

AUTHENTICITY AND SUSTAINABILITY OF CAPE TOWN'S TOWNSHIP TOURISM AS A PRODUCT

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ABSTRACT

This study reports on the findings of research that was conducted amongst visiting tourists, tour operators and residents in Langa Township in Cape Town, South Africa, in an attempt to determine sustainability and authenticity of township tourism on many levels, including the growth of township tourism beyond just visitation by tourists. This study deployed both a quantitative and qualitative methodology to generate results: using these methodologies to determine the level of growth of tours in the township, and to also determine the motivating factor for township tourism. The visual evidence of the deprivation formed by the apartheid regime, coupled with the authenticity stemming from the persistent poverty within the township areas, further ties in with the dark tourism-attraction theme. This is consistent with the 45.1% of participants citing cultural experiences as their primary reason for visiting South Africa. A vital role of township tourism is to stimulate economic activity, poverty alleviation, and in raising living standards, which has been widely recognised in many countries, where township-type tourism is used as a catalyst to generate economic activities within relatively poor communities. The South African National Department of Tourism has developed economic initiatives to provide assistance to tour operators and the communities, with recommendations on training of tour operators. Training has been identified as one of the interventions needed to transform the tourism industry and to achieve targets as set by the national, provincial and local governments. Generally, the challenge is to ensure that appropriate skills development and training takes place in an attempt to transform and develop the tour operators and the communities in South Africa, especially for township tourism.

The recommendations made could lead to improvement in township tour operating conditions as this study investigated both positive and negative factors facing township tourism. Township tourism has a huge potential to provide ever-growing economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs to enter the tour-operating business at ground level, if supported, has a positive contribution to make and to overcome the legacy of social and economic exclusion, which has for too long characterised township life. It is concluded that government support plays an important part in township tourism, and that education and training should be embedded in the use of human resources for growing the economy of the townships in terms of social, economic, and personal factors, are necessary for township tourism to be sustainable for the future generations.

Key words: Authenticity, Langa, sustainability, townships, township tourism

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late mothers (twins) who have passed on, I know they both look down at me with so much pride. They have taught me that hard work is only a virtue if it carries the blessing of God, they have both taught me to keep God at the centre of everything I do. My husband Mongezi Mbebe who has been a loving guide and mentor to me and a wonderful father to my children.

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Terms/Acronyms/Abbreviations	Definition/Explanation
BRICS:	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CBD:	Central Business District
CoCT:	City of Cape Town
CPUT:	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
Muni SDF:	Municipality Spatial Development Framework
NDT:	National Department of Tourism
NTSS:	National Tourism Sector Strategy
SAPS:	South African Police Services
SMME:	Small, medium and micro enterprise
SOWETO:	South Western Township
TMNP:	Table Mountain National Park
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO:	United Nations World Tourism Organization
VFR:	Visiting Friends and Relatives

GLOSSARY

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Tourism in the world, equaly for South Africa, is acknowledged as contributing to social and economic development, especially through tourism activities. "South Africa is known for its ethnic diversity, with 11 official languages and called the "rainbow nation", the country has much to offer in cultural diversity" (SADT, 2016c).

George (2007:3) acknowledges this fact by stating that tourism has proven to be the fastgrowing industry, it plays a positive role in the economy, environment, as well as socio-cultural factors globally, constituting a positive 11% of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and employment creation of 200 million people, which constitutes 8% of the world's population (George, 2007:4; UNESCO, 2011). This tourism growth is evident in many countries through economic development, including South Africa, where tourism contributes to poverty alleviation (UNESCO, 2011).

Tourism also contributes to economic development in a country, and to rural cultural progress, through empowering the community through job creation (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016c). There are many facets to tourism in South Africa, one of them being township tourism, which focuses on introducing international and local tourists to the culture and living conditions of urban South Africans, while providing an experience for township dwellers. Foreigners appear to enjoy a detailed township experience more than the superficial coach journey that some tourists companies provide (Pirie, 2007:223).

Existing research on urban tourism does not specifically attempt to explain tourists' motives for visiting places like the slums in Favelas (Brazil), Hutong (Beijing) or townships (South Africa), which is a fast growing niche tourism world market (Pirie, 2007:224). Ma (2010) researched slum-tourists' motivations to establish whether slum-tourism is driven by moral or mass motivation, a driver for this study. Ma's (2010) study is based on a slum in India and needed to be adapted for South African townships.

Cultural curiosity is a most important factor driving tourist towards slum tour (Ma, 2010:18) has notd the following:

"Although tourists viewed authenticity as an important motivation, they did not view the tour as an escape from the authentic modern city life. Tourists expressed little desire to interact with slum residents, which would have allowed them to gain a deeper understanding of slum culture" (Ma, 2010:36).

