

## Research Article

# SEEKING SUSTAINABLE ROCK ART TOURISM: THE EXAMPLE OF THE MALOTI-DRAKENSBERG PARK WORLD HERITAGE SITE<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

*The aim of this paper is to go beyond a binary opposition approach that pits preservation against tourism development, and to determine the ways in which tourism can contribute to the preservation of rock art sites. The results presented derive from research conducted in the region of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (UDP) of South Africa. We examine how an analysis of tourist practices and motivations can be used in the development of sustainable rock art tourism. Specific attention is paid to the identification of different types of visitors to the area, their reasons for visiting and their practices while there. Five main types of visitors were identified: 'hedonists', 'outdoor and sports tourists', 'information seekers', 'rock art enthusiasts' and 'general sightseers'. This understanding of the types of tourist visiting the UDP led us to determine a set of actions that might be taken to develop sustainable rock art tourism in the area. Finally, we consider the extent to which our approach and our recommendations hold lessons for those managing rock art in other areas.*

**Keywords:** rock art management, sustainable tourism, tourist motivations and practices, uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park, South Africa.

## INTRODUCTION

International public interest in rock art sites has grown considerably since the 1980s, a fact that is reflected in the efforts made by many countries and international institutions to protect and highlight rock art sites through appropriate tools like the UNESCO World Heritage List (Sanz & Keenan 2011). There has been a rapid increase in visitor numbers at many major international public rock art sites. Many countries are investigating how to develop additional sites for rock art tourism (Smith *et al.* 2012). Managers of this growing network of public rock art sites have to reconcile the apparently contradictory needs for the long-term preservation of the sites and the short- to medium-term social and economic needs that can be met by tourism development (Clottes 2005).

Tourism is often criticised for its negative impact on rock art sites and we do not contest that precautions must be taken in order to reconcile tourism development with preservation (Stanley-Price 2000; Deacon 2006a; Yunis 2006b). However, whereas in some areas authors have focused on the inappropriate tourist behaviour that causes damage to rock art sites (Soleilhavoup 1993, 1994), research into rock art tourism in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (UDP) (Duval & Smith 2013) has shown the complexity of the human factors that affect the vulnerability of the paintings. Measures to involve the local community, the location of sites, the history of tourism in the

area and current tourism dynamics all contribute to a tourism system that makes the rock art sites vulnerable. In the UDP, this vulnerability is actually accentuated by a lack of rock art tourists. Consequently, preserving UDP rock art should involve tourism promotion and development.

The objective of the present article is to go beyond a binary approach that pits preservation against tourism development and to use the dynamics observed in the UDP to show how tourism can contribute to the preservation of the area's rock art. We first review the issues involved in developing rock art tourism, and then focus on the specific case of the UDP, analysing the types of tourists who come to the area, their practices and their motivations. These analyses allow us to create a tourist typology that can be used in the planning of all future rock art tourism developments in the UDP. We identify a number of actions that can be used to promote sustainable rock art tourism. Finally, we discuss the extent to which such actions might be applicable to other parts of the world.

## TOURISM VS PRESERVATION AT ROCK ART SITES

### EVOLUTION OF RESEARCH INTO ROCK ART TOURISM

Research into tourism at public rock art sites has focused mostly on how the impact of tourists can be managed in order to prevent damage to the sites. Thus, studies of Aboriginal Australian sites (Sullivan 1984; Gale 1985; Gale & Jacobs 1986) have examined how best to control and limit inappropriate tourist behaviour, such as touching the art and graffiti. The recommendations of these studies include introducing guided visits, visitor books and the making of heritage interpretation displays (Sullivan 1984; Dragovich 1995). Another section of this research involved studies into the broader issues created by tourism at rock art sites, the nature of the risk involved when sites are opened to the public and the strategies that can be used to mitigate this risk (Pearson & Sullivan 1995; Bednarik 1995; Rossi & Webb 2007, 2008). Implemented through site management/conservation plans and embracing the notion of 'carrying capacity' (Jacobs & Gale 1994; Pearson & Sullivan 1995; Stanley-Price 2000), this type of management approach now forms the core of best practice in most regions. It commonly involves zoning sites between public areas in which tourism is encouraged and closed areas where sites are off limits (Nordby 1991; Gutiérrez *et al.* 1996; Di Lernia & Gallinaro 2011). The research underpinning this kind of contemporary management approach has focused more on tourist behaviour than on tourist motivations. It therefore considers matters affecting the preservation of the rock art without considering the broader

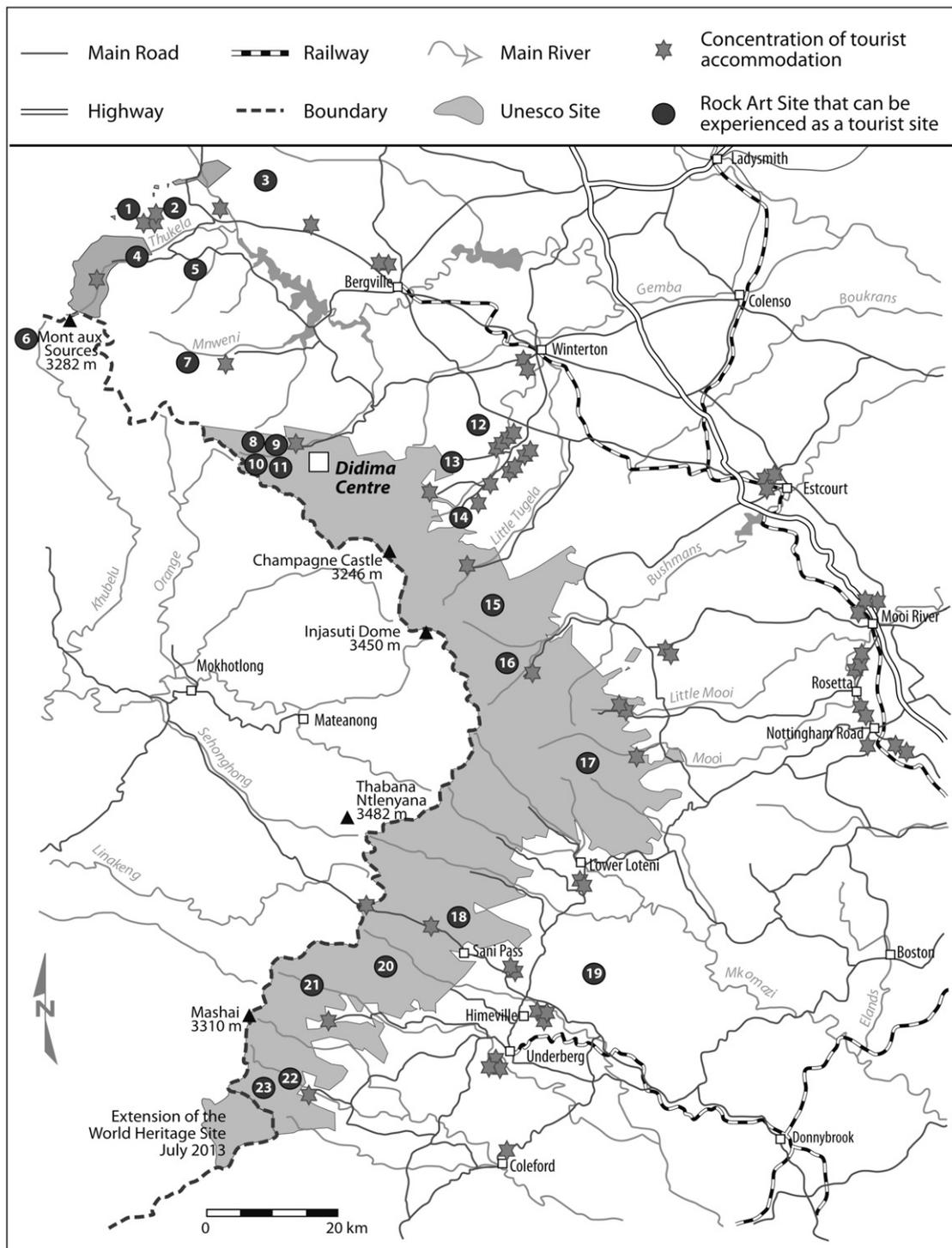


FIG. 1. Rock art sites open to tourists in the UDP region (2009 figures). Visitor figures for each of the sites numbered here can be found in Table 1.

tourism context in which rock art sites form just one part.

