

Tourism, Food, and Culture: Community-Based Tourism, Local Food, and Community Development in Mpondoland

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Abstract

Tourism is often seen as a tool for poverty alleviation and community development. This article highlights community-based tourism as a possible strategy for the development of poor communities. It further investigates how specific cultural contexts—in this case, that of rural Mpondoland, South Africa—can contribute to positive community-based tourism development outcomes. In this sense, the local culture is not seen as a tourist attraction but as a resource on which community-based tourism development can be built. The article locates community-based tourism within a more general strategy of diversifying rural livelihoods. Poor households in rural areas meet their needs through a combination of livelihood strategies and community-based tourism is seen as an additional means to meet household needs. In addition, local culture becomes a tourism resource using indigenous foods, arts, and crafts as tourism attractions. Food is one example of a local cultural resource that has the potential to facilitate a number of community benefits. [community-based tourism, food and nutrition, indigenous knowledge, Mpondoland, South Africa]

Introduction

It has been suggested that community-based tourism (CBT) can promote development in emerging

economies (Page et al. 2001:401) and it has been used by international cooperation projects as a tool to facilitate poverty reduction (Lindberg et al. 2001:508; Spenceley 2008:286). An essential aim of CBT is the implementation of strategies that link the need to reduce poverty with a break in structural dependency based on hegemonic control of the sector by tour operators or wealthy elites (Timothy 2002:150).

Although much of the CBT literature (Ndlovu and Rogerson 2004:436) suggests that CBT in developing countries is usually located in rural contexts (Equations 2008:62), it can also exist in urban settings (Rogerson 2004:26). Nevertheless, it is in rural settings that CBT offers the greatest potential to provide alternative resources for community development by providing alternative sources of income (Pérez et al. 2010:41; Sebele 2010:140).

Food tourism is of increasing relevance, especially when referred and linked to the local context within the global competitive milieu (Richards 2002:3) and local food can serve as a pivot to enhance the local economy (Richards 2002:13). According to Green and Dougherty (2008:157), “culinary tourism provides a novel approach to promoting economic development, constructing local food systems, and celebrating regional culture.” Thus,

more recently food has come to be recognized as part of the local culture which tourists consume, as an element of regional tourism promotion [and] a potential component of local agricultural and economic development. [Hall 2003:XIII]

In their case study of a South African CBT initiative, Boonzaaier and Philip (2007:31) suggested that “the opportunity for community members to provide food and associated services to the visitor *motse* [a visitor homestead¹] at Blouberg could play a significant part in achieving the principles and objectives set by a community-based tourism development

approach." From the perspective of CBT, certain elements of local culture and resources are not only attractive to tourists but can simultaneously be used to enhance and rescue local culture and heritage (Flacke-Neudorfer 2008:252; Telfer and Sharpley 2008:124). The link between local culture and community development needs to be emphasized through the provision of "a local linkage and cultural basis for development" (Brennan 2009:2). It is more likely that people will take part in, and remain committed to, development efforts if they have a direct connection with them (Brennan 2009:2). Panelli and Tipa (2009:455) pointed out the relationship between food practices and well-being as demonstrated in the local cultural context of Māori tribes where customary and contemporary food practices are densely embedded within wider patterns of daily life, environmental relations, and cultural identity. To ignore the complexity of this interweaving would limit the degree to which we can understand well-being or indicate grounds for cultural and/or health concerns. In addition, it has been observed that

Indigenous peoples worldwide are urgently calling for recognition of the fundamental and vital importance of culture for the viability of their traditional food and agro-ecological systems, as well as for sustainable development. Traditional cultural practices and food systems are positively related and mutually supportive and both are fundamental for food security and well-being. However, development interventions, as well as global trends of expansion of industrialized agriculture, monocultures, and the market economy can have negative and, in some cases, devastating impacts on the traditional food systems, subsistence-based economies and agro-ecological systems upon which indigenous peoples depend for survival. [United Nations Economic and Social Council 2007:5]

Local indigenous foods not only play an important role in tourism which is the major focus of this paper, but they also contribute to community development in other ways. As (Heywood (2011:2) indicated, "ethnopharmacology, biodiversity, agriculture, health, food and nutrition are all inextricably interconnected." Biodiversity in agriculture and in indigenous vegetation contributes to addressing

nutrition and malnutrition problems in various ways, for example, via traditional systems of agriculture, cultivation of home gardens, and the gathering of wild foods (Heywood 2011:12). It has also been noted that decreases in the use of indigenous local foods have, in some cases, had unfortunate consequences, such as obesity. As Kimani-Murage et al. (2010:2) pointed out, "rapid economic transition, urbanisation, globalisation, technological and social changes" have caused nutrition transition or "changes in diet composition from traditional diets that are primarily derived from plant-based food sources low in fat and high in fibre, to more 'Western' diets that are high energy dense and low in fibre." This transition is a major reason for the increase of health issues, for example, "high levels of obesity have been documented despite persistence of undernutrition" (Kimani-Murage et al. 2010:2; see also Matenge et al. 2011:17).

With reference to diet transition, it is interesting to note that Hunter (1979), whose research in Pondoland was conducted in the early 1930s, found that "before the advent of the Europeans grain played a much smaller part in the diet of the Pondo that it does today" (Hunter 1979:113). This is still true today and not only locally. For instance, "problems of under- and over-nutrition are prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean, especially Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, and North Africa as a result of changes in the diet which relies increasingly on refined cereal grains (white flour) instead of a more balanced traditional diet as the primary source of energy" (Heywood 2011:3). Such issues are being addressed, however, for example, in Lebanon where a project is "promoting the preservation and sustainable use of a wide diversity of wild edible plants and local food systems at the national and regional level" (Heywood 2011:3). The "decline in the use of indigenous vegetables by many rural communities has resulted in poor diets and increased incidence of nutritional deficiency disorders and diseases in many parts of Africa" (Odhav et al. 2007:430).

In South Africa, which has cultural diversity, as well as biodiversity, indigenous plants are still used for food, but "they are under-utilised in favour of introduced non-native vegetables" (Odhav et al. 2007:430). Indigenous vegetables have declined in availability partly because of the widespread cultivation of exotic crops, which sometimes includes the use of herbicides to eliminate wild vegetables. Indigenous

knowledge associated with edible and nutritious indigenous vegetables has declined; few young people are aware of these food resources (Odhav et al. 2007:430). The use of indigenous foods and the need to educate younger generations on its use and value has been recognized as one component in an attempt to increase the variety of nutritious food available at community and household level (Faber and Wenhold 2007:397). Above all, studies "have shown that uncultivated wild foods are a major dietary component in a number of African contexts" (Kaschula 2008:163).

The South African government has recognized the importance of indigenous food in community development and has endorsed this by editing a book that collects South African indigenous food recipes. The director-general of the Department of Science and Technology described the book as "an effort by the Department of Science and Technology to the application of a combination of scientific innovations and indigenous knowledge system to address poverty, empowerment of women and youth and economic marginalization" (Adam 2004:9). It has also been suggested that the use of wild local foods may provide nutritional supplementation in households affected by human immunodeficiency virus (Kaschula 2008).