1.2 Problem statement

Tourists visiting South African townships share an unknown common interest, which has an impact on sustainable economic growth (George, 2011:51-52). It is therefore imperative to identify this common interest and its linkage to the sustainability of the economy. This study seeks to establish how the "consumer-oriented product-development approach, with regard to township tourism products and attractions, can be adapted to South African townships" (Spenceley, 2008 87). The township tourism cultural activities offered should be expanded to enhance more interest in township tourism. Pirie (2007:230) states that tourists prefer to visit cultural attraction ranging from theatre visits to craft centre visits. Pirie further mentions that there should be more dedicated and themed township tours offered on the tours "such as a struggle trail, a shebeen trail, or an arts and crafts trail". Frey and George (2008:124) state "that tourists are always looking for new, authentic and different cultural experiences" a statement supported by Booyens and Rogerson (2015,407). Responsible tourism practices encourage the use of local heritage and knowledge to meet the demands of tourists. The researcher is a resident of the area for many years, and partakes in various activities in the township.

The research problem to be investigated is whether township tours, as they are presently offered in Cape Town, are authentic and sustainable.

1.3 Aim of the study

Following on the problem statement, the aim of the study is to explore the product offering (township tours), so as to establish their authenticity and sustainability.

1.4 Study objectives

The study seeks to establish the authenticity of township tourism as a sustainable product. It will therefore investigate the following:

- * Identify visitor motivation(s) for undertaking a township tour;
- * Identify the types of tourist visiting a township;
- * Investigate the sort of information and facilities that draw a tourist to participate in a township tour;
- * Examine the extent to which local township communities are involved in planning and developing township tourism; and
- * Investigate the sustainability of township tourism.

The need for economic progress in the townships, through development of township tours in South Africa is worth noting, however, not only the economic dimension of tourism that needs attention, the cultural, physical, and social aspects of tourism are equally important

1.5 Research questions

The research will attempt to answer the following questions in line with the research objectives:

- What are the motivation(s) for tourists to undertake township tours?
- What type of tourists visit townships?
- What information and facilities decides a township visit?
- To what extent is the local community involved in the planning and development of township tourism?
- How sustainable is township tourism?

1.6 Motivation for the research

The primary motivation for the research is the invisible sustainable impact that township tourism has on many levels, including the growth of township tourism beyond just visitation by tourists. There is no doubt that tourism is growing and that it has an impact that could be directly linked to township employment and economic growth. However, it needs to be established what exactly this impact is and for how long can township tourism continue to impact township people and visiting tourists, (Koens & Thomas, 2015:7).

1.7 Literature review

This section describes (and quotes) leading author's views of terms relevant to this study:

1.7.1 Tourism

George (2007:3) developed his definition of tourism using the demand and supply side definitions from the United Nation World Tourism Organization.

1.7.1.1 Tourism demand

George (2007:3) defines tourism as:

..."the activity of a person travelling to, and staying in, places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of any activity remunerated from within the place visited".

This definition clarifies tourism as an activity "taking place away from home for a period of 24 hours or more". It further explains tourism as:

- "The movement of people (the journey) to, and the stay a,t a destination":
- "Being away from the usual home or work environment";

- "The movement to, and staying at, a destination is short-term and temporary"; and
- The destination is visited for a "purpose other than taking permanent residence or employment".

"Tourists spending less than 24 hours at a destination are defined as 'excursionists' or referred to as 'day visitors'" (Gartner, 1996:32; George, 2007:30), a ready market for township tourism.

1.7.1.2 Tourism supply

It is a challenge to describe tourism from a supply perspective because tourism does not have an output that can be physically quantified. This is because tourism is a collective of different industries, such as transport, accommodation, services, and recreation. These sectors do not operate solely for tourism purposes and therefore cannot be exclusively categorised under tourism. Hence, tourism is viewed as a process rather than an industry.

According to Gartner (1996:35), early definitions of tourism focused on spatial dimensions. Tourists were defined according to the distance they moved away from their home. In his definition of tourism, Gartner recognised four elements of tourism, namely "the tourist, businesses providing travel-related services, governments which apply policy controls over tourism, and the people who live in areas visited by tourists". Leiper (2004:23) expands on these elements in his definition, "which is that tourism is an open system of elements interacting with the broader and outside environment". According to George (2007:4), the elements are:

- "The tourist element";
- "The three geographical elements (the generation region, transit route and destination region)";
- "The economic element"; and
- "The tourism industry or process".

The tourism elements are organised in spatial and functional connection, that interact with the following factors: physical, technological, socio-cultural, economic, and political, and suggest a possible viability for township tourism to be properly managed.

Franklin (2003), in his definition of tourism, concentrates on modernity and its experience, and leisure and recreation. "Modernity is the ever-changing living conditions, including social, technological and environment changes, which seem to pull humanity further away from the things that are vaguely conceptualised as the roots of humanity's origin, their true state of nature and culture" Franklin (2003:207).