However, ensuring good visitor behaviour at sites is also partly about meeting visitor expectations (Loubser 1991, 2001). A number of researchers have therefore examined tourist motivations and emphasised the importance of improving the quality of information provided to tourists (Brown *et al.* 2003; Deacon 2006a,b). This allows managers better to orientate their tourism development strategies (Fernandes 2004, 2007). But, most of these studies have addressed the issue from a relatively narrow perspective, only considering the behaviour of tourists who visit rock art sites and not taking into account the overall tourism dynamics of the relevant region.

Janette Deacon (1993) was one of the first researchers to

take a wider view when she evaluated the interest of all tourists visiting the Cederberg (South Africa) regardless of their intention to visit rock art sites. Nevertheless, the resulting recommendations still focused on protecting the paintings (provision of walkways, barriers, etc.), and the results were not used to draw up sustainable, regional-scale tourism development actions. It must be noted that, at the beginning of the 1990s, very little work had been carried out into the retroactive effects of tourism on preservation. The preservation of rock art at that time involved placing strict controls over tourists, who were primarily seen as “redoubtable alteration factors” needing mitigation (Soleilhavoup 1993, 1994) and who needed to be physically restrained from getting close to the art (Bednarik

**TABLE 1.** Tourist frequencies at rock art sites in 2009. Sites for which accurate visitor records exist are highlighted in bold and underlined. The other numbers are estimated from field observations and stakeholder interviews.

No.	Name of the site	Visitor data for 2009	No.	Name of the site	Visitor data for 2009	No.	Name of the site	Visitor data for 2009	No.	Name of the site	Visitor data for 2009
1	Lone Rock	300	7	<b><u>Rock art shelter in Mnweni area</u></b>	<b><u>110</u></b>	12	Shelter in Maswazini area	600	18	Ikanti	350
2	Shelter in Montusi lodge properties	2000	8	Procession Shelter	50	13	Cow Cave	400	19	Snowhill Shelter	200
3	New Beginnings	nc	9	Lions Rock	50	14	Rock art Shelter near Champagne Castle Resort	nc	20	Mpongweni	150
4	<b><u>Sigubudu</u></b>	<b><u>3640</u></b>	10	Brotherton Rock	200	15	<b><u>Battle Cave</u></b>	<b><u>228</u></b>	21	Bushman's Rock	500
5	eBusingata Shelter	10	11	Lower Mushroom Shelter	1800	16	<b><u>Main Caves</u></b>	<b><u>9000</u></b>	22	Langalibalele Cave	200
6	Rock art shelter near Libono local community	700		<b><u>Didima Centre</u></b>	<b><u>5800</u></b>	17	<b><u>Game Pass Shelter</u></b>	<b><u>950</u></b>	23	Mystery Shelter	75

1995). Today, a more global approach is required if a sustainable form of rock art tourism is to be developed (Deacon 2005, 2006a; Yunis 2006a). By identifying the issues affecting rock art tourism, it is possible to determine the ways in which tourism dynamics can contribute to the preservation of these sites.

#### PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROCK ART TOURISM IN THE UKHAHLAMBA-DRAKENSBERG PARK (UDP) AND VICINITY

Formed by an escarpment that rises to an altitude of 3408 metres, the South African part of what is now the Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site<sup>1</sup> contains more than 600 rock painting sites. The overwhelming majority of the paintings were produced by the Bushmen, the indigenous hunter-gatherers who lived in South Africa before the arrival of African agro-pastoralists and European colonists. Most of the paintings are in rock shelters and were produced from about 3000 BP to the time of the arrival of European colonists in the 19th century (Mazel 2009: 91).

Most tourists visiting the UDP region (which we define as the Lesotho border running eastwards up until the N3 motorway) are attracted by the scenery, the grandiose character of its escarpment and its rich fauna and flora. There is a strong emphasis on nature tourism that is a product of the cumulative impacts of apartheid on the tourism of the region (Duval & Smith 2013). The main tourist activities offered are outdoor sports and leisure in the context of the relaxing mountain environment (golf, tennis, spa, etc.). Although 23 rock art sites offer guided tours, they are visited by a relatively small number of tourists (Fig. 1 and Table 1). In 2009, of the estimated 740 000 tourists who came to the UDP region, only about 27 300 (less than 4%) tourists visited a pay-to-enter rock art site, even though this cultural dimension was a major contributing factor to the area being listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Duval & Smith 2013).

On the surface, this statistic is hard to comprehend. Many rock art sites are close to hiking trails and easily accessible, even where they are not signposted. Addressing low visitor numbers therefore has to include the fostering of broader cultural heritage awareness and education. Education of the existence of the location of rock art sites alone will not be enough and may even prove counterproductive. The links between accessibility, vulnerability and education were highlighted at the beginning of the 1980s (Mazel 1982), leading eventually to regulations banning hikers from visiting rock art sites unless accompanied by a warden (Amafa 2008, 2009). However, the number of rock art sites and the size of the area make this ban difficult to enforce. Even though the locations of all rock art sites have

been removed from official maps, locals and long-time visitors remember site locations and this means that unaccompanied visits still occur. In addition to these visits, hikers also chance upon sites while walking in the mountains (field observations made in 2010). Consequently, in order to prevent the sites from being damaged, it is essential to raise cultural heritage awareness/sensitivity and to promulgate etiquette codes. In the UDP region, for example, using guided visits can help to raise awareness and thereby contribute to building social values around rock art sites and to enhancing their preservation (Gutiérrez *et al.* 1996). Accredited guides can inform tourists of the rules they should follow when visiting a rock art site (Celeste Rossouw, pers. comm. 2009). For visitors, the tourist experience becomes a learning experience, combining new knowledge with the discovery of the heritage of another culture. In return, this learning contributes to the sharing of heritage values, as people are more inclined to want to preserve rock art sites when they understand their significance (Marymor 2001; Clottes 2005). These processes are even more effective when site presentation practices are of high quality and meet visitor expectations (ICOMOS 1990; Loubser 2001; Deacon 2005). In this respect, the issues affecting the UDP region are similar to those facing many other areas with rock art sites (Deacon 2005; Illiès & Lanjouw 2005; Hampson 2013).

Spreading the principles of preservation *via* tourism development must also involve local people. This is particularly the case in the Drakensberg, where there is spatial, temporal and socio-cultural distance between the creators of the paintings and the communities who live near the sites today (Wright & Mazel 2007). As a result some rock art sites have lost their original religious significances (Lewis-Williams 2003) and are today used for utilitarian purposes (e.g. sheep pens) that have damaged the paintings (Jeremy Hollmann, pers. comm. 2009). This is especially true for the rock art sites in the UDP buffer zone (e.g. the Mnweni area). In such situations, developing rock art tourism across the entire area may help to increase the social value of the sites and thereby help to ensure their preservation (Hitchcock 2005). The fact that a place can develop social value in the eyes of some because of the way it is seen by others is one of the inherent functions and merits of good heritage tourism practice (Lazzarotti 2003).

