like calabash and big clay pots. They need a sort of intervention, as the grass is their source of livelihood. Some of these women are outsourced by the Non-Governmental Organization, called 'Ilala Weavers', at Hluhluwe that exports the baskets and makes a lot of money. I visited these crafters at Hluhluwe when I was doing my internship with KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority in 1999 serving under development division of the organisation. The training that these

women need is therefore the one that can be translated to their daily needs of production.

Likewise the women who use beads for producing jewellery complained about the high prices of beads and the location of retailers, which is in one district only, Ethekwini (Durban). These women wished that the municipalities could buy beads in bulk and keep it in store where they can access them with ease to produce the items that they sell on the streets at the transport convergence points. Up to today accessing raw materials for women craft producers is still a constraint for growing their small enterprises. This limitation makes women to lose bulk orders as they cannot be in a position of supplying bulk. Most of these producers end up being employed by owners of curio shops in cities to produce for them; thus they cannot see their products to the end, which is the market.

World Tourism Organisation (WTO 2001) found that there is a strong correlation between a woman's beliefs in having knowledge, skills and experience to start a formal business and her likelihood of starting. The findings in KwaZulu Natal showed that 80% (66.7+13.3) % women with University degree and tertiary respectively are involved in tourism business which tallies with literature and at the same time affirming the hypothesis. These women are found in accommodation sector, tour operator and tour guiding. World Tourism Organisation (WTO 2001) found that there is a strong correlation between a woman's beliefs in having knowledge, skills and experience to start a formal business and her likelihood of starting. The findings in KwaZulu Natal showed that 80% (66.7+13.3) % women with University degree and tertiary respectively are involved in tourism business which tallies with literature and at the same time affirming the hypothesis.

It is important to note that the policies centre on growing the economy both first world and Third World economies for the country to acquire a global status. In the process a need had to be created of providing a kind of monetary assistance to enable the very poor, "non-world class" to contribute to the economic growth through what many people regard as empowerment. Nevertheless this kind of empowerment through pumping the money (microcredit, microfinance) that is lending the poor fails to address the reality on the ground where the number of the needy people keeps on escalating instead of decreasing. Microcredit as seen by Bond (2010:3) is an attractive palliative that lubricates the on-going super exploitative 'first economy' at the expense of the third and "non-economy." What this means is microcredit stands in between the two economies in South Africa to soothe the first economy, through its high interest rates, which exploit the borrower for the benefit of the foreign investor.

4.4   Real life situation of issues on women

The South African situation is economically two fold. The First World economy and the Third World economy (Bond 2010) share the same space. These two categories consist of material and financial possessions but vary in terms of quality and quantity according to class levels. Women tourism entrepreneurs are caught in between the two economic categories. In the South African situation there is a category that I will add, and call the "non-world economy" referring to the very depressed group, the lower category that does not have either material or financial possession. These people work from hand to mouth or are not working at all, yet they have a responsibility of caring for their families. They do not have a choice but to grab whatever opportunity avails it. Thus becoming vulnerable targets to microcredit for women entrepreneurs as microcredit is

accepted as an effective method for empowering both individuals and communities plagued by unemployment Levin (2012) that is lifting them out of poverty. Unfortunately this lending borrowing binary creates a trap in which women entrepreneurs are more than likely to fall.

The category of "non-world" economy is neglected because its contribution to GDP is not noticeable as it is indirect. To elaborate on the "non-world economy" I will consider the theory of feminist anti-racist politics by Crenshaw (1989) where intersection by race, class and sex discrimination is still prevalent in most encounters. No matter how qualified and competent Black women can be their colour and sex shut them out of many opportunities and benefits such land, operating space and finance access is still a hindrance. There are huge disparities between Black and White; and further between Black men and Black women as well as between White women and Black women such that all these categories regard a Black woman as a being that needs or must be assisted.

Black women experience double discrimination on the basis of race and sex. Theoretical approach to discrimination tends to disregard the condition of Black women. By being different as a Black woman seems to have placed them at the margin of the feminist and Black liberation agenda. Because of being Black and being female, blackness and femaleness mean one thing (Crenshaw 1989:150). This condition reflects the dominant thinking about discrimination that relies on 'being different' thus labelled 'good' or 'bad' thus triggering a sense of belonging. The uses of gender and or race, which are the most important categories, interfere with decisions that would otherwise be fair or neutral Crenshaw (1989:151). For this reason I refer to Black entrepreneur as belonging to "non-world" economically that is why municipalities do not provide even decent

space for them to operate their businesses in cities. They run their businesses outside the market square "Warwick Avenue", an early morning market for Indians, Bus and Taxi Stations, over the Berea Station and outside Durban Station in Durban, KwaZulu Natal. These are the spaces women invaded in cities to sell their products ranging from food, fruits and vegetables to all craft products and other merchandise.

Riette shared the story of being not seriously regarded as a boss by her male employees who were skippers. One day they came to work drunk and as such could not steer the boat on the lake. That episode made her to decide to teach herself how to steer a boat as she never trusted men because they were not supportive of the business. After that incident the men she hires as skippers know that she expect respect of the job and commitment otherwise she no longer depends on men for cruises as she can drive the boat on her own (Notes from the field August 2013).

Riette, a White woman skipper and owner of a tour boat cruise company, 'Adventure Tours' on Lake St Lucia regards Black women vendors on the pavements as people that need assistance, consequently as White women entrepreneurs they give the Black entrepreneurs table cloths and 'teach' to clean.

In an interview that I had with Riette, she told me that as a way to empower women who are street vendors. She suggested that as a way to empower these women, they would buy tablecloths which are valued at five rand this would be an equivalent of less than a dollar or euro and this for her, this was a form of upliftment. For White women as I showed in the above quote, empowerment came in the form of skipper training, for Black women it was about receiving seminal goods. This for me was not empowerment but rather disempowerment (Notes from the field August 2013).

They feel these women need assistance on cleaning, while Babo, a Black man entrepreneur sees Black women needing assistance in the boardroom as they often 'bring emotions' to the boardroom. This means women entrepreneurs cannot reason enough but the same men use these women when they test the viability of businesses to venture in as it was the case with the Shazis, the Hadebes, and the Funekas. The Shazis and the Funekas are family businesses that run butcheries with "shisanyama" and in these businesses women have been used as testing objects for viability of business. The women Jabu and Sonto left the professional jobs and took risks to venturing into businesses and when businesses became successful their husbands joined and took over the leadership in the businesses. Does it mean women are used as baits, for testing the waters of economic viability and also in some cases to "clean" the mess that men make in economic development? I refer here to microcredit where the poorest of the poor become women targeted for the self-sufficiency of the investor, agencies, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and I link it to businesses that are operated by men in the names of women.

Women entrepreneurs tend not to venture into male-dominated businesses such as those of transport or tour operating; when and if they do their male counterparts and employers look down upon them. For these reasons successful businesses operated by women tend to be very limited. Riette the only woman skipper on Lake St Lucia in Northern KwaZulu Natal got resentment and defiance instead of support from her male employees who were skippers (Interview with Riette; 28 August 2013).

Women resigned from teaching started the businesses while their husbands were still at their job places. This tells that women are risk takers as men are. Furthermore women

share in the responsibility of family or home or house holding building. Women still persist in entrepreneurship despite the constraints mentioned above. Besides I concur with what Renuka Vishwananthan (2001:10) said: "Empirical evidence shows that women contribute significantly to the running of family businesses mostly in the form of unpaid effort and skills." Currently in KwaZulu Natal women tend to become partners to their husbands by choice or compromise in order to get support rather than alienation (a case of the Shazis-meat and restaurants or food business). As the business turns to be "family business" remuneration and security terms thereof are not clearly tabulated and specified as benefits accrue to family members.

The National Gender Machinery, Gender Mainstreaming and the Fight against Gender Based Violence (2009) attest to the fact that there is not yet equality for women achieved as the statement below states:

"Even though the government has consistently supported gender equality, efforts to achieve women's empowerment have yet to make a noticeable impact in the lives of the majority of women, particularly Black rural women."

Women entrepreneurs who succeed in business are those that have used their savings to start their businesses. P.P. one of the interviewee that is successful stated that it becomes better to run the business without having to pay back the loan, as you do not face the pressure working extremely hard in order to be able to make loan repayments.

During the interview some excluded women felt very bitter about the various worrying issues, but the problem is whom they must be angry at. Should it be agencies providing aids to them, the government officials managing tourism at local level, the private investor, the economic system or their counterparts who seem to be progressing more

than them yet in similar business? While microcredit aims at serving the needs of most vulnerable and the poor of the poorest women, at local level each community is transformed and left with irremovable marks of new material inequalities that are lived and felt daily. Microcredit leaves a deep emotional imprint in people, which may manifest as shame and guilt feeling of failure when the collateral in the form of a house is repossessed because of failure to make loan repayment. For example my house was put on newspapers for sale because I could not pay back the loan for a shop and restaurant I was running in partnership with my husband. It is not all women who get into entrepreneurship smoothly and run their businesses successfully, most of them experience a number of hardships, which end with the entrepreneur existing or developing chronic illnesses. Ndonga Bed and Breakfast in Umlazi is on wheel chair because of challenges she faced in business that her body and mind could not comprehend.

The Black crafters could have been far ahead with their businesses were it not for exploitation by women of higher class like officials and also those from privileged races who would exploit their labour. They would take their craft items to exhibitions or Trade Fares and promise to get them the market abroad. The police from municipality who are supposed to protect and provide women with security do the opposite; harassing them and confiscating their products on the pavements as the municipality does not provide space for them in the city whereas there are English and Indian markets provided in the city. There is more to development and empowerment that is not directed at Black women. The informal/illegal occupation of pavements is the way these women negotiate operating spaces in cities where their customers/market, where transport converges is found.

The harassment and confiscation of goods resulted into the formation of a trade union that is not linked to COSATU as it is comprised of members from different political parties. The union (SEWU) claims its main goal to be empowerment of self- employed women to be able to organise themselves to demand from the government the recognition of the work they do. The escalating number of vendors in Durban, because of exodus of people especially women has resulted into the formation of an independent trade union called Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU) in 1993 to represent the interests of self-employed survivalist women engaged in informal sector of the South African economy (Nthunywa 2001). The problems that women experience on the pavements like being harassed by municipal authorities like their goods being frequently confiscated, their voices not being heard and not being treated with dignity, is a, daily experience for these survivalist entrepreneurs. It is disheartening though to discover that as at 2013 entrepreneurs on pavements still experience the challenges despite mediation of SEWU that is 20 years old. Women complained of the same harassment during the interview in August 2013 at Durban station. The question is how effective are the empowerment strategies that these unions train women on. Who is benefiting from these organisations if women still complain about oppressive treatment from metro police, the state organ, that is supposed to be protecting people but they do the opposite.

Finally, maintaining and growing the business beyond start-up is a serious challenge for all women entrepreneurs, especially in developing countries. Even though the exit rate of new businesses is high everywhere (40 – 50 %), exit rates of women-owned businesses are even higher, especially in developing countries. Some reasons mentioned for high exit rates among women entrepreneurs are lack of financing, insufficient

profitability, and family responsibilities. Frustrations in business result to ill health, particularly strokes, consequently women experience un-ceremonial exit like the case of Ndonga Guest House in Umlazi, Durban KwaZulu Natal. Improvement of macroeconomic conditions (higher wages, increase of available jobs, lower discrimination) is also a factor, and retirement. Often mentioned by female respondents - but largely unexplored or specifically identified by researchers as an explanation for high exit rates among women entrepreneurs - are 'personal reasons' (GEM, 2010). I also observed that those who announce their exist are employed by White entrepreneurs like tour guide young woman in the Lake St Lucia (Isimangaliso Wetland) in northern coast of KwaZulu Natal.

4.5 Discussion: Empowerment

Historically the word empowerment when traced from Europe and America it dates back centuries ago, in the words of Shrilatha Batliwala "through Quakerism, the Jeffersonian-democracy, early capitalism, and the Black power movement" (Cornwall and Eade 2010:112). Empowerment has been embedded in many historic struggles for social justice. Its trajectory to developing countries and especially to South Africa during democracy has been so transformed that it landed itself more into economic empowerment certain sectors of the community, thus doing injustice to the rest of the society. In the process it put itself into prone of being criticized by a lot of academics in the country as the writings by Bond[1] of the University of KwaZulu Natal demonstrate.

In India empowerment is aimed at "redistribution of power and access to spiritual knowledge through the destructions of the forms of societal stratification" (Batliwala 2010:112). In the 20th century empowerment has been adopted by many movements

and institutions engaged in equitable participatory and democratic forms of social change and development. What comes up clearly is that the initial goal for feminists' movements was to obtain a kind of transformation from traditionalist controllers of power to denounce their ideologies for inclusion of components were otherwise initially not offered space in development strategies as beneficiaries in economic growth. Batliwala in Cornwall 2010 further argues:

"the term empowerment was hijacked in the 10990s, into increasingly bizarre location converted from a collective to an individualistic process and skilfully co-opted by the conservative and even reactionary political ideologies in pursuit of their agenda of divesting 'big government' (for which read: the welfare state) of its purported power and control by 'empowering' communities to look after their own affairs. Management gurus discovered 'empowerment' and infused it into the human-resource development and motivational practices of the corporate world, turning it to the service of profit making and competitiveness in the market place. Thus the 1990s witnessed a widespread of co-option of the term by corporate management, neo-con political movements and consumer-rights advocates".

I have made used of this quotation because "empowerment" transformation coincides with the era in South Africa of transformation from the White government to a Black government. In South Africa it had its own meaning to the new Black government. It is during this era where empowerment was used as a term which promised or symbolized "freedom" or "liberation" or given a chance to participate in activities and engagements Black people used to see or envy from a distance. Empowerment was read and understood by the masses as bring a kind of social change, upliftment from

oppression and subordination of Black Africans from White supremacy as it was entangled with democracy, which a lot of us then and even now did not clearly understand what exactly it entailed. The explanation above details at length the current situation in South Africa which complicates each day 21 years after democratic change, demonstrating that empowerment is not what people think it means from the BEE and BBBEE perspective as the policies prove to have failed the deconstruction and redistribution programme as well as the other economic development policies and their exclusivity nature.

The transition into democracy or independence of South Africa falls in the period from 1994 where 'empowerment' focused on profit taking and competitiveness in the market place and to achieve that South Africa had to deconstruct the previous economic system and redistribute the economy to include the previously disadvantaged Black people.in the process of doing so many Black were left out as policies to drive such objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and GEAR met severe challenges from global economic markets beyond the government comprehension a devastating effect on them as the needed economic growth of the country surpassed individual societal income enhancement. In that way the good intentions of the RDP could not be realized and the direction changed to macroeconomics than peoples' economic growth, which has led to continuous protests and lack of trust of people on the government.

Likewise Women in Development (WID) (Boserup 1970; Boserup 1990; Boserup and Liljencrantz 1970), and Gender and Development (GAD) models are political and economistic and thus they ignore the gender subordination of women as the concerns of

women have been side lined for economic gains and economic growth in countries, of which the integration of women had a devastating effect as economic empowerment requires women to bring their productivity into growth rather than women benefitting from empowerment. Empowerment is therefore a political language than an action of transforming people's lives and to unleash their economic enhancement. Empowerment becomes a class issue and ordinary people who do not understand the political capitalistic language like women entrepreneurs at micro or informal level are side lined thus left out for good.

Can empowerment take out Black women crafters and street vendors off the pavements to a real workshop and market area within the cities of South Africa as it is happening with other races in the country that have operational space? Has empowerment through integrating women enabled them to access finance and land as well as appropriate training or has done the opposite as women attested during interviews. Has empowerment through microfinance lending changed the status of women economically; meaning improved their access to financial access, alleviating them from poverty.

The understanding of the meaning of the words empowerment and poverty is a pre-requisite for women to be able to progress in entrepreneurship and finding ways of addressing their own problems as empowerment by government has very little or nothing at all to do with changing the status quo. If the state has shifted the responsibility for people to see themselves out of poverty what then is the significance of the state and government if not the perpetual push of the people into deteriorating economic problems through initiatives that favour global market requirements at the

expense of the majority poor or ignoring women's and Black people's concerns. The alternative will be that women acknowledge their condition and pursue Black women's collectiveness or communality in a more improved manner by contributing to the "how we move forward" despite odd conditions to attain our own liberation as women. Subverting 'empowerment' as advocated by government gurus and focusing on the real practical innovations on the ground, of which women are experts should be encouraged by local women academics. Collaboration between locals and academic in changing local problems becomes inevitable and trust need to be sought between the two parties as civil societies end up colluding with government.

Black women are supposedly now 'liberated' politically as they now have license to vote

Yet they are still 'underdeveloped' in terms of economic and relevant education and training acquisition despite so many training agencies in South Africa evidence is high rate of unemployed graduates in the country. While in countries abroad feminists have focused on public versus private spaces, South African women especially in KwaZulu Natal ha turned entrepreneurs thus expanding their spaces through their negotiation abilities. There are women who have attained chieftainship after the death of their husbands, which indicates that women in KwaZulu Natal have never regarded themselves as inferior and thus different from men. They can take men's leadership roles and that is the practical empowerment that the government needs to be sensitized about.

