

UDK: 711.121:338.48(680Clarens)

DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-2016-27-02-005

Prejeto: 13. 1. 2016

Sprejeto: 4. 5. 2016

Maléne CAMPBELL

Čudovit kraj in ne še eno propadajoče majhno mesto: primer mesta Clarens v Republiki Južna Afrika

Preseljevanje s podeželja v mesta povzroča propadanje podeželja in prenapolnjenost mest. Glavno vprašanje, ki se pojavlja v zvezi s tem, je, kako se lahko mesta izognejo tej usodi in prestrežejo migrante na poti v mesta v iskanju boljših priložnosti. Razvoj turizma lahko ima osrednjo vlogo v razvoju podeželskih območij v Republiki Južna Afrika, in mesto Clarens je primer zgodbe o uspehu na tem področju. Avtorica v članku raziskuje, zakaj je turističnemu mestu, kot je Clarens, uspelo, drugim podobnim

mestom pa ne. Podatki so bili zbrani s tremi vprašalniki za tri različne ciljne skupine, kar je omogočilo, da je bil v raziskavo vključen širok spekter deležnikov v turističnem miljeju Clarensa. Izsledki raziskave kažejo, da je pri spuščanju multinacionalk v majhna turistična mesta potrebna pazljivost, saj lahko te pokvarijo tamkajšnje vzdušje.

Ključne besede: načrtovanje, majhna mesta, turizem, sekundarni domovi

1 Uvod

»Propadanje mest je pogost pojav. Ker imajo večja središča močno gospodarsko osnovo in ponujajo storitve višjega reda, privabljajo ljudi.« (John, 2012: 4.) Vprašanje, ki se pojavlja v zvezi s tem, je, kaj bi morala mesta storiti, da bi prestregla migrante na njihovi poti v večja mesta, kjer želijo poiskati domnevno boljše priložnosti (Donaldson, 2007, ter Reynolds in Antrobus, 2012). Po vsem svetu prihaja do sprememb in prestrukturiranja lokalnega gospodarstva zaradi preseljevanja s podeželskih območij v mesta. To povzroča propadanje podeželja in prenapolnjenost mest (United Nations Human Settlements Programmes, 2013), kar ima spiralni učinek, saj manj kapitala pomeni manj priložnosti za gospodarsko rast mest. Propadajoča mesta so značilna tako za države v razvoju kot za države prvega sveta, saj pojav presega gospodarske, družbene in politične meje (Van der Merwe idr., 2005, in Qayi, 2013).

Vlada Republike Južna Afrika je leta 2009 predstavila načrt razvoja podeželja, katerega cilj je bila obnova podeželskih območij (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of the Republic of South Africa, 2009, in Qayi, 2013). Pri tovrstnem podvigu je vloga načrtovanja najpomembnejša pri oblikovanju in izvajanju ustreznih upravljavskih smernic (Mara in Atkinson, 2006, in Nel, 2013). Odkar je leta 1994 prišla na oblast prva demokratično izvoljena vlada, vladna politika podpira razvoj malih in srednje velikih podjetij ter mikropodjetij (Rogerson, 2013). Velika prednost Republike Južna Afrika je njen turistični potencial (Visser, 2005, ter Rogerson in Rogerson, 2014). Razvoj turizma bi lahko imel osrednjo vlogo v razvoju podeželskih območij v državi, če bi se učinkovito upravljal. Zaradi naravnih lepote, raznolikosti in nižjih cen^[1] je Republika Južna Afrika idealna turistična destinacija ne samo za tuje turiste, ampak tudi za domače (Government of South Africa, 1996). Domači turistični trg je pogosto spregledan, čeprav ima v državi pomembno vlogo (Sharpley in Tefler, 2002). Turizem je katalizator razvoja, zato je izjemno uporaben za razvoj gospodarske osnove izbranih mest (Binns in Nel, 2002). Za provinco Free State vlada splošno prepričanje, da nima turističnega potenciala, zato je turizem tam le redko v ospredju. To bi se lahko spremenilo, če bi načrtovalci prevzeli dejavno vlogo v turističnem razvoju kot katalizatorju lokalnega gospodarstva. Načrtovalci bi se morali zavzemati za ohranjanje in zaščito naravnih dobrin, saj se turisti vračajo prav zaradi njih (Binns in Nel, 2002). Turistični razvoj mest je običajno posledica avtomatičnega razvoja, ne pa vladnih strategij ali uspešnega načrtovanja.

Hipoteza predstavljene raziskave je, da lahko z razumevanjem, zakaj lahko turistično mesto, kot je Clarens, uspe, druga pa ne, mestni in regionalni načrtovalci izboljšajo rezultate razvo-

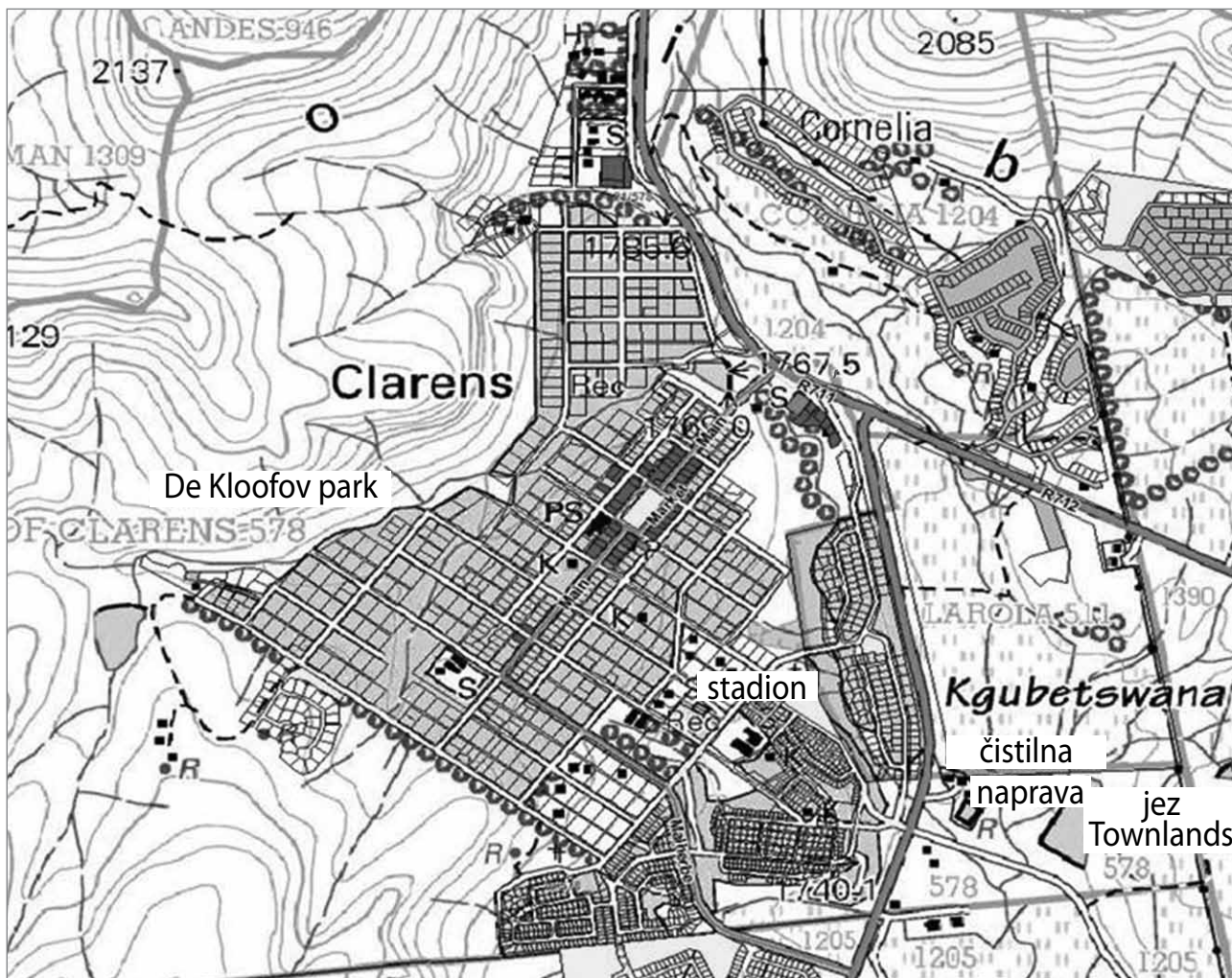


Slika 1: Gorovje Maluti Mountains (foto: Antoinette Nel)

ja majhnih mest. Cilj raziskave je bil ugotoviti, ali je turizem pomemben dejavnik, ki prispeva k uspešnosti mesta. Za preučevanje vpliva turistične porabe na lokalno gospodarstvo majhnega mesta je bil uporabljen pristop različnih metod, ki je vključeval zbiranje kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih podatkov. Avtorica je preučila mnenja turistov, da bi ugotovila, ali lahko večji razvoj ogrozi privlačnost majhnega mesta, in ocenila potencial za okrepitev njegovega turističnega trga. Poleg tega so bila v raziskavo vključena tudi podjetja s področja turizma, ki so predstavila svoja mnenja o turizmu in načrtovanju za prihodnost. Namen zbiranja podatkov je bil ugotoviti, kakšno vlogo lahko ima načrtovanje pri zagotavljanju uspešnega delovanja in rasti majhnih mest, katerih prihodnji obstoj je odvisen od turizma.

2 Splošno ozadje

Clarens je majhno mesto v bližini slikovitega gorovja Maluti Mountains na vzhodu province Free State v Republiki Južna Afrika, ki je obdana s kopnim. Ima zgradbo, značilno za vsa mesta v Republiki Južna Afrika saj je razdeljeno na nekdanje »belsko« mesto in »črnsko« predmestje. »Črnsko« predmestje je znano pod imenom »Kgubetswana«. Zakon o odpravi zemljiških ukrepov na podlagi rasnega razlikovanja iz leta 1991 je ljudem vseh ras omogočil, da se lahko brez omejitev odločajo, kje bodo živeli (Rex idr., 2014). Mesto ima tradicionalno pravilno ulično zasnovo ter skupaj z regionalnim središčem, sosednjim mestom Bethlehem in tremi drugimi manjšimi mesti spada pod upravno pristojnost lokalne občine Dihlabeng. Clarens je iz Bloemfonteina, glavnega mesta province Free State (Donaldson idr., 2014), Gautenga, glavnega gospodarskega motorja države, in Durbana, največjega mesta province KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), po asfaltnih cestah, ki so v dobrem stanju – kar v Republiki Južna Afrika ni samoumevno. Sanacija cestnega omrežja med Clarensom in nekdanjim



Slika 2: Načrt mesta Clarens (vir: Grabe, 2014)

bantustanom QwaQwa ter ceste med Clarensom in sosednjim mestom Fouriesburg je pomembno prispevala k boljšemu dostopu z različnih destinacij.