The above examples illustrate some of the ways that local indigenous foods can contribute to various aspects of community development. Thus, it has recently been argued that African traditional and plant foods are highly nutritious and play an important role in alleviating food insecurity and deficiencies as well as contributing to livelihoods and promoting independence in rural communities. Despite this recognition, however, local foods tend to be underutilized and the adoption of modern agricultural methods has also contributed to declines in indigenous knowledge regarding their uses (Matenge et al. 2011:17). In addition, in the contemporary globalizing context, the relation between local indigenous food traditions and globalization can be seen as variegated and multifaceted. "[G]lobalisation can be seen as a threat but also an impetus that opens up new opportunities for reinvention of local gastronomic products and identities," and therefore, destination marketers should attempt to revive local food traditions as a tourism attraction (Mak et al. 2012:192).

Tourism has the potential to provide opportunities to augment the economic benefits of local foods through the selling of food and meals to tourists,

which will, at the same time, enhance and revive the use of local indigenous food. Following on from these factors, this paper explores ways in which local food can represent a tourism attraction within CBT development. At the same time, the prioritization of indigenous food could act as a point of departure from which other community development strategies could be enhanced, such as improved nutrition, the fostering of biodiversity, and the promotion of agriculture and enhancement and maintenance of indigenous knowledge. Telfer and Wall (1996:636) had noted that there is a general recognition that reliance on local resources should be increased even though the relationship between food production and tourism is contested in that there are contrasting opinions concerning the "linkages between tourism and agriculture [which] reveal the complexity of the relationship between them." In other words, "[r]elationships between tourism and food production can be placed on a continuum from conflict through coexistence to symbiosis [...] Within this continuum, agriculture and fishing can be seen as being more than sources of food, for they may contribute positively to tourism experiences through the landscapes and rural activities which visitors can observe" (Telfer and Wall 1996:636). "Currently, there is a growing recognition of the relationships between tourism, food and gastronomy" (Boyne et al. 2003:134). For example, traditional food can serve to enhance a specific area's attractiveness or develop new tourism-related events; in fact, "for those regions that are rich in various and vernacular foods, the culture of foods can be turned into food-related events and hence become tourist capital, through which the local resources of food can be turned into marketable attractions" (Quan and Wang 2004:303). Thus, indigenous ingredients of products available in a specific area and/or season can enhance its tourism offerings (Mak et al. 2012:191). The link between local food and tourism development has been recognized beyond the restricted circles involved and has been acknowledged in the popular media. In an article titled *The (Agri)culture of Tourism* in a popular tourism magazine, Waldburger (2011:74) wrote

For many, the extent for the role food plays in tourism is simply the gourmet meal served at a high-end restaurant as a bonus to a trip already planned for other reasons. But there is a vast potential for food production itself to become the

very reason, or at least the very essence of an entire journey. If producers of food could share not only their wares, but the culture and history surrounding their craft, they would attract not only consumers but travelers and tourists alike. Their business becomes two-pronged: their goods are food, and the experience surrounding food. Not only would this help to stimulate the growth of food producers, but the small rural towns that traditionally play host to food artisans would enjoy the secondary benefits of foreign trade.

Such widespread recognition has the potential to create spin-offs, increasing the support of local food at various levels that will both boost tourism and revive cultures (which is, in many cases, the base of tourism itself). From a grassroots perspective of poor community development, CBT tourism and indigenous food therefore seem well-positioned to attract tourism, conserve food traditions, and contribute to community development. In CBT, local indigenous food can contribute to the development of a variety of new kinds of livelihood strategies that not only contribute to individual household incomes but can also be channeled into broader community development. CBT can be seen as a pivotal factor in a comprehensive approach toward community development in which initiatives are directed toward the inclusion and prioritization of specific tourism products such as local food—especially indigenous food. The use of indigenous ingredients in the production and marketing of food for the tourist market are here considered as key factors, which, combined with other CBT initiatives such as guiding and accommodation, can lead to broader community development on a number of levels. It has been noted regarding the role of food as tourism attraction that vernacular food can “come out as a peak, rather than supporting experience” in a tourist’s experience and therefore that “there is no reason why local and traditional foods [should be] . . . seen as trivial and . . . ignored in tourism development” (Quan and Wang 2004:300, 303).

Local traditional food can also be considered in relation to global food production and capitalism as indicated by the concept of “food regime,” which “brings a structured perspective to the understanding of agriculture and food’s role in capital accumulation across time and space” (McMichael 2009:140). The first food regime (1870–1930s) “combined colonial tropical imports to Europe with basic grains and

livestock imports from settler colonies, provisioning emerging European industrial classes, and underwriting the British ‘workshop of the world’ ” (McMichael 2009:141). Subsequently, between the 1950s and the 1970s, a second food regime “re-routed flows of (surplus) food from the United States to its informal empire of postcolonial states on strategic perimeters of the Cold War,” and at the same time, “development states” took on the Green Revolution technology and introduced land reform “to dampen peasant unrest and extend market relations into the countryside” (McMichael 2009:141). Relatively recently, in the late 1980s, a third food regime could be seen emerging, deepening the process established by the previous food regime, strengthening diversified supply chains and constituting the “supermarket revolution” for essentially privileged consumers and relocating “slum-dwellers as small farmers leave the land” (McMichael 2009:142). This food regime also includes the birth of alternative “movements such as Food Sovereignty, Slow Food, Community Supported Agriculture and small-scale organic producers which expand their social base on the grounds of democracy, ecology and quality. Whether inspired by alternative social visions, or political (and ecological) exigencies of a food system dependent on fossil fuels, such counter-movements contribute to the exhaustion of WTO [World Trade Organization]-style agricultural liberalization” (McMichael 2009:142). It should, however, be noted that certain alternative movements, for example, slow food, have been associated with elitism in that they offer little discussion about class (Meneley 2007:684; West and Domingos 2012:122).

This article looks at the production, preparation, and vending of local food for the tourist market. It begins by citing a case study in which a local community was able to revive and reformulate a failed international corporation project of which a high proportion of the profits are made by the food sector, which simultaneously empowers women. The article goes on to suggest ways in which indigenous plants could be further incorporated into this and other CBT food projects due to the increased benefits they provide, such as improved nutrition and biodiversity. This article focuses primarily on the role of food plants in CBT but will also briefly consider the contributions to local income and the preservation of indigenous knowledge and biodiversity that can be made through the cultivation of medicinal indigenous plants.

CBT

The concept of CBT in relation to developing countries can be traced back to alternative development approaches formulated during the 1970s, which were concerned with issues beyond strict economic reasoning, such as sustainability, empowerment, and self-reliance (Cornelissen 2005:2; Telfer 2009:156). Although CBT has increasingly been the subject of literature (Beeton 2006:50), it does not have a clear definition and can be interpreted in different ways (Flacke-Neudorfer 2008:246; Kiss 2004:232; Ndlovu and Rogerson 2003:125). CBT definitions² can vary in terms of perceived levels of community engagement, benefits, and control of proposed tourism ventures. Giampiccoli and Nauright (2010:52) suggested that as was intended from its inception in the 1970s, CBT should be originated, controlled, and managed by a community-wide structure composed of various community members. This does not necessarily mean that micro-level private enterprises are excluded, only that they will be expected to follow and remain within other CBT concepts. CBT should also strive to “respect local heritage, environment and everyday life as well as enhance visitors’ awareness of local customs” (Giampiccoli and Nauright 2010:53).