The Apartheid division and its impact on the South African population has left endemic marks which are observed glaringly in economic development where the Black race has

to start from scratch to establish businesses while their White counterparts in business had to resuscitate existing ones and take them into market again after the lifting of the sanctions. In the 1990s empowerment has been applied as a social change in a political way with no tangible results in the Black local areas both in urban and rural. The land is still barren and unsuitable for agriculture and townships' residences are still for commuters to work in urban areas. This situation demonstrates how impossible it is to reverse the design the Apartheid design of separate development. The question is how much better this situation can be improved because changing it is out of question.

The connection between empowerment and economic enhancement was read and understood differently by Blacks. To them 'empowerment meant leaving rural areas and townships to cities and suburbs respectively for better life. Gender equality on the other side was understood by women in South Africa as economic access, meaning access to resources that would enhance income to women. That is why prior to 2010 FIFA world cup in the tourism industry more Black women ventured into entrepreneurship changing their houses into bed and breakfast, but did not plan for the post world cup period in terms of marketing their facilities. To them people's participation and women development equalled empowerment.

The Beijing Declaration in 1995 stated that the state actors and government would dedicate themselves to "enhancing furthers the advancement and empowerment of women all over the world" (United Nations 1995: 7). According to Cornwell and – 2010: 114) empowerment is a "social political process and that empowerment is about shift in political, social, and economic power between and across both individuals and social groups". Empowerment has therefore come to serve the neoliberal economic

ends as perceived in Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) where we witness few very rich individuals as against the poor masses in the country. Since the development has moved from welfare to empowerment and what next as empowerment is failing women in various ways from microcredit, to land issues which are influenced by both socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions in KwaZulu Natal.

Government working towards "female development" has used terms such as 'welfare' and 'empowerment' that 'add' nothing to women's economic enhancement; instead they 'take away' something from women through government supported donor agencies who work with marginalized women entrepreneur as borrowers to boost their wealth creation agendas. After conducting a research in India, Batliwala (2010: 115) came up with this concluding definition of empowerment: Empowerment is a process, and is a result of a process of transforming the relations of power between individuals and social groups with gender; which means it entails the transfer of power between men and women, within and across social categories of various kinds". She argues that empowerment should be doing three things: 1) challenging the ideologies that justify social inequality, such as gender and race in the South Africa context, 2) empowerment need to be tackled in terms of access to and control over economic, natural and intellectual resources. In South Africa women do not have access to economic benefits and even natural resource such as land. As my informants stated the information they have and the one they receive during training workshops, they do not have a say as it comes in a package to them from agencies.

This in short means women do not own the products of their creativity as they are snatched by companies and individuals who have more power   they cannot see their

creativity to the end like crafters who cannot determine the price of their products because the tourist/customers are not prepared to pay the amount women charge but want to pay very little. It is a pity that Anushka complained about the prices of beadwork being too high in rural areas. What the crafters are doing is raising the price so that when the tourist brings it down they would negotiate the price down to the normal price beyond which they would not move down any more. If they do not shoot the prices up they can become victims to the exploiting buyers who would always complain that prices are too high. The third and the last objective, empowerment is supposed to transform institutions and structures which reinforce and sustain existing power structures such as family, state, market, education and media.

I would consider empowerment ideally entailing better way of access to credit like in '*stokvel*' not the microfinance way as it happened in countries like India. *Stokve*l being a collective saving effort by group of individual who have a common purpose for saving, where the whole interest, not part of it accrues to the borrower has been historically acknowledged by women as the best method. That is why most entrepreneurs still use it especially those in the taxi industry for collective buying of vehicles for their businesses and other responsibilities requiring huge amounts of money at a go. Efficient empowerment means improved income for those in employment, consequently people supplementing their income with some other entrepreneurial practices as is the case with some of my informants like 'Gwebu' who is a teacher who runs a car wash enterprise. Miss Khumalo works full time as a teacher too but also runs a bed and breakfast in UGu district; this indicates that added income is becoming a necessity to earn an average living. Because the governments no longer increase salaries 'welfare' has been rerouted, salaries no longer match inflation; women have

become new breadwinners at homes although not officially recognized by the government as breadwinners. Evidence is an increasing number of people in the vending business. Vending enterprise on its own requires that the vendor has land as a property where the entrepreneur can source fresh vegetables. Therefore rules and regulations need to be changed to include single women to have access to land and property without approval from men. Also access to arable land for subsistence agriculture requires urgent review if rural women are empowered as the reality is that we (women) cannot all the entrepreneurs. Hence access to land for food production is the basic need for surviving.

Hand-outs and service provision by government is not empowerment but a recognition of their own agency and power for change (Batliwala 2010: 115). Critiquing these provisions is an indirect way of stating in a confrontational manner the transformation of the economic and social arrangements which categories women as subordinates. Economic change is more urgent than any other form of transformation in South Africa that can transform societies from 'poor' to self-sufficient women empowerment of whatever form has a problem of being hijacked by political opportunists and fast track it in a way that benefits the advocates, than its goal of economic growth leaving out women thus reproducing poverty resulting in a vicious poverty cycle (Scase and Goffee 1985). There is manipulation and co-option by dominant political interests, doubling and tripling of women's workloads resulting into new forms of gender violence (Cornwall and Goetz 2005).

Women empowerment at grassroots has taken another form of economic empowerment the purpose of which is to organize women into self-help groups. But the crucial issue

here is that as women help themselves they need to decide also on how and what the outcome of their self-development will be. This means women have to formulate their own laws and regulations to serve as guidelines over their creativity and productivity without external intervention. This can be translated to women operating parallel to development in a way that benefits all of them which will be their 'strategic interests converted into practical interest' (Vieitez-Cerdeño 2011). Empowerment has therefore become a site of encounter, which is equivalent to site of power that generates sites of colonial inequalities or reproduces domination in South Africa as it is witnessed in Black Economic Empowerment thus pushing equality from ever being attained in such conditions.

4.6 Conclusion

The capitalist economic system has separated women from their husbands in rural areas through job provision in big cities; the creativity for sustaining the family lives by women in rural areas cannot be underestimated. There is a clear indication that women sought new coping strategies to survive on their own through small businesses, ranging from tuck shops or vending with fruits and vegetables to accommodation facilities like bed and breakfast, tour operators and being subcontracted as tour guides for White operated and owned tour operators and tour guiding companies. Other women used entrepreneurship to supplement their income such as teachers because a monthly salary is no longer sufficient to sustain families and single parent women.

While many regard entrepreneurship as an opportunity, it becomes a missed opportunity for women as I have indicated in the previous chapter that women are used and integrated into entrepreneurship for the benefit of the state not women entrepreneurs

and their local communities. Instead of realizing independence through entrepreneurial they find the market dictating to them instead those dictating to the market as everything in the market world is fixed and predetermined. Hence independence through empowerment can hardly work for women because of the twist embedded in the way empowerment is defined, read and understood. The creativity and skills women possess cannot be utilised effectively as everything comes in the form of packages especially in the tourism industry.

Illustration 11. Ntokozo (Gwebu)'s business (car wash) as it happens. Photo by Sibongile Tshabalala

Illustration 12. Riette: the woman skipper and owner of the cruise boat (Lake St Lucia (Isimangaliso Wetland Park). [Riette on the far left; Marian del Moral, Soledad Vieitez, and Sibongile Tshabalala, left to right]
Photos by Marian del Moral.

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CHAPTER FIVE: Tourism and Development

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses tourism and development. In doing so, I unpack what tourism entails in order to demonstrate why it became recognised as the best option for economic growth in South Africa. To unpack these notions I will also include policies guiding tourism development, people's perceptions about tourism and the stakeholders participating in the industry.

This chapter will firstly discuss the state of tourism in South Africa, and then move to discuss the problems in the industry and how women feature in in the whole tourism and entrepreneurial economic development scenario. I discuss tourism as a problem industry focusing in the tourist as a commoditized object at both regions; the tourist source region and the destination region. People at the host region, history, culture and scenery, as well as their heritage are also commoditized. The chapter further discusses how the feminist theories or approaches Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Gender (GAD) have been hijacked by the advocates of development namely government, financial donors, and Non-Governmental Organizations to integrate women in economic development. The policies guiding the integration reproduce oppressive power relationship on women instead of addressing concerns of women and determining how women can benefit from development not how they should contribute to the economic growth of the country.

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5.2   Tourism the problem industry

5.2.1 The tourist problematized/commoditised

The nature of tourism industry is so complex and confusing such that understanding it by ordinary people is not easy because there are lot controversial issues that accompany it. Tourism development is the long-term process of preparing for arrival of tourists. It entails planning, building, and managing the attractions, transportations, services, and facilities that serve the tourist (Khan, 2005).

Tourism is a practice of cultural and economic importance (Culler 1990) and as such everyone has been a tourist and has observed a tourist. MacCannell (1976) contends that the tourist experience depends entirely on the organisers of the tour package. To add on this it also depends on the extra cash for expenditure at the destination. Hence he distinguishes the front from the back, what is to be shown to tourists and what cannot be shown. What is there to be shown to tourists and what is genuine? This means the choice of the tourist is limited and he can't choose what he wants, all depends on what the market or tour packages offers to him. The tourist pays for what to see and experience but the payment does not include the choice of what to see and experience because the package has been organized for him or her in the name of making things 'easier' for him or her. What if the tourists wants and prefers complicated things and in this case he is just and 'object' in the trip or tour.

Tourism therefore turns people into commodities. On one hand the native at the destination becomes an exotic "other" (Urry 2003). In this view, the tourists may take on the outlook that the inhabitants of exotic places are not human beings but rather

zoological objects. Cohen (1988:365) opines that it is no wonder Black Africans who are natives in these places are regarded as dangerous, savage species that pose a threat to westerners and hence the need to develop them or try any other means to control them. Tourists take on the idea the view that, for their safety it is better to use tourism facilities that they are used to and similar to their home environments, thus take a drive through the townships as they do with the game reserves and national parks.

Adler (1989:353) opines that tourists are perceived as cannibals of culture as they devour it –culture-without deep and real understanding of what the practices are- and why they are done. In other words, meaning the value they have among the natives that engage in such cultures. Furthermore De Kadt (1979:63) attests that poor countries are forced to "prostitute themselves" (both literally and metaphorically). Local residents when seeing a tourist the tourist becomes a walking dollar or euro hence in both cases the person's humanity is washed out. What I argue here is that, people become degraded by (in the name of) money to commodities as cultural performers (natives) and as well as cultural consumers (tourists). They become attracted to tourists because of money as they believe all tourists are moneyed. But contrary mass tourism brings less income to the Third World and Africa, South Africa in particular and inhabitants are no better for it. As mass tourism refers to the large groups of tourists who travel together the benefits from discounts accrue to the traveller and the organizing company. The supplier that benefits at the destination is the one who owns hotels and big lodges and guesthouses. Automatically the ordinary Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector, to which most Black women belong do not benefit from mass tourism from tour companies like big buses and cruise liners. The money that comes in through tourism ends up in the hands of the investor, elite and the rich – hence the rich becomes richer

and the poor poorer, thus it brings economic growth without development (Kunwar 1997:174). It is only through school trips that teachers would organize for students that Black accommodation owners would benefit from groups as the case of Janet for Emthini Holiday Resort (Interview 30 August 2013)

What this means is that the design is inclusive-exclusive cleverly woven that at first glance it is impossible to detect that. Therefore I concur with Rogerson and Visser (2004:3) in claiming that historically and essentially "colonialists for colonialists" developed the tourism economy within Africa. Likewise in South Africa, KwaZulu Natal, the tourism industry is predominantly White and centres on cities and towns in game and nature reserves as well as in parks that are privately owned within the province and the country. Most tourists visit those, thus tourism has nothing to do with development and changing people's way of living in their local areas.

Travelling is believed to have occurred during the period between the wars where (red travellers) people would travel for games and get drunk (Fussell 1972). On the other hand in African context people have been moving ever since from one place to the other to visit friends and relatives for ritual and other ceremonies held by a particular community at high esteem. The fake travellers emerged 30 years later after the settling of the war dust. According to Boorstin (1976) Thomas Crook marks the rise of the tourist from America which has further created divisions in travel and who can travel and how. A tourist that flies in a jumbo jet, sits at the restaurant to eat feels better than the one in a travel tour bus with uniforms. In this way tourism brings out a crucial feature of modern capitalism culture; a culture that creates hostility rather than community among individuals. Therefore tourism is a system of values that limit large

segments of the world population from the richer countries, hence it is not everyone that can travel but those who have expended surplus income (Botha *et al.* 2006). While tourism industry commends and lists best travelling countries in the world, MacCannell (1976) argues that it creates hostility and competition among the community of internationals such as American, Japanese, Swedish, Spanish etc. each wishes the others were not there.

I concur with MacCannell (1976) in that the injunction that drives the modern tourist seems to be twisted because the effect of the shared values is not to create solidarity with the international community, but hostility instead divisions amongst them and also separation with the host population at the destination. Tourists are satisfied by what is inauthentic at the destination. I mean that tourists will not visit people at the destination at their authentic environments but at cultural villages that imitate what is there in the destination, in other words they watch the lived experiences at the villages constructed to depict the livelihood of people at the destination. They visit these establishments in solidarity to the investor who usually comes from abroad.   Indeed the difference between solidarity comes out clearly with this case of tourists and that is why Africans believe in "unity", "ubunye/ubuntu" shared oneness than solidarity because it seems to be exclusive people being in solidarity with their own type. The irony is that tourists prefer to listen to the cultural music sung by foreigners in their own accent in CDs and DVDs than experiencing the authentic cultural music by indigenous people. The possibility is that they become fascinated if they see that can be imitated by their own. Maybe at this stage one needs to highlight what was behind people's thinking when they started travelling? What is the difference between tourism and traveling or travel and tourism?

5.2.2 The problem industry: a case of South Africa

Tourism is growing in significance as a leading sector for Local Economic Development (LED) in many developing countries (Rogerson and Visser 2004: 399). Consequently tourism is widely recognized as an instrument of local economic development even in the Third World countries. Planners or managers for LED in their formulation of Integrated Development Plans (IDP) at local municipality level have thus incorporated tourism projects in their yearly plans. Unfortunately the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) (2011) has identified that tourism is not filtering down as a priority to all government departments and levels, which creates gab in the implementation of tourism projects locally. Besides the sector is neither attracting nor retaining quality people of all skills in its capacity building agency, THETA (Tourism, Hospitality and Sports Education and Training Authority) and as such it is ineffective. Tourism has been identified as one of the greatest potential growth areas of the South African economy hence, and were it not for the ineffective of its organs at all levels, women would have benefitted if they participated without limitations in tourism development. The controversy it comes with is the need of forever-training women entrepreneurs and the staff about the necessities of the market. Tourism development therefore shapes individuals and groups according to its desired principles and guidelines to fit in the industry. In that case there is no independence for creativity, which is one of the qualities of an entrepreneur of good character.

It is a fact that South Africa is one of the most visited countries in Africa because it has unique attractions some of which have been termed world heritage sites. South Africa is ranked number 3 in Sub-Saharan Africa after Seychelles and Mauritius in regards to

tourism competitiveness and number 64 globally (World Economic Forum 2013). For its natural resources some of which given below South Africa ranks number 17 and number 58 for its cultural resources globally. South Africa according to the World Economic Forum 2013 has eight World Heritage sites rich in fauna and flora and she is well known for her creative industry. Tourism White Paper (1996), even advocates that the most visited destinations in South Africa amongst others are sites for Bushmen paintings with their unique archaeology, battlefields sites, excellent conference and exhibition facilities, a wide range of sporting facilities and internationally known attractions like Table Mountain, the Drakensberg Mountains, The Sun City (where Miss World Pageants are held), Kruger National Park, The Cape of Good Hope and Isimangaliso Wetland Park previously known St Lucia wetland park and so forth. Revenue received from these destinations or tourism economic hubs contribute significantly to the economy of country. Some of the attractions mentioned above, that are found in KwaZulu Natal have been declared World Heritage Sites, such as the Drakensberg Mountains and Isimangaliso Wetland Park previously known as St Lucia Lake watershed area, and hence the province could have been amongst the best and most widely visited tourist destination in South Africa. Even when viewing day trips and overnight trips from domestic viewpoint KwaZulu Natal ranks number five after Western Cape, Eastern, Northern Cape and Free State (South African Domestic Survey 2011 and 2013 respectively). Then why do foreign tourists like the Cape Town and Kruger National Park not visit the province? That requires an investigation or research on its own.

Culture plays a pivotal role in drawing visitors to destinations, which become economic growth points in the areas, where entrepreneurs provide the various needs of

the tourists through the various enterprises they run. In that way tourism entrepreneurs contribute into the economic growth of the country. Tourism, like the textile industry, uses large numbers of female employees though not permanently registered which benefits the employer more than the employee, and is therefore an important element for social change (de Kadt, 1979:292). But analysing the form of employment of these women in tourism you discover that businesses like cultural villages use these women for double roles. Drawing from the case of Shakaland Cultural Village at Eshowe under Umlalazi Local Municipality in the UThungulu District Municipality, I show the exploitation that comes with tourism development. The first one is for the women to be housekeepers or waitresses in the restaurant of the hotel. Secondly they perform cultural dances like men and with men but they are paid for only one job. Despite the double role they play the twist is in working without being registered so that the employer does not pay taxes. I further argue that if these companies were not exploitative they would be using these women as subcontractors for the provision of cultural performances and dances.