Clarens je bil ustanovljen leta 1912 kot mesto, v katerem so živeli predvsem upokojeenci. Ta značaj je obdržalo vse do leta 1985, ko se je začel v njem razvijati turizem. Do sredine 80. let 20. stoletja je imelo približno 200 prebivalcev, trenutno pa po nekaterih ocenah med koncem tedna ob veliki noči v njem prebiva do 30.000 ljudi (Marais, 2004). Clarens je imel več razvojnih faz: fazo upokojeenskega mesta, fazo zunanje kapitalske injekcije in fazo vodnega projekta v lesotskem višavju (ang. *Lesotho Highlands Water Project*). Med prvo fazo oziroma fazo »Clarensa kot upokojeenskega mesta«, ki je trajala od leta 1912 do leta 1985, je bilo glavna gospodarska dejavnost kmetijstvo. Mesto je veljalo za upokojeensko predvsem zaradi majhnega števila ljudi, ki so tam živeli, in čeprav kmetijstvo v Clarensu še vedno obstaja, je večina kmetijskih dejavnosti skoncentrirana v večjem Bethlehemu. »Zaradi kraje živine, do katere je prihajalo zaradi bližnje meje z Lesotom, se je večina kmetij v okolici Clarensa preusmerila v turizem.« (Ma-

ritz, 2015: intervju.) Do prve kapitalske injekcije z območja zunaj province Free State je prišlo med letoma 1985 in 1989. Leta 1985 je poslovnež Bruce Weyers iz Gautenga začel kupovati nepremičnine v Clarensu z vizijo, da se bo ta nekega dne razvil v turistično destinacijo. Kmalu so mu sledili še drugi podjetniki, ki so kupovali nepremičnine po pičlih 2.000 ZAR. ^[1] Trenutno so prazne parcele v Clarensu vredne od 500.000 do 1 milijona ZAR, majhno mesto pa je za vedno izgubilo svoj upokojeenski značaj. Čeprav je Clarens postal turistična destinacija, njegovi prebivalci v času kapitalske injekcije niso vedeli, kaj se bo z njim zgodilo, zato je prišlo do nesoglasij med prebivalci in kupci nepremičnin (Marais, 2004). Ta nesoglasja so še vedno opazna, vendar so v določeni meri spremenila obliko, saj sta zdaj glavna kamna spotike igrišče za golf, ki ga je v okolici mesta zgradilo neko podjetje, in izgradnja večnadstropnega hotela znane hotelske verige v samem mestu. Nekdanje nizkocenovne hotele v majhnih mestih, ki so služili predvsem s prodajo alkohola, so povsod po državi nadomestile druge oblike nastanitve (Rogerson, 2013). Lodewyk »Louw« Van Biljon (2014), lokalni urbanist in ocenjevalec vpliva na okolje, je v intervjuju povedal, da »številni prebivalci zdaj trdijo,



Slika 3: Študentje in učitelji med ogledom jezca Katse v Lesotu (foto: Maléne Campbell)

da to kviri razgled in ambient nekdanj čudovite neokrnjene in edinstvene pokrajine«.

Vodni projekt v lesotskem višavju je napovedal novo fazo v razvoju Clarensa. Za potrebe projekta je bilo treba zgraditi predor med jezo Katse v Lesotu in reko Ash v neposredni bližini Clarensa (na tej reki potekajo tudi različni vodni športi, kot je rafting). Čeprav so tudi sosednja mesta, kot je Ficksburg, imela korist od izgradnje tega predora, je imel Clarens korist predvsem od tega, da so ga določili za sedež delovnih ekip, ki so bile vključene v gradnjo. Zaradi tega so bila leta 1990 v mestu zgrajena dodatna stanovanja. Poleg tega je bilo treba za potrebe projekta zgraditi dodatno infrastrukturo, ki je bila financirana v okviru projekta, saj si lokalna skupnost na tej stopnji ne bi mogla nikoli privoščiti tako obsežne gradnje. Tudi hitra rast prebivalstva v Kgubetswani med letoma 1985 in 1991 je bila ena od posledic opisanega vodnega projekta. Projekt je na razvoj Clarensa vplival predvsem na dva načina. Spremljajoče dejavnosti so na območje privabile kvalificirane tuje delavce, zaradi katerih se je značaj mesta spremenil. Kraj, v katerem so prevladovali govorniki afrikanščine, je postal mesto, v katerem so se lahko nastanili tujci. To pa je povzročilo oblikovanje večjega in bolj razvejanega trga, kar je pospešilo razvoj mesta, saj se je vanj prek različnih gospodarskih dejavnosti in potreb začel vlagati tuji kapital. Povečano število tujcev je pomembno prispevalo k raznoliki sestavi prebivalstva, ki jo lahko v mestu opazimo danes (Marais, 2004).

Ko je bil projekt dokončan, so tuji delavci zapustili Clarens in ga s tem potisnili v recesijo. Vzrok za to je bilo predvsem dejstvo, da je gospodarska infrastruktura temeljila na zagotavljanju dobrin in storitev tujim delavcem. To pa je inovativne podjetnike spodbudilo k temu, da so začeli mesto oglaševati kot edinstveno in prijetno destinacijo za kratek oddih. Zaradi te trženjske akcije so začeli po vsem mestu kot gobe po dežju rasti restavracije in penzionari. V tem obdobju so tudi umetniki izkoristili priložnost, da se uveljavijo v mestu, ki jim je ponujalo čudovito delovno okolje. Odprli so galerije in ateljeje in začeli prodajati umetnine po neprimerno ugodnejših cenah, kot so



Slika 4: Pokrajina na vzhodu province Free State (foto: Anneen Maree)

se prodajale v galerijah v velemestih. Clarens je postal ugodno tržišče za umetniška dela in druge rokodelske izdelke, obstoječe restavracije pa so razširile svoje menije in dodatne dejavnosti na prostem so cvetele. Razmah gospodarskih dejavnosti je v mesto pritegnil še več podjetnikov s področja umetnosti in prostega časa, kar je še bolj spodbudilo rast lokalnega turizma (Hoogendoorn in Visser, 2004). Z izgradnjo 123 lastniških stanovanj, namenjenih izključno kupcem sekundarnih domov, se je stanovanjski fond povečal za približno 40 %. To potrjuje, da vlagatelji in lastniki sekundarnih domov Clarens dojemajo kot idealno turistično destinacijo. Gradnja sekundarnih domov je v Clarensu dokaj obsežna, saj ti predstavljajo 17 % vseh stanovanjskih hiš v mestu. Od 650 stanovanjskih objektov v Clarensu je 281 trajnih bivališč oziroma hiš in 369 barak. 17 % sekundarnih domov predstavlja 47 od 281 trajnih hiš. Ti sekundarni domovi imajo v Clarensu velik gospodarski vpliv. Clarens je eno izmed redkih mest v provinci Free State s tako visokim odstotkom lastnikov sekundarnih domov (Hoogendoorn in Visser, 2004).

Jasno je, da se je Clarens razvil v cvetoče in priznано turistično mesto. Večina njegovih gospodarskih dejavnosti je tako ali drugače povezana s turizmom. Je dobro znana turistična destinacija s široko ponudbo turističnih dejavnosti, kot so najrazličnejše umetnostne galerije in trgovine z rokodelskimi izdelki, številne pohodniške poti, zgodovinski kraji, poti za vožnjo na štirikolesni pogon, rafting, muharjenje, spusti po vrvi, jahanje, joga, gorsko kolesarjenje in številni drugi športi. Lokalni urbanist je v intervjuju (Grabe, 2014) razkril, da »se Clarens lahko pohvali s 35 restavracijami, več kot 100 ponudniki prenočišč in približno 1.000 posteljami, ki so na voljo turistom in drugim počitnikarjem«. Pravi blagoslov za mesto so prepadne stene, ki tvorijo del gorovja Rooiberg, območje pa je tudi blizu gorovja Drakensberg. Celoten kraj deluje idilično, saj prepadne stene, ki se dvigajo nad mestom v dolini, oblikujejo pravo romantično ozadje. Na območju je čez vse leto veliko dežja, zaradi česar so slikoviti pašniki na pobočjih ves čas zeleni. Po hribih so speljane privlačne pohodniške poti, na voljo pa so tudi druge

dejavnosti na prostem, kot so spusti po vrvi in plezanje. Del slikovite pokrajine je tudi reka Ash, na kateri je mogoč rafting.

3 Metodologija

Da bi ugotovila morebitne nevarnosti, ki bi jih bilo treba obravnavati, in določila priložnosti za razširitev turistične panoge, je avtorica preučila vsa podjetja v Clarensu, ki so kakor koli povezana s turizmom. To je zelo pomembno, saj je razvoj turizma katalizator lokalnega gospodarskega razvoja, dohodek od turizma pa v Clarensu znaša približno 200 milijonov ZAR na leto. Za oceno vpliva načrtovalskih posegov na ljudi ter za razumevanje lokalne dinamike in konteksta (Healey, 2003) so bili podatki zbrani s pomočjo treh vprašalnikov za tri različne ciljne skupine. To je omogočilo, da je bil v raziskavo vključen širok spekter deležnikov v turističnem miljeju Clarensa. Omenjene tri ciljne skupine so vključevale:

- obiskovalce, ki so v Clarensu ostali eno noč ali več,
- dnevne obiskovalce mesta in
- lastnike podjetij v Clarensu, ki so povezana s turizmom.

Pred anketo je bila med terenskim obiskom Clarensa izvedena kvalitativna raziskava, v okviru katere so bili opravljeni informativni intervjuji z različnimi poslovnimi deležniki. Upoštewane so bile tudi prejšnje kabinetne raziskave Clarensa. Ker je veljavnost rezultatov večja, če je v raziskavi uporabljeno že uveljavljeno merilno orodje, je bil uporabljen vprašalnik iz podatkovne zbirke centra za razvojne študije, ki ga je avtorica prilagodila potrebam raziskave. Opravljena je bila pilotna raziskava, vprašalniki pa so bili poslani v pregled članom skupnosti v Clarensu in akademikom. Prejete povratne informacije so bile upoštewane v končni različici vprašalnikov. Sprva so bili vprašalniki poslani na različne lokacije, kjer naj bi bili izpolnjeni v treh mesecih, nato pa je bil ta čas zaradi majhnega števila izpolnjenih vprašalnikov, prejetih v prvih treh mesecih, podaljšan na štiri mesece. Vprašalniki za obiskovalce, ki so v penzionih ostali eno noč ali več, so bili poslani 30 penzionom v Clarensu in okolici. Lastnikom ali upravnikom teh penzionov je bilo naročeno, naj svoje goste prosijo, naj izpolnijo vprašalnike. Razlog za to je bil v tem, da lastniki in upravniki svoje goste bolje poznajo in vedo, kateri od njih bi bili pripravljeni izpolniti vprašalnike. Obiskovalci penzionov, ki so v mestu prenočili, so tako izpolnili skupno 372 vprašalnikov, največ sta jih oddala kompleks počitniških koč Madrid Farm Cottages (5,4 %) in Protea Hotel (4,3 %).

Ker večina dnevnih obiskovalcev obišče mestni trg, kjer si privoščijo prigrizek in osvežitev, so bili vprašalniki za dnevne obiskovalce razdeljeni v sedmih tamkajšnjih restavracijah: 278 on Main, The Highlander, Street Cafe, The Post House, The Artist Cafe, The Grouse & Claret in The Phatt Chef.

Z lastniki in upravniki teh restavracij je bilo dogovorjeno, da bodo natakariji prejeli plačilo za vsak vprašalnik, ki ga bodo dnevni obiskovalci v celoti izpolnili. Medtem ko so gostje čakali na naročeno hrano, so k njim pristopili natakariji in jih vprašali, ali so dnevni obiskovalci kraja in ali bi bili pripravljeni med čakanjem na hrano izpolniti vprašalnik. Skupno je bilo izpolnjenih 130 vprašalnikov. Pridobiti sprejemljivo število anketirancev je bil velik izziv, saj obiskovalci niso bili navdušeni nad tem, da morajo že spet izpolniti neki vprašalnik o Clarensu. Lastniki in upravniki restavracij so poročali, da gostje niso kazali posebnega zanimanja za izpolnjevanje vprašalnikov in da do svojih gostov niso želeli biti preveč vsiljivi.