CBT is not, however, envisaged as the central or only sector on which a community should depend, and “CBEs [community-based enterprises] should not be seen to create communities dependent on tourism alone, but should contribute more widely to sustainable livelihoods” (Manyara and Jones 2007:641). CBT should be seen as a vehicle for community development rather than a profitable venture for a few members. In fact, it has been recognized that profits from CBT ventures should not only remunerate direct beneficiaries but also facilitate benefits for community members not directly involved in CBT projects. Thus, CBT can be seen as having both direct and indirect beneficiaries (Ndlovu and Rogerson 2004:446; Singh 2008:156; Sproule and Suhandi 1998:216). CBT here is taken to constitute issues of empowerment and self-reliance and can be seen as a grassroots form of local economic development (LED). LED is generally seen as “a cost-effective and community-empowering process, which has a defined role to play and can yield tangible benefits for participating communities” (Binns and Nel 1999:393). However, interpretative perspectives of LED are not entirely consistent across

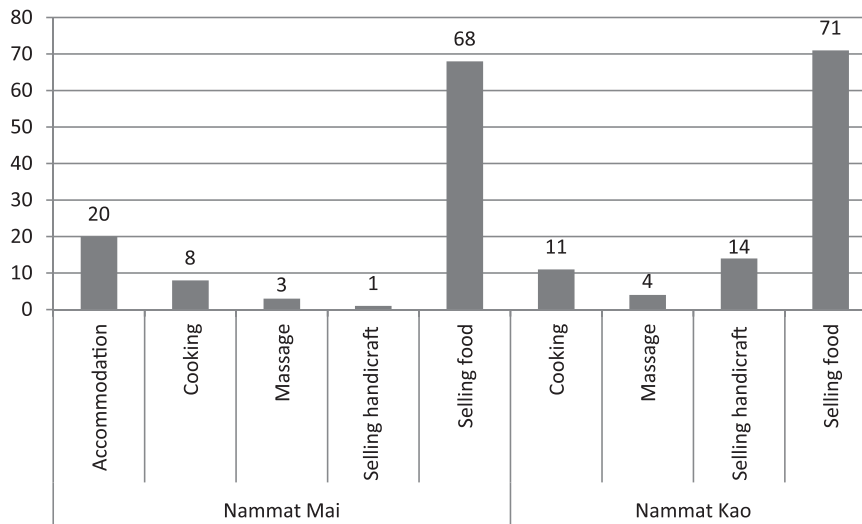
the north and south of the world. For example, although the regions are comparable when it comes to “issues such as reliance on local control and initiative and the addressing of local needs,” examples of LED in the north “tend to focus far more on issues of investment, big-business support and large project development undertaken by relatively well-resourced local agencies” as against the south in which “literature on ‘self-reliance’ suggests [that] LED relies far more on community-based initiatives, utilizing indigenous skills and seeking primarily to ensure survival, rather than participation in the global economy” (Binns and Nel 1999:393).

CBT usually needs external facilitation to succeed and become sustainable (Anonymous in Ramsa Yaman and Mohd 2004:584). In the facilitation of community development, the local cultural context—of which local food is an integral component—should not only be recognized as important but should be taken as the departure point. In other words, “community development with indigenous communities makes sense only if it is undertaken within indigenous cultural traditions” (Ife 2002:183). That is, “it is clear that culture plays a critical role in local community action [and] regional or local culture can serve as a basis for development” (Brennan 2009:2). Local culture should be recognized as much as outside “Western” culture in a balanced way and without prejudice on either part (Chambers 1983). Local culture must be appreciated and understood as an active protagonist, as a “transformed and transformative force” rather than a stagnant obstacle (Escobar 1995:226). Following the same line and also concerning tourism, Brennan (2009:2) noted that

the inclusion of culture into community and economic development models can take many shapes and forms. Culture can serve as the central focus. Included would be tourism and other efforts that focus largely on the promotion, preservation, or enhancement of local or regional cultures.

Another link between local culture and CBT concerns the “image” of the local community presented to the tourist. If this is organized and managed within the local cultural context, it allows local people to tell and represent their own culture as they desire rather than through external intermediaries, which sometimes “hygienize” local context for marketing or the

Figure 1.
Sources of ecotourism income (% of total) in Nammat Mai and Nammat Kao.



Source: Lyttleton and Allcock (2002:58).

perceived tastes and imagination of tourists (see also Nauright 1997:190–191).

The case study delineated in this article will provide evidence to support the already proposed fact that in poor contexts “where environmental degradation and limitations on the capacity of the state to intervene are a reality, communities with some degree of external support have increasingly to seek for locally appropriate development options which are cost-effective and which can provide nutritious food or a product which can be sold to provide some income” (Nel et al. 2005:107). CBT can be seen as one of these “development options” and represents a catalyst in the facilitation of community development.

CBT and Local Food for Community Development

According to Harris et al. (2007:248), “typically, with CBT, the community runs all of the activities that a tourist engages in: lodging, food, guiding and craft sales.” The supply of food as a form of income has been described in cultural villages (van Veuren 2004), in nature-based tourism and ecotourism (Ndabeni and Rogerson 2005), and in community-based initiatives (Boonzaaier and Philip 2007). In a

case facilitated by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,

The village now receives economic benefit through lodging, cooking, selling food, selling handicrafts (bags and rice baskets) and through village volunteers escorting tourists to see nearby salt licks and look for wildlife. Cooking and food sales are distributed by roster. All families are rostered to provide for tour groups. However, the system should be viewed as a first “right of refusal” rather than compulsion. If the rostered family is unable to provide food or assistance, food will be bought from other villagers. It is understood that villagers put their families first and will not sell food, especially small livestock, if there will be insufficient for the family. [Lyttleton and Allcock 2002:20]

Figure 1 shows, for example, the sources of ecotourism income in two villages in the Lao People’s Democratic Republic: Nammat Mai and Nammat Kao (Lyttleton and Allcock 2002:58). If the selling and cooking of food in the Nammat Mai food sector is totaled, it constitutes 76 percent of total income from tourism, while in Nammat Kao, it constitutes

82 percent of total tourist income. These percentages are very positive when it comes to the specific role of food in community development.

In Boonzaaier's (2009:86) South African case study, investigation into connections between local food and local benefits within a CBT venture suggested "that one of the most basic ways this community can benefit from tourism is by providing the raw food supplies as well as a catering service, which would introduce the local cuisine" (see also Boonzaaier and Philip 2007). The food variety investigation during fieldwork

... indicates that it would be possible to provide the visitor *motse* with food to the satisfaction of tourists. Simultaneously, the food variety makes it possible for homesteads to become involved in their own tourism development on a family-owned, small business scale basis. This is, of course, in accordance with the principles of community-based tourism development, as it will enable community members to take ownership of their own enterprises, which results in benefits to the local economy. [Boonzaaier and Philip 2007:36]

A CBT Project in Mpondoland

A CBT venture in a rural village in Mpondoland, South Africa, offers meals to tourists as well as tours of the village and surrounding locale. The needs of the local community and proximity to a major local tourist destination³ have built community awareness of tourism as a potential livelihood strategy. Initially, this CBT development initiative was implemented—but not terminated as planned—by an international cooperation project supported by the European Union (EU) (Giampiccoli 2010). The project was intended to enhance the Amadiba Trail, a CBT project that was developed by local and national agencies with the local community and subsequently recognized as successful, and also to expand the project to other villages along the coast, using the same approach. According to Ntshona and Lahiff (2003:3), the Amadiba project "is a programme that fosters participation of local communities in all aspects of tourism in the north-eastern region of the Eastern Cape." Besides various training and other institutional matters, the project was intended to facilitate the development of community-owned and -managed lodges and village-based accommodation (VBA) in local households (Giampiccoli 2010). However, the