5.3   Tourism as an option for development

Tourism, MacCannell (1976: 9) writes, ''is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society', an attempt to overcome fragmentation by articulating the world as a series of societies, each with its characteristic monuments, distinctive customs or cultural practices, and native scenery, all of which are treated as signs of themselves, non-functional displays of codes". If tourism did not come as a closed package with policies undermining other stakeholders involved in development, it would have been the best alternative to bring societies together and the best way of preserving history, heritage

and cultures that Africans in South Africa, KwaZulu Natal hold in high esteem. MacCannell perception of tourism reveals that there is fragmentation geopolitically and through tourism in the world he believes societies can come together which is the wish of many people at destinations which unfortunately contradicts the desires of stakeholders liker donor agencies as theirs is to maximize profit for self-sufficiency using women for what they want from them not what women want from the development stake holders; hence a twisted economic development for the people at the destination in the host region. . Unfortunately when the tourists come together hostility is created by competition-infested capitalism, instead of solidarity.

MacCannell (1976) further argues that the situation is due to moral injunction, which drives tourists. Tourists have a superficial way of understanding other people and places, meaning they do not see things the way they 'ought to' be seen because they are decided upon what to be shown and at what time, and what not to be shown to the tourists. In his view tourism is a kind of resistance to development of modernism. In MacCanell's view (1976), women are talked about in development not talked to or with, the view that demonstrate the subordination and oppression they experience on day-to-day encounters. In the same way he distinguishes the front from the back, what is to be shown to tourists and what is genuine.

Consequently in European countries tourism has been criticized as strategy for economic development because it is associated with dependency upon external and often frisky sources of growth de Kadt, (1979) which is never constant and thus cannot be trusted. The fluctuation in the number of tourists at destinations in certain countries may be caused by factors such as recession, political uncertainty, coup, wars and

infectious diseases. South Africa has been hit hard by HIV/AIDS and KwaZulu Natal was the province that experienced the most devastating effects and that is why the first World Aids Conference was held in Ethekwini/ Durban. The first woman victim of aids Gugu Dlamini was stoned to death by a mob of men in Durban at an awareness campaign because she publicly disclosed that she was HIV/AIDS positive during the early years of the disease attacking people in South Africa. In response to this tragedy and escalating number of deaths including young children such as Nkosi Johnson; King Zwelithini in a form of intervention, announced that the virginity testing be revived although the Kings call was received with divided views. Those for human rights referred to the idea as sexual abuse of young girls, on the other hand the advocates in the province promoted activity through setting up groups/institutes in both urban and rural areas to spread the advantages of regular testing. In that a way up to today even students from the Universities, and young women of all races in South Africa attend and participate in this event which is held yearly at eNyokeni one of the King's Palace. What comes out here is the conflict of institutions, the traditional and cultural represented by the King and the modern institution of human rights. On the other hand the King was using traditional cultural method of preventing the spread of AIDS, which can be regarded as collaborative action between the department of health and the traditional practices for preventative measures.

This event called Umkhosi Womhlanga (Reed Dance) continues attracting tourists domestically, internationally, continentally and even overseas. The event further creates opportunities for the community to supply the tourists needs and as such service providers are sourced from the communities but because of lack of access to benefits that women experience, not many women entrepreneurs benefit from this event except

for being outsourced for cooking by male companies that obtain tenders as service providers for the event. These conditions contradicts the BBBEE Act of 2003 which entails; "increase the extent to which Black women own and manage new enterprises, and increase their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training" (Paragraph 2d). The view is women are just included in the Act as in words because what happens on the ground is the opposite of what the act stipulates.   This goes likewise when the issue of tourists, being offered accommodation close to the Enyokeni palace, they make choices according to racial and class preferences. As the tourism marketing slogan goes "Experience home away from home" White tourists would use Holiday Inn at Ulundi and dare not to use rural accommodation facilities. Likewise Black people attending the event will use bed and breakfast in Ulundi Township.

Besides the Reed Dance the province markets itself by using the branding 'Kingdom of the Zulu', which Tourism KTN regards as its draw card by saying "Welcome to the Kingdom of the Zulu". This situates the King as a leader of the strongest nation in the country and the continent through the strategies that were employed by former Kings especially Shaka to build and defend the Kingdom consequently the King owns the land even in metropolitan areas where Black people live. But because of controversial land grab laws for economic development agenda all the industrial and business economic hubs belong to White metropolis.

The prevalence of such conditions pose a threat to tourism as international tourists would prefer to stay away from conditions that threaten their lives. That is why European countries such as Spain travel within or tour their own country so that they do not rely on external tourists, which I believe the critic stems from. What this de Kadt

(1979) proposes therefore is that countries should promote domestic tourism as much as they promote overseas or international tourism and KwaZulu Natal municipalities need to change the focus towards promoting domestic tourism, and in that way women can experience a growing number of tourists using their facilities. As tourism connects to other sectors like economy and health a strong collaboration among these institutes might see an improvement but women need to occupy the leading role than the back seat position. Kinnaird & Hall, (1994) and Selwyn, (1992) argue that tourism tends to bring "underdevelopment" to the poor and "development" to the rich. This being the case, tourism entrepreneurial activities is usually based on existing unequal exploitative relationships. Accordingly, the poorer and vulnerable groups at the destination suffer disproportionately from effects of tourism. These statements are obviously contradictory to what many people expect. Antrobus (1990) concurs with Kinnaird and Hall (1994), and Selwyn (1992) by stating that tourism incorporates developed countries into exploitative global economic system.

Consequently, these arguments bring to the fore the issues that come along with tourism development in an already ailing Third World economy, which automatically contradicts and challenges the long and eagerly awaited benefits of tourism by the poor local communities. The researcher concurs with Hemingway (2004:275) when she avers that the unfortunate victims in the whole exercise of economic restructuring and development endeavour tend to be women. Taking for example here microcredit that symbolizes neoliberal economy, how? By targeting women, gender and economy, repayment rates in the context of neoliberalism, Karmi (2008:5) equates "rural women's honour and shame as instruments appropriated by microcredit NGOs in furthering of their capital interests". Honour if women keep up with paying back the loan, although

in many instances through applying for a second loan and shame if they do not make repayments because their collaterals will be confiscated and dispossession will result, and the shame will make her continue taking, second, third, fourth and so forth loans until she drowns in loans.

5.4   Policies guiding tourism development[2]

There are a number of policies and strategies that guide tourism development in South Africa. For igniting the engine of tourism growth, Tourism White Paper (1996/1997), focuses on the following major policies; safety and security, education and training, financing tourism and access to finance, investment incentives, foreign investment and environmental management. Bukula (2009) proposes a kind of policy to deal with areas of concern in tourism developments, which are challenges and opportunities that will always serve as directives in the tourism development strategies. The lack of well-established monitoring structure at National level leads to incoherence that is manifested at local level, since development is from top down; as a result communities become the recipients of ideas planned outside their communities for them.

According to National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) there is a very slow rate of transformation in the tourism industry, with few Black entrants in the market, and big and small business still largely dominated by White people. The race issue in South Africa is more prevalent than gender problem. Communities' natural resources are taken advantage of, without benefits accruing to communities themselves (ref. at platinum i.e. Royal Bofokeng and the Maluleke case). To bring the example nearer

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[2] This section is an extension of the theoretical discussion in chapter 2. In this section I use the policies as part of a discussion to show their effects on women and development.

home in KwaZulu Natal I will cite and discuss here the case of the Wilderness Safaris where a foreign overseas company operates a wild life game business within community areas where partnering with the indigenous people in those areas is "a predetermined shareholding arrangement in keeping with its 'neighbours' policy (Poultney & Spenceley 2001:7). These authors attest that the arrangement ensures that the community receives a share of profits from the Lodge Owning Company and the Lodge Operating company, although at this stage (2001) neither has started to produce a profit, since opening its doors in 1992 at Rocktail Bay and 1995 at Ndumu both in Maputaland, KwaZulu Natal. These projects give one a picture of the reality of the acclaimed community benefits tourism brings to alleviate poverty and empower communities. This situation reflects a period of between 10 and 13 years the companies running without any benefits to the communities because the companies claim that they were not yet at the stage of making profits. Can we then convincingly claim that tourism has a potential of uplifting communities through private sector driven projects as the Tourism White Paper 1996, 20008 spells out in the policies that tourism is government led and private sector driven.

While I was still an intern at the Tourism Authority in 1998, we conducted a workshop for tourism awareness for one of the Municipalities namely *Umzinyathi* where *Amakhosi* "chiefs" and Tourism Steering Committee were trained on what tourism entails for them as community members and how they can benefit from it. One chief lamented on what has already been taken away by White researcher in his area because he had rare species of frogs within the wetland. After that they never heard of the researcher and the project he came to do in the area. Many Black people have been exploited in the name of development because they do not know the rules of the game.

This shows how little understanding Black people have about development and how important true awareness workshop are for communities by an expert from the community who has a clearer understanding of what tourism development mean to them as a community. That will be a person who will say something different from what investors, public officers and Non-Governmental Organizations usually say, which they never realized or experienced in their areas. The community is used to listening to whoever comes to them with a story that has the word "development" without questioning effective contribution the development has for them. They just think of a job opportunity that is promised without taking into consideration whose project and who benefits directly from the project or initiative and why that particular project as against others if communities were allowed to become part and parcel of decisions taken about and for their localities. Even tourism projects as indicated above do not benefit communities even after more than a decade the investor would claim he is not making profit and hence there is nothing that he can put on offer to the communities. What becomes imperative for communities if they want development to bear fruits for them is to run the project on their own, in their own way for the benefit of community members.

The governments of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region have gone to the extent of introducing UNIVISA. It is a new tourist visa covering thirty-day-stay in Zimbabwe and Zambia for a single payment of 40 US dollars, and was launched in 28 November 2014. UNIVISA enables tourists from sourced markets, usually overseas, to obtain a visa that allows them entry in all SADC member countries, on the basis of which they can be allowed automatic entry into other SADC countries especially by 2010. For an example the visa can be used in Zambia through Zimbabwe

and to Botswana, something similar to Schengen visa used in European countries. Unfortunately the tools focus on international market and global marketing. This benefits the people from the west who are already privileged by their race and class. After all most of them as private investors own the Safaris found in almost all Sub-Saharan countries.

The twist of tourism in Africa is influenced by economic development of the continent. Dieke (2003:19) purports that Africa is in a state where economic development relies on a well-formulated policy to guide its development. But the complexity of development as a concept guided by international polices that are incompatible with African conditions perpetuates appalling situations in the continent. The exclusion of communities in participation in decision making on development taking place in their local areas where they benefit nothing from the development except, proving cheap labour is the cause of alienation and thus protests toward unfair or unjust developments in within communities. It goes without saying that development is not people development. Consequently people do not regard the tourism industry as a good employer or best choice of career. Most students who qualify as graduates for tourism at the University of Zululand for an example end up diverting to teaching because job opportunities are minimal and selective in tourism.

To illustrate this, I turn to the case of Zambia. Mr. Coley the chairperson for the Luangwa Safari Association in Zambia, who is also the proprietor of Flat-dogs Camp[1] located in the park, suggests that 80% of the population of the country is locked out of the economic mainstream. Nevertheless the governments should relax principles guiding Safari as women are not considered suitable and capable entrepreneurs in this

sector of tour operating. Since South Africa is the member country of Southern African Development Community (SADC), it experiences similar challenge of exclusion of some population members from fully participating and benefiting from tourism.[3]

Since tourism is a priority sector in the government's planning and policy frameworks, one of the six job drivers of the New Growth Path. The plan involves measures such as including e-visas, regional visa schemes, and visa waiver programmes between key source markets. While the world is strengthening visa regulations, South Africa is doing the opposite. Foreigners will have a passage of flow in and out of the country as they wish. While Tourism White Paper proposes that tourism ensures that there is involvement of local communities and previously neglected groups, effective tourism training, education and awareness and appropriate institutional structures etc., polices do not articulate how these are implemented. For an example how can training be effective if the facilitators talk above their audience? P.P. one of my interviewees stated with shame and disappointment that at the workshops organized by municipalities there are people like crafters who do not understand English yet the facilitators conduct training in the medium of English. Furthermore she finds it a waste of time to attend such workshops because the facilitators just read from the script she comes with and distribute to the participants.

"Next time I will not bother myself about attending the workshop because I can also read the document on my own. Those who are not well educated do not benefit and also some of us who are educated benefit nothing from the trainings." (August 27, 2013).

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[3]   Flat-Dog's Camp is an accommodation facility found in South Luangwa National Park Valley. It is an alternative Safari experience in Zambia which is more affordable than the Luangwa National Park which is open to everyone.

This reflects that the facilitators are not experts as they claim to be and there is no one noticing that because monitoring mechanisms systems are not in place. Yet the White Paper (1996) with its National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) has a cluster responsible for policy, strategy, regulations, governance, and monitoring and evaluation. The inefficiency of the cluster is seen in the absence of the national research framework to guide tourism related research conducted in the country, resulting in irrelevant and duplicated research efforts (UMhlathuze Local Municipality Tourism Strategy Review 2013). When I went to tourism information offices in Durban under Ethekwini Municipality in 2013 to get the list of names of women tourism entrepreneurs in their database I was told that there was no such information from their offices. They referred me to a woman who was just setting up the database for her own interest. There is no proper database of tourism businesses operating in South Africa. The one they had was on accommodation facilities north of Durban but the names of owners were given in initials only which made it difficult for me to tell whether the owner was a man or a woman. This is a reflection of poor management of knowledge and information. The company (Tourism Enterprise Programme) TEP is making lots of money with below standard training programmes.

De Kadt (1979) further argues that problems special to tourism in developing countries still need to be set in wider context of development, and the main questions addressed. Consequently tourism has to fit in with the more general consideration of policymakers. Rogerson and Visser (2004:7) argue that the policies featuring factors such as the private sector driving the tourism industry, the government providing enabling framework for the industry to flourish, effective community involvement that will form the basis of tourism growth, sustainable environmental practices, establishment of

cooperation and close partnerships among key policy issues do not articulate clearly the implementation and monitoring strategies, stakeholders, empowerment of previously neglected communities, major focus being on women constrain the expansion and transformation of the South African tourism industry

In addition to the culture, policies of the past have shut out some population groups from engaging in tourism such that even after the democratic change in the country, women are still limited in participating in tourism industry. Policies did not include specifically the provision for women to access tourism industry. Attesting to this Roy *et al.* (1992:127) contend that the presence of women in policy and decision-making positions in government and parliament is negligible in Africa no matter how educated they may be and what qualifications they have. Their integration into politics seems not yielding and fruit of being recognized as equal human beings.

Unfortunately the issues of policy to deal with areas of concern in tourism development, pattern and performance of tourism in countries, and development of tourism in the regions, which are challenges and opportunities, will always serve as directives in the tourism development strategies (Bukula 2009). Do we have experts as Africans who can scrutinize and deliberative on issues of concern with these ever-changing universal designs of development as we need people whom are forward thinkers than reactionaries. Do we have enough people with different way of thinking than that of the government which does not make peoples' lives a priority instead 'development' strategies aligned to 'poverty alleviation' a mirage that will never be reached. Clearly the objective of the National Department of Tourism is increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) not improving peoples' lives that is why everything is top down,

addressing the needs at the top, for top people and ignoring the needs for people at the bottom within the communities. There is a case for urgent government intervention in policies that are specific to women entrepreneurs if we mean business in including women in economic development of the country.

5.5 The status of tourism

Tourism is arguably the world's largest and fastest growing industry, accounting for about five per cent of the world's Gross National Product and six per cent of the employment (Glasson *et al,* 1995). Consequently most governments encourage tourism because they believe in its ability to spread economic development and reduce inequalities in income distribution by providing jobs (Pearce, 1988; Coccossis and Parpairis, 1995; Wahab and Pigrim, 1997). For poor countries, regions, towns and cities, tourism is seen as the fast track to development (Glasson *et al,* 1995). The government therefore views tourism as a catalyst for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of payments advantages, and important infrastructural developments benefiting locals and visitors alike (Glasson *et al*, 1995). The question is how beneficial is tourism at local level seeing that it driven by foreign owners, whose concern is making profit through investment, which is the neoliberal market game. Mbaiwa (2010) argues instead of being the main actors and beneficiaries of the growing tourism business, the local population has become a pool for the provision of cheap labour to a tourism industry largely owned and controlled by foreign companies and individuals.

5.5.1 Community-based tourism

The term itself "community-based tourism is very confusing and has different meaning to various people. From the government and investors' point of view the establishment should be located within communities but privately owned. The communities on the other hand believe that the establishment within their areas should be owned in partnership with them negotiable at 50% sharing. The terms of tourism ownership and development completely conflicts with the thinking of the community. This situation leads to some communities preferring to stay without a tourism enterprise within their areas. The worst-case scenario is where a development comes with moving people out of their land for development. The case of Macambini Tourism Development Project by the company Rhuwaad from Dubai that needed people to be moved from the east coast of KwaZulu Natal for the development that would protrude to the see.