Na podlagi telefonskega imenika province Free State, spletnih anket in terenske ankete, opravljene v Clarensu, je bilo ugotovljeno, da v mestu deluje 242 podjetij, in sicer 120 ponudnikov prenočišč, 63 trgovin in drugih podjetij, vključno s tistimi, ki se ukvarjajo s pustolovsko-rekreacijskimi dejavnostmi, 35 restavracij ter 24 podjetij s področja umetnosti in rokodelstva. Vprašalnike za podjetja, povezana s turizmom, je izpolnilo skupno 69 lastnikov ali upravnikov lokalnih podjetij.

4 Teoretični vidik

Teorije lahko razumemo kot uveljavitev določenega diskurza, zamisli, kot so čudoviti kraji, pa so primeri tovrstnih diskurzov. Številne teorije so produkti svojega časa (Allmendinger, 2009, in Friedmann, 2011). Postpozitivistični premik v zadnjih treh desetletjih izhaja iz najpomembnejših teorij o vlogi oblasti in diskurza pri oblikovanju teorij. Za relativiste temeljijo odlike teorij na vrednotah in interesih zadevne skupnosti, pri načrtovanju pa relativizem pooseblja postmoderno načrtovanje (Allmendinger, 2009). John Friedmann (2011) vidi postmodernizem kot zmanjševanje vloge vlade, medtem ko imajo glavno vlogo prepričanja korporativnega sveta, ki krepijo konkurenco na trgu. Pri njegovem »dobrem mestu« ali »dobri družbi« gre za spreminjanje okoliščin in družb, ne pa za lovljenje dobička za politike in ekonomsko privilegirane. Normativna teorija o tem, kako doseči tak svet, kakršen bi moral biti, bi lahko med drugim vključevala pristope komunikativnega ali sodelovalnega načrtovanja. Kot navaja Patsy Healey (2006), je bil Friedmann začetnik teorije komunikativnega načrtovanja. Medtem ko se je sodelovalno upravljanje širilo po Veliki Britaniji, so se partnerstva pri razvoju skupnosti oblikovala tudi drugod po svetu, tudi v Severni Ameriki. Healey (prav tam) zagovarja načrtovanje in oblikovanje politik na podlagi interaktivnih družbenih procesov. Pri urbanističnem načrtovanju gre navsezadnje za oblikovanje mesta prihodnosti in njegovega vpliva na ljudi (Hillier in Gunder, 2003). Ena od nalog urbanistov je tudi ta, da določijo prihodnjo lokacijo posamezne vrste rabe zemljišč, kot so v našem primeru penzioni ali re-

Preglednica 1: Število preteklih obiskov Clarensa

število preteklih obiskov	število obiskovalcev, ki so prenočili v mestu	odstotek	število dnevniških obiskovalcev	odstotek
1	93	25,0	21	20,4
2–3	79	21,2	14	13,6
4–5	51	13,7	9	8,7
6–10	24	6,5	10	9,7
več kot 10	43	11,6	14	13,6
brez odgovora	33	8,9	19	18,4
skupaj	372	100,0	103	100,0

Preglednica 2: Razredi letnega dohodka

dohodkovni razred	število obiskovalcev, ki so prenočili v mestu	odstotek	število dnevniških obiskovalcev	odstotek
manj kot 200.000 ZAR	54	14,5	15	14,6
200.001–400.000 ZAR	68	18,3	19	18,4
400.001–700.000 ZAR	86	23,1	21	20,4
700.001–1.000.000 ZAR	48	12,9	14	13,6
1.000.001–1.500.000 ZAR	32	8,6	5	4,9
več kot 1.500.001 ZAR	25	6,7	11	10,7
brez odgovora	59	15,9	18	17,5
skupaj	475	100,0	475	100,0

stavracije (Todes, 2011). Okolje, v katerem načrtovalci delajo, se je postopoma preoblikovalo v interaktivno razvojno stroko (Harrison idr., 2008), čeprav načrtovanje, ki se osredotoča na kakovost krajev, ni bilo prioriteta (Healey, 2006).

Načrti morajo biti primerni za dani kraj, hkrati pa morajo reševati tudi družbena vprašanja (Todes, 2011). V idealnem primeru bi moralo biti izvajanje načrtov proces pogajanja in sklepanja kompromisov (Healey, 2010). Načrtovanje bi moralo biti interaktivni proces, iz česar izhajata tudi izraza *sodelovalno načrtovanje* in *komunikativno načrtovanje*, posledica katerih so izboljšane pozitivne lastnosti družbeno vključujočih in družbeno pravičnih krajev. Načrtovalci bi morali preučiti vpliv posegov na ljudi ter razumeti lokalno dinamiko in kontekst (Healey, 2003). Raznolikost je pomembna lastnost življenja v mestu, zato je v upravljaljskih strategijah ne bi smeli spregledati. Upravljanje bi se moralo osredotočati na pozitivne lastnosti krajev na mestnih območjih, pozornost pa bi morali načrtno usmerjati tudi na posege pri oblikovanju tovrstnih lastnosti (Healey, 2010).

Ustrezno načrtovanje bi moralo turizem usmerjati z izčrpnimi in hkrati praktičnimi strateškimi načrti. Smer se nakaže tako, da se v lokalne načrtovalske dokumente vključijo cilji in sodelovanje javnosti. Cilji, vključeni v načrtovalske dokumente, pogosto niso dovolj široki, da bi obravnavali tudi načrtovanje turistične dejavnosti. Treba bi jih bilo spremeniti

skladno s splošnimi načrtovalskimi cilji in cilji, ki se osredotočajo na turizem. Za uspeh katere koli turistične destinacije je pomembno, da lokalna skupnost podpira turistične cilje, zato bi moralo biti sodelovanje javnosti vključeno v načrtovanje prihodnjega razvoja, ki je predlagan za določeno območje ali se tam izvaja. Pomembnost vključitve javnosti v upravljanje tovrstnega razvoja in načrtov se nikoli ne sme podcenjevati (Dredge, 2006).

5 Ugotovitve in razprava

V nadaljevanju so najprej predstavljene ugotovitve ankete, opravljene med obiskovalci, ki so v Clarensu prenočili, in med dnevniški obiskovalci, nato pa še izsledki ankete, opravljene med lastniki podjetij v mestu.

5.1 Pregled ugotovitev ankete, opravljene med obiskovalci, ki so prenočili v mestu, in dnevniški obiskovalci

V zvezi s preteklimi obiski mesta Clarens (enkrat, od dvakrat do trikrat, od štirikrat do petkrat, od šestkrat do desetkrat in več kot desetkrat) se je izkazalo, da je največ obiskovalcev, ki so prenočili v mestu (25 %), Clarens obiskalo drugič. 21,2 % jih je mesto obiskalo tretjič ali četrtoč, 11 % pa že več kot desetkrat (preglednica 1). Največ dnevniških obiskovalcev (20,4 %)

Preglednica 3: Dejavnosti in zneski, porabljeni zanje

dejavnost	odstotek obiskovalcev, ki so prenočili v mestu	porabljeni znesek na anketiranca	ocena	odstotek dnevnih obiskovalcev	porabljeni znesek na anketiranca	ocena
nastanitev v Clarensu	81,2	2.192	4,5	n. p.	n. p.	n. p.
nakup goriva na bencinski črpalki	44,4	457	3,9	29,1	395	4
prehranjevanje v restavraciji	86,6	632	4,2	72	410	4
pohodništvo	23,7	135	4,5	8	44	5
rafting	0,3	630	4,1	2	b. o.	b. o.
knjigarna	25,5	270	4	22	200	4
umetnost	52,2	129	4,3	41	730	5
vožnja s štirikolesniki	8,6	410	4,1	4	b. o.	b. o.
safari z džipi brez strehe	0,3	b. o.	3	b. o.	b. o.	b. o.
spust po vrvi	0,3	b. o.	b. o.	b. o.	b. o.	b. o.
jahanje	8,6	405	4,2	5	330	4
paintball	0	0	0	0	0	0
vožnja z večjimi štirikolesniki	0,8	b. o.	3,5	1	b. o.	b. o.
terenska vožnja na štirikolesni pogon	4	125	4	2	b. o.	b. o.
gorsko kolesarjenje	4,3	40	4,4	0	0	0
otročka kmetija	2,2	80	3,8	0	0	0
vožnja z balonom	0	0	0	0	0	0
rokovska umetnost	5,6	b. o.	4,2	3	b. o.	4
lokestrelstvo	1,1	b. o.	3	0	0	0
mini olimpijada	0,3	0	b. o.	0	0	0
golf	9,4	1.033	4,3	6	800	3,5
muharjenje	5,1	370	2	2	b. o.	b. o.
zipline	1,1	50	3,7	1	b. o.	b. o.
iskanje fosilov	1,3	120	3,8	0	0	0
kolesarjenje	2,4	150	4	1	b. o.	b. o.
jame	3,5	150	3,5	2	b. o.	4
tečaj joge	0,5	b. o.	b. o.	0	0	0
zdravilišča	5,6	625	4,2	6	1.700	5
ogled mesta	6,7	225	4,5	5	b. o.	4
nakup umetnin v nekdanjem črnskem predmestju	2,4	199	4,5	0	0	0
obisk nekdanjega črnskega predmestja	2,4	b. o.	4	2	b. o.	3
drugo 1	92,2	1.150	4,3	8	765	5
drugo 2	0,8	300	4	1	b. o.	5
drugo 3	0,3	200	b. o.	0	0	0

Opomba: b. o. = brez odgovora, n. p. = ni pomembno

je Clarens obiskalo drugič, 13,6 % pa jih je bilo tam že več kot desetkrat.

Večina obiskovalcev je prišla iz province Gauteng, ki velja za najgostejše poseljeno območje v državi in na njem živi 33,7 % celotnega prebivalstva (Presidency of the Republic of South

Africa, 2012). Največ (12,6 %) jih je prišlo iz Johannesburga, torej mesta z največ prebivalci v državi. Nekaj več kot 10 % anketirancev je bilo iz tujine, 8,7 % pa jih je prišlo iz sosednje province KwaZulu-Natal. 37 % obiskovalcev je imelo visokošolsko izobrazbo, skoraj polovica (44 %) teh pa podiplomsko. Največ obiskovalcev, ki so prenočili v mestu (23,1 %), in

največ dnevnik obiskovalcev (20,4 %) je imelo letni dohodek med 400.000 in 700.001 ZAR, visok delež anketirancev (15,9 % tistih, ki so v mestu prenočili, in 18,5 % dnevnik obiskovalcev) pa ni želel razkriti občutljivih podatkov, kot so informacije o dohodku (preglednica 2).

Daleč največ anketirancev (62,6 %) je navedlo, da so to slikovito mesto obiskali na priporočilo prijatelja ali sorodnika. 8,3 % jih je mesto ponovno obiskalo zaradi dobre izkušnje med prejšnjim obiskom, 6,2 % pa zato, ker so se slučajno peljali skozi mesto. Kot glavni razlog za obisk Clarensa kot destinacije za kratek oddih med vikendom so anketiranci navedli počitnice in potovanje (28 %), 24,5 % pa se jih je za obisk odločilo zaradi miru, gora in lepe pokrajine. 33,2 % anketirancev je med najbolj pozitivnimi vidiki mesta navedlo naravo, gore, svež zrak in lepo pokrajino, drugi pozitivni vidiki, ki so jih našli, pa so bili še prijazni ljudje, gostoljubnost in kakovostne storitve (18,6 %) ter mir in tišina (17,7 %). Večina anketirancev (72,9 %) je izjavila, da so bila njihova pričakovanja glede Clarensa izpolnjena. V preglednici 3 so predstavljene različne dejavnosti, zneski, ki jih je posamezen anketiranec porabil zanje, in ocena dejavnosti na petstopenjski lestvici. Obiskovalci so največ denarja porabili za nastanitev, med najbolje ocenjenimi dejavnostmi pa so bili pohodništvo, umetnost in zdravilišča.