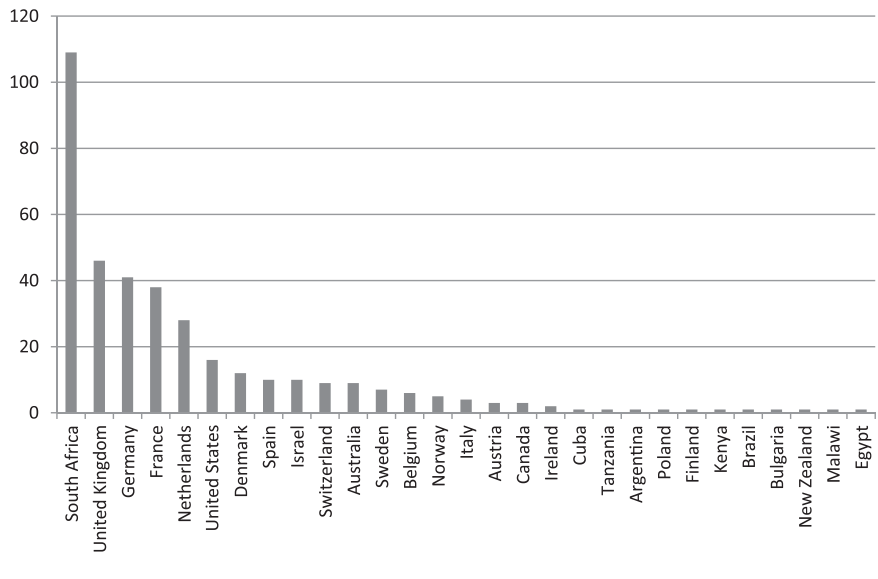
strategy then changed to involve more external investment by means of partnership agreements and an introduction of "Western" concepts of business development with the result that the community-based approach was abandoned and much of the accommodation infrastructure left incomplete (Giampiccoli 2010; Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). This shift in the project approach from CBT to private investment (in partnership with the community) decreased community involvement and resulted in the incompleteness of aspects of the project, such as the VBA. Project outcomes were therefore different from those initially conceptualized. The VBA model died out along the way, whereas had the original CBT model been used, "the campsites/lodges would have remained under the total control and management of the community and could have been linked with an external company only for marketing and the procurement of tourists. This was a very different outcome from a complete change of control over the campsites/lodges themselves, as occurred in the AmaMpondo case" (Giampiccoli 2010:263).

In relation to skills development, a village representative affirms that training by the EU was done in fields such as business management, accounting, assets, human resources, and customer care (personal communication, 2010). Skills development is seen as a key requirement in CBT development projects, and it is relevant to note that an employee of the project indicated that although the finance agreement presented a logical framework highlighting seven areas requiring training, no document in the project gave capacity-building guidelines, and capacity building in the project was not seen as a long-term intervention strategy (Wright 2005). Wright (2005:63), in fact, argued that there was "a general lack of capacity of those tasked with building community capacity," which, in turn, caused misunderstanding and the creation of false impressions within the community.

Communities, as well as their partners and donors, would prefer the "assurance that their CBT venture will produce lasting benefits and activities that will be sustained beyond the cessation of external support. Operational and financial self-sufficiency as a goal is made achievable through mechanisms and processes that focus on building the communities' capacity to deliver CBT and leave a positive legacy" (Asker et al. 2010:58).

It is, however, possible for a community to continue CBT projects, even with few resources and little

Figure 2.
Number of visitors and country of origin at the community-based tourism venture in Noqhekwana between March 2005 and August 2010.



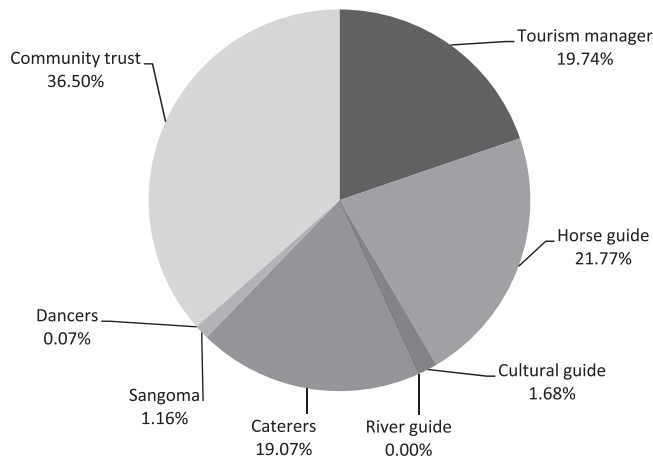
capacity, which suggests that with adequate support, they could have an even greater impact. The inconclusive termination of the CBT international cooperation project did not result in a complete loss of the CBT initiative itself. Using the initial resources and plan obtained through the international cooperation CBT project, one of the villages originally targeted—Noqhekwana—was able to self-continue and develop its CBT venture. As explained by a village representative involved in the project, “From 2001 the European Union came to Noqhekwana and formed a community Trust committee [. . .] From year 2004 the EU programme finished the contract but did not complete the resources and the community trust took over the running of the project” (personal communication, 2010). The project is still running in 2012 and the visitors’ book of the CBT venture shows that between March 2005 and August 2010, tourists from around the world were using the facilities provided, as is indicated in Figure 2. Links with formal accommodation businesses in nearby Port St. Johns have played an important role in informing foreign tourists of village-based CBT ventures as local community members frequently lack the necessary recourses and skills to advertise their services.

The Noqhekwana community was able to build relationships with external private companies. When initial CBT support through an international coopera-

tion project terminated in a manner other than that originally intended (arguably changed in its scope, see Giampiccoli 2010), local villagers were able to redevelop/reorganize the village CBT in forms more appropriate for the local context. The closeness of Noqhekwana to Port St. Johns helped community members to be more aware of the tourist sector (Giampiccoli 2010:185), and it may have facilitated the link as communication in rural areas can otherwise be difficult. Apart from the loss—due to death—of some horses, the major problem faced by the community was marketing, as has already been mentioned, the community having limited financial resources, and no Internet access. The links with accommodation providers in Port St. Johns have, however, made it possible for the project to continue in that they deliver tourists to Noqhekwana for hikes and horse trails around the area and/or meals. The backpacker lodge in Port St. Johns brings tourists to the horse or hiking trails managed by the Noqhekwana community. Community members accompany them on the agreed trail and provide a local meal if requested (personal communication, 2010).