Tourism is increasingly becoming a globalised industry, hence it is now considered as one of the strategies of poverty reduction internationally, nationally and locally. In the post-Apartheid South Africa, tourism is viewed as an essential sector for national reconstruction and development, and one that offers enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole country (South Africa Tourism SAT 2008). Tourism development has often been focused at the macro level, on international promotion, attracting inward investment on major hotel and resort developments. It is noticed that the tourism boards of many countries, South Africa included, focus on attracting outside businesses for building ailing inside enterprises, which indirectly results into economic leakages (Sofield 2003: 1).   Because of the government advocating for tourism to be private sector driven, investors in tourism are foreign

companies for infrastructure, transport, and construction of both transport routes and accommodation facilities, owners of attractions. Although some of the facilities could be found in rural community areas they are termed "community-based" tourism facilities but communities have absolutely no power and control over them. Whatever profits or income these facilities generate goes back to the countries of the investor. Even management and top admin positions become part of the package; the director and senior managers are usually foreigners. The case of a lodge at Nquthu, Blood River Lodge, it is owned by an American pensioner and locals provide cheap or dirty labour only, in fact mostly during construction. Protest erupted in 1998/9 over dissatisfaction about employment exclusion of locals but people from outside the community were employed. The community started throwing stones and blocking tourists' cars that were visiting the lodge.

Tourism is growing in significance as a leading sector for Local Economic Development (LED) in many developing countries (Rogerson and Visser 2004: 399). This claim is fuelled by the government's belief in its drive of community- based tourism. Critiques such as De Kadt (1979) allege that in European countries tourism has been criticized as a strategy for economic development because of its tendency of depending upon external and often frisky sources of growth. The fluctuation in the number of tourists at destinations in certain countries may be caused by factors such as recession, political uncertainty, coup, wars and infectious diseases. Consequently tourism cannot be regarded as a reliable tool for developing poor countries and communities. In KwaZulu Natal the story is different, tourists tend to use facilities by whites for accommodation purposes even the anthropologists because of their mind-set, 'looking for something similar to the usual, hence "Home away from home" is the

slogan used for promoting accommodation facilities in tourism. Tour operators perpetuate that tourist's amenities and houses that they are used to, in a nutshell do not spend a night in a Black family; remember all the myths you know about Black people. One of my friends from Spain said "I am afraid of snakes" which means Blacks are associated with animals hence the safety of the White person is always not guaranteed.

In South Africa Black people especially those living in townships are not regarded as suitable for hosting tourists in their accommodation facilities because of racial issues and the widespread misconceptions of townships as worst unsafe places in the world. These factors tend to scare tourists away thus making the industry as not trustworthy as it is perceived and promoted in developing countries. So the best strategy for excluding Blacks in participating in tourism development tends to shift into ensuring the safety of tourists whereas in actual fact is preventing them from sharing in "tourism development cake". To compensate for this what the government does through marketing agents is to encourage day trips to townships and urban periphery where tourists will drive through in a tour bus. Is this the kind of leisure and exploration that tourists want to experience, artificial not authentic experience of Africa/African? Who is brain washed here the tourist or the African and for what and whose benefit?

Kinnaird and Hall, (1994) and Selwyn, (1992) argue that tourism tends to bring "underdevelopment" to the poor and "development" to the rich. This being the case, tourism as activities is usually based on existing unequal exploitative relationships. Accordingly, the poorer and vulnerable groups at the destination suffer disproportionately from effects of tourism. I will tell of a scenario where I visited the world-class tourist attraction in South Africa in North West Province, "The Sun City

and Lost City" holiday resort. The facility is rural and community based but for people in community to enter through the gate they need to pay like tourists yet the facility is a walk able distance from their homes. The most striking facility inside is gambling in which these poor people participate with the hope of "making more", instead they lose and become addicted to gambling that ultimately destroys their lives. I met a woman who had to pay in order for her kids to use the swimming pool because it is the only place in the area providing such facilities and since you kids do not understand the amount of money required for using any tourism facility they would repeatedly cry to use the facility. In both instances the community is paying money instead of benefiting from the development, they pay for the development. Thus they become poorer because not all of them are employed by the facility; it is just few of them employed as labourers. They do not receive foreign tourists as customers and as such they participate outside the 'mainstream' tourism. Since women are the ones mostly employed by tourism establishments, their jobs are not guaranteed and secured as most of them remain on temporary bases for more than ten years in hotels and lodges found mostly in rural towns. Women in the First World materially, are somehow better off than those in the Third World as they share in the takings from the Third World, but socially and emotionally they have made little progress.

5.5.2 Gender biased tourism: participation in tourism

Tourism in South Africa still shows signs of being gender biased since men still tend to have access to the tourism industry with ease. The problem cuts across class and race groups, even though White women seem to be ahead of women of colour, and Black women in particular who are still massively under-represented in tourism as a

supposedly fast growing sector of the economy but which is full of exclusivity. A good example here is reflected in the type of businesses that Black people and women operate and participate in. Riette a White woman at Simangaliso Wetland Heritage Park is a skipper and is the only woman that owns a boat to take tours over the lake (Interviews, August 28, 2013). Several studies have traced the way in which race and class have thwarted the creation of an open and broad tourism market, and have explored the legal, social and economic causes for low participation of Black women in the tourism industry. This study intends exploring therefore these issues from the context, which focuses more on Black women than other races in South Africa. Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) report, Rogerson and Visser (2004), Williams and Shaw (1998) indicate that indeed women lag behind in tourism related businesses.

According to Freudman (2007) chairman of the Institute for Travel and Tourism, women are still ignored for top jobs and gender discrimination is still rife in the travel industry. Freudman (2007) confirmed that in the Institute for Travel and Tourism still believes that the travel industry discriminates against women. The average boardroom composition has less than 10% women in it, but 80% of the industry employees and entrepreneurs are women. The claim for this 10% condition that many people raise is that women take emotions to the boardroom (Babo August 26, 2013). Freudman (2007) attests that the 80% women employees are an indication of exploitation as women are regarded as cheap labour in the Third World and African countries.

Fifty per cent of the world's population is women yet women do five times the amount of manual work in tourism, earn one tenth that of men and own less than one hundredth of businesses owned by males, Gabriels (2007). The studies indicate that over the years

one finding that has remained consistent is that men are more likely than women to be involved in entrepreneurial ventures (GEM 2011: 21).

The (shocking statistic) is revealed by the census conducted by Dr Renate Volpe writing for the Business Woman Association (BWA) on top women in business. This issue of the *BWA Magazine* (Volpe 2008), current figures indicate that 14 women (not 14%) head up JSE registered companies. This situation is appalling. The figures indicate women are not regarded in anyway being able to contribute to GNP because all their economic endeavors are not regarded as significant especially if they are not directly linked to the market. What then is the case with tourism related businesses? Who is accountable? She cites factors such as disillusionment, loneliness, lack of supportive networks, having to maintain the political games, life priorities, family demands and pure physical and emotional exhaustion, as reasons for women's short stay in top positions and business alike. These factors make the case of senior female advancement to be very difficult. The reasons are aggravated by women themselves that is their stereotype mind-set, male suppression, and hidden agendas, women's psychology and development, the social, traditional and religious spheres.

Although Kenya is commended for a booming tourism industry Ndubano (2000) states that the experience of Kenya has shown that it is possible that under such applauded circumstances the majority of the local people live in poverty. This trend in tourism indicate that tourism is not for improving the communities lives but the chosen few, usually the elite and the private sector as it is the case with KwaZulu Natal where there are lot of private game lodges in private game reserve such as Inyala Game Lodge in northern coastal KwaZulu Natal but adjacent to them are very poor communities.

Since women are the ones mostly employed by tourism establishments, their jobs are not guaranteed and secured as most of them remain on temporary bases for more than ten years in hotels and lodges found mostly in rural towns. It is interesting to note that women writers such as Hemingway (2004:275) recognise that the unfortunate victims in the whole exercise of economic restructuring and development endeavour tend to be women. But nothing can be done in addressing the problem as the development system is so designed that institutions driving it relate through a set of rules of the game: "who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory, or object to emerge and be named, analysed, and eventually transformed into a policy or plan" (Escobar 2002:83). In this way inequality and certain forms of discrimination are reproduced while at the same time the claim is enhancing economic growth and lifting the poor and simultaneously directly and indirectly oppressing them. No wonder that issues are piled up in research documents and reports conducted on yearly bases in one area without practical implementation of the recommendations because the rules of the development game must keep 'poverty' intact in the development game; power and control at its best. It is no surprising that African countries, South Africa in particular are seen as trapped in a "vicious circle" of poverty and lack of capital, so that a good part of the "badly needed" would have to come from abroad. Escobar further argues that it then becomes absolutely necessary that the governments and international organisations take an active role in promoting and orchestrating the necessary efforts to overcome general backwardness and economic underdevelopment.

5.6   What about this perpetual poverty cycle?

Married women in the First World materially, are somehow better off than those in the Third World as they share in the takings from the Third World, although socially and emotionally they have made little progress. The taxes and interests that Third World and African countries pay to the west through Development Bank and International Monetary Fund plus the resources like land and minerals enable those countries to remain afloat and thus are able to support their citizens.   Unfortunately single women in the First World are almost in the similar situation as those in the Third World (UN Conference on Women, Copenhagen 1980).   These statements are obviously contradictory to what many people would expect tourism would offer because of false promises of the advocates of tourism development. Antrobus (1990) concurs with Kinnaird and Hall, (1994) and Selwyn, (1992) by saying that tourism incorporates developed countries into exploitative global economic system.

Tourism also is full of dissatisfying issues, like promotion of sex tourism that jeopardizes women where they are employed as sex workers. There is no researched information on effects of sex tourism in KwaZulu-Natal except what the media writes which is not much different from issues of exploitation of women and children by the rich people in Cape Town. In South Africa Cape Town is considered one of the world's top-10 sex tourism destination, consequently has adopted an international code of conduct to discourage the practice (Anel Powel August 2007; Cape Town to adopt code to curb 2010 sex tourism). A number of hotels have been warned by Mariette du Toit, the Chief Executive Officer of Cape Town Tourism on the drastic steps that will be

taken against anyone who would be engaging in harbouring women and children for sex tourism exploitation.

According to Mariette, in Cape Town one can order anything from uncut diamond, fresh sushi and a ten year old boy, all delivered to your door in less than 20 minutes and this is the ugly side of tourism. She further states: "Our message must very clear, Cape Town welcomes the world to or beautiful destination, but visitors who engage in sexual exploitation of women and children are not welcome". This is a general problem faced by the Third World countries like Brazil, Kenya, and India etc. where the scourge of sex tourism has turned women and children to commodities for men to fulfill their sexual desires. Women not regarded as equal human beings, who need to be treated with dignity and honour, but like any commodity that you pay for to satisfy a certain need without attaching any value to them. The South African hospitality industry bodies namely; South African Tourism Association, Fedhasa and South African Association for the Conference Industry have joined forces to prevent sex tourism from taking hold of South Africa (Mail &Guardian 31 October 2007). Can politics and policies really address this problem, if they can how, legalizing sex tourism or protecting the women and children against victimization? Is this the only best employment that tourism offers to women?

Scarborough and Zimmerer (2000:16) elude that women face discrimination at the workforce that is another challenge that women face whether she is an employee, employer or an executive officer. Instead of support they receive ridicule and frustrations of various forms from male counter parts. This results in women quitting the job places to venture into something better and satisfying. Consequently many

would opt for economic expression in entrepreneurship. The unfortunate part is that entrepreneurship is a package with its own rules and challenges. They run from one challenge and get to other different form of challenges. The development of female entrepreneurs is more than desirable as women represent 50% o of the South African population, but own approximately 33% of existing businesses inclusive of tourism ones and to be more precise even the ratio for business support is in the ratio 70/30 man-woman (Naidoo *et al.* 2005). In fact, male - owned businesses outnumber female – owned businesses by more than two to one (Women's Net 1999). The situation is different in countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE) this 50% women population owns about 77% of businesses and their fathers are behind the financial support that these women/daughters need (Jabeen 2010).

5.7 Women and Development: WID and GAD

"Gender equality: Gender equality between men and women means that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It signifies that there is no discrimination on the grounds of a person's gender in the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services". (National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs and TB 2012-2016)

I engage the above description of gender equality in order to demonstrate that despite the clear explanation of freedom of the sexes what gender equality means is translated differently by both men and women because of power relations that exist between the

two genders which is influenced by masculinity. While gender equality signifies that there is no discrimination on the grounds of a person's gender according to the South African Constitution, the reality is that women do not have equal access to certain resources or benefits such as land and or space, finance etc.   Tourism and entrepreneurship are the two economic development tools where inequality in participation is prevalent and glaring as my informants have attested.

The state of affairs of women in tourism and economic development has triggered me to review what Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) entail in order to explain the inequality that women experience in development initiatives, projects and programmes. I am using these two strands of thinking to evaluate their effectiveness and relevance in the South African in order to explore whether they can fully be applicable to address the concerns raised above. The dominant thinking within WID which "seeks to make women issues relevant to development by showing the positive synergies between investing in women and reaping benefits in terms of economic growth" (Razavi & Miller 1995: i). The argument the two authors raise of the political strategy in WID of making women's issues to be taken up by donor agencies is more controversial. The emphasis here falls on what women could contribute to development while their demands for gender equity became secondary. Although this controversy was raised in 1995 at the World Summit for Social Development it is disappointing that even in time of writing women inequality is still a subject in economic development as the cases of the experience of my informants show. How do you comprehend such a situation if women issues are not addressed even after several summits like Beijing in 1995, Nairobi in 1985 and Mexico in 1975/1976

what concerns were raised by feminists for women issues of inequality to be given a priority in development for all countries?

WID and GAD focus on areas of concern for women globally which emanate from social problems embracing men and women that require solutions affecting both genders (Razavi & Miller 1995: 3). Despite the clearly tabulated objectives of the Beijing Conference, women still lag behind up to today with regards to meaningful and effective participation in economic structures and policies as well as lack of institutional mechanisms to promote advancement women. While the integration of women into government's' gender issues through policies meant that government would be held accountable for economic policies and productive process according to United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), the absence of a women structure such as an institution or women organization to promote women advancement is a limiting factor. There is a shift of responsibility by the government for any accountability as it integrates women into economic mainstream through entrepreneurship after the economic downturn of 2008. If entrepreneurs fails the blame goes to them as they are self-employed and as they are expected to create jobs; presuming that women and men operate at same levels which the findings from my interviews prove to be the opposite.

As WID proved to be not addressing directly the concerns raised by women/feminists at conferences on women and development, the next level of women development Gender and Development (GAD) came into existence. In checking the viability of resolutions taken by WID in dealing with women issues I have used a policy schema identified by Moser (1993) which is a fivefold policy approaches for tourism and entrepreneurial

development. This fivefold schema entails welfare, equity, antipoverty, efficiency and empowerment. While examining women tourism entrepreneurs against these approaches I have discovered that there are no policies addressing directly the problems of access to resources such as finance and land or operation space. Even the training of women that has been identified as a necessity for women entrepreneurs; discriminate against women according to class meaning level of education as the facilitators speak above the level of the poorest of the poor. One of my informants P. P. raised her dissatisfaction about the way trainings conducted by facilitators. The conclusion I draw from women that are being integrated into informal enterprises is nobody meaning stakeholders in economic development cares much about the individual entrepreneur or about the effectiveness of training on the supposedly beneficiaries. This translates to, for planners the women issues centers on welfare, equity antipoverty, efficiency and empowerment. Any initiative resting on the five approaches is presumed to be inclusive of women and destined for success.

The observation by "female development professionals from their own experiences in overseas missions was modernization and other theories of development were impacting differently on men and women" (Razavi and Miller 1995). They argue that instead of development improving women's rights and status, it causes deterioration in the status of women. My argument is if modernization which is another term embedded in development that Cornwell calls "development buzzwords" treats women differently abroad where the WID and GAD were born how we hope that in countries like South Africa the same missions will succeed. Using gender as an economic tool for development with policies that favour macro than micro enterprises demonstrates not class capitalist division only but also women subordination as the policies are male

designed for the cooptation of women into the global market not for the betterment of women economically. Women are equated to objects used in an economic equation; people without history and mind.

In favouring macroeconomic development policies tend to leave out many people, the majority of which are women due to their discriminating approaches that are sugar coated in "improving the living standard and conditions of the poor. As much as I concur with some feminist theories it is important at this juncture to bring to the attention of the reader that these approaches do not fit well with the South African gender environment as most Black women do not regard themselves as inferior to men because their can negotiate their spaces and also our culture does not regard us as less important individuals in the society. Therefore the gender role framework does not apply to us as a variable for subordination because we exchange roles with men. I am drawing this argument from the claim feminists make that "Feminist theory aims not only to "empower women" but to advance critical analyses of intersecting structural hierarchies; that this entails not a critique of patriarchy but its complex conjunction with capitalism and racism" (Razavi & Miller 1995). The complexity of patriarchy is evident the South African context where women in KwaZulu Natal started resisting authoritative commands of men more than two centuries ago (refer to history of development and women in South Africa in chapter 2) before WID and GAD came into existence.