5.2 Ocena poslovnega okolja v Clarensu

Ob upoštevanju dejstva, da morata načrtovanje in oblikovanje politike temeljiti na interaktivnih procesih (Healey, 2006) in da je pomembno, kakšen vpliv imata na ljudi (Hillier in Gunder, 2003), so bila preučena mnenja lastnikov podjetij, povezanih s turizmom. Od 242 lastnikov podjetij jih je vprašalnik, oblikovan za poslovni sektor, izpolnilo 69. Večino izpolnjenih vprašalnikov so vrnilo trgovine in podjetja, ki se ukvarjajo s pustolovskorekreacijskimi dejavnostmi; ti panogi skupaj sta druga največja gospodarska panoga v Clarensu, takoj za nastanitvenimi dejavnostmi (preglednica 4). Skoraj 70 % anketirancev je bilo direktorjev ali lastnikov podjetij, preostalih 30 % pa je bilo upravnikov, zato podatki v tem delu predstavljajo stališča lokalnih poslovnih ljudi na pomembnih položajih. Večina podjetij v Clarensu je razmeroma nova, saj je v času ankete večina anketirancev, navedla, da v mestu poslujejo od enega leta do pet let (40,6 %), več kot deset let pa jih je tam delovalo le 14,5 %. V preglednici 5 so predstavljeni podatki o mesečnem prometu in stopnji zasedenosti. Zasedenost je najvišja med decembrskimi počitnicami, sledijo velikonočni prazniki v aprilu. V mesecih, v katerih je mesto najbolj zasedeno z gosti, promet večine anketirancev znaša od 60.000 do 100.000 ZAR. Na drugem mestu so podjetja, ki zaslužijo 100.000 ZAR ali več, najmanj pa je tistih, ki zaslužijo med 0 in 50.000 ZAR (preglednica 6).

Preglednica 4: Anketirana podjetja v Clarensu

vrsta podjetja	število anketirancev	odstotek anketirancev
restavracije	12	17,4
nastanitvene dejavnosti	23	33,3
umetnost in rokodelstvo	7	10,1
trgovine – drugo	25	36,2
pustolovsko-rekreacijske dejavnosti	1	1,5
skupaj	68	98,6
brez odgovora	1	1,5
skupaj	69	100

Preglednica 5: Mesečni promet in stopnja zasedenosti

mesec	stopnja zasedenosti/100	promet/10	predvideni promet
januar	46,5	5,7	88.114
februar	49,1	4,8	74.202
marec	58,2	7,0	108.211
april	60,8	8,1	125.215
maj	48,4	5,0	77.293
junij	51,6	5,7	88.114
julij	53,8	6,6	102.027
avgust	46,8	5,2	80.385
september	48,2	5,6	86.569
oktober	49,5	5,9	91.206
november	50,8	6,9	106.665
december	66,1	9,1	140.674

Preglednica 6: Promet v najbolj zasedenih mesecih

znesek	pogostnost	odstotek
0–50.000 ZAR	7	10,1
60.000–100.000 ZAR	10	14,5
več kot 100.000 ZAR	8	11,6
skupaj	25	36,2
sistem	44	63,8
skupaj	69	100

Stopnja zaposlenosti od leta 2007 enakomerno narašča, podjetja pa so v času ankete zaposlovala 77 kvalificiranih delavcev, 37 natakarjev, 133 čistilk, 40 priložnostnih delavcev in 82 drugih delavcev. Večina anketirancev (55,1 %) je menila, da trg raste, po mnenju 31,9 % anketirancev ostaja ta enak, 11,6 % pa jih misli, da trg nazaduje. Anketiranci so prepričanje, da trg raste, utemeljili s povečanim številom turistov in strank. Čeprav namerava skoraj 40 % anketirancev razširiti svoje podjetje, jih večina (60,3 %) tega vendarle ne načrtuje. Glavni razlog, ki so ga navedli za to, je, da jih to ne zanima oziroma da se jim to finančno ne bi izplačalo. Najmanj pa jih je to utemeljilo z

dejstvom, da za širitev nimajo na voljo dovolj prostora oziroma ustrezno coniranih površin. Skoraj vsi poslovneži (89,2 %) so imeli zelo pozitivno ali pozitivno mnenje o poslovni prihodnosti Clarensa; negativno mnenje jih je izrazilo samo 1,5 %. Razlog za pozitivno mnenje je bila predvsem rast turistične dejavnosti v mestu, v manjši meri pa tudi prelepa pokrajina na tem območju. Kot najbolj pozitivne vidike svojega delovanja v Clarensu je poslovna skupnost navedla odlične storitve in proizvode, ki jih ponujajo.

Večina poslovnežev (33,9 %) ni imela mnenja glede morebitnega prihoda novih podjetij v Clarens ali njegovo okolico, 17,5 % jih je temu nasprotovalo, 15,6 % pa je to podpiralo. Večina anketirancev (75 %) je navedla, da ne želi, da bi se v Clarensu odpirale poslovalnice državnih trgovskih verig, saj »lahko gredo turisti v te trgovine nakupovat v Bethlehem, ki je dovolj blizu (30 km proč)«, 18,8 % pa jih je navedlo, da bi v mesto vendarle lahko spustili nekaj skrbno izbranih trgovskih verig. S tem, da se državnim trgovskim verigam dovoli vstop v mesto, se je strinjal najmanjši delež anketirancev (5,8 %). To jasno kaže, da lokalna skupnost razume, kakšen vpliv bi lahko imela državna podjetja na mesto in da se lahko to ob ustrezni vključitvi javnosti prepreči.

Pri spuščanju multinacionalk v majhna turistična mesta je potrebna pazljivost, saj lahko te pokvarijo tamkajšnje zdušje. Turisti prihajajo v majhna mesta prav zaradi njihovih edinstvenih lastnosti in ne zaradi mednarodnih podjetij ali nakupov. Še večjo skrb vzbujajo vpliv, ki ga običajno imajo tovrstna podjetja na gospodarstvo majhnega mesta, saj delujejo kot sesalnik, ki iz žepov lokalne skupnosti potegne denar, ne da bi pri tem kar koli vložila v podeželsko skupnost. Nadaljnja skrb je povezana z dejstvom, da tovrstnih velikih gospodarskih družb običajno ne zanima lokalno gospodarstvo in ali bo to nazadovalo, saj v tem primeru večina preprosto spakira kovčke in se preseli drugam. Potreba po lokalnem podjetniškem razvoju in motivacija zanj sta zato izjemno pomembni.

6 Sklep

Avtorica se v članku sprašuje, kaj se lahko naučimo od uspešnega mesta in ali obstajajo zaskrbljujoča področja, ki bi lahko onemogočila njegov razvoj. Pri iskanju odgovorov na ti vprašanji uporablja normativno teorijo o tem, kako doseči svet, ki bi ga bilo treba doseči (Friedmann, 2011). Večina anketirancev meni, da je Clarens »čudovit kraj«, k njegovi zgodbi o uspehu pa prispevajo njegova lokacija in dostopnost, slikovito okolje, stalni finančni kapital in dejavna lokalna skupnost likovnih umetnikov. Zdi se, da Friedmannov koncept dobrega mesta (prav tam) velja za Clarens, v katerem lovljenje dobička za politike in ekonomsko privilegirane očitno ne obstaja.

Iz študije Clarensa smo se lahko veliko naučili o tem, kako se lahko izkoristijo priložnosti v majhnem turističnem mestu. Clarens je približno 300 km oddaljen od Gautenga, največjega gospodarskega območja v državi. Z največjima mestoma, Pretorio in Johannesburgom (zadnji je od Clarensa oddaljen samo tri ure vožnje), je Gauteng območje, s katerega v Clarens prihaja največ turistov. Poleg tega je Clarens samo tri ure vožnje oddaljen od še enega velikega mesta, Durbana, čeprav obiskovalci iz province KwaZulu-Natal predstavljajo samo četrtnino vseh turistov – najverjetneje zato, ker ima Durban bogato turistično ponudbo in je blizu lokalnih turističnih destinacij, kot sta severna in južna obala. Tudi mesto Bloemfontein je od Clarensa oddaljeno samo tri ure vožnje. Drugi največji delež turistov prihaja v Clarens iz province Free State, saj je mesto zanje najbližja turistična destinacija. Clarens je torej v bližini treh velikih trgov, kar je pomembno prispevalo k njegovemu uspehu. Poleg tega je z državnimi cestami in mednarodnima letališčema v Johannesburgu in Durbanu dostop olajšan tudi tujim gostom. To je pomembno, saj kar 10 % turistov, ki obiščejo Clarens, prihaja iz tujine.

Druge prednosti mesta vključujejo naravno in edinstveno lepoto kraja, ki je neizpodbiten del njegove zgodbe o uspehu, Clarensu pa je z gospodarskega vidika koristil tudi dotok zunanega kapitala. Ta finančno krepil lokalno gospodarsko osnovo, saj se kapital, ki ga v mestu ustvarja lokalna skupnost, ne samo porablja znotraj mesta, ampak ga povečuje tudi kapital, ki se zbira onkraj meja regije in vlaga v Clarens. Čeprav veliko lastnikov penzionov in podjetij prihaja iz drugih regij in ne živijo v Clarensu, ni mogoče spregledati vpliva menedžerjev ter denarja, ki ga porabijo za naložbe in nadzor teh podjetij. Pri zgodbi o uspehu Clarensa je treba upoštevati tudi pomen vodnega projekta v lesotskem višavju, ki je dal mestu veliko več kot samo dodatno infrastrukturo, saj je območje pomagal promovirati tujim gostom. Tudi značaj mesta je postal prijaznejši za turiste, saj je Clarens začel zadovoljevati tudi potrebe nedomačinov. Na podlagi tega se je razvila strpnost do drugih jezikov in kultur, območje pa se je začelo oglaševati kot privlačno za naložbe. Na začetku razvoja mesta, ko je bilo to še razmeroma neznano, to morda ni imelo ključne vloge, danes pa je pomembno za razumevanje nenehnega uspeha mesta.

V omenjenem intervjuju je Van Biljon (2014) povedal tudi, da »je zasedenost mesta največja aprila in decembra, pri čemer pa je treba poudariti, da Clarens pritegne obiskovalce vsak vikend in med vsakimi šolskimi počitnicami, zato tukaj dejansko ne moremo govoriti o visoki in nizki sezoni«. Tovrstni stalni gospodarski in družbeni priliv je ustvaril stabilno gospodarsko osnovo in finančno okolje, v katerem lahko uspevajo podjetja. Umetniki, ki so se v Clarens priselili, da bi tam ustanovili delavnice in galerije, so postavili temelje za razvoj turizma. Kakovostna umetniška dela se prodajajo po ugodnih cenah,

raznolikost umetnikov in galerij v mestu pa ustvarja tudi večjo pestrost ponudbe, ki je na voljo turistom, nudi pa jim tudi dodaten razlog za obisk območja.

Tveganja seveda obstajajo, na primer slabo sodelovanje med vsemi vpletenimi stranmi – načrtovalci ali odločevalci in lokalnimi prebivalci (Cerara, 2014, in Bratina Jurkovič, 2014). Idealno bi bilo, če bi bili glavni akterji vključeni v vse načrtovalske strategije (Donaldson idr., 2014). Nekateri anketiranci so navedli, da postajajo proizvodi vse dražji in da Clarens zaradi prenapoljenosti ob koncih tedna izgublja svoj podeželski pridi, poleg tega so omenili tudi nevarnost odpiranja multinacionalk v mestu. Čeprav se to s poslovnega vidika zdi dobro, bi lahko motilo tiste, ki mesto obiščejo, da bi tam preživeli sproščen in miren konec tedna.