As has been noted in other parts of southern Africa (Ouzman 1995), some of the Drakensberg sites are being symbolically re-appropriated by local Bantu-speaking communities (Prins 2000). These re-appropriation processes are reinforced by the fact that inter-ethnic marriages have ensured that descendants of the Bushmen survive within the Bantu-speaking communities that populate the foothills of the Drakens-

berg (Dowson 1994; Wright & Mazel 2007; Prins 2009). Some communities, such as the Duma clan, are now reasserting their Bushman heritage (Francis 2009; Prins 2009) and demanding access to sites such as Game Pass Shelter in order to carry out rituals (Ndlovu 2009; Duval 2012). In contrast to this dynamic and transforming African social context, the management of cultural resources remains highly conservative and Eurocentric, as has been noted in other African 'post-colonial' contexts (Loubser 2006; Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Poullos 2010; Bwasiri 2011; Ndlovu 2011). The tourism development issue here is not about encouraging appropriation, but about defining how the sites can be managed in a way that will satisfy both legislated management structures and indigenous stewardship aspirations (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Taruvinga & Ndoro 2003; Mumma 2005; Jopela 2011).

The effectiveness of the juggling between the processes of preservation and utilisation is, in large part, linked to the nature of the tourism dynamics at the sites concerned (Campbell 2005). From a pragmatic point of view, the economic benefits of tourism can be used to finance conservation interventions and/or development actions that will assist in protecting the sites (Loubser 2001). It is particularly important to harness such benefits in Africa, where the preservation of heritage is grossly underfunded (Coulson 2005; Illiès & Lanjouw 2005; Deacon 2006b). At the same time, tourism revenues contribute to the process of increasing the social value of sites (Gutiérrez *et al.* 1996; Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Parkington 2005; Deacon 2006b). For government bodies, the broader societal and economic benefits generated by tourism at heritage sites enhances the significance of these sites and, therefore, the incentive to protect them. Within the UDP region, the fact that the rock art sites generate so little direct income partly explains why the area's main conservation agency, Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (EKZNW), has invested so little in them. Compared with the natural resources, which are its main tourist attractions, the rock art sites are a 'low earner' and therefore remain a low priority for EKZNW (Sanz & Keenan 2011: 85; Mazel 2012). However, for the local population, turning a site into even a small tourist attraction can lead to a paradigm shift in terms of preservation, as the site is no longer just another place of ancestral value to a few families; it becomes a place of potential economic and social benefit for the entire community (Hitchcock 2005; Fushiya 2010). This paradigm shift can have both positive and negative consequences and so it needs to be managed carefully. Hence, it is essential that local communities are fully integrated into both preservation and development planning. If not, the management system cannot be sustainable (Deacon 2005; Hitchcock 2005; Taruvinga 2005; Ndoro 2006; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008).

In the South African context, the development of rock art tourism is closely linked with socioeconomic development and the integration of previously disadvantaged people within the mainstream of national economy (Binns & Nel 2003; Allen & Brennan 2004; Rogerson & Visser 2004). Located in rural regions that are marked by high unemployment (sometimes above 40%), the rock art sites are able to act as drivers of rural tourism and thereby to transfer capital and skills to previously disadvantaged segments of the population. Rock art can therefore help to rebalance South Africa's skewed socio-economic dynamics (Rogerson 2003; Parkington 2005). Central government recognition of this potential was made plain by the decision to use the Poverty Relief Fund<sup>2</sup> to develop tourism infrastructure at the rock art sites of Game Pass Shelter in the UDP (Smith 2006) and Wildebeest Kuil close to Kimberley in the Northern Cape (Laue *et al.* 2003; Morris 2012) as well as the Living Land-

scape Project in Clanwilliam, Western Cape (Parkington 2005). These sites were developed in a manner that created the maximum number of unskilled local jobs during their construction and with a vision to provide income-generating opportunities for local communities in perpetuity as the sites grew to become sustainable rock art tourism developments.

The first major efforts of this kind, to involve local communities in UDP rock art management, were made in the 1990s (Wahl *et al.* 1998), in the preparation phases for the area's listing as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In parallel with the management plan for the area's cultural resources (Mazel 2012), a system of community custodians was set up: "In order to address the conflict created by a desire to limit human access to rock art sites, and the desire of the public to visit these sites (...) The purpose of the custodian is primarily to accompany visitors to rock art sites and to ensure appropriate behaviour at the sites" (Amafa 2008: 60). These custodians were given a formally defined status in 2004: they are accredited by Amafa but are not employees, and the majority of their earnings come from the fees they are paid by tourists (Celeste Rossouw, pers. comm. 2009). As a result, the system can only survive if there are enough tourists to provide the custodians with a living wage. This is far from being the case, especially in the southern UDP region, where one custodian will sometimes receive as few as three tourists per month and thereby earn around 100 rand (approx. 10 Euros). As a result, turnover of custodians is high and it is becoming increasingly difficult to find people willing to take on this role (Celeste Rossouw, pers. comm. 2010). A shortage of custodians will rapidly undermine the system and adversely affect the preservation of the rock art sites.

Contrary to general preconceptions, the small number of tourists visiting rock art sites is here contributing to the vulnerability of the sites. The preservation of the rock art sites would be greatly facilitated by the development of sustainable tourism, but this must be done in a controlled and channelled way so as to prevent vandalism and unnecessary human damage (Loubser 2001; Deacon 2005; Illiès & Lanjouw 2005). Achieving this development will require overcoming both the inertia of the existing tourism dynamics and stopping the privileging of nature over culture in all aspects of tourism development and marketing (Duval & Smith 2013). One way research can contribute to this process is by proposing development actions based on analyses of the practices and motivations of tourists visiting the area (for example: Ryan & Huyton 2000; Foo *et al.* 2004; Lekakis 2008). We do this here, by developing an approach to market segmentation that is based on the development of a tourist typology (Cochrane 2006; UNWTO 2007; Dolnicar 2008).

## UNDERSTANDING TOURIST PRACTICES AND MOTIVATIONS

### AIMS AND METHODS

Our analysis of tourist practices and motivations is part of a wider study of the issues surrounding the promotion of UDP rock art (Duval & Smith 2013). The tourist survey we carried out between December 2009 and September 2010 had two main objectives: 1) To determine the practices and motivations of tourists staying in the area, regardless of whether or not they visited a rock art site; 2) To probe the specific motivations for tourist visits to rock art sites and the importance of rock art in their choice of uKhahlamba-Drakensberg as a holiday destination. We then combined these two types of data in order to draw up a typology of tourist profiles and to define recommendations for developing sustainable rock art tourism.