Included in the tourism characteristics identified by Franklin (2003:26) are:

- Tourism is derived from modern life and the experience of innovation. He describes modernity to be novelty.
- Franklin describes tourism as more meaningful than just traveling. He describes tourism as access to novelty and to the modern world. The new communicative technology of modernity allows the accessibility, which is referred to as the escalation of mobility. This results in people's ability to move, therefore expanding the spatial limits of tourism from home areas to the outer spaces.
- Tourism allows international visitors access to new and uniqie experinces while locating themselves with the experiences.
- Tourism is a personified experience towards consumption, identity, belonging and social order work on, and through, the body. As consumption, it is an expressive and performative activity in modernity. The political and moral context play a vital role in describing the characteristics of tourism, and these have to be taken into consideration amongst leisure activities as it is characteristic of tourism.

Some of these definitions are limited. They exclude other types of travellers who are not leisure travellers, and do not consider their trips to be pleasurable, and people who travel for less than one day, or are at transit routes (Gartner, 1996:159). Jafari (1977:8), in an attempt to clarify this issue, defines tourism as:

..."a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impact that both he and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic and physical environment".

Gartner (1996:160)) sees this definition as succinct but broad enough to explain fully what tourism is about, removing the spatial limitations. Tourism has proven to be broader and to consist of a lot more than what Gartner and Jafari describe. They both agree that tourism takes place away from home but where they differ is in explaining the reasons why people visit places away from home—whether for leisure and recreation and/or business purposes. Most of these definitions exclude business travellers (Franklin, 2003:27), but Jafari (1977:8) does acknowledge other travellers in his definition and this definition is a representation of tourism even though it is not often used by academics. These formal definitions are designed to quantify tourism to measure its economic impact (Franklin, 2003:56).

1.7.2 Consumer behaviour

The process of "acquiring and organising information on how people consume travel and tourism products" has become important, not only for academic research but for practical businesses (Horner & Swarbrooke, 2016:7). Understanding travellers' behaviour is important because of high competition. Effectiveness is correlated with the ability to tailor-make products to meet consumers' needs, expectations and desires (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:149).

Furthermore, Moutinho (2011:83) states that consumers today can no longer be classified according to typologies because they are individual human beings and have a deep understanding and insight into what drives their tourist behaviours.

Kotler and Armstrong (2010) refer to "consumer behaviour as the buying behaviour of the final consumer—individuals and households buying goods and services for personal use". Horner and Swarbrooke (2016:23) describe consumer behaviour "as a process of acquiring and organising information in the direction of a purchase decision, and of using and evaluating products and services". Forty years ago, Schiffman and Kanuk (1978:365) defined consumer behaviour as "the study of how consumers made decisions to spend their resources (time, money, effort) on consuming an item". This includes what consumers buy, why they buy, when they buy, and how often they buy and use a product or service. There has been little change in the psychology of consumer behaviour since Schiffman and Kanuk (1978) developed their definition.

The study of consumer behaviour is important for a marketer because it gives insight into travellers' holidaying behaviour to best reflect the traveller's experience, and connect them to their specific needs (Moutinho, 2011:84). This would result in tourism providers developing experiences consumers truly value (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:168; Moutinho, 2011:84). Travel decisions are influenced by factors also divorced from the individual. These factors include economic, technological, political, cultural, and social influences, and influences of other people (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:164; Moutinho, 2011). "The characteristics which influence consumer behaviour also influence how consumers perceive or react to forces and events in the consumer's environment. These characteristics include cultural, social, personal, and psychological factors" (Moutinho, 2011:84).

1.7.2.1 Cultural factors

"The 'belonging' of a consumer to a cultural or sub-cultural group or social class helps consumers in making sense of and relating to their environment" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:167). The term culture has been described by various authors, including Kotler and Armstrong, as .."culture is the set of basic values and perceptions, wants and behaviours learnt by a member of society from family and other important institutions" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:148). Solomon, is of the opinion that

... "Culture shapes and guides how consumers belong in a particular group or society that meets their basic needs and wants. Subculture is the multiple cultural groups within a culture, which are a group of people with shared values based on common life experiences and situations".

where a variety of factors including "age, language, religion, gender, and race help define these subgroups" (Solomon, 2014:92).

1.7.2.2 Social factors

Consumers are influenced by people with whom they directly and indirectly interact. Reference groups, opinion leaders and families are part of these groups of people (Solomon, 2014:89).

"Reference groups help consumers attach meaning to products and services and also influence their attitudes and self-concept, and create pressure to conform which will affect the product choice" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:158).

"Opinion leaders are those individuals within reference groups who have a strong influence on consumer decision-making because consumers trust their opinions, judgement, and views. The family is the most influential factor because of close and regular interaction with the consumer. Families help consumers to develop values and lifestyle, and provide financial and emotional surety and support" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:158).

1.7.2.3 Personal factors

The needs and taste preferences of a consumer may change overtime, therefore different ages and lifecycle stages became important in consumer decision-making. Economic situations include income, price, demand and supply levels. "When income levels are low people will meet their physical needs first, but as income increases they would look to meet other needs, according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs" (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:148; Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:175).

Kotler and Armstrong further state that..."lifestyles are personal patterns of living expressed through activities, interests, and opinions, reflected in reasons for purchases by revealing motives and values. Lifestyle could be used to segment consumers" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:175). Consumers' personalities and the consistent response to their environment will also influence their buying behaviour.