Turizem je postal panoga, v kateri je konkurenca vse močnejša, zato se vse več pozornosti posveča tudi temu, kako ustrezno poskrbeti za turiste. Prav to potrjujejo tudi izsledki te raziskave. Za reševanje zgoraj omenjenih tveganj mora Clarens postati konkurenčnejši na državnem trgu, hkrati pa mora svoj položaj izboljšati tudi na svojem lokalnem trgu. Raziskovalno hipotezo – da lahko z razumevanjem, zakaj je turistično mesto, kot je Clarens, uspešno, druga pa ne, urbanisti in regionalni načrtovalci izboljšajo rezultate razvoja majhnega mesta – lahko zato potrdimo.

.....
Maléne Campbell

University of the Free State, Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Bloemfontein
E-pošta: campbem@ufs.ac.za

Opombe

[1] 1 EUR = 16,38 ZAR (po tečaju iz aprila 2016).

Viri in literatura

Allmendinger, P. (2009): *Planning theory*. Basingstoke, VB, Palgrave MacMillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-01360-6

Binns, T., in Nel, E. (2002): Tourism as a local development strategy in South Africa. *The Geographical Journal*, 168(3), str. 235–247. DOI: 10.1111/1475-4959.00051

Bratina Jurkovič, N. (2014): Perception, experience and the use of public urban spaces by residents of urban neighbourhoods. *Urbani izziv*, 25(1), str. 107–125. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-01-003

Cerara, A. (2014): From reaction to initiative: Potentials of contributive participation. *Urbani izziv*, 25(1), str. 93–106. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-01-002

Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of the Republic of South Africa (2009): *Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP)*. Pretoria.

Donaldson, R. (2007): Tourism in small town South Africa. V: Rogerson, C. M., in Visser, G. (ur.): *Urban tourism in the developing world: The South*

African experience, str. 307–326. New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers.

Donaldson, R., Benn, J., Campbell, M. M., in De Jager, A. (2014): The impact of studentification on reshaping urban space in two South Africa cities. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), str. S176–S188. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-013

Dredge, D. (2006): Policy networks and the local organisation of tourism. *Tourism Management*, 27(2), str. 269–280. DOI: 10.1016/j.tourman.2004.10.003

Friedmann, J. (2011): *Insurgencies: Essays in planning theory*. London, Routledge.

Government of South Africa (1996): *The development and promotion of tourism in South Africa*. Pretoria, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Grabe, A. (2014): *Attractions in Clarens* (intervju, 23. 9. 2014).

Harrison, P., Todes, A., in Watson, V. (2008): *Planning and transformation learning from the post-apartheid experience*. New York, Routledge.

Healey, P. (2003): Collaborative planning in perspective. *Planning Theory*, 12(2), str. 101–123. DOI: 10.1177/14730952030022002

Healey, P. (2006): *Collaborative planning, shaping places in fragmented societies*. Basingstoke, VB, Palgrave.

Healey, P. (2010): *Making better places: The planning project in the twenty-first century*. Basingstoke, VB, Palgrave. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-01379-8

Hillier, J., in Gunder, M. (2003): Planning fantasies. An exploration of a potential Lacanian framework for understanding development assessment planning. *Planning Theory*, 2(3), str. 225–248. DOI: 10.1177/147309520323005

Hoogendoorn, G., in Visser, G. (2004): Second homes and small-town (re)development: The case of Clarens. *Journal of Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences*, 32(1), str. 105–114.

John, L. (2012): *Secondary cities in South Africa: The start of a conversation*. The background report. Johannesburg: South African Cities Network.

Maree, A. (2015): *Eastern Free State scenery* (intervju, 28. 9. 2015).

Maritz, T. (2015): *Tourism activities on farms* (intervju, 1. 10. 2015).

Marais, L. (2004): From small town to tourism Mecca: The Clarens fairy tale. V: Rogerson, C. M., in Visser, G. (ur.): *Tourism and development: Issues in contemporary South Africa*, str. 420–436. Pretoria, Africa Institute of Africa.

Marais, L., in Atkinson, D. (2006): *Towards a post-mining economy in a small town: Challenges, obstacles and trends*. Prispevek je bil predstavljen na konferenci z naslovom Desert Knowledge Australia Conference, ki je potekala od 3. do 6. novembra v Alice Springsu v Avstraliji. Tipkopis.

Nel, A. (2016): *The Maluti mountain range* (intervju, 19. 4. 2016).

Nel, V. (2013): A development planning approach to the plight of small and dying towns in South Africa. V: Donaldson, R., in Marais, J. G. L. (ur.): *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, str. 242–250. New York, Nova Science Publishers.

Presidency of the Republic of South Africa (2012): *National Development Plan*. Dostopno na: www.gov.co.za (sneto: 3. 9. 2015).

Qayi, S. (2013): Re-orientating rural development in the eastern Cape: Small town regenerations: A strategy for rural development: The case study of Keiskammahoek. V: Donaldson, R., in Marais, J. G. L. (ur.): *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, str. 242–250. New York, Nova Science Publishers.

- Reynolds, K., in Antrobus, G. (2012): Identifying economic drivers in small towns in South Africa. V: Donaldson, R., in Marais, J. G. L. (ur.): *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, str. 35–43. New York, Nova Science Publishers.
- Rex, R., Campbell, M. M., in Visser, G. E. (2014): The on-going desegregation of residential property ownership in South Africa: The case of Bloemfontein. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), str. S5–S23. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-001
- Rogerson, C. M. (2013) Improving market access opportunities for urban small, medium and micro enterprises in South Africa. *Urbani izziv*, 24(2), str. 133–143. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2013-24-02-005
- Rogerson, C. M., in Rogerson, J. M. (2014): Urban tourism destinations in South Africa: Divergent trajectories 2001–2012. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), str. S189–S203. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-014
- Rogerson, J. M. (2013): Market segmentation and the changing budget hotel industry in urban South Africa. *Urbani izziv*, 24(2), str. 112–123. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2013-24-02-003
- Sharpley, R., in Telfer, D. J. (2002): *Tourism and development: Concepts and issues*. Clevedon, VB, Channel View.
- South African Local Government Information Centre (2015): *The SA local government briefing*. Rondebosch, Cape Town.
- Todes, A. (2011): Reinventing planning: Critical reflections. *Urban Forum*, 22(maj), str. 115–133. DOI: 10.1007/s12132-011-9109-x
- United Nations Human Settlements Programmes (2013): *Urban planning for city leaders*. Nairobi.
- Van Biljon, L. (2014): *The impact of development on Clarens* (intervju, 14. 10. 2015).
- Van der Merwe, I., Ferreira, S., in Zietsman, L. (2005): An investment strategy for effective town development in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 16(4), str. 295–312. DOI: 10.1007/s12132-005-0008-x
- Visser, G. (2005): Towards understanding of the Free State tourism system. *Acta Academica*, Supplementum 4, str. 1–45.

UDC: 711.121:338.48(680Clarens)

DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2016-27-02-005

Received: 13 Jan. 2016

Accepted: 4 May 2016

Maléne CAMPBELL

A great place and not yet another declining small town: The case of Clarens, South Africa

Rural urban migration results in rural decline as well as in congested cities, but how can towns avoid this fate and also intercept these migrants on their way to the cities in search of perceived better opportunities? Tourism development can play a central role in the development of rural areas in South Africa, and Clarens is a success story in this regard. This research investigates what made a tourist town such as Clarens succeed whereas other towns faltered and failed. Data was collected using three dif-

ferent questionnaires: one for each target group to cover a broad spectrum of stakeholders in the tourism milieu of Clarens. The research indicates that allowing multinational enterprises in a small tourist town is something that should be considered carefully because it might disturb a small town's ambience.

Keywords: planning, small towns, tourism, second homes

1 Introduction

“The decline of towns is a common phenomenon. Since larger centres have strong economic bases and offer higher order services these cities attract people” (John, 2012: 4). The question is what towns should do to intercept migrants on their way to larger centres in search of perceived better opportunities (Donaldson, 2007; Reynolds & Antrobus, 2012). There has been a global change and a restructuring in the local economy as a result of migration from rural areas to cities. This leads to rural decline and congested cities (United Nations Human Settlements Programmes, 2013). This, in turn, has a spiral effect, because less capital means fewer opportunities for economic growth in towns. Declining towns are characteristic of both developing countries and first-world countries. This phenomenon extends beyond economic, social and political borders (Van der Merwe et al., 2005; Qayi, 2013).

The South African government announced a rural development plan in 2009 aimed at renewing rural areas (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of the Republic of South Africa, 2009; Qayi, 2013). In such an endeavour, the role of planning is most important in structuring and implementing proper guidelines for management (Marais & Atkinson, 2006; Nel, 2013). Since the first democratically elected government came into power in 1994, small, medium, and micro-enterprises have been promoted through government policy (Rogerson, 2013). A South African asset is its potential for tourism (Visser, 2005; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014). Tourism development can play a central role in the development of rural areas in South Africa if it is managed effectively and efficiently. South Africa’s natural beauty, diversity and value for money,^[1] render it an ideal tourism destination, not only for international tourists, but for South African tourists as well (Government of South Africa, 1996). The domestic tourism market is a tourist segment that often is overlooked but plays an important role in the South African context (Sharpley & Tefler, 2002). Tourism is a catalyst of development that is extremely useful in helping selected towns develop an economic base (Binns & Nel, 2002). Tourism in South Africa’s Free State province is seldom a focus point due to a perception that the province lacks tourism potential. Planners, however, may change this by taking up their role in tourism development as a local economic empowerment catalyst. Planners should strive to preserve and protect natural assets because these features keep tourists coming back (Binns & Nel, 2002). Tourism development in towns tends to be the result of development by default, rather than the outcomes of strategies employed by the government and successful planning.

The hypothesis of this research was therefore that, by understanding why a tourist town such as Clarens succeeds whereas



Figure 1: The Maluti Mountains (photo: Antoinette Nel).

other towns falter and fail, town and regional planners can improve the outcomes of small-town development. The goal of the study was therefore to determine whether tourism is a major factor contributing to the success of a town. To investigate the impact of tourist spending on the local economy of a small town, a mixed methods approach, using qualitative and quantitative data collection, was used. Tourists’ perceptions were examined to determine whether increased development might threaten the appeal of a small town and to assess the potential for enhancing the small-town tourism market. Tourism-related businesses were also approached for their perspectives on tourism and planning for the future. The purpose of the data collection was therefore to determine the role that planning can play in ensuring the viability and growth of a small town dependent on tourism for its future existence.