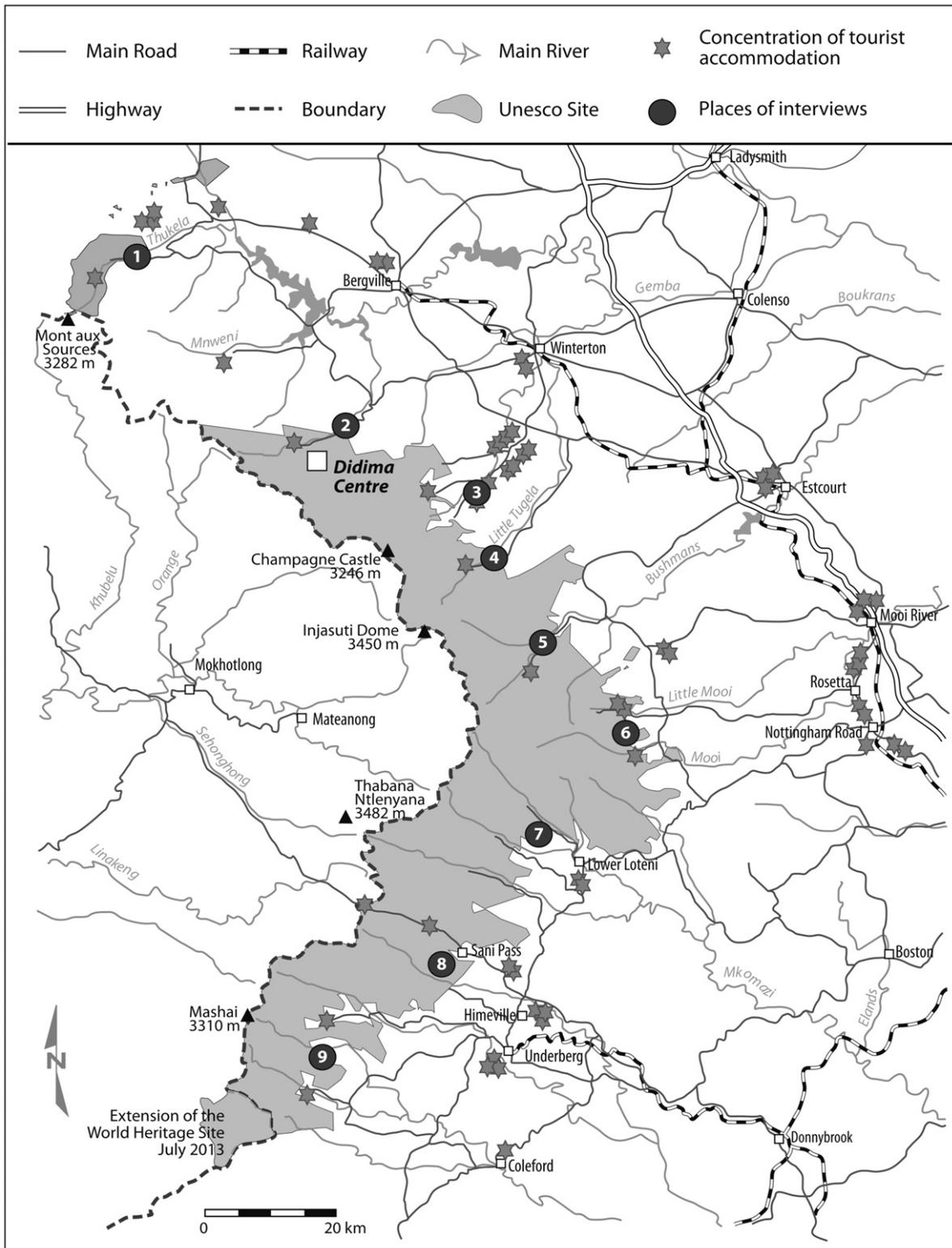


FIG. 2. The areas where the survey was carried out.

To meet our objectives, the survey was carried out at different times of the year (December, February, April, July/August) and in several areas of the Drakensberg (Fig. 2 and Table 2). We also targeted a wide range of survey sites, including different types of accommodation and tourist facilities (Table 3). Nevertheless, the results should be considered as indicators of trends, rather than generalised statistical data generated using a strictly quantitative process. In order to obtain truly generalisable data it would have been necessary to survey a statistically representative sample drawn up on the basis of reliable visitor

information. However, although EKZNW collects relatively accurate data on the numbers of people who pay to enter the protected areas of the UDP (Duval 2013), these visitors are only a small fraction of the tourists who come to this region. For example, according to available figures (South African Tourism estimates; K. Kohler, pers. comm. August 2010), visitor numbers in 2009 were between 207 900 (the number of visitors officially entering one of the 13 protected areas that make up the UDP) and 740 000 (the estimated number of tourists who stay in the UDP vicinity and enjoy mountain scenery without going

**TABLE 2.** Interview location data by area.

No.	Area	Number of interviews	% of total	No.	Area	Number of interviews	% of total
1	Royal Natal National Park	114	25	6	Highmoor and Kamberg	34	8
2	Cathedral Peak	57	13	7	Lotheni and Vergelegen	8	2
3	Champagne-Monks Cowl	82	18	8	Sani Pass and Cobham	33	7
4	Injasuthi	18	4	9	Garden Castle and Bushman's Nek	41	9
5	Giant's Castle	63	14				

into the UDP and paying an entrance fee). Consequently, in order to ensure the validity of our sample, interviews were conducted at each site up until the point at which no new response profiles were encountered (Quivry & Van Campenhoudt 1995).

We carried out a total of 450 semi-directed interviews, alternating open and closed questions in order to combine quantitative data about tourist practices with qualitative data about tourist perceptions (Neuman 2005). In the resulting database, 72% of respondents were domestic tourists and 28% were international tourists. This ratio is similar to that provided by official estimates for the UDP region, according to which 70% of tourists are from South Africa and 30% are from abroad (South African Tourism estimates; K. Kohler, pers. comm. August 2010). In the case of international tourists, we only interviewed people travelling independently, because tourists travelling with an organised group have little control over their itinerary through South Africa and it would therefore be meaningless to question them about their motivations for visiting any particular place.

Responses to the two main open questions (motivations for coming to the Drakensberg and for visiting the rock art sites) were subjected to both lexical and content analysis (Sphinx Lexica software) in order to code the responses according to a list of prescribed choices. This coding was carried out by two observers in order to limit individual interpretative biases (Melanie Duval and Ouled Saad, in partnership with the Edytem laboratory UMR 5204 CNRS/University of Savoie, France). Finally, the responses to our questionnaire allowed us to recognise 46 variables, 34 of which were closed variables (Table 4). We tested for the existence of correlations between the 34 closed variables by carrying out a bivariate statistical analysis. This analysis revealed 15 discriminant variables that we subjected to a multiple correspondence

**TABLE 3.** Interview location data by location type.

Location of interview	Number of interviews	% of total (450 interviews)
Accommodation	236	51
Car park, starting point for hiking	97	21
Rock art site and Didima centre	59	14
Others (including picnic area)	58	14
Type of tourist accommodation	Number of interviews	% of total (450 interviews)
Self-catering cottage	103	23
EKZN wildlife resort	96	21
Camping and caravan park	90	20
Backpacker	63	14
Hotel	46	11
Bed and Breakfast	22	5
Family/ friends	10	2
Others (day visitors)	20	4

analysis (Sphinx and SAS software) (Table 4 in bold and capital letters). An ascendant hierarchical classification (SAS software) revealed the existence of five groups of tourists (Table 5). Analysing these groups (Sphinx software) provided insights into tourism dynamics and the place of rock art in these dynamics.

**PROFILES OF TOURISTS VISITING THE UDP**

The five tourist profiles identified by our analyses were labelled 'hedonist', 'outdoor and sports tourists', 'information seekers', 'rock art enthusiasts' and 'general sightseers'. These labels are derived from the particular set of characteristics of each type of visitor and from published labels used to categorise visitor types in other global tourism studies.