The CBT venture is managed by the community trust management committee, which is composed of ten trustees (six men and four women). Trustees are elected annually by the community at the Annual General Meeting and are not necessarily involved in

Figure 3.
Percentage of relevance of various community-based tourism sectors and community trust in income distribution.



the CBT venture itself. The committee meets monthly with the community to report back and take further decisions together concerning the CBT venture. An Annual General Meeting, held along the same lines as other community meetings, is chaired by the village headman, who is not directly involved in the CBT ventures or part of the management committee. The locally elected ward councilor, who is also not involved in the project, participates at the Annual General Meeting as well as other meetings. Neither the headman nor the locally elected ward councilor benefits financially from the CBT ventures (personal communication, 2010). The management committee employs an administration officer (the tourism manager in Figure 3) to run the CBT project. The community trust, as an entity, receives part of the profits generated from the CBT venture (in the community trust bank account) and uses the money to support community projects and the CBT venture itself. In total, 17 community members are involved in various capacities in the CBT initiative as shown in Table 1 (personal communication, 2010).

In Noqhekwana, the tasting of local food is an essential element of the tourist's cultural experience. Local definitions of local conventional meals include, as written by a community member, food such as *Mngqusho* (white maize cob and beans), *Sigwampa* (sifted maize meal and pumpkin leaves), *Papa* and spinach, and *Mqa* (pumpkin and sifted maize meal)

Table 1.
Table Showing Community Involvement across Community-Based Tourism Sectors (personal communication, 2010)

Role	Men	Women	Totals
Catering		7	7
Administration	1		1
Tour guide (horses)	2		2
Tour guide (cultural)		1	1
Laundry		1	1
Private operator	2		2
Horse owner	2		2
Groom	1		1
Totals	8	9	17

(personal communication, 2010). All of these foods are served to the tourists who visit Noqhekwana Village to experience various aspects of traditional culture. Table 2⁴ indicates not only the kinds of activities and facilities provided by various members of the local community but also includes other data such as the number of tourists passing through, income, and how the income is distributed.

A gross total of R53,345 (see Table 1) over almost a year is far from imperceptible in a very poor community with endemic unemployment, high illiteracy, and few, if any, opportunities within the village itself. Of the caterers' gross income (R10,175), approximately R5.00 per meal goes toward inputs such as salt and cooking oil. The balance of ingredients is provided primarily from vegetable gardens and supplemented with wild plant foods (*imifino*⁵) where necessary. This leaves a net profit of approximately R8,105 over the 11-month period or approximately R736.00 per month. After division between the seven women involved in catering, each woman makes a profit of just over R100.00 per month. However, the money is kept in a joint account and not drawn on a monthly basis but periodically when the women decide to use it. Therefore, although caterers do not make large profits, any additional income is valued in a poor household, and the CBT venture also empowers women in other ways, for example, in their capacity as key role players in the venture itself and through their independent financial management. As

Table 2.**Summary Table of Community-Based Tourism Income and Income Distribution**

Date	Total monthly income								Community trust	TOTAL
	No. of tourists	Tourism manager	Horse guide	Cultural guide	River guide	Caterers	Sangoma	Dancers		
Apr 2010	18	360	450	0	0	500	0	0	1,080	2,390
May 2010	33	990	840	225	0	775	180	0	1,230	4,240
Jun 2010	26	520	650	0	0	650	0	0	1,560	3,380
Jul 2010	85	1,700	2,025	100	0	1,950	80	40	4,060	9,955
Aug 2010	31	620	775	0	0	775	0	0	1,860	4,030
Sep 2010	23	460	575	0	0	575	60	0	1,320	2,990
Oct 2010	19	570	665	0	0	475	0	0	1,140	2,850
Nov 2010	51	1,530	1,785	0	0	1,275	0	0	20,40	6,630
Dec 2010	49	1,410	1,505	150	0	1,225	120	0	1,900	6,310
Jan 2011	47	1,410	1,645	0	0	1,175	0	0	1,880	6,110
Feb 2011	32	9,60	700	420	0	800	180	0	1,400	4,460
Grand total (11 months)	414	10,530	11,615	895	0	10,175	620	40	19,470	53,345

such, women's participation in CBT increases their skills, thereby making it possible for them to embark upon other "important income-generating opportunities" as well as promoting the empowerment of women by offering a variety of other benefits. Thus, "community recognition of women's contributions to community-based tourism enhances women's overall social status" (Brewer Lama 2000:228).

The percentage of income for caterers is almost 20 percent (19.8 percent) of the total income of the CBT venture, which means that about one-fifth of the revenue goes to the catering sector. Table 2 shows how the revenue is divided between all sectors of the CBT venture, including the almost 40 percent (37,88 percent) that is placed in a community trust and used for further community development in ways agreed upon during community consultation.

The Possible Specific Role of Indigenous Food in Community Development

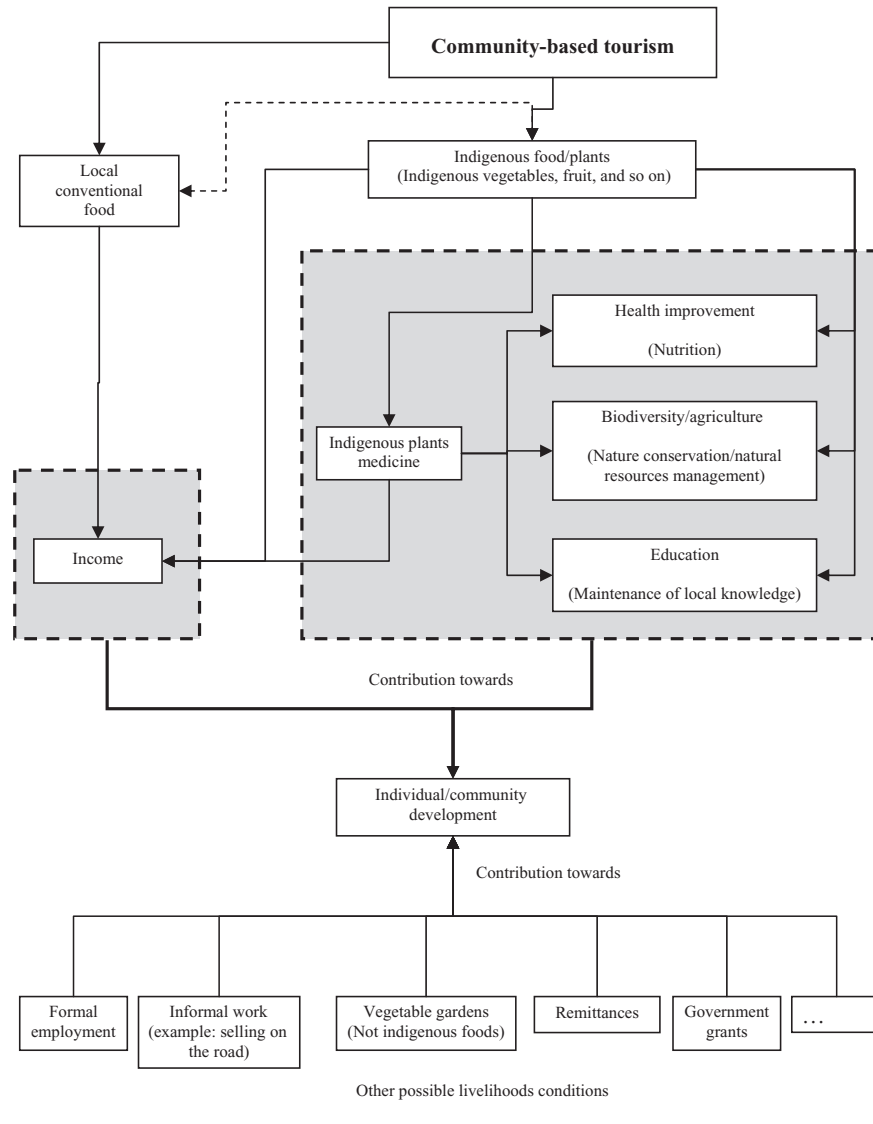
The role of indigenous food for tourist dishes prepared as part of catering initiatives within CBT ventures must also be considered, bearing in mind

that a reevaluation of indigenous foods need not necessarily exclude exotic plant foods, especially if they contribute to sustainable community development.⁶ In the same vein, the use of local conventional food (most of the dishes prepared in the above described case study) does not exclude the use of indigenous foods and plants. This article's aim is to suggest that CBT can serve as a foundation on which to build community development in which indigenous food can play an important role. CBT has the potential to provide a basis from which further community development can be fostered as is pointed out by Hainsworth (2009:113):