2 General background

Clarens is a small town near the scenic Maluti Mountains in the eastern part of the landlocked Free State province. The town itself has a typical South African town layout because there is a former “white” town and a “black” township. The “black” township on the outskirts is known as Kgubetswana. The Abolition of the Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1991 made it possible for all races to choose without restrictions where they want to live (Rex et al., 2014). The town has a traditional grid layout and is in the governmental jurisdiction of the Dihlabeng Local Municipality, together with the regional centre of Bethlehem, a neighbouring town, as well as three other smaller towns. Clarens is accessible from Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State province (Donaldson et al., 2014); Gauteng, the economic powerhouse of the country, and Durban, the largest city in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province, by tarred roads that are in good condition – not something to be taken for granted in South Africa. The improvement of the road network between Clarens and the former QwaQwa

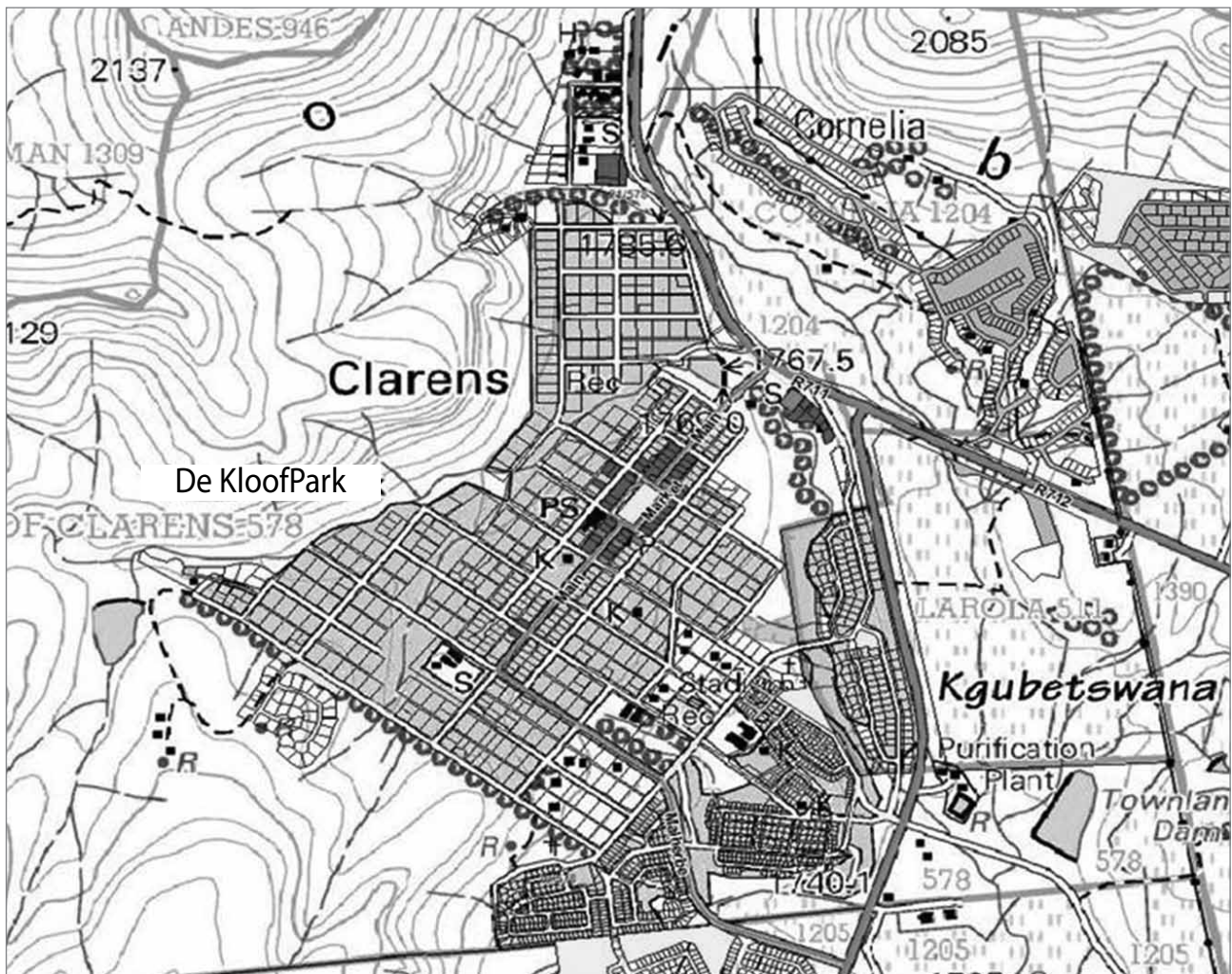


Figure 2: Clarens's town layout (source: Grabe, 2014).

independent homeland, as well as the road between Clarens and the neighbouring town of Fouriesburg, has played an important role in increased access from various destinations.

Clarens was established in 1912 as a retirement town. The town retained its retirement character until 1985, when the potential for tourism was realised. Until the mid-1980s, the town had approximately 200 residents and currently the town hosts up to 30,000 residents during Easter weekend, according to some estimates (Marais, 2004). Several historical phases signify the development of Clarens, namely: the phase of Clarens as a retirement village, the phase of capital injection from outside, and the Lesotho Highlands Water Project phase. From 1912 to 1985, during the phase of "Clarens as a retirement village," agriculture was the main economic activity. The town was generally regarded as a retirement village due to the small number of people residing there and, although Clarens still has an agricultural component, most of the farming activities are now conducted in the larger centre of Bethlehem. "On most of the farms outside Clarens business has been

shifted to tourism due to livestock theft that occurred due to the town's close proximity to the Lesotho border" (Maritz, 2015: interview). The first capital injection from outside the Free State province came between 1985 and 1989. In 1985, a businessperson from Gauteng, Bruce Weyers, started buying properties in Clarens with the vision that someday in the future it would develop into a tourism destination. Soon other entrepreneurs followed suit, buying properties for as little as ZAR 2,000.^[1] Currently, the value of vacant plots in Clarens is estimated at between ZAR 500,000 and ZAR 1 million, and the retirement image of the little town has disappeared forever. Although Clarens now has become a tourist destination, at the time of the capital injection residents were unsure what would happen to their home town, and conflict ensued between the residents and those buying property (Marais, 2004). This conflict is still evident, but to some extent has taken a new shape due to corporate developers establishing a golf course outside Clarens and a multi-storey chain-brand hotel inside the town. In South African small towns, the former liquor-focused budget hotel has been replaced by other forms of



Figure 3: Students and staff visiting the Katse Dam in Lesotho (photo: Maléne Campbell).

accommodation (Rogerson, 2013). In an interview, Lodewyk “Louw” Van Biljon (2014), a locally based spatial planner and environment impact assessor, said that “many residents now claim that this is spoiling their view and the ambiance of the previously unspoilt beautiful and unique landscape.”

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project heralded the next phase in the development of Clarens. This project required the construction of a tunnel from the Katse Dam in Lesotho to the Ash River just outside of Clarens (the same river is used for adventure activities such as white-water rafting). Although other neighbouring towns such as Ficksburg also benefited from the construction of this tunnel, Clarens benefited from the decision for it to serve as the headquarters for the teams involved in building the tunnel. This required the construction of housing units in 1990. As a result of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, additional infrastructure was needed to support the project. The infrastructure was paid for by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project because the local community would never have been able to afford such comprehensive developments at that stage. The rapid population growth of Kgubetswana between 1985 and 1991 also can be attributed to the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. The project had two prominent influences on the development of Clarens. First, the concomitant activities brought skilled foreign workers to the area, changing the character of the Afrikaans-dominated town to one in which foreigners needed to be accommodated. This led to the second influence: a larger and more diverse market. This aided the development of Clarens because foreign capital was invested through various economic activities and needs. The increased number of foreigners played a significant part in the diverse population seen in the town today (Marais, 2004).

After the completion of the project, the international labourers left Clarens, plunging the town into a recession. This was largely because the economic infrastructure was built around the provision of goods and services to international labourers. However, this resulted in innovative entrepreneurs embarking on promoting Clarens as a unique and favourable geta-



Figure 4: Eastern Free State scenery (photo: Anneen Maree).

way destination. The outcome of the marketing campaign was restaurants and bed-and-breakfast establishments springing up like mushrooms in Clarens. During this time, artists took advantage of the opportunity to establish themselves in Clarens because it provided a beautiful setting to work in and from. They opened galleries and studios, selling art at prices unheard of in the metropolitan mainstream. In effect, the Clarens setting provided a ready market for selling art and other craft products, and the existing restaurants expanded their menus and additional outdoor activities flourished. This explosion in economic activities attracted more art and leisure entrepreneurs to the town, expanding and stimulating the growth of local tourism (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004). The development of 123 sectional title properties, all targeting second-home investors, increased the housing stock by some 40%. This implies that investors and second-home owners see Clarens as an ideal tourist destination. The role of second-home development is significant for development in Clarens because it constitutes 17% of the number of homes in the town. Of the 650 housing structures in Clarens, 281 are permanent houses, and 369 are informal structures. The 17% of second homes corresponds to forty-seven of the 281 permanent houses. The economic influence of these second homes in Clarens is significant. The number of second homes in Clarens makes the town one of the few Free State towns with such a high percentage of second-home ownership (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2004).

It is clear that Clarens has developed into and is flourishing as an established tourist town. Most of the economic activities are primarily concerned with or affiliated in some way or another with tourism. Clarens has been established as a well-known tourist destination with various tourism activities on offer. These include a wide variety of art galleries and craft shops, a number of hiking trails, places of historic importance, 4×4 trails, river rafting, fly fishing, abseiling, horse riding, yoga, mountain biking and various other sports facilities. In an interview (Grabe 2014), a locally based spatial planner said that “Clarens boasts thirty-five restaurants, more than one hun-

dred accommodation establishments and approximately one thousand beds available to tourists or other holiday seekers.” The town is blessed with vertical cliffs forming part of the Rooiberg Mountain Range, and the region is also close to the Drakensberg Mountains. The entire area has an idyllic character with the cliffs forming a romantic setting for the little town in the valley below. The region receives good rainfall throughout the year, which creates panoramic grassland pastures on the landscape slopes. The hills also have attractive hiking trails and offer other outdoor activities such as abseiling and rock climbing. The Ash River contributes to the scenic environment, and adventurous white-water rafting takes place there.

3 Methodology

To be able to determine possible threats that must be addressed and to identify opportunities with the potential to expand the tourism industry, all tourism-related enterprises in Clarens were examined. This is vital because tourism development is a local economic empowerment catalyst and the income from the Clarens tourism industry is about ZAR 200 million per year. To assess the impact that planning interventions have on people and to be able to understand the local dynamics and context (Healey, 2003), data for the study was collected using three different questionnaires: one for each target group to cover a broad spectrum of stakeholders in the tourism milieu of Clarens. The three target groups were:

- Visitors overnighing in Clarens one night or more;
- Day visitors to Clarens; and
- Tourism-related business owners in Clarens.

Prior to administering the questionnaires, a qualitative study was conducted during a fieldtrip to Clarens during which informal interviews were held with various stakeholders in the business sector. Desktop surveys that had previously been carried out on Clarens were also taken into account. Because validity is increased if an established measuring instrument is used, a questionnaire from the database at the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) was adapted to suit the needs of the study. A pilot study was carried out, and the questionnaires were sent out for review by community members of Clarens and academics. The feedback received was incorporated into the questionnaires. Initially, the questionnaires were left to be completed at various locations for a period of three months, but then the time was extended to four months due to the small number of completed questionnaires obtained during the first three months. Questionnaires for visitors staying in guesthouses for one or more nights were distributed to thirty guesthouses in Clarens and the surrounding area. Arrangements were made with the owners or managers to request that guests complete the questionnaires. The reason for this was

that the owners or managers of the guesthouses would know their guests better and would know which people would be willing to complete the questionnaires. Altogether, 372 questionnaires were completed by overnight visitors. Madrid Farm Cottages submitted most (5.4%) of the completed questionnaires, and visitors to the Protea Hotel submitted the second-largest percentage, namely 4.3%.

Because most day visitors visit the square in town for refreshments, questionnaires for day visitors were distributed among seven restaurants on the square in Clarens: 278 on Main, The Highlander, Street Cafe, The Post House, The Artist Cafe, The Grouse & Claret, and The Phatt Chef. The agreement with the owners and managers of these restaurants was that the waiters would receive a fee for each questionnaire fully completed by a day visitor. The waiters approached the customers while they were waiting for their orders to determine whether they were day visitors, and, if so, whether they would mind completing a questionnaire while they were waiting. A total of 103 questionnaires were completed by day visitors. Obtaining an acceptable response rate was a challenge because visitors were reluctant to complete yet another questionnaire on Clarens. Guesthouse owners and managers reported a lack of interest among guests in completing the questionnaires, and owners and managers were cautious not to appear bothersome to paying guests.