1.7.2.4 Psychological factors

The four major psychological factors influencing consumers' buying "choices are motivation, perception, learning, and beliefs and attitudes". Motives are needs strong enough to cause the consumer to want to satisfy them, and the stimuli could affect the consumer "positively or negatively". Maslow's hierarchy of needs shows that persons, including tourists, respond to different stimuli to change needs at various times and places (UI Islam et al., 2017:513). Kotler and Armstrong are at pains to stress that motivation, and satisfying our needs and desires, is not as clear as suggested by UI Islam et al. (2017).

"Motivated consumers are ready to act but how they act depends on perception, which is the process of selecting, organising, and interpreting information to form an understanding of their world. How perception is formed depends on culture, which is learned and could change. Perceptions form experiences, which in turn influence perception" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:177).

"When people act they learn, and learning is the change in behaviour resulting from the experience" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:177). Belief is a descriptive thought about something which could be based on knowledge, opinion, or faith, and carries emotional charge. Belief can

derive from imitating people, influences from the media, retailers, institutions and religion, and from one's own experiences and reasons. The belief that consumers form about a product makes up the product or its brand image, which affects buying behaviour (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:178)

A person's belief about a brand could help influence their attitude towards the products. Attitude is a person's relatively consistent evaluation, feeling, and tendency towards something. It is a set of likes and dislikes (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:177).

1.7.3 Dark tourism

Sharpley and Stone (2009:9, cited by Poade, 2015) noted "dark tourism" as:

"people, as long as they are able to travel, are drawn to sites, attractions, or events that are linked to death, disaster, suffering, and violence". "...this attraction of death and disaster ... introduced the term 'dark tourism' to the tourism portfolio" (Poade, 2015:255).

Lennon and Foley (2010:1188) note that "dark tourism focuses on the relationship between tourism and death". Seaton and Bennett (1996:24) observe that "death, suffering and tourism are related". These scenarios (i.e. death and suffering common in dark tourism) are also found in some South African township areas. Dark tourism is categorised as "visits to places or events associated with death, disaster and destruction" (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:35), and the visits to these sites are "seemingly macabre" (Lennon & Foley, 2010:1189).

These dark sites are consumed or mediated by a variety of influences, such as a broader historical, political, or cultural framework, within which broader socio-cultural and political frameworks are present. "Visiting sites that could be connected to death is a significant part of a tourist's experience in many societies but little is known of the significance of and motivation for these visits on the tourists" (Lennon & Foley, 2010:1188). Slavery, for example, can be construed as dark tourism (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:19). In the northern hemisphere, public acknowledgement of slave trading and its consequences make it a key subject of a tourism experience.

Dark tourism is a growing niche area of tourism and it is becoming diverse. There is growth in the number of these attractions and experiences, like the death sites of famous individuals such as Mother Teresa or President Kennedy. These have become religious worldly tourism memorials (Foley & Lennon 2010:1189), with growing numbers of people accessing dark tourism attractions spaces (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:17). Lennon and Foley (2010:1189) identify that communication technologies have shaped perceptions of what the significant sites are in political history. Dark tourism reflects the role of the media in harnessing the artefacts, texts, and power of the media in representing the event as part of a product for visitors (Lennon & Foley, 2010:1189). At the same time, there is a great willingness or desire from the tourist to visit these dark attractions (Poade, 2015:255).

There is less evidence on what drives dark tourism, whether it is tourist-demand or attractionsupply driven, the manifestation of the propensity for 'mourning sicknesses'. There has been an increase in tourist interest in recent death, disaster, and atrocity, or simply there is an increase in dark tourism sites and attractions.

1.7.4 Cultural and heritage tourism

Burns (1999:54) said that understanding something about the nature of culture is important in gaining an understanding of tourism.

1.7.4.1 Culture

Culture has a range of meanings. It could mean high art as found in museums, and the persons who create them are said to be cultural. Culture represents "knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws and customs" (Burns, 1999:30) of humankind or a society. It represents linked sets of rules, basic value perceptions, and shared standards that are societal norm (Burns, 1999:30; Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:167).

Culture includes social relations and material artefacts. It consists of behavioural patterns, knowledge, and values acquired and transmitted through generations. Culture could also be an attribute of race or biological observation. Because tourism is socially and economically dynamic, a systems approach to tourism could be employed to focus on the relationship between culture and tourism. Culture can also be seen as a commercial resource (Burns, 1999:58).

1.7.4.2 Cultural tourism

This activity means going to visit cultural attractions, and places that offer history about the heritage of particular cultural attractions such as art, cultural offerings, drama, festivals, and galleries that showcase visual and art performances, and the destinations culture, away from normal environment, to satisfy cultural needs and to gather information and experience (Sigala & David, 2005:95). Pedersen (2002:35) defines a cultural tourist according to the person's motives, which are described as cultural—undertake study tours, attend performing arts, participate in cultural tours and festivals, visit cultural sites and monuments, and study nature.