Group 1: 'Hedonists' (36% of the total) are mostly domestic tourists (92%). According to Ryan and Sterling (2001), their title arises from the fact that it appears that one of their main uses of this area is for the purpose of relaxation. Their motivations are generally contemplative and recreational and they come to the Drakensberg to relax (43%), get away from their urban lives (39%) in a place that is family-friendly (22%). They organise their holidays as they desire, and a wide range of available activities is an important factor in their choice of destination (19%). A relatively large proportion (33%) wish to engage in leisure activities (spa, golf, tennis). Most live in Gauteng (45%) or KwaZulu-Natal (39%), and have been to the Drakensberg several times (44% had visited the area between 1 and 10 times), with many coming once a year (35%). They are mostly families (61%) with children (55%) who visit for between three and six days (38%). They tend to stay at the northern or southern extremities of the Drakensberg (66% for the Royal Natal and Champagne Valleys, on the northern side of the mountains; 18% for Garden Castle Valley, on the southern side) because these two areas are the most easily accessible from the urban centres of Johannesburg and Durban. 'Hedonists' are motivated by the proximity of the area to where they live (20%), and when they arrive, they tend to spend their time close to where they are staying. Only 11% of them go to other parts of the UDP.

Rock art is clearly not one of the priorities for this group, as only 6% visit rock art sites. This is partly because many (50%) had already seen rock art during a previous holiday. Nevertheless, out of the remaining 50% who had not yet visited a rock art site in the Drakensberg, only 5% were planning to do so. Individuals who did not intend to visit rock art, gave the following reasons: they had not come for that (50%), they were not interested (44%) or they had already seen rock art in other regions or countries (26%). Thus, visiting a rock art site depended on the opportunities that presented themselves (16% of respondents): "If it was an activity next to the hotel, something that was easily accessible, why not. But, if not, it doesn't interest me enough to make the effort to go and see what it's like" (tourist 144). Finally, 36% of 'hedonists' said they would visit a rock art site if they came back for a longer holiday, as long as information about the

**TABLE 4.** Variables of the interview. Where headings are in bold capital letters, these variables have been determined as relevant after bivariate statistical analysis and used for the multiple correspondence analysis.

<b>Q1 – Number of the interview</b>	
Number data	
<b>Q2 – Date of the interview</b>	
Number data	
<b>Q3 – Place of the interview</b>	
1. Rock art site (including Didima Centre)	3. Car park/hiking starting point
2. Accommodation	4. Others (including picnic area)
<b>Q4 – Area of the interview in the Drakensberg</b>	
1. Royal Natal National Park	6. Highmoor and Kamberg
2. Cathedral Peak	7. Lotheni and Vergelegen
3. Champagne-Monks Cowl	8. Sani Pass and Cobham
4. Injasuthi	9. Garden Castle and Bushman's Nek
5. Giant's Castle	
<b>Q5 – ARE YOU LIVING AND WORKING IN RSA?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q6 – Which province do you come from? (only for domestic tourist)</b>	
1. KZN	6. Northern Cape
2. Gauteng	7. Limpopo
3. Free State	8. Mpumalanga
4. Eastern Cape	9. North West
5. Western Cape	
<b>Q7 – HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU BEEN TO THE DRAKENSBERG BEFORE? (ONLY FOR DOMESTIC TOURIST)</b>	
1. It is my first time	4. 7 to 10
2. 1 to 3	5. More than 10
3. 4 to 6	6. More than 20
<b>Q8 – How often do you come to the Drakensberg area? (only for domestic tourist)</b>	
1. It is my first time	5. Each holiday period
2. Once every two years	6. Once per month
3. Once per year	7. Each weekend
4. Between two and three times per year	
<b>Q9 – Which country are you from? (only for international tourist)</b>	
Open answer	
<b>Q10 – How many times have you visited RSA before? (only for international tourist)</b>	
1. It is my first time	3. Third time
2. Second time	4. More than three times
<b>Q11 – How many times have you been to the Drakensberg before? (only for international tourist)</b>	
1. It is my first time	3. Third time
2. Second time	4. More than three times
<b>Q12 – Are you travelling:</b>	
1. With family	3. As a couple
2. With friends	4. Alone
<b>Q13 – Are you travelling with children (under 14 years old)?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q14 – Are you using a travel guidebook?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q15 – If yes, which one?</b>	
Open answer	
<b>Q16- HOW LONG WILL YOU STAY IN THE DRAKENSBERG AREA?</b>	
1. Day visitor	4. One week
2. Weekend visitor	5. Between one and two weeks
3. Less than one week	6. More than two weeks
<b>Q17 – Is this stay in the Drakensberg included as part of a bigger travel itinerary within South Africa?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q18 – If yes, could you please describe your journey in South Africa?</b>	
Open answer	
<b>Q19 – WHERE ARE YOU STAYING IN THE DRAKENSBERG AREA?</b>	
1. Royal Natal National Park	6. Highmoor and Kamberg
2. Cathedral Peak	7. Lotheni and Vergelegen
3. Champagne-Monks Cowl	8. Sani Pass and Cobham
4. Injasuthi	9. Garden Castle and Bushman's Nek
5. Giant's Castle	10. Others
<b>Q20 – WHAT TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION ARE YOU STAYING IN?</b>	
1. Self-catering cottage	5. Hotel
2. EKZNW resort	6. Bed and Breakfast
3. Camping and caravan park	7. Family/friends
4. Backpacker	8. Others (including day visitor)
<b>Q21 – DURING YOUR CURRENT HOLIDAY, DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE TO ANOTHER PART OF THE DRAKENSBERG (DIFFERENT FROM WHERE YOUR ACCOMMODATION IS LOCATED)?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q22 – During a previous stay, have you visited any other part of the Drakensberg (different from where your accommodation is located)?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q23 – What are your motivations for coming to the Drakensberg area?</b>	
Open answer	
<b>Q24 – MOTIVATIONS TO COME INTO THE DRAKENSBERG (OPEN QUESTION CODING)</b>	
1. Discovery	11. Cultural tourism
2. Relaxation	12. To see rock art sites
3. Habit	13. For the diversity of activities
4. To be with family	14. Honeymoon/wedding
5. To get away from the city	15. For the serenity
6. Recommended destination	16. To enjoy the beauty of the scenery
7. To be in the outdoors	17. For the climate
8. To do outdoor sports	18. Mountain landscape
9. To practice leisure activities (spa, golf)	19. Because it is close to my home
10. To see the fauna and flora	20. Because it is easy to access
<b>Q25 – ACTIVITIES DONE IN THE DRAKENSBERG AREA</b>	
1. Day hike	10. Visit rock art sites
2. Fishing	11. Handicraft shopping
3. Horse riding	12. Leisure activities (play bowls, tennis)
4. Swimming in the rivers	13. Spa
5. Mountain bicycling	14. Golf
6. Visit to the waterfalls	15. Stay with friends or family
7. Picnic in natural landscape	16. Nothing special, just to relax
8. Enjoy the scenery	17. Other
9. Cultural experience	
<b>Q26 – Are you aware that the UDP has a special international status, in terms of protected areas?</b>	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q27 – DID YOU KNOW THAT THERE ARE ROCK ART SITES YOU CAN VISIT IN THE UDP AREA?</b>	
(to validate the answer, visitors were asked to mention one of them)	
1. Yes	2. No
<b>Q28 – If yes, can you please name a site?</b>	
Open answer	
<b>Q29 – IN PREVIOUS STAYS, HAVE YOU ALREADY VISITED ROCK ART SITES IN THE DRAKENSBERG?</b>	
(to validate the answer, visitors were asked to mention one of them)	
1. Yes	2. No



heritage and educational values (15% and 11%). For 'outdoor and sports tourists' who had never been to a rock art site in the Drakensberg and who were not planning to visit one during their current holiday (38%), 32% said it was because it demanded too much physical effort (these were mostly older people or people with young children). They stressed their interest in such visits, notably for their educational value (23%) and the opportunity to learn something about history (23%): "It is always interesting to see that sort of site, simply because it is part of our country's culture, our history, and the more we know about the history of our country, the better, eh? But now, we have a young baby and it isn't easy to do a long walk. Going to see that type of site often involves a lot of walking" (tourist 290).