According to the listings in the Free State telephone book, internet surveys and a field survey conducted in Clarens, 242 businesses were listed, comprising 120 accommodation enterprises, sixty-three retail and other businesses, including adventure activities, thirty-five restaurants, and twenty-four arts and craft enterprises. A total of sixty-nine local business owners or managers completed the questionnaires for tourism-related businesses.

4 Theoretical perspective

Theories can be viewed as the establishment of a discourse, and ideas, such as great places, are examples of such discourses. Many theories are products of their time (Allmendinger, 2009; Friedmann, 2011). The post-positivistic shift of the past three decades comes from over-arching theories on the role of power and discourse in theory development. For relativists, the merits of theories are based on the values and interests of the community that holds them, and in planning relativism embodies postmodern planning (Allmendinger, 2009). John Friedmann (2011) sees post-modernism as the government becoming smaller while the beliefs of the corporate world, accentuating market competition, lead the way. His “good city” or “good society” is about changing situations and societies

Table 1: Number of previous visits to Clarens.

Number of previous visits	Overnight visitors, frequency	Percentage	Day visitors, frequency	Percentage
1	93	25.0	21	20.4
2-3	79	21.2	14	13.6
4-5	51	13.7	9	8.7
6-10	24	6.5	10	9.7
More than 10	43	11.6	14	13.6
No response	33	8.9	19	18.4
Total	372	100.0	103	100.0

instead of pursuing profits for politicians and the economically privileged. A normative theory, putting forward how to achieve a world that ought to be, could include communicative or collaborative planning approaches, among others. According to Patsy Healey (2006), Friedmann was a precursor of the communicative planning theory. While collaborative governance spread through the United Kingdom, other partnerships in community development were also unfolding in other parts of the world, including North America. Healey (2006) advocates planning and policymaking based on interactive social processes. Urban planning, after all, is about the city of the future and its impact on people (Hillier & Gunder, 2003). One of the roles of town planners is to determine where particular land use, such as guesthouses or restaurants in this instance, should be located in the future (Todes, 2011). The setting within which planners work has shifted towards an interactive developmental profession (Harrison et al., 2008), although planning with a focus on the quality of places was not a priority (Healey, 2006).

It is important that plans be locally appropriate while also addressing the social context (Todes, 2011). Implementing plans should ideally be a process of negotiation and trade-offs (Healey, 2010). Planning should be an interactive process, hence the terms *collaborative planning* and *communicative planning*, resulting in enhanced qualities of places that are socially inclusive and socially just. Planners should assess the impact that interventions have on people and be able to understand the local dynamics and context (Healey, 2003). Multiplicity is an important quality of urban life and should not be ignored in governance strategies. The attention of governance should be focused on the qualities of place in urban areas, and deliberate attention should be paid to interventions when shaping place qualities (Healey, 2010).

Proper planning should give direction to tourism. This should be done through comprehensive but practical strategic plans. Direction is given through the inclusion of goals and objectives, as well as community participation in compiling local authorities' planning documents. The goals and objectives in-

cluded in planning documents tend not to be broad enough to deal with tourism planning. The goals included in planning documents should be amended in accordance with both general planning objectives and those aimed at tourism. It is important for the success of any tourism destination that the community support the tourism objectives – thus community participation should be included in any planning for future development proposed for or implemented in a region. The value of community inclusion in managing these developments and plans should never be underestimated (Dredge, 2006).

5 Findings and discussion

First, the findings of the survey among overnight and day visitors is discussed, followed by the findings obtained from the business sector in Clarens.

5.1 Overview of overnight and day visitors

The highest percentage (25%) for the various categories regarding previous visits – namely one, two to three, four to five, six to ten, or more than ten previous visits – among the overnight visitors indicated that they were visiting Clarens for the second time, 21.2% were visiting for a third or fourth time and 11% indicated that they had paid Clarens more than ten visits previously (Table 1). The category “visiting Clarens for the second time” was applicable to the highest percentage (20.4%) among the day visitors, and 13.6% of the day visitors had been to Clarens more than ten times.

The majority of visitors to Clarens were from Gauteng, which is the most densely populated area in the country, where 33.7% of the national population lives (Presidency of the Republic of South Africa, 2012). The highest percentage (12.6%) indicated that they were from Johannesburg, the city with the largest population in the country. Just over 10% of the respondents were international visitors, followed by 8.7% of visitors from neighbouring KwaZulu-Natal. Among the visitors, 37% indicated that they had a tertiary education

Table 2: Annual income categories.

Income category	Overnight visitors, frequency	Percentage	Day visitors, frequency	Percentage
Below ZAR 200,000	54	14.5	15	14.6
ZAR 200,001–400,000	68	18.3	19	18.4
ZAR 400,001–700,000	86	23.1	21	20.4
ZAR 700,001–1,000,000	48	12.9	14	13.6
ZAR 1,000,001–1,500,000	32	8.6	5	4.9
Above ZAR 1,500,001	25	6.7	11	10.7
No response	59	15.9	18	17.5
Total	475	100.0	475	100.0

Table 3: Activities and amounts spent.

Activity	Overnight visitors, percentage	Amount spent per respondent (ZAR)	Rating	Day visitors, percentage	Amount spent per respondent (ZAR)	Rating
Spent night in Clarens	81.2	2,192	4.5	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.
Fuelled vehicle	44.4	457	3.9	29.1	395	4
Ate at a restaurant	86.6	632	4.2	72	410	4
Went hiking	23.7	135	4.5	8	44	5
White-water rafting	0.3	630	4.1	2	n. r.	n. r.
Bookstore	25.5	270	4	22	200	4
Art	52.2	129	4.3	41	730	5
Quad bikes	8.6	410	4.1	4	n. r.	n. r.
Open vehicle safaris	0.3	n. r.	3	n. r.	n. r.	n. r.
Abseiling	0.3	n. r.	n. r.	n. r.	n. r.	n. r.
Horse riding	8.6	405	4.2	5	330	4
Paintball	0	0	0	0	0	0
Big four-wheel motorbikes	0.8	n. r.	3.5	1	n. r.	n. r.
4x4 routes	4	125	4	2	n. r.	n. r.
Mountain bikes	4.3	40	4.4	0	0	0
Kiddie farm	2.2	80	3.8	0	0	0
Hot-air balloons	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rock art	5.6	n. r.	4.2	3	n. r.	4
Archery	1.1	n. r.	3	0	0	0
Mini Olympics	0.3	0	n. r.	0	0	0
Golf	9.4	1,033	4.3	6	800	3,5
Fly fishing	5.1	370	2	2	n. r.	n. r.
Zipline	1.1	50	3.7	1	n. r.	n. r.
Fossil hunting	1.3	120	3.8	0	0	0
Bicycles	2.4	150	4	1	n. r.	n. r.
Caves	3.5	150	3.5	2	n. r.	4
Yoga classes	0.5	n. r.	n. r.	0	0	0
Spas / treatments	5.6	625	4.2	6	1,700	5
Visit to the township	6.7	225	4.5	5	n. r.	4
Bought art at the former black township	2.4	199	4.5	0	0	0
Visited the former black township	2.4	n. r.	4	2	n. r.	3
Other 1	92.2	1,150	4.3	8	765	5
Other 2	0.8	300	4	1	n. r.	5
Other 3	0.3	200	n. r.	0	0	0

Note: n. r. = no response, n. a. = not applicable

and nearly half (44%) had a graduate degree. The highest percentage among overnight visitors (23.1%) and the day visitors (20.4%) fell within the ZAR 400,000–700,001 annual income brackets, but large percentages (15.9% of overnight visitors and 18.5% of day visitors) did not want to disclose sensitive information such as income (Table 2).

Most of the respondents by far (62.6%) indicated that they had decided to visit Clarens after a friend or relative had told them about this scenic town. A previous visit convinced 8.3%, and passing through the town convinced 6.2% to return to Clarens. The respondents indicated that the main reasons for visiting Clarens as a weekend getaway were holiday and travel (28%) with peace, tranquillity, mountains and scenery listed by 24.5% as their main reason. The most positive aspects of Clarens were listed as nature, mountains, fresh air and scenery by 33.2%, followed by friendly people, hospitality and service (18.6%), and 17.7% indicated that they came to Clarens because it was peaceful and quiet. The majority of respondents (72.9%) indicated that their expectations of Clarens were met. Table 3 shows the various activities, amounts spent and rating (on a five-point scale) for these activities according to overnight visitors and day visitors. The highest amounts spent were on accommodation, and the top-rated activities were hiking, art and spas or health treatments.

5.2 Evaluation of the Clarens business environment

Because planning and policymaking have to be based on interactive processes (Healey, 2006) and are about its impact on people (Hillier & Gunder, 2003), the inputs of owners of tourism-related businesses were determined. Out of a possible 242 businesses, sixty-nine business owners/managers completed the business questionnaire. The majority of completed questionnaires were received from the retail and adventure activity sectors, which together represent the second-largest sector in Clarens after accommodation (Table 4). Almost 70% of the respondents were either the director or the owner of the business and the rest were managing it, and therefore the data in this section represent the views of businesspeople in positions of authority in Clarens. Most businesses in Clarens are relatively new because most of the respondents at the time had been in business in Clarens for between one and five years (40.6%), and a minority (14.5%) had been in business there for more than ten years. Table 5 shows the turnover and occupancy rate per month. Occupancy is the highest over the December holidays, followed by the Easter holidays in April. With regard to the turnover amounts per month, for the busiest months the majority of the respondents fell in the ZAR 60,000 to 100,000 bracket, followed by ZAR 100,000

Table 4: Businesses surveyed in Clarens.

Type of business	Surveyed	Percentage surveyed
Restaurants	12	17.4
Accommodation	23	33.3
Art & crafts	7	10.1
Retail – other	25	36.2
Adventure activities	1	1.5
Total	68	98.6
No response	1	1.5
Total	69	100

Table 5: Turnover and occupancy rate per month.

Month	Occupancy rate / 100	Turnover / 10	Projected turnover
January	46.5	5.7	88,114
February	49.1	4.8	74,202
March	58.2	7.0	108,211
April	60.8	8.1	125,215
May	48.4	5.0	77,293
June	51.6	5.7	88,114
July	53.8	6.6	102,027
August	46.8	5.2	80,385
September	48.2	5.6	86,569
October	49.5	5.9	91,206
November	50.8	6.9	106,665
December	66.1	9.1	140,674

Table 6: Turnover amounts for the busiest months.

Amounts	Frequency	Percentage
ZAR 0–50,000	7	10.1
ZAR 60,000–100,000	10	14.5
Above ZAR 100,000	8	11.6
Total	25	36.2
System	44	63.8
Total	69	100

and above, and the minority indicated a turnover of between ZAR 0 and ZAR 50,000 (Table 6).

Employment has risen steadily since 2007, and seventy-seven skilled workers, thirty-seven waiters, 133 cleaners, forty casuals, and eighty-two other workers were employed at the time of the study. The perception among the majority of the respondents (55.1%) was that the market is growing, whereas 31.9% responded that the market is remaining the same. Only a minority of 11.6% experienced the market as declining. The reason indicated for the perception of growth in the market was mainly the increase in the numbers of tourists or customers. Whereas nearly 40% of the businesspeople that responded to the questionnaires planned to expand their businesses, the

majority (60.3%) indicated no intention to expand. These respondents mainly indicated either that they were uninterested in expanding their businesses or that doing so was not financially viable. The only obstacle listed by the minority was that there was no space or adequately zoned space available for expansion. Nearly all of the businesspeople (89.2%) were very positive or positive about the business future of Clarens, and only 1.5% were negative. The motivation behind this response was mainly the growing tourism trade in Clarens and to a lesser extent the beautiful scenery of the area. The Clarens business community viewed the excellent service and products that they delivered and supplied as the most positive aspects of doing business in Clarens.