The Community-based Tourism approach is not only effective in supporting these [resources usage, decision making] necessary decisions relating directly to tourism development, but also provide a platform for supporting community-based decision making relating to more generalised community development issues.

This can be related to a wider concept that suggests that "through participation in tourism, poor people may learn skills that can be applied in other

Figure 4.
Indigenous food as a channel tool to contribute to community development in a diversified livelihoods strategy.



ways to boost their livelihood” (Mitchell and Ashley 2010:23). The prioritization of indigenous food/plants together with their positive reevaluation could enhance holistic sustainable community development. In this context, the prioritization of indigenous food in CBT meals is able to make multiple contributions within a diversification strategy, such as nutrition, biodiversity, and agriculture as well as the maintenance of indigenous knowledge (see Figure 4). Local conventional dishes for tourism could prioritize indigenous food as ingredients and promote a more community knowledge-based development. This link

between local conventional dishes and indigenous food is indicated by the dotted arrow in Figure 4.

The reevaluation of indigenous food is key in this context. The aim would be to equate indigenous foods with others and, where necessary, to reduce certain stigmas that have become associated with them. Many indigenous plants, for example, “are regarded as weeds and their eradication is sometimes advocated. Perhaps their cultivation should rather be encouraged” (Wehmeyer and Rose 1983:615). In South Africa, a stigma of “poverty food” has become associated with some traditional foods, especially *imifino*,

a variety of leaves collected from the veld. In addition, as Vorster et al. (2007b:2) pointed out, since the 1960s, in South Africa, research and extension have pushed people to grow food similar to that found in shops, thereby delegitimizing indigenous leafy vegetables. Instead, perceptions of traditional leafy vegetables should be reevaluated. These indigenous foods need to be relegitimized as both nutritional and desirable to combat their stigma as “poor” food. Such legitimization must involve recognition by members of the middle and even upper classes of the value of indigenous food because it is to these values and practices that poor people aspire (see Bhat and Rubuliza 2002:95). It is necessary to break from hegemonic discourses (see Gosovic 2000; Peet 2002; Peet and Watts 1993) that delegitimize indigenous foods. Such stigmatization of indigenous foods and the resulting tendency for them to be used less and less—probably only when financial circumstances provide no alternative—leads inevitably to the loss of indigenous knowledge as intergenerational knowledge gaps widen between parents and children (Vorster et al. 2007b:3).

This “generational gap” in food preference and knowledge is apparently relatively recent because only 18 years previously, Coetzee (1982:87) found that “from an early age, girls accompany their mothers and aunts to collect veld foods, and are taught which plants are edible.” Indigenous knowledge has been recognized as existing in various forms including art, food, and medicine. Ocholla (2007:2) had suggested that “these skills, knowledge and attitudes, when shared, adapted and refined, sustain communities, and bring development.” The World Bank (n.d., online) had also recognized the link between indigenous knowledge and food when stating: “indigenous knowledge is also the social capital of the poor, their main asset to invest in the struggle for survival, to produce food, to provide for shelter or to achieve control of their own lives.” A recent Mpondoland study suggested that indigenous knowledge is an essential lifestyle resource and foundation in facilitating self-development and livelihoods and should not be marginalized (Simukonda and Kraai 2009:54). Thus, the link between indigenous food and culture can be used to foster community development in poor and marginalized communities.

It was already recognized in 2004 that “although it is difficult to dispute the logic of diversification, the reality is that in many of South Africa’s rural areas the

development of cultural or village-based tourism projects is frequently perceived as the only economic option” (Briedenhann and Wickens 2004:191). The sale of local indigenous foods to tourists can serve as a pivot around which other sectors of village-based tourism can operate, all of which represent means of diversifying existing livelihood strategies. Mpondoland diversification of livelihood strategies among the rural poor has been observed (Beinart 2009:164; Kepe 2003:152; Kepe and Whande 2009:104; Simukonda and Kraai 2009:54). Hajdu (2009) suggested that while there is variety in livelihood strategies, opportunities for local jobs are becoming more central as specific local livelihood strategies. The use of food as an income diversification, as in the present case study, is not isolated. For example, Briedenhann and Wickens (2004:199) noted that “projects in rural townships are gaining ground and tourists can now enjoy a variety of traditional foods, call at local she-beens (pubs) and experience the taste of *mqombothi* (traditional African beer).” Another study (Boonzaaier and Philip 2007) also recognized the possible value of local food as a CBT development in Limpopo province. In addition, CBT opens further opportunities including guiding, dance, art and crafts, accommodation, general maintenance services, and so on (Ndlovu and Rogerson 2004:446).

In relation to the role of food in CBT, Boonzaaier and Philip (2007:35) noted that “one of the most basic ways this community can benefit from tourism is by providing the raw food supplies, as well as a catering service whereby tourists can be introduced to the local cuisine.” In CBT ventures where food is part of the tourist experience, income can be generated by cooking and selling items such as bread, vegetables, and chickens (Ndlovu and Rogerson 2004:442, 445, 446). “Because local food production depends on agriculture, hunting and fishing, the appropriate development of linkages with tourism can aid the stimulation of indigenous entrepreneurial activity and stimulate the ‘bottom-up’ development of community-based initiatives” (Richards 2002:13). Accordingly, “agriculture provides the product—food. Culture provides the history and authenticity and tourism provides the infrastructure and services and combines the three components into the food tourism experience” (Du Rand and Heath 2009:254). The prioritization of indigenous food forms part of a holistic approach to sustainable community development. Researchers have

... recognised that the kind of foods and drinks on offer for tourists can have major implications for the economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of tourism destinations, with researchers arguing that a focus on locally sourced products can result in benefits for both hosts and guests [...] Similar debates are also taking place in agriculture, where a focus upon "local" food and drink products sold through "alternative" outlets such as farmers' markets and organic box schemes are being championed as a way to boost the sustainability of "traditional" farming, and the landscapes and communities sustained by that farming. [Sims 2009:321]

Indigenous food plants have also been seen as relevant in health programs (Wehmeyer and Rose 1983:615). It is therefore appropriate to link tourism to other relevant sectors of community development through indigenous local food. Links between traditional food, local independence, and tourism development were pointed out by Bessière (1998:29, 31):

The promotion or "valorization" of culinary heritage encourages independent and collective initiatives and is seen as a process by which local action and appropriation cater for the development of rural tourism [...] Turning to local development as a territorial construction process endowed with both local co-operation and a collective legacy, culinary heritage may be used as a means to boost development. Numerous communities have realized that an area may be revived using its cultural value and identity as a starting point by encouraging local actors to promote transmitted skills and expertise.