1.7.4.3 Heritage

Heritage comes a long way and it can be associated with the past history, including buildings, artwork and landscaping (Sigala & David, 2005 95). Cultural and heritage tourism places a special emphasis on "heritage and cultural attractions, archaeological sites and places where cultural perfomaces" happen. Both developed and less developed areas embrace the cultural attractions such as performances, museums, religious practices. However, Sigala and David (2005:96) believe that there is still little understanding of how visitors describe heritage sites and what this means to them.

1.7.4.4 Heritage tourism

Heritage tourism is defined as "focussing on the motivation and perception of the tourist" on the 'heritage product'. Sigala & David (2005:96) state that the heritage features according to the tourist's perception is the basis of tourists' motivation for visiting.

1.7.5 Consumer demand and cultural tourist behaviour

Since the 1980's cultural tourism had experienced rapid growth due to the increase in art, cultural attactions, and the rich history, and the following demographic and cultural factors are described:

1.7.5.1 Demographic factors

Interest in history and culture grows with age and lifestyle changes. As people get older, become senior citizens (referred to as the 'grey' wave) and retire, it is evident they have freedom for enjoyment of life and they have enogh money to spend on holidays. The traveller's interest to participate in, learn, and experience places suggests that there are enough funds available to partake in fun activities that enhance their confidence and helps to identify with who thay are. Income, or money, plays a huge role in tourism, for a tourist, and the economy of a tourist-offering destination. Money allows or prevents consumption of tourism as a product offering. Time and money is required for tourism offerings to take place (George, 2014:147).

1.7.5.2 Cultural tourism factors

Cultural tourism attractions do not exclusively make tourism products; they have to be embedded in a range of products and facilities, which consist of the core product monuments, museums, events with a specific cultural tourist service (for example educational information rendered by museum guides) and additional general products such as transportation.

1.7.6 Township tourism

What is a township? They are living areas created outside major cities to house the enormous labour force required to service these cities. Rolfes et al. (2009) describe townships as being:

..."located on the fringes of the cities and metropolitan areas of South Africa; they are almost symbolically for the inhuman planning approach that is based on racist classifications; a large part of South Africa's urban population is still living under poor living-conditions in the townships, and the inhabitants of the townships still belong almost exclusively to 'previously disadvantaged' segments of the population" Rolfes et al. (2009:17).

The most famous of these townships in South Africa includes SOWETO (the South Western Townships) outside Johannesburg, and Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga outside Cape Town.

"While global mass tourism grew immensely during the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa was excluded from this trend and embroiled in the politics of apartheid" (Butler, 2010:19). "During

the apartheid period, a million black South Africas were forcefully removed from their homes and were placed in township homes throughout the country" (Butler, 2010:20). The townships were developed in hostel residential areas away from the city, and where only whites peope lived. During this time, urban tourism was strictly confined to white people and white areas (Smith & Robinson, 2006:75). The apartheid laws restricted white people from going to black communities, and only allowed blacks into white areas to supply their labour. White people were discouraged from going to the townships because of the perceived high level of crime and violence.

The first South African non-racial democratic elections were held in April 1994, with Nelson Mandela the first democratically elected president, and South Africa then sparkled as a first-choice international tourism destination/attraction. The general growth in domestic and international tourism grew in the late 1990s with more township tours running "dark tourism" as evident in the above description of South African townships, and a niche market. Still, in post-apartheid South Africa, settlements are visibly divided into wealthy, historically 'whites only' areas and poor, 'historical black townships' (South African Venues, 2013).

"The growing interest of tourists to visit South African black townships could be recognised by township visits that are meant to provide more authenticity and non-performative experiences, portraying a 'real' history, 'real' people, and the 'real' South Africa" (Smith & Robinson, 2006:77).

The tourist's interest lies in their curiosity to explore a variety of traditional activities and rich social customs which exists in the lifeslle and living conditions of the community.

People are to experience various forms of culture through museums and township shebeens (where traditional beer is offered), traditional healers, as well as enjoying the richness of the townships culture, such as visiting squatter camps, African dance activities, soup kitchens, and recycling depots within these township (Smith & Robinson, 2006:89; George, 2007:40; Butler, 2010:28). The township tour offers the tourist the results of the apartheid struggles, how black people were deprived of living a good life. Poverty is what makes township tourism even more authentic, where peoples homes are built using grooved iron sheets, even wooden material to build shelters, to provide a safe living space for families. These shelters are built in areas that are not conducive to provide safe electricity, and sufficient running water, therefore there is often a lack of good sanition due to no running water and electricity, and these shelters often experience hot weather conditions in summer and cold weather conditions in winter, due to the poor material used to build.

Township tours are a cultural revelation for tourists and for many local white people who are not aware of theas living conditions. However, there is not enough research that exist towards township tourism planning and motivation, to help identify the impact it has on the community and its residents (Smith & Robinson, 2006:11). Even tough township tourism offers a variety of experiences, ranging from activities that offer cooperative experiences that mainly focus on upifting the communities involved to improve their of the lives of the community within the township. Attacting more revenue-generating activities, with chances of a positive economic growth of the townships. Small business operations that are owned by the young black entreprenuers benefit from township tourism operation in the townships (South African Venues, 2013).