Group 3: 'Information seekers' (16% of the total) are mostly tourists making their first visit to the UDP region (68%). This group is more balanced between domestic tourists (31%) and international tourists (69%) than the two previous groups. As in the cases of the first two groups, most only stay in the Drakensberg for a relatively short period, either a weekend (34%) or a few days (49%). However, they are much more mobile: 54% use this first stay to visit several parts of the area. Their motivations for coming to the UDP region are the desire to discover a new place (61%), with the wish to cover much of the area and experience the full range of activities offered: to be outdoors and to enjoy the beautiful scenery (48% for both of them), to see a mountain landscape that is very different from the landscape classically associated with South Africa (41%) and to do outdoor sports (32%).

Despite being motivated by the idea of discovering something new, the proportion of these respondents who said they intended to go to see a rock art site, although greater than for the previous two groups, was less than half (42%). For them, whether or not they visited a rock art site mostly depended on their having an easy opportunity to do so (47%), although this did not stop them considering this type of visit as being educational, providing a way of learning about the area's culture (43%), its history (40%), and simply satisfying general curiosity (40%). Whether or not a site is recommended (tourist guides, travel websites, magazines and word-of-mouth) also affected motivations to visit a rock art site (23%). Conversely, most of the 'information seekers' who were not planning to visit a rock art site said it was because the rock art does not form part of the image they had of the UDP region. Thus, 40% of them said they were not intending to visit a rock art site because they had not come to the UDP region for that type of activity. Consequently, whether or not they visited the rock art sites would depend mostly on whether an easy opportunity arose during their stay (40%). Paradoxically, the 'new experience' (27%) and 'did not know it was possible to visit rock art sites' (23%) reasons were also invoked.

In other words, even though the rock art sites represent an interesting activity because they are new to tourists making their first visit to the UDP region, information about the rock art sites open to tourists is currently too low-profile to attract the attention of these tourists, especially as they are only in the area for a short period of time: "Of course they are interesting, simply because they are part of the history of the country and, as a foreigner, you want to know more about the history of the countries you visit. But if we wanted to do everything that interested us, we would have to spend two years in the country! Here, we are not here for long, you have to make choices. And these paintings, they are not something that is not to be missed, are they? And, then, we don't really know where to go and see them. Our guidebook gives general information, but it's not

very detailed and we don't have the time to find out what to do" (tourist 376).

Group 4: 'Rock art enthusiasts' (8% of the total) come specifically to visit the rock art sites. For these people, the rock art is more important than the 'beauty of the scenery/being in the outdoors' (71% and 56%, respectively). As with the 'information seekers', there is a relative balance between domestic tourists (35%) and international tourists (65%). Most of the rock art enthusiasts (71%) are on their first visit to the UDP region and they stay for between a few days (44%) and a week (21%). Equal numbers intend/do not intend to use their stay to visit several parts of the area. Although rock art is the most popular activity, these tourists also do other outdoor activities, including day hikes (41%), visits to the waterfalls (41%) and swimming in rivers (17%).

Rock art sites are visited as a way of learning about history (56%), of finding out about different cultures (53%), and of satisfying general curiosity (27%). The artistic dimension of the paintings is a motivating factor (24%), as is their heritage value (21%): "They are something that relates part of the history of our country and you should go and see them, show them to the children, before they disappear, before it is too late" (tourist 402). These dimensions are even stronger for those 'rock art enthusiasts' who have already seen the sites and who have decided to see them again (15% of group 4). They see visiting the rock art sites as a way of handing down information to their children: "We mostly come here to show them to the children, so they know about this part of our history. At the same time, we enjoy the wonderful scenery; they can run around in the mountains and learn things about their country's history. The perfect combination!" (tourist 390). Finally, and this is a major difference from the other four groups, 94% had planned to see rock art before coming to the UDP: "We saw some information in an outdoor magazine, *Country Life*, about how these painting sites were open to visitors. That is why we came here and why we decided to spend a night here, to have the time to see the paintings tomorrow morning" (tourist 405).

Group 5: 'General sightseers' (7% of total) mostly consists of international tourists (90%). During a tour of South Africa, they stop in the Drakensberg for a few days (90%), mostly staying in one part of the area (71%). They generally come to the UDP to see the mountains (52%), and to get a feel for the area's culture (48%). They want to discover new things (45%) and to be outdoors (42%). They are motivated to come to the UDP by things they had read and/or recommendations (36%), as well as by the region's location on the classic route that international tourists take through South Africa from Kruger National Park or the KwaZulu-Natal coast to Cape Town and the winelands (36%).

Although none of this group had visited the rock art sites in the UDP before, only 22% planned to do so. For the remaining 78% this activity was not seen as something that should not be missed. Many said they had not come to the UDP for the rock art (33%), while admitting that they did not know that this type of activity was possible (29%). At the same time, they stressed the historical and cultural dimensions of the rock art sites (29% and 25%), which are seen as a way of finding out about the region's history and people. Given the time they have in the area, they have to make clear visitor choices, and these rarely come down in favour of visiting the rock art sites: "We saw some in Utah, in the U.S.A., and it was interesting to see how people used to live, how they expressed themselves. But here, we can't do everything. We are on a tight budget and we wanted to do a horseback ride. We didn't know you could

see rock art sites here; otherwise, we might have organised things differently. We said to ourselves that we would have other opportunities to go and see rock art sites, especially in the Cederberg or in Namibia, later on in our holiday" (tourist 443).

#### DISCUSSION: LESSONS TO BE LEARNT IN DEVELOPING SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AROUND ROCK ART SITES

Our profile analysis indicates a number of possible actions that can be taken to develop sustainable rock art tourism. Between the mass tourism that is so strongly criticised by some archaeologists (Soleilhavoup 1993, 1994) and the non-interventionist rock art tourism practice that currently exists in the UDP region (Duval & Smith 2013), the bodies responsible for tourism in the area have a wide range of options. It is up to them to make well-informed choices and to implement (or not) the recommendations generated by this academic study. The purpose of this study is for us to provide the research data upon which they can make informed choices.

#### RAISE THE PROFILE OF ROCK ART TOURISM

Our analysis confirms the very low profile of rock art amongst all tourists. Internationally, South Africa is not promoted as a tourism destination for its cultural treasures. Despite the actions taken since the end of apartheid (Mtshali 1997; Pastor 1997), the country is still most widely associated with its large game reserves and wilderness areas (Meskell 2012). As a result, rock art is far from the forefront of most tourist minds, and the rock art sites do not figure among the 'things not to miss' (Blundell 1998). Rock art has a similarly low profile within KwaZulu-Natal and it is not considered one of the 'must-do' things in the Drakensberg: "you know, it is not really the sort of thing you think about doing when you come to these mountains. It isn't something that is promoted, not like in Australia, where there is a lot of promotion for these sites" (Group 1, tourist 123). Consequently, other than for the 'rock art enthusiasts' (8% of the total), being able to visit the rock art sites is not a motivating factor for visiting the UDP region, even for international tourists on their first visit, who are, *a priori*, interested in seeing the maximum number of things during their stay: "To be completely honest, we didn't come here for that. Our priority was to see the birds, after that, if we have enough time, why not? After all, I haven't seen that much information about how to do that sort of activity and I wouldn't really know how to go about it" (Group 5, tourist 424).