Bessière (1998:24) went on to suggest the attraction this can hold for urban citizens in that "[t]oday's city dweller escapes in a real or imagined manner from his daily routine and ordinary fare to find solace in regional and so-called 'traditional' food." Boyne et al. (2003:132) argued that "[i]ncreasingly—and not least in rural regions with transitional economies—gastronomy-related heritage is being employed to strengthen areas' tourism products." In a training manual designed to show how CBT can be linked with conservation and development, Jain and Triraganon (2003:187) listed some common terms used in CBT development, including "indigenous food."

Despite possible difficulties concerning local taste and the need to mix indigenous foods with others that might be more palatable to visitors, "[g]enerally, tourists who are interested in CBT want to try the local cuisine" (Häusler and Strasdas 2003:35). A study by Skuras et al. (2006:776) reported that the "coefficients for the variables capturing attitudes of lifestyle and authentic food are statistically significant, indicating that expenditures on local food products are significantly higher if the visitor views local food products as indicative of a particular lifestyle, or as being authentic and wholesome." There is therefore a need to prepare genuine indigenous food that was historically consumed by the local community or

... ensure that the authentic cuisine of a region and marketable local and regional foods are approached with a delicate balance. If food is changed only to suit the taste of foreign tourists, then traditional foods of the region can be lost, which has wider implications regarding the sustainability of the community. [Du Rand et al. 2003:99]

In research on a South African CBT project, Ndlovu and Rogerson (2003:127, 128) affirmed that "catering was organised such as to offer tourists a choice of traditional or conventional food ..." and the catering group was linked to the village accommodation complex with no less than "two community projects per village, the majority with women membership, ... generat[ing] income through the sale of bread, vegetable and chickens ..."

If there was ever any truth in the assertion that people do not recognize the value of their own cuisine, this is changing, and all suggestions indicate that this attitude is shifting in line with market trends in which "tourists want to experience and 'taste' the region they are visiting, an underlying reason being that culture is playing an increasingly important role in tourism and food is one of the key elements of culture" (Du Rand et al. 2003:99). That is, "tourists enjoy indigenous food, particularly items of local or ethnic nature" (Du Rand et al. 2003:99). Indigenous foods could also be used in more formal catering establishments, such as restaurants and coffee shops, possibly increasing curiosity in the diversity of foods.

Food is a major source of profit in tourism; in fact, tourists' "spending on food can constitute up to one-third of the total tourist expenditure" (Mak et al. 2012:

172). Similarly, a study on CBT enterprises (CBEs) in Kenya shows that despite some of the CBEs having positive results in some of their components, namely occupancy rate and income generation, there are difficulties in categorizing positive and negative models (Manyara and Jones 2007:641). However, it affirmed that "assessments of CBEs as avenues for poverty alleviation should be based on their potential for significantly contributing to three key areas" (Manyara and Jones 2007:641), the first of which is related to direct income and indicates the relevance of food in the CBEs by arguing that on "Wasini Island, for example, CBE activity supports social development [...] through education and health, and it is also paid out to members in the form of dividends. A restaurant on the island operated by an indigenous entrepreneur serves food prepared by the women in their own homes. It is this individual activity rather than the CBE-oriented activity that has greatest impacts on households" (Manyara and Jones 2007:641).

In cooperative-based ecotourism activities, it has been noted that nonmembers of the cooperative, that is, those who live in the area only during the tourism season, benefit economically through "small-scale restaurants, fishing and the sale of traditional food" (Avila Foucat 2002:518). It is therefore evident that traditional local foods play a major role in CBT and community development, and therefore, that awareness of and pride in local cuisine needs to be further encouraged for the role it can play in both CBT development and in the broader community. A recent study in Mexico also shows how traditional cuisine through the establishment of an annual cooking event established in 2004 has played a positive role in tourism development as well as a positive impact on the local culture and economy (Serrato García et al. 2011).

In this way, indigenous food can be linked with other relevant issues in community development such as nutrition, biodiversity and agriculture, and local knowledge. Historically, the diet of black people was, to some extent, externally manipulated for white benefit, as, for example, in the case of favoring white maize in the colonial system during the 1920s, meaning that yellow maize was left for African consumption (Smale and Jayne 2003:10). Reawakening awareness on the use and value of indigenous food needs to be facilitated and fostered so that these foods can be repopularized. Vorster et al. (2007b:9) acknowl-

edged that this "is a time consuming and expensive process" but believe that it can be highly effective "once the mechanisms have been worked out."

It is also interesting to note that the relationship between CBT and food can be expanded to include other sustainable development practices linked to indigenous knowledge. In Cambodia, for example, a CBT committee in need of alternative and innovative solutions to tourists' food packaging shifted from plastic and foam bags and packages to "traditionally woven, reusable baskets for transporting the food" which promoted environmental protection and decreased cost and waste (Asker et al. 2010:97).

Local food also has the potential to reduce leakage caused by food import. In Taquile (Peru), CBT development was initially started locally and controlled and managed collectively but has since been eroded as a consequence of neoliberal globalization forces, producing, among other things, an increase in leakage connected to increased import of foodstuff (Mitchell and Reid 2001; Ypeij and Zorn 2007). Local food could invert the trend and decrease the leakage:

Leakages would also be reduced if more local products and services were used. One alternative would be to reintroduce local food and other products or services into the island economy. There were several thousand tourists visiting Taquile annually in the early 80s with minimal non-local products or services, so it is conceivable that many tourists would be willing to experience more local food or travel with local guides as they once did. [Mitchell and Reid 2001:135]

All these factors make local initiatives aimed at fostering a re-awareness of indigenous plant foods not only positive for tourism development controlled by local people but also aid attempts to manage ecosystems, ensure food security, and foster rural development. Faber et al. (2010:30) had noted that "the potential value for food security and rural development of gathering wild foods, growing locally adapted varieties and eating from the local ecosystem, is recognised by an international initiative." Most significantly at the local level, the reintroduction of indigenous plant foods into the diet will contribute toward improved nutrition because many historically used plants have high nutritional values. Research into indigenous South African plants and nutrition has been conducted by Vorster et al. (2007a:3) and

Nesbitt et al. (2008), among others. It is clear that “collected plant food adds considerably to the variety of the diet” (Coetzee 1982:87) and therefore that health programs should take the nutritional value of indigenous plants into account as well as their relatively undemanding cultivation requirements (Wehmeyer and Rose 1983:615). With regard to the nutritional value of indigenous food in the former Transkei area, specifically, this has been recognized by Bhat and Rubuluza (2002) and Wehmeyer and Rose (1983). Bhat and Rubuluza’s (2002) study, which included Mpondoland and other areas of the former Transkei, found a total of 35 indigenous food sources including leaves, tubers, herbs, fruits, and seeds. Bhat and Rubuluza (2002:95) suggested that the “high level of unemployment and lack of resources have led to poverty and malnutrition of the Eastern Cape dwellers” and highlighted the “dire need to introduce these plants and encourage their use due to economic, social and other conditions facing the Eastern Cape and the world at large.”