Township tourism is commonly tours conducted by small and independent businesses, usually owned by entrepreneurs from the townships, who use microbuses to bring visitors to the townships.

"Township tours have emerged as popular tourist activities, as has 'struggle tourism', where tourists visit places associated with the South Africa struggle for democracy and liberation from apartheid" (George, 2007:30).

These attractions tell the story of what happened during the apartheid years. Township tours are connected with the following factors such as educational, cultural, heritage, local development, justice related tourism, pro-poor tourism and dark tourism factors (Butler, 2010:24).

Township tours could be viewed as pro-poor strategies; however, township tourism creates much economic opportunities for the townships. The South African tourism industry is still very racially structured, with many blacks still earning at the lowest income bracket due to a late start in developing themselves careers-wise. Black entrepreneurs from the townships require more training and development, and lack business skills to start and maintain businesses. There is also a lack of consultation for these entrepreneurs, and these problems worsen the establishment of businesses around township tourism. However, there is a gap in the township tourism development and planning due to it being a new and unique tourism phenomenon (Smith & Robinson, 2006:11).

1.7.7 The socio-cultural and economic impacts of township tourism

The following discussions present the negative socio-cultural and economic impacts of tourism, and are relevant to this study of township tourism:

1.7.7.1 Cultural impact

Smith and Robinson (2006:175) state that cultural tourism policies are institutional support of artistic and cultural outputs, and cultural capital. Cultural capital is the development and marketing of cultural activities that display a 'sense of place' that potrays a positive image of the cultures of the community and residents. The development of long-haul travel from the main source markets has resulted in tourists wanting to explore unknown areas, visit new cultures, and experience real local life. Local communities and indigenous peoples are often

confronted with tourism development that turns their culture, traditions, and natural environment into a tourism product that is to be sold to new emerging markets, more often than not without their consent or participation. Negative impacts on the host culture can be mitigated through introducing systems where tourism systems and cultural activities can have linkages (Burns, 1999:50). Franklin (2003:54) sees the impact that tourism has on the culture to be largely negative or diminishing, which results in the commoditisation of culture lacking the authentic and mysterious quality that tourists crave. There are anthropologists who claim that the 'host culture' is destroyed by the sudden arrival of wealthy and aggressive foreigners into impoverished local areas. They argue that it generates globalisation of the culture, that the 'host culture' becomes part of the product of tourism, where the host countries usually go out of their way to establish facilities to accommodate tourists' interests. This is commoditisation of culture — culture performed for commercial purposes and not as an expression of people's thinking, philosophy or wishes, where these cultural activities become subject to market needs and alienated from the normal process of life.

However, Franklin (2003:56) counter-argues that commoditisation of culture for tourism purpose is useful to local people and in marketing their culture, people discovered individual past and tradition, also began to understand their own value. Several anthropologists have grappled with the issue of the relationship between culture and tourism. Some conclude that the industry renews pride in cultural life due to an upsurge in demand for traditional arts, dance, music and language (Kulindwa et al., 2001:174).

1.7.7.2 Economic impact

Due to nature of tourism whereby it can occur at places where the destination is industrialised and sometimes less-developed, this could entail an imbalance of economic control between the tourist and the host. Often when tourists come from richer backgrounds than that of the host, there is sometimes an attempt to emulate the wealth of the tourist, which leads to resentment. When a tourist becomes an immigrant for labour, the results of attracting workers from more traditional sectors could lead to inequality in the economic growth of the community. The impact of tax payment instabilities on the local residents poses challenges to meet the growing demand for the betterment of the infrastructure, without this cost being reflected in the tourist product, which could cause pressure as the community struggle to be in good books their high tax demand (Cooper et al., 2008:27).

1.7.7.3 Social impact

Employment growth opportunities for workers in tourism are exposed to high volumes of hatred, there are also imited social levels. Although tourism can afford its employees higher incomes than other traditional industries like the fishing and farming industries, tourism also has some other factors where working conditions are not as attractive, such as long standing, rolling contracts due to the nature of tourism being seasonal, part-time jobs that are offered with no formal training, prostitution and crime. This is reflected in the opportunities availed by the tourism industry in South Africa towards black people in the townships (Butler, 2010:22). There is also a relationship between drugs and tourism and tourism activities make it easy for drug users to access and use drugs (Kulindwa et al., 2001:174).

Another social problem associated with the increase in tourism activities is the increasing cases of theft and robberies of tourists carried out by local youth, and the molestation of tourists by beggars. This behaviour cannot be directly associated with the growth of tourism but tourists are easy prey and victims for someone to commit such offences, and many incidents are the result of economic and social problems (Kulindwa et al., 2001:174). There is also a growing problem of child labour where children are seen selling petty goods such as cigarettes, sculptures, second-hand clothes, and food to tourists and other customers. This is not caused solely by tourist activities, but poor families and street children exploiting the tourist markets as a source of income.