5.8 Conclusion

In South Africa little has been done in putting in place instruments guiding tourism economic development that includes women. Women tend to be excluded and

marginalized across a number of socio-economic male-dominated activities. Women are discriminated against, by the professional and business environments. Difficulty in getting through by women into tourism industry demonstrates that there is a global economic concentration of wealth in tourism. The fact that there are a small number of key players with linkages controlling aspect of the international tourism system is evidence of concentration of wealth in few individuals. South Africa is still in its infancy stage in recognizing the potential that women have in economic upliftment hence not much has been done practically in including as well as recognizing and supporting entrepreneurs in terms of incentives and other benefits as private investors enjoy. The efforts of public and private institutions to promote or develop women's entrepreneurship in developing countries will undoubtedly continue to benefit individual women entrepreneurs as well as development proponents. But, as long as the gender bias in the context in which entrepreneurship is embedded is left intact with women believed to be saviours in economic crisis situations, all the efforts remain in vain and without any significant social impact at local level. With all the money in the world, combined with an accumulation of 'good intentions' and 'great ambitions' maybe not much will change as long as those that enjoy the powers and privileges of the gender biased context will, make space or engage in the serious effort for social change. Taking on a feminist perspective might be a solution due to its 'political' nature in the sense that it intrinsically calls for change and alternatives. Feminist approaches sound commendable, however many of their efforts have been hijacked by mainstream development initiatives and strategies hence they are destroying than building. Because like poverty, the gender bias in entrepreneurship is not inevitable: people have created it, and thus can be overcome.

Illustration 13. Interview with Anushka, left (Uthungulu District Municipality).
Photos by Marian del Moral

Illustration 14. Rural Accommodation, Janet's Emthini Holiday Resort.
Photos by Sibongile Tshabalala

CHAPTER SIX: Data Analysis

6.1   Introduction

This chapter seeks to present the results of the interviews undertaken with women tourism entrepreneurs and district officials in four district municipalities of the province KwaZulu Natal. The perceptions that people have about women in tourism business have been added with concrete evidence obtained from responses of women and men in tourism entrepreneurship and the case studies of women in various tourism businesses like accommodation, crafters, tour operators, dancers, food and catering, and tour guiding. To achieve some desired goals, the various responses based on the fieldwork are presented and analysed in tabular form or graphics such as histograms, pie and linear graphs in order to bring out any model, pattern or paradigm pertaining to the study. I have focused more on my analysis and interpretation using field notes, ethnographic log, transcripts of interviews, and notes on interviews that I took to bring out any pattern or paradigm pertaining to the study.

The results further brought into light perceptions that women have about tourism women entrepreneurs and challenges faced by these women nevertheless most of their enterprises show growth. There is only one entrepreneur, Ndonga Bed and Breakfast in Umlazi that I found on wheelchair, no longer operating because of a stroke attack. I immediately associated that to the business because during my first interview with her in 2011/2012 she complained about the lack of support from tourism marketing division

of Ethekwini that is not promoting bed and breakfast for Black entrepreneurs in the townships. For example of a case cited above and many more to follow I utilized the process of data analysis and interpretation as it is an important mechanism in the investigation and evaluation of statistical information and narrated experiences towards making judgment about the respondents' views and perceptions. After the data collection had been undertaken the data was analysed and subsequent interpreted. The analysis of data is very important in finding out whether the objectives of the study have been met or not.

The process of data analysis and interpretation forms an important section of any research work. This is because conclusions and recommendations deduced are influenced by the findings emerging from the research analysis. In actual fact the success and failure of any research may be influenced by the skills and approaches used by the researcher in analyzing the collected data.

The hypotheses as tabulated in Chapter 1 (paragraph 1.4) postulate various issues pertaining to tourism and entrepreneurial economic development particularly for women. The hypotheses were tested ethnographically and scientifically to provide inferential and documentary material about women entrepreneurship in KwaZulu-Natal.

6.2 Women involvement in tourism development

The study has employed some intersections between gender and power differentiation based on the demographical characteristics such as gender, marital status, race, education level and income per month which have been identified by the researcher as being very important in determining the extent and nature of involvement of women in

tourism entrepreneurship. For example these characteristics will inform the reader of the categories that are more active and less active in enhancing economic growth in their particular areas and the possible reasons behind such behaviours. The reason for considering this part as important is because I want to determine whether issues such as race, level of education and social class and others can be impediments and if so how.

6.2.1 Gender categories

All categories of gender were included namely, males, females, homosexuals. The views and ideas that are inclusive of all categories ensures rich and well-informed piece of academic material. Although the focus was on women tourism entrepreneurs, the males interviewed helped the researcher to get the male point of view regarding women in tourism entrepreneurship. They seemed to be comfortable with women in business. The reason could be that the males interviewed could have been those who are partners to the women or husbands. They are therefore happy that women are complementing the household income, which makes the burden less heavy for them to provide for the families.

6.2.2 Age bracket

The age is important to determine the group that is actively involved in tourism entrepreneurship. The findings indicate that all brackets of the ages used in the questionnaires were found on site, although the young ones did not own due to problems of accessing finance for start-up capital. The women who owned businesses were found to be those who had used their savings and pension as capital to start their

businesses. According to this study these women have ages ranging from 35-45, 45-55 and 56 and more years that are adults and women qualifying for pension.

The young women found in business in many instances some acted as managers when the owner was not on site, others owned tour guiding companies that did not function well due to a number of reasons like lack of networking skills so as to get groups of tourists to take through nature-based attractions. The courses offered to these women when equipping them with skills that would qualify them to be employees not employers did not arm them with challenges of resources required for example vans for game drives and office technological equipment that requires huge capital so that they remain employees not employers. The observation was that even though they wanted to run their own companies they could not because of the infrastructure needed like offices suitable located, preferable in cities, expensive and reliable transport to take tourists around like, 4X4 Safari vans, cruise boats, coaches and so forth. Consequently these young women end up guiding tourists through game reserves and lakes and telling tourists about species found in those environments, at prices determined by the company that has outsourced them only.

These young women fall in the age bracket 24-34, which is school leaving in South African terms where you are expected to start working and earning an income. Lack of support in start-up funds lend them as employees by chain hotel or any hospitality companies with reputation and other seasoned tour operating companies, usually private owned and operating in community areas. Women are employed by these companies because of their efficient role in service excellence that categorise them for front office work where they receive tourists not engaging in administration and management of the

facility. Women entrepreneurs have a problem of competing with big conglomerate tourism companies namely Safaris and holiday inns that own a chain of tourism facilities in more than one country in Southern Africa.

According to the young women found in Saint Lucia Lake, who owned a tour guiding company her business did not function well due to a number of reasons like lack of groups of tourists she would take through nature-based and cultural attractions. Besides that the infrastructure needed like offices suitable located, preferable in cities were impossible for the Black rural young girls to attain. Furthermore the provision of expensive and reliable transport to take tourists around like, 4x4 Safari vans, cruise boats, coaches and so forth were way far from the trained and certificated tour guides, just a wishful thinking for these girls. Consequently these young women end up being employed by big companies, guiding tourists through game reserves and lakes found in those environments, at prices determined by the company that has outsourced them only.

These young women fall in the age bracket 24-34, and would be outsourced by seasoned big tour operating companies, usually privately owned and operating in community areas. Other women employed by these companies are identified because of their efficient role in hospitality and service excellence. They are deployed in front office for warmly receiving tourist never in for example financial administration and management roles. Thus continuing with their role of assisting in serving men owned and operated enterprises. Women therefore face a problem in competing with big conglomerate tourism companies that own a chain of tourism facilities in more than one

country for the same international tourists. These companies end up absorbing them into their businesses where they play subordination roles.

The business cards that the municipalities such as Ethekwini provide as a form of support to the tourism entrepreneurs are not sufficient to draw tourists to the townships or rural areas. Websites have become new forms of marketing and few Black women tourism entrepreneurs have access to such a facility as creating a website demands a lot of money from them. Consequently they rely more on word of mouth marketing strategy or being visible on the major routes and transport convergence points as in the case with crafters. Accommodation facilities rely on municipalities' tourism facilities' promotion and marketing strategies. The hotels are the ones that get tourists first as tour-operators use traveling packages that are all inclusive. In that way entrepreneurs in the townships rely on domestic tourists who attend events and ceremonies as well as rituals in cities like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, P.P. explained that she gets tourists from Gauteng who would be attending weddings, graduation ceremonies and those visiting beaches during summer holidays. It emerged from her talk that White tourists have never come to have a sleep over at her place.

On the other hand, Janet does receive White groups or couples although they would not stay for more than two nights at her 'Emthini Holiday Resort". The location of the facility plays a major role in the type of tourists that visit the place. Ndonga in Umlazi (Interview done in 2011) made it very clear that tourists are not encouraged to visit townships. She lamented on the issue of Black tourism entrepreneurs coming together to form their own association that will market facilities for Black people as she felt that

not much is done in promoting their tourism facilities by municipalities that they had affiliated to as members.

Different people in South Africa hold different meaning to economic policies, for example the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 (Jesmond and Blumenfield 1996).

6.2.3 Marital status

The majority of women in the tourism industry are single, widowed and or divorced but there also those married although in minority. They have started businesses to complement their salaries as some were found to have another job, as the source of income and the business became the source of the second income. Women as home managers whether single or married opted to venture to entrepreneurship because the income was not enough to enable them to run homes and families in a way they wanted. Entrepreneurship to them provided an opportunity to better their livelihood they have been hoping for, for a long time. Therefore these women both single and married seized the opportunity in tourism entrepreneurship.

Illustration 15. Race distribution. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Black	103	68.7
Coloured	10	6.7
Indians	27	18.0
Whites	10	6.7
Total	**150**	**100.0**

The majority interviewed 68.7% were Black women, 6.7% of women interviewed were whites and coloureds each, and the 18% was Indians only. Black women are the ones

who still have more difficulty in getting access to entrepreneurship in general and tourism businesses in particular. The 18%, which is Indian, truly reflects the Indian population group being the second largest group to Blacks in KwaZulu Natal. Illustration 13 above shows race distribution of people that were interviewed that were found on site and others at workshops and exhibitions in the four municipality districts where the study was conducted in KwaZulu Natal.

These percentages correspond to the population figures for each race in KwaZulu Natal. The majority of respondents (69%) were Black, although that per cent might increase if crafters are included, as there are a lot of Black women involved in crafts and vendors in the province who are considered as Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs). It is interesting though to note that women of all racial groups in the province are involved in tourism entrepreneurship and these shows the keen interests women have in entrepreneurship.

6.2.4 Education level

Regarding education level as reflected in the table below, the majority of interviewees 66.7% had tertiary or University degree qualification, others who formed 13.3% had tertiary qualification (vocational, FET colleges) and 13.3% being grade 11-12. The lowest percentage of 6.7% is women with Grade A to Grade 7. Fortunately the researcher never came across a woman who owned the tourism related business facility without a minimum of literacy. Illustration 16 below provides the information on the responses about education level of the interviewees.

Roggerson and Visser (2004:15) when identifying factors that constrain the expansion and transformation of South African tourism industry; tourism education, human resource skilling and the role of new Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) provides the idea of how critical the importance of education in tourism. This is another cluster of research activity on its own, education and entrepreneurship in economic development.

Illustration 16. Education level. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala
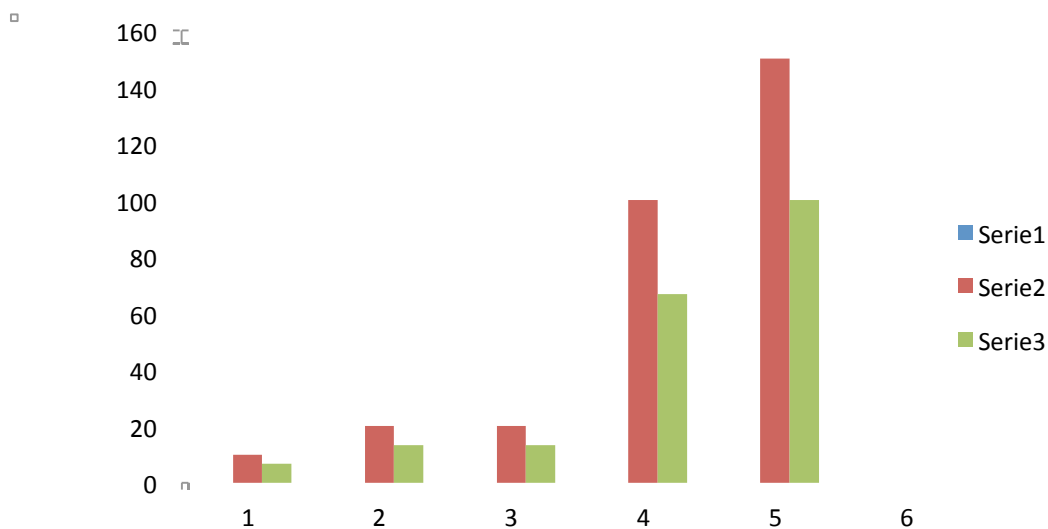
The responses indicate that women need education in tourism to be able to deal with day-to-day entrepreneurial responsibilities, as their customers are both domestic and international. Technology is a critical communication tool and language in tourism business that requires continuous education at a certain level. Better and true education leads to enlightenment and critical thinking for better performance and accountability in seeing the best service being delivered to beneficiaries and recipients. World Tourism Organisation (WTO 2001) found that there is a strong correlation between a woman's beliefs in having knowledge, skills and experience to start a formal business and her

likelihood of starting. The findings in KwaZulu Natal showed that 80% (66.7+13.3) % women with University degree and tertiary respectively are involved in tourism business which tallies with literature and at the same time affirming the hypothesis. Besides the findings further indicate that 64% of women owning and running tourism enterprises have tertiary education, furthermore about 72% indicated that they need training in various business relate skills for them to perform well. These women are advocating the importance and relevance of education in entrepreneurship. The 64% of women having tertiary education should not be confused with 48% of women owning tourism businesses.

When answering questions pertaining to the kind of tourism businesses women are involved with, the ownership status, the length of time in the business and type of businesses in their local areas operated by women, the responses were as follows:

Most of women tourism entrepreneurs (70%) got involved in tourism enterprises after the new democratic change, especially towards the 2010 FIFA soccer world cup, except a few White ladies (10.7%) mostly divorced who owned businesses during the Apartheid period. Table – (on the number of years spent in the business) further reflects that 3% of women have spent between 13 and 15 years in the business. The 3% could include some few Indians and Coloureds or other racial groups besides Black and White women entrepreneurs. Most of the entrepreneurs who are in tourism business had taken early retirement, are medically bordered or did not have any employment alternative.

The Table 4 below indicates the percentage of people who owned tourism businesses; 48% found in the business were owners, whereas 52% did not own. Most of the women found on site were managers, others supervisors and or standing for the owner like the

daughter manager. One can deduce that a lower percentage (48%) of women are involved in tourism businesses as owners which tallies with the hypothesis that there is a low participation of women in tourism entrepreneurial ventures.

Illustration 17. Women owning tourism businesses. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	64	42.7
No	86	57.3
Total	**150**	**100**

The low participation of women in tourism enterprises could be attributed to a number of reasons like traditional attitudes that women are not creative and that culture prohibit them from engaging in what was used to be a man's thing as most literature alludes to that. Furthermore women tend to shy away from risk taking, because they are afraid of failure (Morrison 1997). Other women are presumed to lack creativity and appropriate education. When women were asked what they think the reasons might be of low participation the majority indicated that capital to start the business was the biggest obstacle resulting in the low participation.

Table 5 beneath reflects that 40% are owners as against 59.9% (23.6% and 36.3%) who form partners and are managers in establishments respectively. Reviewing literature and mostly survey based, I have learnt that women consistently come out as more fearful in risk taking of which one of my respondents, a male, refuted it during the interview. Babo (Interview 26 August 2013) stated: *"In the South African context women have more courage than men to venture into businesses"*. In attesting to this he argued that his wife is not scared of taking risks, as a result she was the first one to quit the job with security as an educator and ran the guesthouse successfully. Her bravery gave them the courage to establish a hotel as a family business in the city centre of Durban. The result

of 65 % of entrepreneurs being in tourism related activities from the first quantitative interviews supports the fact that women are also risk takers. My claim is the risk that they seem to be fearful of is engaging in big businesses like transnational which fear I argue has its origin in the societal cultural constructs, where women are expected to be working around homes. But as culture is not static seeing more women in entrepreneurship as a way of increasing income in order to improve their economic conditions within families does not surprise me. Even historically women have been producers for their families sharing the responsibility with men.

Illustration 18. Female involvement in business. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Owner	60	40
Partner	35	24
Manager	55	36
Total	**150**	**100**

The researcher found that women in tourism businesses especially those that are successful do not single handily run or own the businesses, but they work with the male counterparts as partners or are employed as managers. Those who are sole traders are either the woman is, single, widowed, and or pensioned and are found mostly within the accommodation sector. Most of the younger ones in the business, ventured because they wanted to supplement their salaries and hence thinking of maximizing the profit. The tourism business is likely to receive less attention as their focus is divided into the normal career they have to secure and the business they own and have to operate it professionally. A good example here is Ms Khumalo who owns a Bed and Breakfast at Harding, Umzwabantu Local Municipality that falls under UGu district municipality.

The reason for women to have a second income might be that the salary from the career is not adequate to give women the kind of lifestyle they wish to live as well as supporting her extended family. At the same time they feel insecure to completely leave the profession or career for the businesses that they are uncertain of because of on and off threats of economic meltdown. The obvious reason for uncertainty is due to a lot of challenges facing women in entrepreneurship.