Finally, a resurrection of the use and cultivation of indigenous plants for food impacts positively by enhancing agriculture as a livelihood strategy as well as maintaining biodiversity. It has been noted that “biodiversity management plays a significant role in the development of sustainable agricultural development practices and strategies against malnutrition” (Toledo and Burlingame 2006:478). However, the linkage between biodiversity for food and nutrition requires proper knowledge and accurate data and names collection on plants (Nesbitt et al. 2008:1; see also Toledo and Burlingame 2006:478). Toledo and Burlingame (2006:478) suggested various links between biodiversity and nutrition (as well as the need for accurate data collection) such as “[w]ild species and intra-species biodiversity have key roles in global food security; different varieties have statistically different nutrient contents; and nutrient content needs to be among the criteria in cultivar promotion.”

Acknowledgment of the linkage between biodiversity and food security policies will result in further socioeconomic benefits, such as the support of poverty alleviation efforts. This shift in approach toward the alleviation of nutritional problems into one that incorporates biodiversity as a means of enhancing nutrition (Toledo and Burlingame 2006:478) is also noted in recent research by Bharucha and Pretty (2010:2917):

Malnutrition is a major health burden in developing countries, and the recognition that nutritional security and biodiversity are linked is fundamental for enlisting policy support to secure wild food use and preserve habitats for wild edible species.

In the conclusion to their research into the relations between biodiversity, agriculture, and nutrition, they noted that “evidence shows that wild foods provide substantial health and economic benefits to those who depend on them. It is now clear that efforts to conserve biodiversity and preserve traditional food systems and farming practices need to be combined and enhanced” (Bharucha and Pretty 2010:2922).

It has been seen that the production and marketing of traditional foods for the tourist market is an important element of CBT but also that factors such as proximity to established tourist destinations can influence the success or otherwise of CBT ventures. A second category of indigenous plant knowledge—and one that has an existing market—relates to traditional medicinal plants. The possible link between tourism, specifically CBT, and medicinal plants or the use of indigenous medicine as products for the tourist market has been proposed in a Food and Agriculture Organization/United Nations Foundation project on community-based enterprises. They cited a project in which visitors are taken on village walks by members of those households involved who “show tourists how local traditional herbal medicines are collected and prepared” (FAO n.d., online). Another example of the linking of indigenous medicines with CBT can be found in a Mayan tourism program that “integrate(s) small scale tourism, conservation and better farming practices. Visitors [are] rotated between villages to control tourist access and number. Other visitor activities were nature trails, medicinal plants, crafts and Maya ruins” (Zeppel 2006:92).

The socioeconomic value of traditional medicine in the Eastern Cape province has been acknowledged by Dold and Cocks (2002:596). Their research

... revealed that approximately 525 tonnes of plant material, comprising at least 166 taxa and valued at approximately R27 million per annum, was traded annually in the study area alone [...]. The medicinal plant trade not only provides vital welfare for millions of consumers but it is also critical for the welfare of all the people engaged in

the industry. [. . .] The medicinal plant industry plays a critical role in empowering a large number of women, and lack of access to it would leave them and their families destitute.

Keirungi and Fabricius (2005:497) also acknowledged the relevance of medicinal plants in the South African economic and cultural context, stating that “medicinal plants occupy an important place in the healthcare systems of developing countries.” The possible role of indigenous plants as an income generator (direct selling or as tourism products) and their role in maintaining biodiversity, indigenous knowledge, and so on all contribute in different ways to overall community development and are illustrated in Figure 4.

Conclusion

This article has explored various means by which the use of indigenous wild foods can be revived and suggested ways in which they can be used as a source for community development using CBT as a funnel strategy. CBT can provide the initial platform on which wild food can be exploited as an income source from which other community development projects can develop. As has already been suggested by other case studies of community-based projects, the one presented in this article shows that “even in extremely hostile economic environments, new market opportunities for alternate food products and for collective community-based endeavours exist” (Nel et al. 2005:111).

The case study outlined in this article of CBT in Noqhekwana Village following the remanagement and interruption of international support inspired local community members to mobilize themselves and implement a CBT venture based on local trails and food services and to generate small-scale self-development through self-organization and within the parameters of local understanding and capacity. Improvements in marketing and market access can help to further increase profits of the CBT under study. In fact, a major problem recognized in CBT relates to marketing and market access. This is one of the main reasons for the failure of CBT products and is the result of their inability to attract a sufficient number of visitors (Hayle n.d.). The same issue was highlighted by Ndabeni and Rogerson (2005:139) in their case study on small, medium, and micro enterprise rural entrepreneurship in tourism along the

South African Wild Coast when they noted that “what most local entrepreneurs required was improved access to markets and marketing.”

The case study showed the importance of the role of local food within a CBT venture in livelihood diversification and also in contributing to the empowerment of women. This article also suggests that if properly exploited and organized, local food can have positive implications not only with regard to CBT but also more general community development by contributing to improvement in nutrition, maintenance of biodiversity, and preservation of local knowledge.

While CBT can be expected to have more of a local than national impact, as has been suggested by Jänis (2009:13) in relation to a Namibian CBT case study, CBT development should not exclude its possible evolution toward having a greater impact. Although insignificant in macroeconomic terms, local food in CBT can make real contributions to livelihood diversification in poor households. At the same time, as has been suggested in a Caribbean case study, “exchange might increase as linkages with the tourism industry are established through the introduction of local cuisine on a larger scale within the tourism sector” (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean 2001:7), thus also working a greater geographical perspective on the benefit of indigenous food to the economy. Finally, CBT should not work toward the creation of a museum of indigenous communities, that is, “traditional” people should not “be denied this opportunity to create their own wealth and comfort [through cultural tourism] simply because by doing so they may lose some of their so-called ‘authenticity’ ” (Boonzaaier and Philip 2007:32).

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Notes

1. The Limpopo provincial government built a visitor homestead (*motse*) in 2003 to be used for tourist accommodation (Boonzaaier and Philip 2007:27).

2. See Giampiccoli (2010) for some examples.
3. Port St. Johns, a vibrant tourism destination, is about ten kilometers away from the village. CBT in the village was initially facilitated by an international cooperation project which ended its course without being completed. Some local people then continued the CBT venture (personal communication, 2010; see also Giampiccoli 2010).
4. Data and information were obtained by a member of the Community Trust also working in CBT. The data about the economic values are the official data kept by the Community Trust of the village about the CBT venture.
5. "In South Africa, *morogo* and *imifino* are traditional terms used for a collection of various dark-green leaves that are eaten as a vegetable; the leaves either grow wild or come from vegetables such as pumpkin, beetroot and sweet potato. In this paper, the term 'African leafy vegetables' will be used to refer to the collective of leafy vegetables that usually grow wild" (Faber et al. 2010:31).
6. Although exotic, the reintroduction of yellow maize should be considered especially as "consumption of yellow maize, rich in provitamin A carotenoids, could be a cost-effective way of preventing and/or alleviating vitamin A deficiency among vulnerable populations in developing countries, yet the crop is largely unpopular among consumers in southern Africa" (Muzhingi et al. 2008:352, see also De Groote and Kimenju 2008:362). A reason could be the association of yellow maize as bad and for animals due to the chemical characteristic of yellow maize (usually imported as a food aid) which promotes bad organoleptic characteristics if not properly managed during the transport (Muzhingi et al. 2008:353).

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