1.7.7.4 Behavioural and demonstration impacts

If tourist are not aware of, nor care for, the local customs they may behave in a way that creates social friction between tourists and residents (Cooper et al., 2008:172). According to Kulindwa et al. (2001:172), improper dressing could result in cultural conflicts, where local people complain that tourists do not cover themselves properly after a swim at the beach, which annoys and embarrasses local people as it undermines their culture. This is a result of a lack of a culture-code in tourist areas.

1.8 Significance of the research

This study could help to identify challenges that South Africans in urban/township areas experience in terms of tourism and economic growth, and highlight that township dwellers need to grow and progress in terms of their living conditions. In addition, this research highlights the criticality of adequate education on running authentic tourism businesses in the townships.

Cape Town is fast becoming a popular destination for township tourism activities. According to CoCT (2016:3), evidence of over 300 000 tourists took part in the organised tours in 2006 in Cape Town. Township tourism is one of the activities that tourists tick off their list of 'things to do' when they visit Cape Town. Township tourism has shown growth with more and more tour operators promoting the tours to a bigger market and incuding township tours with the rest of their itinerary outside the townships (Steinbrink, 2012:218). During the annual release of tourism statistics in Parliament in Cape Town in March 2013, it was reported that 9 188 368 tourists visited South Africa in 2012, which is an increase of 10% from the 8 339 354 in 2011

(Fin24 Archives, 2013), certainly ample scope to promote township tourism. In 2019, the number of tourists in South Africa amounted to 16.65 million – a figure that steadily increased over the past five years and is expected to see growth in the future (Stats SA 2019).

1.9 Stakeholders in the study

Participants in this study are small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) owners, such as accommodation providers, tour operators, craft or art sellers, and other tourism establishments. Also included amongst the participants are individuals from the community and schools offering tourism as a subject within the township tourism areas of Langa. These respondents are well placed to offer valuable information and insight into township tourism,

1.10 Research methodology

This study relies heavily on existing tourism literature as a secondary data source in investigating the authenticity and sustainability of township tourism. Included in the literature are peer-reviewed academic journal articles, published books, and online articles which focus on township tourism. The fieldwork will be conducted once the literature review is complete.

In-depth interviews are the primary source of data and will be conducted as a qualitative research technique of gathering relevant information for this paper, owing to its explorative nature. A qualitative interview is a "convesation between an interviwer and a respondent where by an interviewer seeks to gain information about a specific topic, gearing a conversation towards that specific topic raised by the respondent" (Babbie et al., 2001:270). In-depth interviews allow participants in this study to "express themselves as well as allowing them to ask more information where they seek clarity" (Babbie et al., 2001:269). Babbie et al. (2001) describes quantative methods as gathering numerical data.

1.10.1 Data collection

To achieve the objectives of the study, both literature and primary data must be collected. The secondary literature study forms the background to the study, helps to clarify the problem under investigation, improves methods of data collection for understanding the problem, and provides a benchmark to interpret primary data (Churchill & lacobucci, 2009:49). Primary data were collected from questionnaire surveys of approximately 200 tourists visiting the township of Langa, using an on-site intercept (convenience selected) method, and interviews with residents.

1.10.2 Sampling design

The population of this study includes tourists who visit the Langa township in Cape Town (which cannot be determined), local residents, and the tour operators taking visitors through the townships.

To gain an understanding of what local communities or residents feel about the presence of tourists, structured interviews were conducted with 20 conveniently selected local community residents between the ages 18 to 60, who are economic providers. These participants were selected on-site and resided within a 1-kilometre radius of the tourist activity, or houses on main streets where township tour activities take place. Information gathered gave insight into the views of township residents on tourists and tour guide groups visiting their townships.

Questionnaires on township tourism were issued to 200 conveniently selected tourists who had just completed a walking tour or bus township tour and to 20 conveniently selected tour operators from the participating township of Langa in Cape Town. Collected data was analysed using SPSS.

1.11 Ethical considerations

Since the research involved interviews to be conducted with tour operators and the residents of Langa, and questionnaires administered to individual tourists, the researcher needed to be aware of ethical issues. The researcher conducted all interviews and questionnaire searches with the full consent of the respondents. An informed consent letter was obtained from all respondents prior to their participation. They were assured that their anonymity was guaranteed at all times and that all information gathered from the interviews would remain strictly confidential. The surveys were completed voluntarily, and participants could withdraw at any time. Ethical clearance from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) to conduct this study is contained in Appendix A.

1.12 Structure of the study

Chapter One – Introduction and background to the study

Chapter One gives a general overview of the study and a background is sketched. The research problem and key questions pertaining to the study are stated. The objectives of the study are delineated and the motivation for the research is addressed. The chapter concludes by outlining the structure of the study.

Chapter Two – Literature review of tourism and the authenticity and sustainability of township tourism.