Table 5 has shown that there is only 40% of women who own tourism businesses the 60% is shared amongst those who are partners and those who are employed as managers in the business for other people. These businesses are owned by investors, or private companies, public organisations such as municipalities, NGOs agencies and or any entity run by males. While some women in tourism enterprises do not have outright ownership of the facilities, running them professionally and in an economic viable manner is quite notable. The delayed venturing of women, hence lower percentage of women tourism facility or product owner is undoubtedly due to challenges women encounter in mostly all spheres of life, such as receiving no recognition of existence and contributors to economic development.

Illustration 19. Kind of businesses involving women. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Bed and Breakfast	45	30	30
Guest House	17	11.3	11.3
Hotel	15	10	10
Restaurant	5	3.3	3.3
Kiosk	20	13.3	13.3
Camp site	5	3.3	3.3
Game Reserve	5	3.3	3.3
Other	38	25.3	25.3
Total	**150**	**100**	**100**

Illustration 19 above indicates that women are involved in a variety of tourism enterprises like bed and breakfast, guest houses, hotels, restaurants, kiosks/ crafts, campsites, providing tents for hire, game reserves as managers. The results further indicate that a larger percentage of 30% bed and breakfast, 11.3% and10% guest houses and hotel respectively, meaning women are involved in accommodation establishments which they run with success compared to those in restaurant and game reserves which is 3% each. The reason for this may be traditionally, women started working within the confines of their homes serving as bookkeepers for their husbands. Consequently most women become exposed to businesses while working from home. This trend is carried to situations where they opt to operate businesses that have component(s) of a home like a restaurant, guesthouse, catering, and tents and catering equipment for hire. Here the woman finds herself giving or assisting people expecting satisfaction through gratitude more than money in return. It is in these kinds of businesses where women perform exceedingly well.

Removing women from the home environment makes them to have less focus and thus poor performance in business. Hence the findings reflect that 3% for each case of women are involved in game reserves and campsite businesses as they are both found outside home environment. This figure is an indication of a number of possibilities that alluded to attitudes and work culture. Because of discrimination in certain types of businesses and because of gender related problems women are seen as not fitting in wildlife or Safari enterprises. As long as the business is within the confinements of home vicinity they do well. Getting people around who notice the positive change and appreciate in her family's living standard brought by improvement in economic status works as a stimulus for women.

Besides the researcher concurs with what Renuka Vishwananthan (2001:10) said: "Empirical evidence shows that women contribute significantly to the running of family businesses mostly in the form of unpaid effort and skills." Present day women tend become partners to their husbands by choice or comprise in order to get support rather than alienation. As the business turns to be "family business" remuneration and security terms thereof are not clearly tabulated as benefits accrue to family members. This trend has continued even when they become entrepreneurs, operating from home still finds best preference from women despite inherent societal perceptions and challenges.

6.4 Challenges/ obstacles hindering women

When responding to the questions such as challenges or obstacles during entry into the business, sourcing start-up funds, difficulties during the first six months, capacity for running the business, circumstances where entrepreneurs felt they were discriminated against because of gender, market and marketing assistance, the findings affirm the hypothesis that there exist challenges that are faced by women in tourism businesses.

Illustration 20. Responses to Challenges. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala
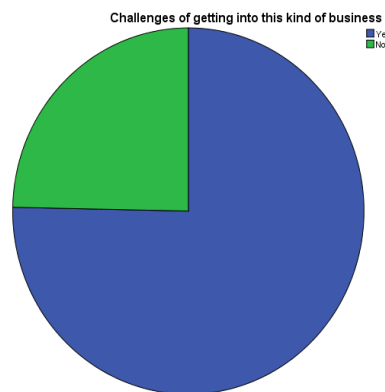
The Graph (Illustration 20) above shows that 75% of respondents face a number of challenges when entering business ventures like access to land/site, financial muscle, and lack of relevant skills, management experience, entrepreneurial mind, culture, financial management and other forms of support. The 25% of respondents who have less challenges might be a few businesswomen entrepreneurs who might have inherited the businesses from their parents. In addition, the 25% could be the White women who form 6.7% (refer to the table above), as whites are considered to be more privileged than other races from the past eras. The findings affirm the hypothesis that obstacles such as culture, difficulty in accessing financial assistance from banks hinders women from participating meaningfully in tourism entrepreneurial ventures.

Observations show that the worst of the challenges facing most women in tourism entrepreneurship are the market and marketing. Although the main role and focus of the White Paper on Tourism Development in KwaZulu Natal (2008), is to support women in tourism entrepreneurship which is the government's economic development priority; factors such as access to finance, capacity building, access to markets and mainstreaming of informal and rural women's enterprises, the exercise seems not being producing noticeable positive results for women. The challenges seem to be escalating than diminishing and the said support is not benefitting women entrepreneurs because women still face these challenges.

When asked about the capacity of women to run their businesses (Illustration 21 below) 31.3% indicated that women have the capacity. This is quite a low percentage compared to 38.7% and 30% of respondents who adamantly said no they cannot and those who

were not sure. The total of 68.7% forms the majority of people who for certain reasons indicate that women do not have the capacity to run businesses.

Illustration 21. Women's capacity to run their business. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala
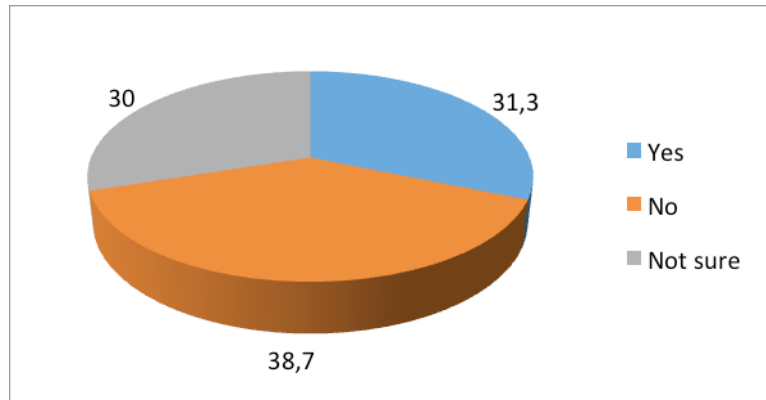
Reasons for women not to be able to run businesses accordingly may be that they do not have the knowhow and ability in running the businesses due to social background and or environment for their up-bring. At home boys are regarded as more capable than girls to engage in more challenging activities. Hence women carry that stigma with them even to the business world. That is why in most successful businesses one finds women working in partnership with their spouses.   Some married women are constrained to run businesses by their spouses. The husbands take them for their secretaries or some kind of treasurers. They do not see them as partners in business.

In extreme cases the society does not support businesses that are operated by women. The findings confirm what Botha *et al.* (2006) regard as attitudinal, cultural and societal barriers. The findings concur with writers such as Brown (1997) who saw the limited education and vocational training in developing countries as barriers in running of businesses in a successful manner. Besides collateral to access loans for growing the

businesses is another financial hindrance, and poor credit history, Brown (1997) argues that although males are also equally affected by the financial barrier, the situation with women is worse.

Illustration 22. Businesses operated by women in your municipality. Source: Sibongile Tshabalala

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Valid accommodation	37	25
Crafts	26	17
Inability to multitask	5	3
Transport	10	7
Dance	25	17
Food / Catering	16	12
Tour guiding	5	3
Others	26	17
Total	**150**	**100**

The responses (illustration 22 above) demonstrate that in most municipalities women are involved in the following enterprises: accommodation businesses (25%), crafts (17%), dance (17%), food/catering (12%), tour guiding (3%). The table further reflects that the majority (25%) of women are involved in accommodation enterprises. The "others" variable, which makes 17%, could be enterprises that are predominantly male dominated, those are own and run by males. Since the study focuses on women operated and owned businesses, consequently that option is not elaborated on. Although the percentages of involvement of women in these enterprises are low, they nevertheless indicate that women are involved in tourism enterprises. With focused workshops and trainings geared at addressing women entrepreneurs' needs or challenges who are already in business, women can sustain their businesses which in turn contribute to economic growth of local areas through paying levies and other taxes as well as providing job opportunities for local people.

Women entrepreneurs at times tend not to venture into male – dominated businesses like transport or tour operating businesses; if they do their counterparts as well as their male employees look them down upon. For these reasons successful businesses operated by women tend to be very limited or scarce. The hypothesis that there are obstacles hindering women from participating meaningfully in tourism entrepreneurial ventures is affirmed.

6.5 Tourism entrepreneurs

Face to face interviews with women tourism product owners were conducted in four tourism districts in KwaZulu Natal. Furthermore officials, namely managers and officers from tourism municipality offices were issued with questionnaires to verify and strengthen the validity of the respondents in terms of locality and ownership and being in entrepreneurship with the tourism industry. The reason for issuing questionnaires during my first visits was to demonstrate that there are women entrepreneurs in tourism enterprises and to check their concerns about problem areas in participation in the industry. The respondents were identified on the bases of ownership and also managing or running the enterprise on behalf of the owner when the owner is not full time on site. It was not easy to obtain information like the database on women tourism entrepreneurs from the district municipal offices, as they did not have such information. eThekwini Municipality or Durban Metro for example provided me with a list of all entrepreneurs in the metro without an indication whether the entrepreneur was male or female. One would tell or figure out by the name if it was provided in full but otherwise there were surnames and initials, which made the situation to be worse. The sample size of 150,

comprised of 130 women and 15 men and 5 lesbians' tourism entrepreneurs was used to make it as inclusive of all population groups in terms of gender and sexual orientation.

The first interview questionnaire for women entrepreneurs consisted of 44 open-ended types and 8 close-ended types of questions. These questions were broadly categorized as follows:

- The nature of women involvement in tourism development.

- Ways of meaningful involvement of women in the tourism businesses.

- Challenges that women entrepreneurs face in the tourism industry.

- The nature of policies regarding women issues.

- Perceptions on women that limit them from effective participation.

The second interviews which were more qualitative ethnographically gave each informant ample time to relate her and or his experience in a narrative manner at the workplace. My analysis is structured based on the themes such as economic exclusion of women which emerge from entrepreneurial structural development design empowerment and or disempowerment aimed at poverty alleviation by the state. This conditioning incorporates inequality that marginalizes women even further. Discrepancies such as women perpetually needing assistance with dispossession in the process that is perceived differently by those who bring assistance and the beneficiaries of assistant sets up controversy in the whole saga of women aid and integration in entrepreneurial economic development. The interpretation of data collected thus affirms the twist interwoven in women programmes and initiatives for their economic enhancement. I will describe the interview of each informant held in the month of August 2013 as I have attested in the chapter on methodology. I will explain the origins

of each informant and the sociocultural background that influence his or her thinking in entrepreneurial engagement. I will therefore support the arguments to the claims through synthesizing the data each case raised in support of the study.

6.6 How development plays out in the tourist field

In order to unpack this section I draw on the experience of crafters that I spent time with in the field. The crafters constitute a larger percentage of self-employed women in KwaZulu Natal yet they form the most neglected and unrecognized group in the tourism sector as far as attending to their needs by municipalities, NGOs and private investors. Venturing to entrepreneurship by this group is not a business opportunity. They have been in the production of grass, clay, wood, and even metal items since time immemorial as a form of exchange or trade in their localities. To them weaving, pottery, wood carving has been a skill that has been transferred from mother to daughter and father to son. When the tourism authorities saw it deemed to incorporate them into the tourism industry as the 'untapped' sector that could enhance economic growth, no proper strategies were put in place into their meaningful involvement. After being incorporated they faced a variety of problems which emerged every time I met them along highways, at transport convergence nodes in Durban Station, Berea Station, Bus and taxi Ranks and train stations in cities and towns townships; and also at stakeholder meetings within municipalizes, **the most pressing issue being the space for operating their businesses**. Most of the Black crafters did not have a market place because they cannot afford renting a curio shop because of the class they fall under or their *situatedness* as individuals in hotels and cities building blocks as their White counterparts do. Consequently they use pavements in cities to sell their products or

outside the markets; Warwick Early Indian Market and the Victoria Market for Indians and White in Durban. The history of discrimination and segregation in South Africa is observed in all areas of operation hence affirming the hypothesis that "There is a low participation of women in tourism entrepreneurial ventures as a result of layers of discrimination such as race, gender/sex and class differences".

Crafters on the pavements at Durban station complained a lot about the **harassment by metro policemen** who would arrest and confiscate the stock they sell. The women I interviewed raised the concern of not being recognized as equal human beings but treated like inferiors yet the informal entrepreneurs Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) contribute indirectly and directly to the economy. They are employing their qualified daughters who are unemployed people from even outside the country such as Zimbabwe who said that the business is good on the pavements. Women there make more money than the salaried teachers a month (Interview August 27, 2013).

This is the result of no space for trading of crafters, what is even worse is that if they do allocate a space for crafters such as stalls at UMnini Shell Utra-City, there is no signage that indicates to the motorists and tourists that there are craft stalls at the back. When they complained to the company that built the stalls they threatened them by closing the company because the women decided not to pay rent. Crafters have shown resistance to relevant authorities when there things they are not happy like being invisible at a place where every other business is advertised on the billboard except the craft stalls. This resistance action led to the stalls to be closed for a period of a year even after their reopening there is still no signage put in place for their existence behind the big

international restaurants. The explanation they offered the crafters was that to put the signage on the billboard is expensive and they cannot afford to pay for it and the municipality could not assist in that regard. This is an indication that women voices are not heard and there is no one who is willing to listen and address their concerns.

In the case of Durban station despite of becoming members of Self Employed Women Union (SEWU), the union is not being effective in being a voice for women. This union was established in 1993 and has been in office for 20 years, from the interview was done in August 2013. Women crafters and vendors are paying for membership without benefiting and the union is affiliated to Britain and the directors are the only ones that benefit while women are being **exploited** as they pay membership fee on monthly basis.

In the craft business the **huge problem is the middle man** that would come and exploit women by taking their craft items for exhibition in Craft Trade Faire in the country and abroad and promise that they will get a lot of money once the items are sold. This does not often come true that is why I refer to it as exploitation or rip-off. According to women that would be the last day they hear anything about the items, which have been taken. There is one Black rural woman who was bussed to Johannesburg by a White woman to make beaded necklaces, wristbands and headgear at the exhibition table for her during World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 1999. Delegates and tourist would place an order according to colour and design choice that this crafter would bead whilst the tourists move around. In no time she would be finished and the item would be sold there and then. The shocking news was that after four days of exhibition the woman was only paid R1000.00, which is less currently less than 100 euros. The exhibitor made dollars because of this crafter who was playing two roles; a

producer and promoter on site. The hypothesis that "There are still challenges that face women tourism entrepreneurs in most tourism businesses" is affirmed above.

Most of the owners of curio shops use rural women to do beaded items for them and buy from these women at prices determined by the women who have **more power**. Although Anushka reflected that crafters charge exorbitant prices the reality is that some of them become exposed to such rates when they are taken to exhibition and trade shows by their lady bosses and that is where they learn about uncalculated amounts. The same applies to Ilala Weavers at Hluhluwe. Women were formed into a cooperative that serves the owner of the curio shop. It is for these reasons that they prefer to sell on the pavements and survive by dodging the police every day.

6.4 Conclusion

Problematic issues in entrepreneurship cannot be solved by only providing finance, training, supporting policies network skills, Ahl (2006) but by tackling the power relations and government structures in the gendered environment of entrepreneurship. Policies in South Africa have tried to address issues on the surface but the context (power relations) of the entrepreneur is always left intact and unaffected. The woman is seen as an individual out of context and that is why some women are in business by names for men to access benefits from state programmes which have been made to address women in terms of integrating them to the mainstream economy but disguised as poverty alleviation programmes (News24 16 April 2015).

Relationships that female entrepreneurs forge with people within their communities and their clients are numerous and reflect a different form of relations developed by women

in tourism business which do not adhere to the market rules and business principles, but which are informed by the cultural values and norms of a society where a human being is respected and seen as an equal member then should not feel ostracized and excluded by laws and regulation. Hence these women come with their own creative ways of networking in the form of collective assistance and upliftment in groups of different sizes. The relationship can be bound by companionship, economic status bonds, like PP introducing her neighbour into converting her house into a bed and breakfast like her.

Illustration 23. Janet dressed in black, the owner of rural Emthini Holiday Resort.
Photos by Marian del Moral

CHAPTER SEVEN: Summary, findings and recommendations

7.1 Theories, Sources and Methods

The thesis sought to explore entrepreneurship, development and tourism in South Africa. In doing so, I drew on theories of on development by Fergusons and Escobar as well as some feminists Amadiume (1998). This was done so that I could argue for economic development that is not development in the case of women's lives in KwaZulu Natal South Africa. What the dissertation showed to some part development that comes with hopelessness and slow death instead of giving life to people especially women.

The thesis showed that there are rigid and stereotype laws that come with the new civilisations in many countries but tend to cause confusion and conflicts instead of improving the living standards of people that they purport to realize. Historically women in Africa and Europe occupied better positions and had better freedom in performing their responsibilities and daily activities than what they are positioned to do now under stringent controls and checks.