The majority (33.9%) of Clarens businesspeople were neutral about the possibility of new business developments, either inside or outside of Clarens, 17.5% were against such developments and 15.6% were in favour of new businesses. The vast majority of businesspeople (75%) reported that they did not want to see any national chain stores allowed in Clarens because "Bethlehem is close enough (30 km away) for those tourists that need to shop at these stores," and 18.8% indicated that a few carefully selected chain stores should be allowed. A minor share (5.8%) of the respondents indicated that they would like to see national chain stores allowed. This is a clear indicator that the local community understands the impact a national enterprise may have and that this may be prevented if a proper public participation route is followed.

To allow multinational enterprises in a small tourist town is something that should be considered carefully because it might disturb a small town's ambience. The reason for this is that tourists come to a small town because of its unique attributes and not for multinational enterprises or for a shopping experience. A greater concern, however, is the influence these multinationals tend to have on the economy of a small town because they act like a vacuum cleaner, taking cash out of the local communities' pockets without investing in the rural community. A further concern is that usually such large corporations tend not to care about the local economy and whether it deteriorates because most of them will simply pack up and establish somewhere else if this happens. The need and motivation for local entrepreneurial development is thus of utmost importance.

6 Conclusion

The research questions posed were, first, what lessons are to be learned from a flourishing town and, second, whether areas of concern existed that could derail a successful town. In addressing these, the normative theory on how to achieve a world

that ought to be achieved (Friedmann, 2011) is applied. The vast majority of the interviewees experienced Clarens as a "great place" and contributing towards the Clarens success story are location and accessibility, the scenic environment, constant financial capital and the active fine arts community. Friedmann's (2011) good city concept seems to be applicable to Clarens, where profits for politicians and the economically privileged are apparently not pursued.

The following lessons were learned from the Clarens case study about taking advantage of the opportunities present in this small tourist town: geographically, Clarens is located approximately 300 km from South Africa's biggest economic region, Gauteng. The two largest cities in this region, Pretoria and Johannesburg, with the latter only three hours' drive from Clarens, make Gauteng the biggest contributor to tourists visiting Clarens. Clarens also is a three-hour drive from another major city, Durban, although visitors from KZN proved to be only fourth in the figures, probably because of Durban's proximity to local tourist destinations such as the north and south coast and Durban itself. Bloemfontein is also a three-hour drive from the town. The second-largest percentage of visitors to Clarens come from the Free State because Clarens is the closest tourism destination. This provides Clarens with a perfect opportunity to be accessible to three major markets within a short distance, which has contributed significantly to its success. International tourist access is also facilitated by the easy access provided by national routes and two international airports, in Johannesburg and Durban. This is significant due to 10% of tourists visiting Clarens being from outside South Africa.

Other strengths include the natural and unique beauty of Clarens, which is an undeniable part of its success story, and economically Clarens has benefited from the inflow of capital from outside its region. Financially, this strengthens the local economic base because capital generated within Clarens by the community is not only spent in Clarens, but supported and increased by capital that is raised outside the region's borders and then invested in Clarens. Although a number of guesthouse and business owners are from other regions and do not live in the area, the influence of managers and money spent on investments and overseeing these enterprises cannot be overlooked. The importance of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project must also be taken into account in Clarens's success story. It has provided more than simply additional infrastructure: it has also helped promote the area to international guests. The character of the town has also become more tourist-friendly in the sense that it has started to cater to the needs of people not originally from the town. This has created a tolerance of other languages and cultures, and has promoted the area as an attractive area for investment. This may not have been one of the key factors at the beginning of the town's development,

when it was still relatively unknown, but it is relevant in order to understand the ongoing success of Clarens.

In the interview mentioned earlier, Van Biljon (2014) also said that “the occupancy rate peaks during April and December; it must be noted that every weekend and during school holidays Clarens attracts visitors and there is no peak or off-peak season in Clarens.” This continuous economic and social influx has created a stable economic base and financial environment in which businesses can flourish. Artists that moved to Clarens to establish workshops and galleries introduced a foundation for tourism to start from. Quality art is sold at reasonable prices. The variety of artists and galleries found in the town also creates a wider variety available to tourists and provides them with an additional reason to visit the area.

Risks exist, such as a lack of cooperation among all parties – namely, planners or decision-makers and local residents (Cerara, 2014; Bratina Jurkovič, 2014). The ideal would be for the main role-players to be part of all planning policies (Donaldson et al., 2014). Some respondents stated that products were becoming more expensive and that Clarens was losing its rural feel due to overcrowding during weekends, and they cited the threat of multinational enterprises opening in Clarens. Although this might seem like a good thing from a business perspective, it might prove more of a frustration for those visiting the town for a relaxed quiet weekend.

Tourism has become a competitive industry, and learning how to cater properly to tourists is becoming increasingly important, as can be inferred from the findings of this study. In order to address the risks mentioned above, Clarens needs to become more competitive in the national market, but it also needs to position itself better for its own market. The hypothesis of the study – namely, that, by understanding why a tourist town such as Clarens succeeds whereas other towns falter and fail, town and regional planners can improve the outcomes of small-town development – thus can be confirmed.

.....
Maléne Campbell

University of the Free State, Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Bloemfontein
E-mail: campbem@ufs.ac.za

Notes

[1] EUR 1 = ZAR 16.38 (as of April 2016).

References

- Allmendinger, P. (2009) *Planning theory*. Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Mac-Millan. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-01360-6
- Binns, T. & Nel, E. (2002) Tourism as a local development strategy in South Africa. *The Geographical Journal*, 168(3), pp. 235–247. DOI: 10.1111/1475-4959.00051
- Bratina Jurkovič, N. (2014) Perception, experience and the use of public urban spaces by residents of urban neighbourhoods. *Urbani izziv*, 25(1), pp. 107–125. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-01-003
- Cerara, A. (2014) From reaction to initiative: Potentials of contributive participation. *Urbani izziv*, 25(1), pp. 93–106. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-01-002
- Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of the Republic of South Africa (2009) *Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP)*. Pretoria.
- Donaldson, R. (2007) Tourism in small town South Africa. In: Rogerson, C. M. & Visser, G. (eds.) *Urban tourism in the developing world: The South African experience*, pp. 307–326. New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers.
- Donaldson, R., Benn, J., Campbell, M. M. & De Jager, A. (2014) The impact of studentification on reshaping urban space in two South Africa cities. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), pp. S176–S188. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-013
- Dredge, D. (2006) Policy networks and the local organisation of tourism. *Tourism Management*, 27(2), pp. 269–280. DOI: 10.1016/j.tourman.2004.10.003
- Friedmann, J. (2011) *Insurgencies: Essays in planning theory*. London, Routledge.
- Government of South Africa (1996) *The development and promotion of tourism in South Africa*. Pretoria, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.
- Grabe, A. (2014) *Attractions in Clarens* (interview, 23 Sept. 2014).
- Harrison, P., Todes, A. & Watson, V. (2008) *Planning and transformation learning from the post-apartheid experience*. New York, Routledge.
- Healey, P. (2003) Collaborative planning in perspective. *Planning Theory*, 12(2), pp. 101–123. DOI: 10.1177/14730952030022002
- Healey, P. (2006) *Collaborative planning, shaping places in fragmented societies*. Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave.
- Healey, P. (2010) *Making better places: The planning project in the twenty-first century*. Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-01379-8
- Hillier, J. & Gunder, M. (2003) Planning fantasies. An exploration of a potential Lacanian framework for understanding development assessment planning. *Planning Theory*, 2(3), pp. 225–248. DOI: 10.1177/147309520323005
- Hoogendoorn, G. & Visser, G. (2004) Second homes and small-town (re) development: The case of Clarens. *Journal of Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences*, 32(1), pp. 105–114.
- John, L. (2012) *Secondary cities in South Africa: The start of a conversation*. The background report. Johannesburg: South African Cities Network.
- Maree, A. (2015) *Eastern Free State scenery* (interview, 28 Sept. 2015).
- Maritz, T. (2015) *Tourism activities on farms* (interview, 1 Oct. 2015).

Marais, L. (2004) From small town to tourism Mecca: The Clarens fairy tale. In: Rogerson, C. M. & Visser, G. (eds.) *Tourism and development: Issues in contemporary South Africa*, pp. 420–436. Pretoria, Africa Institute of Africa.

Marais, L. & Atkinson, D. (2006) *Towards a post-mining economy in a small town: Challenges, obstacles and trends*. Paper presented at the Desert Knowledge Australia Conference 3–6 November, Alice Springs, Australia. Typescript.

Nel, A. (2016) *The Maluti mountain range* (interview, 19 Apr. 2016).

Nel, V. (2013) A development planning approach to the plight of small and dying towns in South Africa. In: Donaldson, R. & Marais, J. G. L. (eds.) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, pp. 242–250. New York, Nova Science Publishers.

Presidency of the Republic of South Africa (2012) *National Development Plan*. Available at: www.gov.co.za (accessed 3 Sept. 2015).

Qayi, S. (2013) Re-orientating rural development in the eastern Cape: Small town regenerations: A strategy for rural development: The case study of Keiskammahoek. In: Donaldson, R. & Marais, J. G. L. (eds.) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, pp. 242–250. New York, Nova Science Publishers.

Reynolds, K. & Antrobus, G. (2012) Identifying economic drivers in small towns in South Africa. In: Donaldson, R. & Marais, J. G. L. (eds.) *Small town geographies in Africa: Experiences from South Africa and elsewhere*, pp. 35–43. New York, Nova Science Publishers.

Rex, R., Campbell, M. M. & Visser, G. E. (2014) The on-going desegregation of residential property ownership in South Africa: The case of Bloemfontein. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), pp. S5–S23. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-001

Rogerson, C. M. (2013) Improving market access opportunities for urban small, medium and micro enterprises in South Africa. *Urbani izziv*, 24(2), pp. 133–143. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2013-24-02-005

Rogerson, C. M. & Rogerson, J. M. (2014) Urban tourism destinations in South Africa: Divergent trajectories 2001–2012. *Urbani izziv*, 25(supplement), pp. S189–S203. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-014

Rogerson, J. M. (2013) Market segmentation and the changing budget hotel industry in urban South Africa. *Urbani izziv*, 24(2), pp. 112–123. DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2013-24-02-003

Sharpley, R. & Telfer, D. J. (2002) *Tourism and development: Concepts and issues*. Clevedon, UK, Channel View.

South African Local Government Information Centre (2015) *The SA local government briefing*. Rondebosch, Cape Town.

Todes, A. (2011) Reinventing planning: Critical reflections. *Urban Forum*, 22(May), pp. 115–133. DOI: 10.1007/s12132-011-9109-x

United Nations Human Settlements Programmes (2013) *Urban planning for city leaders*. Nairobi.

Van Biljon, L. (2014) *The impact of development on Clarens* (interview, 14 Oct. 2015).

Van der Merwe, I., Ferreira, S. & Zietsman, L. (2005) An investment strategy for effective town development in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 16(4), pp. 295–312. DOI: 10.1007/s12132-005-0008-x

Visser, G. (2005) Towards understanding of the Free State tourism system. *Acta Academica*, Supplementum 4, pp. 1–45.