This low profile is directly linked to the lack of information about the rock art in brochures, tourist guides, websites and, most importantly, in tourist accommodation, tourist offices and other tourist facilities (Duval & Smith 2013). Given the range of activities on offer in the area and the shortness of stays (43% of the 450 tourists questioned were staying for between 3 and 5 days), whether or not a tourist visits a rock art site will depend mostly on: 1) information collected before the holiday which is used to plan the visit in advance; 2) opportunities that arise during the holiday (recommendations by service providers, informal discussions, informative brochures, posters, signposts, etc.). Most often rock art must be incorporated into an already packed schedule of no more than a few days: "We, we prefer the scenery, seeing the plants and animals, and we didn't really know there were those sorts of sites in the area. In fact, we found out about them when we got to the youth hostel, when we saw their activity board with a hike to go and see the paintings. But now, we don't have the time. We have already booked the rest of our trip and we have to move tomorrow"

(Group 5, tourist 435). Consequently, making information accessible, either before visitors arrive in the UDP region or soon after they arrive, must be a priority for developing rock art tourism. This will require supplementary analyses by regional marketing experts, together with a large amount of work to integrate rock art as a fundamental 'must-see' within all existing forms of local tourism literature and marketing.

#### PLAY ON THE AREA'S STRENGTHS

In the light of the results of our tourist survey, one possible focus for tourism promotion would be to highlight the unique qualities of UDP rock paintings compared with those that can be seen in other parts of the world and/or other parts of southern Africa. For example, the UDP contains some of the most intricate rock paintings found anywhere in the world and it is the only place in South Africa where the highly aesthetic shaded-polychrome production technique dominates. At the same time, the broader connections between the sites in the Drakensberg and those in other areas could be highlighted, as some tourists like to be able to compare things: "Seeing these paintings is a way of finding out about the culture of the Bushmen, which is another facet of South African culture. And then, later in our trip, we are planning to go and see other rock art sites in Botswana and in Namibia, in order to compare the different sites, to see whether we find the same things, both in terms of the things depicted and how they are depicted" (Group 4, tourist 413).

Efforts to highlight similarities and differences between rock art sites could also be applied to individual sites within the UDP, in order to underline the unique characteristics of each site and thereby encourage tourists to visit different sites within the area. In fact, apart from groups 3 and 4, visitors to the UDP region tend to stay in and around one area and rarely go far from where they are staying. This spatial inertia is due to the number of trips already made to the area, especially for groups 1 and 2, who tend to be regular visitors to the same place. The physical geography of the UDP region also acts against travelling widely within the area because it consists of a number of parallel valleys most with only poorly maintained roads between them. Highlighting the specific characteristics of the different rock art sites open to tourists could create a spatial differential that would increase the area's attractiveness and help put an end to the commonly expressed opinion: "It isn't something that interests me that much. I think it is something you should see, at least once, to see what it is like. But, for me, I really have the impression that when you have seen them once, it is more or less always the same thing. And often you have to walk a long way to see that sort of site and they don't interest me enough to walk for hours to go and see them" (Group 1, tourist 155). Characterising the different sites will involve working with rock art and other archaeological researchers to determine clearly and then present/promote the special qualities of individual rock art shelters (Loubser 2001). By linking with findings from excavations conducted during and after the 1970s, there is here an opportunity to highlight the uniqueness of each site and to underline how each one contributes to understanding the story of the entire region (Mazel 2008).

In addition to this, it would also be worth highlighting differences in terms of accessibility and services. Some sites, such as Main Caves (site number 16, Fig. 1 and Table 1), are easily accessible for families and older people, whereas more remote sites, such as Battle Cave (site number 15, Fig. 1 and Table 1) and Mpongweni (site number 20, Fig. 1 and Table 1), require considerable effort and could be promoted to people

who love walking. Implementation of such measures should be based on an analysis of the sites that are currently open to tourists, including information about 1) the paintings and the characteristics of the shelters, 2) their accessibility (by car, on foot), 3) the time needed for a visit (a few hours, half a day, full day), and 4) the possibility of combining this cultural activity with other local activities in a package of attractions. Local organisations could use the information provided by such an analysis to promote the idea that: *there are so many ways of visiting the rock art, that there is certainly one that suits you.*

#### COMBINE NATURE AND CULTURE

For the overwhelming majority of visitors surveyed, rock art is only a secondary consideration in their motivation for visiting the UDP region. Rock art would therefore be more likely to become part of a tourist agenda if it was marketed as part of a diverse itinerary. For example, visiting a rock art site could be promoted as a way of experiencing the UDP that allows for a rich interaction with both the cultural and natural landscape: “Quite honestly, it isn’t something that interests me any more than that. If it was included in a more general tour, such as doing a hike and, as you go past, stopping off to see the rock paintings, yes, why not? But I wouldn’t be interested in going somewhere just to see the paintings” (Group 5, tourist 449).

If such combinations became regular tourist practice, it would mean redefining the status and training of the site custodians. Preparing the custodians for such a role would require training them in local flora and fauna, local archaeology and history as well as the specific place of rock art within this bigger picture (Buitendach 2008). Their role would also need to be expanded from simply supervising visitors and giving out superficial visitor information, to providing interpretations of their rock art site within its full natural and cultural context. We argue that the interests of conservation, tourism development and the livelihoods of the custodians themselves would be best served by providing them with professional training, leading to a formal accreditation from the Cultural Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Sector Education Training Authority (CATHSSETA).

The provision of a higher quality of information would give tourists a holistic experience that would reconnect the rock art to its defining context, showing that each shelter is an integral part of the social and natural history of the landscape in which it is found (Vinnicombe 1976; Clottes 2002; Lewis-Williams 2003; Deacon 2005). Going beyond the old but arbitrary division between nature and culture would provide an excellent opportunity to use rock art to get away from the Eurocentric and false vision of a ‘pristine wilderness’ and to promote a more ‘post-colonial’ tourism development practice that integrates nature with cultural heritage and traditional knowledge (Munyima 2003). This would increase the social value of all types of heritage and thereby guarantee better management of local resources by stakeholders in the long term (Munjeri 2004; Taruvinga 2005; Ndoro 2006; Deacon 2011).

#### EDUCATIONAL AND ENJOYMENT VALUES

Our typological analysis also showed the importance of the educational dimension of rock art, especially for groups 2 and 4. Visiting a rock art site is seen as an activity that can help children to see with their own eyes what they have learnt at school: “The children learnt things about the history of these paintings at school, so we said to ourselves that it would be a good idea to use this holiday to go and see them for real. It’s a good way of combining walks, the scenery and having a

cultural experience with this historic dimension” (Group 2, tourist 192). For some, it is also a case of going to see paintings that will no longer be visible in years to come – a sort of ‘last chance’ tourism (Lemelin *et al.* 2012): “It really interests me, and somehow, I said to myself that I had to go now, before they disappear. I find it fascinating, a little magical, when you realise that these paintings have come down through the ages and that they were made by the first humans in South Africa. That gives them quite an extraordinary dimension. And, from an artistic point of view, they are often very elaborate, very meticulous, they’re simply beautiful” (Group 2, tourist 231).

The idea of seeing something ‘for real’ that had previously only been seen in books, on television or on the internet is also a strong incentive for people wishing to turn a hitherto cerebral experience into a sensory experience: “I had read an article about them and I really wanted to see the sites for real. For their historical dimension, but also for their artistic dimension. From an aesthetic point of view, these paintings are simply extraordinary, so fresh you’d think they had been painted yesterday! And all the history behind them, I find that fascinating” (Group 4, tourist 417). Stressing the sensorial quality of the rock art tourist experience, perhaps even the spiritual experience of seeing a rock art site *in situ*, is one avenue local tourist organisations should explore.