In chapter one, I focused on changes to 'foreign investment or donors in women entrepreneurs as key drivers for growth and development', where they boost them through loans they take for starting businesses. How do we then explain development in

terms of 'poverty alleviation', taking into cognisance that women are regarded as a group trapped in 'poverty' hence needing 'saving' by international community. Is investing the same as poverty alleviation?

In doing so, I examined broad theories of empowerment through integration by Cornwall and Batliwala (2010) where they converge and how they relate to the life situation in South Africa as articulated or not articulated by the Tourism Polices in the government's Tourism White Papers of 1996 and 2008. I found that I also had to critically view the objectives of the national Tourism White Paper 1996 which states that municipalities should recognize tourism as an integral part of local economic development and ensure adequate resourcing of the tourism function in conjunction with integrating women in economic development in KwaZulu Natal Tourism White Paper 2008. What I found is that the vagueness of this statement leaves women with limited space for participation, as it is just quiet about how communities are supported by and benefit from the resourcing. Throughout the dissertation I have shown how the municipalities distribute those resources in a gendered and exploitative manner. The KwaZulu Natal Tourism White Paper 2008 will be examined further in order to determine its articulation of policies about women participation in tourism entrepreneurship. I found that drawing use also Mohanty's (2003) vision of a world of economic stability, ecological stability, racial equality, and the redistribution of wealth to reach the larger marginalized population of the country. My arguments in this regard are supported by the respondents' views in case studies from district municipalities in KwaZulu Natal.

Overall, the findings from research indicate that, only about 40% to 43% of women own businesses in tourism in KwaZulu Natal as was shown in chapter 6 of the dissertation. Furthermore 57% of the women involved in entrepreneurship do not have ownership rights due to a number of reasons prohibiting them from ownership. Consequently, these are the obstacles to consider which also emanate from the family and societal conditioning that reduce the confidence, independence and mobility of women as serious hurdles barring them in meaningful participation. What I have shown is that constraints faced by women entrepreneurs on the ground on daily bases in businesses especially whether they operate as partners or single are far above the constraints of all other entrepreneurs and they are:

- Access to and control over financial and productive resources;

- Access to collateral and access to land;

- Access to training, information, markets due to occupational segregation;

- Household responsibilities hence reduced mobility and

- Cultural norms and attitudes toward women as entrepreneurs

The evident low participation of women in entrepreneurship emanates from a history of domination, subordination, exclusion, lack of support and discrimination which is perpetrated by race, culture, religion, laws and regulations that are silent about the nature of women's involvement in economic growth. The observation is the South African case is a bit skewed. That is, the Blacks who share unequally the national resources with Whites, Indians and Coloureds (previously advantaged groups) are in the majority, yet have only recently received citizenship in the country and in that way still lag behind in development benefits. The condition of inequality makes issues of

economic development system more complicated and difficult to comprehend especially at the local level. The twist can be noticed and observed in empowerment and affirmative action programmes' implementation, of which are gendered and political. Programmes that are meant to reach women entrepreneurs fail to directly improve women's conditions because women tourism entrepreneurs experience exclusion, through their names only being used in men's businesses but not actually getting a chance to participate in them as owners. Women entrepreneurs operate as 'baits' for starting businesses and end up invisible in economic development. In this view, women are not utilizing their creativity, skills, strategies and experiences maximally in economic development because of marginalization and inequality. Some cultural practices and religion have aggravated the condition women are positioned in, and like any other distressed group, the condition they are in makes them to believe that changing the situation would be an inevitable.

The African continent has suffered through colonialism. In South Africa, Dutch settlers were the colonizers. From their occupation a new language emerged and cultural community emerged known as the Afrikaners. A policy of segregation known as Apartheid (which means separate living) was established and solidified in 1945. Consequently racial discrimination along with inequality was prevalent. Through the Land Act of 1913 which only allocated 13% of the land to Black and the large percentage was given to the White settlers, Blacks survived through tilling the barren land and working as farm labourers for White "baas" bosses. Along these divisions and inequalities, there were further tensions within the Coloured and Indian minorities and these tensions can still be seen present day. For a further discussion on colonialism and

Apartheid in South Africa see the historical background to entrepreneurship and tourism economic development.

Tourism and entrepreneurship have been used for economic growth as tools by the government. The politics of economic growth has embedded misconceptions for ordinary people in South Africa who are at the margins. The terms that are used in development to promote development plans and strategies are so confusing that the initiatives or programmes for economic empowerment in reality on the ground are disempowering the people they are designed to empower. The policies that safeguard economic development are silent about directly addressing the issues of concern faced by women.

Access to finance in South Africa is not equal across all its citizens. Race and gender remains some main of the important variables in the lack of access. The African women are at the bottom of list because of their double discrimination compared to other women in the country. How do we then explain economic assistance in terms of 'poverty alleviation', taking into cognisance that women are regarded as a group trapped in 'poverty' hence needing 'saving' by international community. Is investing in women through finance the same as poverty alleviation? Finance is a key component in entrepreneurial development and access to it by all business people especially women is critical economic factor for growth.

The problems faced by women regarding land issues are huge and I am following this particular case (transfer of the title deed to a widow) since 1958, which happens to be my mother because up today 2015 the case has not been resolved. We work with the system that does not regard women as equal beings who can obtain land occupation

with ease. I also experienced the same problem when I wanted to buy land in a rural community that my deal could not be finalised if I did not have a husband or male figure to approve the deal on my behalf. Such cases need women to form forums that would deliberate on problematic issues they face and take the matter up with the structures.

There is no need for Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) to aspire to global market, which is not prepared to cater for their needs in its grafting policies. The inclusion and integration into mainstream economic development of women is dependent on complete and constant submission. Maybe operating small in their areas and locality is another way of demonstrating their capability and thus their "voice in action". SMMEs need to address the socioeconomic problems of poverty and hunger at local level. The hunger will be dealt with meaningfully through subsistence farming where women are experts in organizing field production. Women entrepreneurs especially accommodation owners and vendors have proved that local market can sustain their businesses, so why should they think of expansion as being global rather than local.

Women through their creativity have come up with a number of inventions, which have been unfortunately snatched away from them by men. Madam Curie was not alone in this, in the South African situation women came up with collective savings "*stokvel*" which money they use for their family needs in various ways like paying school and University tuition fees for their children. They also do group buying or collective buying to avoid high bank charges. Furthermore they came up with the idea of "*shebeens*", likewise they were snatched and are now termed taverns and run

predominantly by men. Vending has been part and parcel of women since the beginning of trading. They initially started by moving door to door to sell fruits and vegetables, and the children would be doing the selling after school.

Doing informal business has made Black women to survive through decades, without feeling shame and ignoring any stigma attached to them as being recognized as the "poorest" group of the population. What does this all tell of a woman? These inventions mean they can deconstruct the stigma and labels of being weak that women wear, rather focusing on the positive contribution they make to the society, which defines who really women are.

Relationships that female entrepreneurs forge with people within their communities and their customers are numerous and reflect a different form of relations developed by women in tourism business which do not adhere to the market rules and business principles, but which are informed by the cultural values and norms of a society where a human being is respected and seen as an equal member, than should not feel ostracised and excluded by laws and regulations. Hence these women come with their own creative ways of collective assistance and upliftment in groups of different sizes. The relationship can be bound by companionship, economic status bonds, like PP introducing her neighbour into converting her house into a bed and breakfast like her. Women in business do not focus on maximizing the profit only but on how else can the business benefit the local community in terms of their daily needs. In the rural areas the services that are directly sourced by the entrepreneur for her business such as water and electricity benefits the local people in the area as well.

Chapter 2 engaged claims brought forth by a number of authors referring to development as planned poverty and or under-development to argue the form of development/ empowerment Black women are positioned in as reflected in institutions, policies and culture. Important critiques in this are Escobar; 'The Making and Unmaking of the Third World through Development'; Ferguson, Development and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho; Illich with his Development as Planned Poverty; Simmons, 'Women in Development' A threat to Liberation.

In chapter 3 I have used ethnography because it entails both the basic classical ethnographic research and qualitative and quantitative methods. I have done so because I wanted to have a clear understanding of the problematic conditions under which women entrepreneurs operate especially those in the tourism industry. The methods employed in this research are grounded within the critical social science framework. Critical social science is a "critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves. For this study I used specifically ethnography of participant observation because my aim is to understand the role of entrepreneurship as a tool for economic development and poverty alleviation among women.

In chapter 4 I tried to translate how problems women entrepreneurs encounter relate to discrimination on race, gender, class as well as other axis intersecting in entrepreneurial growth, using practical issues raised by my interviewees during my field work in July-August 2013 as well as interviews conducted from 2009 and 2011. These issues are access to finance, land, and space for operating, market, and lack of relevant support

from the government for accessing bulk raw materials, and irrelevant and inefficient training programmes.

Research into female entrepreneurship and the role of women as proprietors and employers has until comparatively recently been largely neglected as an area of serious academic study. Women have therefore been not regarded as subjects deserving equal attention as men do, because of marginalization. Despite involvement of women in entrepreneurship, stereotypes still believe women's attachment to conventional entrepreneurial ideals of individualism and self-reliance as choice for women to accept gender roles of subordination to men.

Chapter fived showed that tourism is regarded as a modern-day engine of growth and is one of the largest industries globally. In 2012, G20 heads of state recognised tourism as a driver of growth and development, as well as a sector that has the potential to spur global economic recovery. The monopoly exerted by tourism in developing countries like South Africa, emanates from the political and economic point of view as in United Kingdom where few companies control 90% of outbound charter capacity. These companies own tour-operator businesses in the United Kingdom and abroad, own hotels, self-catering accommodation, airlines, cruise ships and retail chains. The tourism businesses in South Africa are chain hotels such as Holiday Inns, Sun International Group, the Hiltons, Protea Hotels, City or Road Lodges to cite a few of which none of these has any partnership with South African Black woman tourism entrepreneur in KwaZulu Natal.

7.2 Theoretical contributions

The dissertation sought to show that there should be a push for women agency. In doing so, this would be done through putting together a database of skills that women have which will less focus on their education background, but rather focus on entrepreneurship skills[4]. Reason we want the capability of these women to transfer their skills to the young ones within their communities. We will form women's groups' instead of civil societies. Women will be grouped according to their professions, experience and practical expertise in certain fields. We will utilize that knowledge in teaching our young ones to deal with challenges and formulating strategies to address the problems. One strength of women is working as a strong collective force hence are regarded as "*Imbokodo*", a Zulu name for a strong stone or rock that is capable of cracking through the hard and challenging situations and environments.

Pivotal to this is the establishment of the Centre for women studies and development at the University of Zululand that will collaborate with at least one University in South Africa which will have a fully-fledged research division and academic writing centre: There is vast knowledge that older and uneducated women possess and that knowledge needs to be documented. In the process students learn how to conduct research projects and write reports on the projects. In reality they would be putting the knowledge acquired in class in a practical and more beneficial way. Those specializing in literature will end up writing novels with the people they research who are the providers of

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[4] Throughout the dissertation I showed that in South Africa through Apartheid and colonialism, Black Africans were not educated accordingly. Although education is important, I argued that Black Africans, particularly women, had to draw on their entrepreneurial skills for survival. Therefore, although education is important, the skill and need to survive is pertinent for entrepreneurship to push forward.

knowledge. I will call this research the African way where collectivism and communality is the core of every action within the society.

University serving as incubation for Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) because a reasonable number of students from the tourism department start businesses while at the University as their practical module and continue with them even after completing the studies. Through these businesses they are able to support their parents while still studying. This demonstrates that entrepreneurship is a possible alternative to this high rate of unemployed graduates. If these students can be given financial support as a grant for venturing into business with the University mentoring and incubating them, I do not have any doubt that they will make it in life. The current microfinance institutions are not helping the young people from getting into business because they follow the processes of formal financial institutions in lending procedures where the focus is on the security and self-sufficiency of the lender not the borrower. The students have proved that through coming together as group of five or more putting together resources with the help of friends and family they can run business then it stands to indicate a move in the right direction for them.

The International Finance Corporation and other forms of microfinances and microcredits, promote lending process that ensure safeguarding the lenders through exploitative lending/borrowing practices dispossess and disempower poor women instead of reducing the poverty and improving the people's lives. The question directed to the supposedly recipient of microcredits is "By borrowing money do you really become better?"

Likewise private investor tourism establishments found in community areas that are termed 'Community based tourism' is a way of enriching the private sector through exploitation of communities as they are mostly forced to move out of their land and give way to development as is the case of Macambini. In that way tourism facilities are brought to communities for easy access to cheap women labour in the name of developing the areas. The observation is the infrastructure such as tarred roads; electricity and telecommunication will be put up to where the facilities are. The communities found beyond the facilities benefit nothing.

The constructed meaning of development especially economic development is perceived and understood differently by the west and Africans. The conflicting meanings and perceptions perpetually reproduce discriminatory practices, which are not the aspirations of Black Africans in this era. Africa in general and South Africa in particular are considered as targets for development by Europe. In the dissertation I discussed the social meaning of Africa and the western epistemology on what Africa and development mean basing the discussion on Mudimbe's (1996) "Inventing Africa" as these conflicting knowledge are a cause for domination and subordination in South Africa which is racist colonization based and connected. I showed the contradictory meanings of development as perceived differently by the government and communities where development takes place. In doing this I engaged Sithole's (1957) views about the nation living together as one. I tried to determine why the literature tends to be blind on women's low participation and contribution in economic development.

While the conflicts and protests that have become the norm in South Africa cannot be completely ignored, to me they attest to what the west perceive the continent; as an

obstacle to development (Frederick Cooper 2005), how then can this perception be reversed especially Black women embarking on the challenging. Hence the priority of deconstructing the negative mind-set well established in the minds of many people should be a focus. I argue that the negative development in South Africa where programmes of development exist but observation is they benefit and develop the driver more than the recipient of development. There are positive infrastructural changes on education, health, transport and the negative outcomes such as inequality accessing such facilities by marginalized groups that come with development overshadow what development drivers might see as 'good'.

7.3 Recommendations

There should be seasoned person(s) employed by the government to co-manage young women entrepreneurs' businesses who must be expert(s) with good reputation, well known in the area and coming from the area, have previous experience in the business working in conjunction with women who have previous exposures to businesses that they are running. She is not an expert outsourced from somewhere out of the community to come and train women on things that are irrelevant to their direct needs. She needs to work in collaboration with the research division of the Centre for Women Studies and Development so that recommendations from researches are implemented, ensuring that what is implemented is what women in communities desire to see happening. The reason for the need for such an expert is that she understands women's problems, knows their language, and has practical business experience. Furthermore the study will sensitize the masses about the exploitative nature of foreign

development assistance afforded to women entrepreneurs in the form of projects, microfinance and or microcredits.

The financial sector including formal and informal banking institutions, the Tourism Charter, BEE and other sectors involved in economic development should be reviewed to include women (gender) specific outreach sourced from recommendations and suggestions the studies that have been previously undertaken present. Also equally important is a clear definition and explanation of what these different sectors mean by women owned businesses as against what women entrepreneurs on the ground understand who they are. This will assist in monitoring equal access for women to business opportunities. But if women are not involved as mentors, trainers, and role models in entrepreneurship pumping money for lending to women is a waste of money and time. What do women need to do in such a situation? To avoid being drained financially in entrepreneurship, the poor borrowers and those who are already in business but are not using loans need to come together and form savings/buying collectives in order to improve their lifestyle.

The collective communal nature of women should be applied in a voice that will impact on policy makers to make women's' concerns their priority. Black South African women can come together and are capable of coming together to voice issues that they are not happy with using any method at their disposal that might be the best catalyst in the situation. The history of women in resistance in the country attests to that as early as in the late 18th century and beginning of the 19th century when the women regiment defied orders by King Shaka.

For these and many more reasons reviewing the policies with specific targets for amendment is long overdue. In view that there are women in top positions whose experiences I could not get, there is a need to conduct a study specifically directed at women in top positions. Their experiences and those of women at local level and grassroots level will make them to realize that they need to get together as women, putting the class aside to address their concerns. The ones on top positions will influence or will be a passage for the concerns to reach the top quicker and effectively.

Questions to ponder as a way forward are, the post-Apartheid economic development policies addressing entrepreneurial engagement and gender inequality? Is tourism entrepreneurship improving women's lives in South Africa?

The institutions of education need to groom students to be entrepreneurs and employers than job seekers as it is happening with the Tourism Department at the University of Zululand where students run businesses on campus as part of the course, in that way the University serves as an incubator for small business. In this way students are trained to be practical thinkers, as they need to come up with workable business ideas that are monitored for a period of a minimum of six months.

Women entrepreneurs face varying problems at multiple levels of discriminations according to for example location place that is rural or urban, and the type of business like crafts. But all relate to power positions held by those who seem to have control over these women owing to gender, race, class, age, and education level almost all intersections of categories. I would connect to some of the problems as the conversations progress.

7.4 Conclusion

The sustainable tourism entrepreneurial development lies in balancing of social, economic and environmental needs of district municipalities resulting in the efficient usage of all relevant resources, and therefore guaranteeing that all forms of development occur within the carrying capacity of the natural environment. There is no doubt that entrepreneurship is the mechanism for economic growth in many countries of the world, South Africa inclusive. Fatoki and Chidongi (2011:162) argue that entrepreneurship including youth entrepreneurship improves the general standard of society as whole, which leads to political stability and national security. Entrepreneurship therefore does not lead economic growth only but also to employment.

For Africa to compete fairly with the world, African governments have to promulgate business friendly reforms. Furthermore governments need to initiate skills development programmes that will empower women economically. Tourism and entrepreneurship which the government regards as empowerment tools have like empowerment itself been hijacked by politicians and fast tracked in a way that benefits them in their goal of economic growth, leaving out the very poor women in that way reproducing a vicious circle of poverty. This action supports the continuous entry of the west into developing countries in the name of curbing poverty through new development sets of buzzword and fuzz words terms.

The literature has revealed that the economic problem is no longer a local issue but the whole continent is facing economic challenges and hence the innovative critical solutions become Africa's economic transformation priority. Mthuli Ncube, Chief Economist and Vice President of the African Development Bank share the similar

sentiment of regional economic growth with Abiageli Katryn Ezekwesili, World Bank Vice President for the Africa Region. Whilst the former promotes the issue of focussing on policies and strategies that are a key for sustained economic recovery, the latter emphasizes the commitment of skills reform and women empowerment coupled by continuous dialogue with both the private sector and civil society. The focus areas for tourism economic transformation and development include diversifying products and markets; upgrading managerial skills and higher education; expanding women's entrepreneurship; and reaping the full benefits of tourism.

Most women in the rural areas, particularly less educated ones are always associated with household chores, domesticity, as husbands leave them behind when they migrate to the cities for better employment opportunities. Tourism business development tends to come up with an alternative to their rural lifestyle, which promises improvement in their daily living patterns. The businesses would assist in generating income within their usual environment.

To end Obiageli Katryn Ezekwesili's statement is important in considering positive economic achievement in all countries in Africa, South Africa being singled out by the research. "The commitment of African governments to business friendly reforms; skills development; women's empowerment and economic diversification is crucial to fostering the continent's economic competitiveness. However, this commitment must be matched by continuous dialogue with both the private sector and civil society as an essential platform for developing innovative solutions critical to Africa's economic transformation," said **Obiageli Katryn Ezekwesili**, World Bank Vice President for the

Africa Region. In addition to private sector the women's groups and the academic women forum would form a valuable solid base for entrepreneurial development for all.

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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire to Tourism Business Women

The Nature and Extent of Entrepreneurial Involvement of Women in Tourism Development in KwaZulu Natal, in post-Apartheid era

Please read and answer the following questions by putting a (✓) in the space provided. All information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Please, note that the information you provide can be as true and honest as possible.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender

Female	1	
Male	2	
Gay	3	
Lesbian	4	

2. Age

15-17	01	Youth still in high school (teenagers)
18-23	02	Youth in Varsity
24-34	03	Youth in employment
35-45	04	Adults
45-55	05	Adults
56 and above	06	Adults who qualify for pension (one can go on early pension after 55 yrs.)

3. Marital Status

Married	01	
Single	02	
Divorced	03	
Widowed	04	

4. Race

Black	01	
Coloured	02	
Indians	03	
Whites	04	

5. Education level

No formal schooling	01	
Grade A-Grade 7	02	
Grade 8- Grade 10	03	
Grade 11-Grade 12	04	
Tertiary qualification (Vocational)/FET, Colleges	05	These are tradesman (artisans), and non-degreed professionals
Tertiary qualification – University Degree	06	Professionals from Universities of technology and conventional Universities

6. Turn over per month

R1000.00-R2500.00	01	
R2500.00-R4000.00	02	
R4000.00-R5500.00	03	
R5500.00- R7000.00	04	
R7000.00-8500.00	05	
R8500.00-R10000.00	06	
R10000.00-R11500.00	07	
R11500-R13000.00	08	
R13000-R14500.00	09	
Other specify	10	

B. THE EXTENT OF WOMEN INVOLVEMENT IN TOURISM ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT

7.   Do you understand the concept of tourism entrepreneurship?

Yes	01	
No	02	
Not sure	03	

8.In your view which of the following statements best defines tourism entrepreneurship?

A means of stimulating the economy through the harnessing of personal initiative in the creation of firms, enterprises and jobs.	01	
The creation of a new enterprise, which has the entrepreneur as the founder.	02	
Running a tourism business	03	
Is the engine that drives any successful industry or economy	04	
Enhancing available natural resources and heritage to stimulate economic activity which results in a multiplier effect of a range of business opportunities	05	

9.   Are you involved in a tourism business?

Yes	01	
No	02	

10.   In what capacity are you involved in the business?

Owner	01	
Partner	02	
Manager	03	

11.   What kind of tourism businesses are you involved in?

Bed and Breakfast	01	
Guest House	02	
Hotel	03	
Tour operator *specify* ---------------	04	
Travel Agency	06	
Restaurant	07	
Kioski	08	
Camp site	09	
Back-packer facility	10	
Abseiling company	11	
Tour guiding	12	
Game Reserve	13	
Nature Conservation	14	
Other –Specify	15	

12.   Do you own a tourism business?

Yes		
No		

13.   For how long have you been in this business?

Less than six months	01	
Between six and twelve months	02	
1-3 years	03	
4-6 years	04	
7-9 years	05	
10-12 years	06	
13-15 years	07	
15 years and above	08	

14. What is the ownership status of your business?

Sole proprietor	01	
Partnership	02	
Close corporation	03	
Cooperative	04	
NGO	05	
Other- specify	06	

15. From where did you source your start up funds?

Family	01	
Friends	02	
My savings	03	
Pension funds	04	
Loan from the bank	05	
Other specify	06	

16. Did you find any challenges getting into this kind of business?

Yes	01	
No	02	

17. If the answer is yes in 16 above what were the challenges?

----

18. Did you do a feasibility study before you started business?

Yes	01	
No	02	

19. What was your most difficult experience during the first six months in the business?   Tick those relevant to your experience and list more if any.

Lack of business related skills	01	
Lack of knowledge about how to run the business	02	
Lack of advice prior to starting the business	03	
Inability to do multitask	04	
Lack of financial institution willing to support women entrepreneurs	04	
Lack of family support	05	
Other specify	06	

20.   Indicate the category under which your enterprise falls?

SMME	01	
SME	02	
MEDIUM	03	
LARGE/MACRO	04	
CONGLOMERATE	05	

21.   How many people are employed in your business? Give the answer in percentage.

How many are: Males   [01] -------------- Females [02] ---------- ?

22.   In your own opinion, would you say women have the capacity to run their businesses in terms of:

Relevant skills	01	Y/N
Financial muscle	02	Y/N
Management experience	03	Y/N
Entrepreneurial mind	04	Y/N
Expenditure	05	Y/N
Other specify	06	Y/N

Yes	01	
No	02	
Not sure	03	

Kindly explain:

----

23.   Is your business your only source of income?

Yes	01	
No	02	

If the answer is **NO** in question no. 23 above, give details of your other business or employment.

----

24.   Which tourism businesses do women operate/run in your municipality?

Accommodation	01	
Crafts	02	
Restaurants	03	
Transport	04	
Dance	05	
Food/catering	06	
Other specify	07	

25.   Would you say that the enterprise you run makes profit to a maximum?

Yes	01	
No	02	
Not sure	03	

26.   What kind of assistance do you need in order for your business to function optimally?

Advice on how to manage a business	01	
Information pertaining to sources of funds	02	
Workshops on quality service	03	
Training on business management	04	
Advise on how to expand the business	05	
Advise on how to market the business	06	
Advice on pricing of the product	07	
Other specify	08	

27.   Before starting the business, did you have any training on business management?

Yes	01	
No	02	

28.   Have you received training on the management of business since you started running your business?

Yes	01	
No	02	

29.   If the answer is **YES** in question no. 28 above, please indicate the type of training received? There can be more than one answer.

Business management	01	
Guest House management	02	
Marketing the business	03	
Business Finance and Accounting	04	
Human Resource Management	05	
Food and Beverages Management	06	
Campsite Management	07	
Tour guiding	08	
Other-specify	09	

30.   Indicate the type of support you may have received either from a government department or non- government organization or private sector in relation to business matters.

Type of support	**Name of Organisation**
Training on product development	
Training on creativity for innovation	
Training on financial management for record keeping and accounting	
Training on quality service delivery	
Training on customer care	
Training on how to access capital	
Training on marketing	
Training on human resource management	
Conflict and resolution management training	
Other specify	

31.   Are you happy about the kind of support you get from the government department or non-government or private sector?

Yes	01	
No	02	

3.2   If not, state what are your expectations from them?

----

33. Do you belong to a tourism business association/ club?

Yes	01	
No	02	

If the answer is yes, provide the name of association/ club

----

34. What do you benefit by being a member of this association?

Association supplies members with business related information	01	
Organises relevant workshops for us.	02	
The association provides members with money	03	
The association markets the business	04	
The association increases networking opportunities	05	
Other specify	06	

35. What reasons led you to venture into tourism entrepreneurship?

Seeking independence	01	
Not happy with the previous job	02	
Wanted to compliment my income	03	
Saw opportunities	04	
Did not have any alternative employment	05	
Family business left with me	06	
Career change	07	
Other-specify	08	

C. WAYS OF MEANINGFUL INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN THE TOURISM BUSINESSES.

36. "Many women are involved in tourism businesses in our Local Municipality/District Municipality/Metro"

01	02	03	04	05
Agree	Strongly agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

37.   What do you think holds other women back from participating in tourism related businesses?

38.

STATEMENT	01	02	03	04	05
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Women are confident enough to venture into business					
Tourism businesses operated by women are successful					
Women have a negative attitude about tourism					
Their perception of entrepreneurship is not positive					
Financial barriers hinder women from participating in business.					
Women have inadequate management skills					
Low self-esteem make women to fear taking a risk					
Entrepreneurship is a man's thing					
Tourism economic development strategies are designed by men for women					
Tourism business will take most of the woman's time					
Women are threatened by competition in the business world					
Women fear failure in business					
Other specify					

D. THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN TOURISM INDUSTRY.

39. Do you get assistance in marketing your tourism business?

Yes	01	
No	02	

40. If yes, in 36 above who funds your marketing campaigns?

Consultants	01	
KwaZulu Natal Tourism(TKZN)	02	
District Tourism Officer/Manager	03	
Municipality Tourism Manager/Officer	04	
Other specify	05	

31. Are there any circumstances where you feel you were discriminated against simply because you are a woman?

Yes	01	
No	02	

Describe your experience

E. THE NATURE OF POLICIES REGARDING WOMEN ISSUES.

42. Are you aware of the scope tourism policies?

Yes	01	
No	02	

43. Which one of the following principles of tourism policies do you know? (You may tick more than one)

Marketing	01	
Safety and security	02	
Community-based tourism partnership	03	
Charter industry sector development	04	
Tourism and previously disadvantaged individuals	05	
Local government competence	06	

44.   Would you love to see a policy put in place for meaningful involvement of women in tourism related businesses?

Yes	01	
No	02	
Not sure	03	
Undecided	04	

45.   How did you know about the policies?

Reading from newspapers	01	
Local business news	02	
News from radio/TV	03	
Municipality Office	04	
Business friends told me about them	05	
Other specify	06	

46.   Are there any tourism businesses in your area that compete with you?

Yes	01	
No	02	

47.   If the answer is **yes**, do you have strategies to deal with competitors to ensure your business' survival in market place? Explain.

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48.   How is tourism business opportunity promoted/ communicated in your area?

Media advertising	01	
Local Induna's – Imbizo	02	
Schools and academic institutions	03	
District and Local municipality	04	
Information centres	05	
Local councillors	06	
Other specify…	07	

49.   How would you rate the standard of tourism entrepreneurship in your area?

Excellent	01	
Very good	02	
Good	03	
Very bad	04	
Bad	05	

50.   How would you rate the level of tourism entrepreneurship support by the local people in your area?

Supportive	01	
Very supportive	02	
Not supportive	03	
Not sure	04	

51.

STATEMENT	01 Strongly agree	02 Agree	03 Neutral	04 Strongly disagree	05 Disagree
Women in tourism businesses address poverty					
Women tourism businesses create jobs for local people.					
Women tourism businesses generate income to rural communities					
Tourism businesses try to redress economic drainage of rural areas					

52.   What kind of training do you think should be given to support new entrepreneurs?

Innovation and creativity	01	
Resource management	02	
Business plan writing	03	
Financial management	04	
Other, specify…	05	

****** THANK FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION******

APPENDIX B: Questionnaire for Women

Tourism Entrepreneurs

I am researching on women entrepreneurial development at the Universidad de Granada, doing PhD/ Doctoral Programme at the Institute for Women and Gender Studies (*Instituto Universitario de Estudios de las Mujeres y Género*). My focus is on constraining issues and or challenges that cause women not to perform maximally in business in order to change their lifestyles and also the environments where their businesses are found for the good and benefit of everyone in those areas.

The reason for me to be here for the second time with you is because I want you to share with me your experiences regarding issues of culture, gender, race or class in South Africa society and development in the business; everything that constrained you or did not go well and also those instances where you felt like giving up. But the fact that you are still moving on tells a lot about your character and quality. It is those issues of concern that I would like you to share with us more. Before the end of the interview we will look at possible solutions that you might recommend because of your experience and exposure in the tourism industry.

All I want to learn is how your hard experiences relate to every other woman in business and how such experiences could be avoided in the future, especially for young women who would be aspired to venture into tourism entrepreneurship.

Recording Explanation

As I will be writing down everything that you will be saying some of the important points might be missed or not accurately captured. I would therefore ask you if it would be okay with you if I use recording machines for our interview. I will be using that information for analysis of the situation and enforcing recommendations to the relevant stakeholders. Therefore live records become a powerful tool for convincing

recommendations as what is heard is far better than what is written down as it sounds more real.

Native Language Explanation

When answering the questions you are free to use any language even the mother tongue. We are blessed to have the expert and director in African researches in Spain who happens to be our professor and main advisor, Soledad Vieitez-Cerdeño. This is Marian del Moral-Garrido, my friend and colleague from the Universidad de Granada, a Spanish researcher and filmmaker, very interested in African culture and media. I have known her for one year and feel like ten years because she is an open, free, and a reliable person as well. She speaks Spanish and English. However, you can use your native language if you feel more comfortable with that. Remember we are here to learn from you, which means there is no right or wrong answer. What is important is you are speaking your mind and your heart. Talk freely as if you are speaking to a friend or family member.

Interview explanation

As the interview proceeds you are free to move if you need to explain, illustrate, use gestures drive some point home or show any part that you want to emphasise. I might also interrupt the proceedings by issuing brochures charts or posters and pictures where need be.

Descriptive Questions

GRAND TOUR QUESTIONS

1. Background

1.1 Tell me about your background. (I would be expecting information on age, race, education level, marital status, work experience, etc.).

1.2 Tell me anything you might have left out. (I expect a response like the number of businesses she owns and or her role in the business.)

1.3 What is your understanding of development as far as women tourism entrepreneurship is concerned? (Anything ranging from independence, added income, personal growth to give women freedom from any form of discrimination, improving standard of living and environments, etc., would be ideal).

2. Discussion or Specific grand tour questions

2.1 Tell me the challenges that you encountered when starting and during the business progresses? (I expect answers including finance, working space, customers/tourists, unfair treatment, employees, business skills, licencing or registering the business, authorities and policies, etc.)

2.2 What are your views on the worst challenge that you experienced?

Guided specific short or mini tour questions.

You mentioned finance being a big challenge to expand or grow your business and you also mentioned markets and marketing as challenges facing your business can you explain to me how you dealt with financial, marketing and or markets in your business.

2.3 What are your expectations from this business? (making profit, to be rich, living above standard with my kids or family, helping people in the community through employment provision etc.).

3.   There is a lot being said and read about women in entrepreneurship like women are doing very well in recent years in the tourism industry. Do you associate yourself with this statement? Explain your views (I expect the answers relating to behaviour of women bosses in management and running of businesses).

4.   The government has embarked on various projects, initiatives and programmes at various levels directed at assisting women in business. I think that may not have been the best approach, what do you think? (I expect that they oppose my view and then elaborate on the kind of assistance they receive from the government municipality or any other government entity).

5. **There are constrains as you previously mentioned them and challenges** you encountered, but also inhibitors like culture, family, society, government seem to continue preventing women from maximum performance in entrepreneurship, what is your take in this? I have to phrase this differently, so that the informant responds as an experience she encountered.

Can you describe what and how you think or feel as you go through a day, week or month without any tourist visiting your facility?

You said that the community does not support your business. Is there a specific way or strategy that you feel needs to be done to make the community aware that this tourism product/facility/ Bed and Breakfast/ tour bus or van/ tour guiding experience/ also cater for them?

6. **What would be your advice to aspiring young women who would desire to enter into tourism entrepreneurship**?

7. **Concluding Questions**

7.1 What do you think are the views of the key stakeholders on desirable outcomes and wishes of women tourism entrepreneurship? (I expect that the interviewees mention that the government just wants to see women in business so that the GDP increases and thus boosts the economy of the country not much on changing socioeconomic status of the poor women)

7.2 What views do you think the stakeholders hold on the constraints that inhibit women from developing economically in areas where women businesses are found? (Expect to get their views on policies regarding women in entrepreneurship and also what they think the role of stakeholders should be).

7.3 Thank you for this valuable information, is there anything else you would like to add or ask before we end our very interesting discussion?