At the same time as the enrichment of the mind that can come from rock art tourism, it is important to try to emphasise as well the fun aspect of visiting the sites. Many ‘hedonists’, the largest group of tourists, see visiting rock art sites as being a boring, scholastic activity: “When we come here, it is to do sport, be outside, have fun. We don’t want to go and see those paintings. It is something the children do with their school, and, it has to be said, it is really boring going to see the paintings! We’d rather go hiking, enjoy the scenery” (Group 1, tourist 11). Intensive work therefore needs to be done to create site visitor experiences that offer interesting and entertaining heritage excursions that meet the maximum number of visitor aspirations and expectations possible (Louber 2001; Mazel 2008). Tourism at the rock art sites could be developed on different levels, providing a basic experience for newcomers to the art and more in-depth experiences for rock art enthusiasts. The greatest challenge is how to catch the interest of all of the five groups we have identified here and moreover, to catch the interest of the “emerging audience” (Namono & Chippindale 2012: 301), the growing indigenous South African middle class who are painfully absent from the UDP region at present.

#### DESIGNATING AN ORGANISATION RESPONSIBLE FOR ROCK ART TOURISM

The task of getting different stakeholders to work together and to propel development using a cohesive collective approach is one of the main challenges faced in rock art and more generally heritage site management. Lucas Smits emphasised this well: “the contrast is therefore not between protection and development but between states and organisations who are willing and able to protect and those who are not” (Smits 1978). In the UDP, implementing one or more of our recommendations will require consultation and cooperation between the different organisations responsible for developing tourism in this region.

The first step in this process is to designate one organisation as officially responsible for developing sustainable rock art tourism. In the UDP, the need to define the areas of responsibility of the different agencies is urgent. Currently, EKZNW is in charge of environmental and eco-tourism in the UDP, but Amafa’s mandate, as the provincial agency responsible for

cultural heritage, extends only as far as the preservation of the paintings (Mazel 2012). Amafa's responsibility does not extend to tourism. The area is therefore run by two different agencies, but nobody is in charge of developing rock art tourism (Duval & Smith 2013). Designating a body to take responsibility for rock art tourism is a fundamental step that is needed if the area is to develop a coherent tourism package. This will allow for the adoption of a cross-scalar approach that takes into account the specific characteristics of each site. Clarifying the current management system is essential to raising the tourism profile of rock art within the UDP.

Once responsibility for rock art tourism has been allocated, the next step is to look outside the circle of agencies involved in managing the rock art sites (Loubser 2001; Deacon 2005) in order to identify and create a network of all the organisations and individuals who can contribute to the development of rock art tourism. These include accommodation providers, tourism service providers and local communities, as well as marketing and development professionals. Acting as a network makes it easier to raise the profile and spread of information about rock art tourism, thereby multiplying contact points and opportunities for promoting the rock art sites to tourists. In fact, the image future tourists will have of the UDP's rock art will depend largely on the lead agency's ability to manage and motivate its many partners. In this respect, it would be useful to set up a monitoring process to measure changes in the position of rock art in UDP tourism (including the monitoring of visitor numbers to rock art sites and the place of rock art in promotional materials, etc.). This process can provide feedback about the effects and efficacy of management and development actions.

Of course, all these actions will require substantial political and financial support. A strong political will is needed to facilitate the existing agencies to develop so that they will be able to improve the perception of rock art amongst tourists and thereby change tourist practices. It may be that the implementation of the 2012 South African Strategy for the Palaeosciences will provide the context and resources needed to develop this kind of sustainable rock art tourism and guarantee the long-term preservation of the paintings.

## CONCLUSION

Far from the received wisdom that stigmatises tourism as destructive, tourism can help preserve sites that are open to visitors, as long as visitation is developed in such a way that it fulfils certain educational, cultural, economic and governance criteria. In the UDP region, it is imperative to take into account the side effects of tourism, as the paintings are in rock shelters where access is often difficult to control. Preserving these sites requires raising public awareness of the importance of rock art and encouraging local people to play a greater role in the stewardship of them. Tourism can contribute to both these processes. Given the current management model, the preservation of the UDP's rock art sites requires rebalancing the spurious debate between preservation and utilisation and thereby opens up the potential of developing rock art tourism.

Our analysis of the tourism dynamics of the UDP have revealed the motivations and practices of tourists visiting the region, and assessed the place of rock art within these. Identifying the different profiles of tourist visiting the area allowed us to put forward a number of recommendations across different scales of action. Although the diversity of the rock art sites open to tourists around the world makes generalisation difficult (Deacon 2005), our UDP case study revealed some lines of action that could be applicable to other areas, particularly with open rock shelters where natural and scenic assets have been

the traditional tourist draw-card. In addition to well-focused tourist promotion and the distribution of information at appropriate locations, we believe four recommendations can be made.

For all rock art sites, whatever their nature, it is important for tourism development to include actions that highlight the special characteristics of individual sites, underlining their similarities and differences in order to avoid the feeling of 'seen it, done it' evoked by some tourists. On this point, partnerships with relevant researchers can be of great value in defining an area's special characteristics. Research by archaeologists, historians, geographers and anthropologists can help to place each rock art site within a broader context, while highlighting its own unique particularities.

Another approach that can be transferred to other areas is to market rock art as an integral part of the natural and cultural landscape. By offering visits that combine cultural and natural facets it is possible to: 1) reveal the complexity of the social history of the area, showing that the rock art preserves a rare glimpse into an ancient social landscape and environment; 2) gain the interest of a wider audience by incorporating cultural elements into a more general tourist product aimed at introducing visitors to a region's natural and cultural riches; 3) create added value in terms of the tourist experience, and generate more local economic benefits; 4) promote local cultural knowledge and retain traditional skills, and 5) transform management methods, which are still compartmentalised between culture *versus* nature conservation services and national agencies *versus* local organisations.

This promotion of rock art within a more holistic tourist experience requires a clear champion who will drive the development of rock art tourism and this champion must work in close collaboration with all stakeholders who have the ability to contribute to the development of rock art tourism. This includes management authorities, accommodation providers, tourism service providers and, in particular, local communities. The local communities have to be involved both in preservation and presentation, as they are the people most able to benefit from the process of increasing the social value of sites. In return, local communities will then become true partners in developing rock art tourism. A sense of community stewardship is certainly one of the fundamentals when creating sustainable rock art tourism.

A rethinking of management practices in terms of 'cultural landscapes' (Titchen 1996) and adopting the notion of a 'rock art landscape' would help to pave the way for a shift from today's fragmented tourism vision to a more holistic approach. In such a perspective, the analytical method set out in this article could be used in many other areas. This would allow for the preservation of rock art sites to be viewed beyond the micro-scale of individual rock shelters, and instead be analysed through considering the dynamics of the regions in which they occur.

By carrying out analyses at different scales, it is possible to highlight potential synergies between preservation and development, and to go beyond restrictive binary opposition type approaches to archaeo-tourism development. Today, a more market-orientated, regional and integrated development approach seems to us the most constructive step towards developing sustainable rock art tourism as well as guaranteeing the long-term preservation of rock art sites.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper focuses on what was termed the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site (UDP), as inscribed in 2000 by UNESCO. It does not cover the recent transfrontier extension to include the Sehlabathebe National Park on the Lesotho side from July 2013 (Decisions adopted by the World Heritage Committee, WHC-13/37.COM/20 05/07/2013).

<sup>2</sup>The National Poverty Relief Programme was introduced in 1999 as a vehicle for creating employment opportunities for previously disadvantaged individuals. Most government departments, including the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), helped to implement this programme. DEAT’s Poverty Relief Programme sought to identify and support projects in the broad categories of environment and tourism. What is of paramount importance to the programme is that most of the opportunities for employment that were created did not require high levels of skills and education and therefore catered for the unskilled majority (DEAT 2004: 104).

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