Chapter Two introduces the concept of tourism and looks at the history of township tourism. Visitor motivations are discussed, looking into supply and demand side motivations. The chapter discusses consumer (tourist) behaviours and some of the challenges affecting township tourism.

Chapter Three – Local area context analysis of the study

This chapter outlines the situation of the study area of Langa through identifying key trends. The chapter comprises five sections, being an environmental analysis, followed by a social analysis, which consists of the social infrastructure, crime and demography. The third section is an economic analysis which seeks to highlight local businesses, household support and income structures, and employment information of the area before documenting and briefly discussing different relevant policies in the area. There is also a policy review section, and finally the chapter outlines the legislative and institutional context of Langa.

Chapter Four – Research design and methodology

In this chapter, the research methodology employed in this study is explained. The objectives of the research, research methodology, research techniques and tools used, are discussed. Critical questions related to this study are reviewed.

Chapter Five – Research findings

This chapter provides an analysis and interpretation of the data, including the findings of the study. The data in this chapter are discussed in relation to the problem statement, study aim and objectives, questions, and information provided in the literature review. The results obtained from administering questionnaires and conducting interviews are compared to the review of the literature studied.

Chapter Six – Conclusion and recommendations

This final chapter draws conclusions from the research and recommendations regarding the main research question are presented.

1.13 Definitions and terms

Tourism: George (2007:3) describes tourism by using demand and supply side definitions from the United Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2006), which is an intergovernmental body. George describes tourism as:

..."the activity of a person travelling to, and staying in, places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of any activity remunerated from within the place visited..."

This definition clarifies tourism to be an activity that takes place away from home for a period of 24 hours or more.

Township tours: A township refers to a division of a country or a unit of local government with some corporate powers. It is a region or a district approximately six miles square with 36 sections. "In South Africa, township refers to a suburb or city of predominantly black

occupation, formerly officially designated for black occupation by apartheid legislation" (Rolfes et al., 2009:18)

Dark tourism: Dark tourism categorised as a visit to places or events associated with deaths, disaster or destruction (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:24) and the visits to these sites is seemingly macabre (Lennon & Foley, 2010:1189). According to Fennel (2016:237), slum tourism therefore attracts masses of tourists, it is a tourism phenomenon that is rare to find, ihowever there is a growing number in other destinations. The growth of destinations as well as the spreading of the phenomenon is a mesmerising.

Authenticity: According to Kierkegaard (cited by Holt, 2012:10) "authenticity depends on an individual finding, authentic faith, and becoming true to oneself". For one to understand authenticity, it is important to have a sense of reality and understand the ones idea of existence. Authenticity is defined in various ways but it has advanced into a notion that many will agree is now obsolete" (Olsen, 2007:84). "The concept was first used in relation to objects in museums to enable discrimination by tourists between fake objects and the real thing" (Trilling, 2009:25). The theoriries on tourism authenticity from the early days like Boortsin (1961:150) and MacCannell (1973:601 and 1976:86), with different views on the subject have however agreed with this idea that authenticity could motivate tourists either positively or negatively, also was quantitatively verifiable.

Sustainability: this implies the combination of events and activities that will ensure the continuation of activity. People and organisations combine so that their actions will promote the future of the (eg) attraction for future generations. Sustainability and responsibility are sometimes interused".

1.14 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to provide background information of the study, by presenting township tourism as a type that focussec on cultural tourism in South Africa. This chapter contextualised the research problem, providing clear reasons for choosing Langa to conduct the research, followed by stating the main research aims and objectives of the study. The township of Langa was chosen as the study area as the researcher has lived in the area, has business connections here, and it is the oldest of the Cape Town townships. The research contributes to the research in identifying the authenticity of township tourism as a sustainable product. This chapter concludes by outlining the study structure, presenting the relevance and purpose of each chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWNSHIPS AND TOWNSHIP TOURS: MOTIVATIONS TO VISIT

2.1 Introduction

Tourism can be described in many ways. George (2014:452) developed his definition of tourism using demand and supply side definitions from the United Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).

"Tourism is the activity of a person travelling to, and staying in, places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of any activity remunerated from within the place visited" (George, 2014:3).

This definition describes "tourism as an activity taking place away from home for a period of 24 hours or more" (Page, 2009:14). Furthermore, it suggests that "tourism is the movement of people to a destination (the journey), and stay at a destination", which is away from the usual home or work environment. The movement to and stay at the destination is short term and temporary, and the destination is being visited for a purpose other than taking up permanent residence or employment. Tourists spending less than 24 hours at a destination are defined as "excursionists" or referred to as "day visitors" (Gartner, 1996:32; George, 2007:30). The day visitor-type tourist is a ready market for township tourism.

Tourism has had a big social and economic impact on destinations and is supported through tourism development investment in most countries across the world. This chapter seeks to explore some contemporary theoretical texts to provide main concepts and themes on township tourism. To this end, this chapter sets a theoretical foundation that will inform the dissertation. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the history of township tourism in South Africa pre- and post-apartheid, before outlining the travel motivations of township tourists to townships. The types of township tourism and the necessary systems required to support township tourism are discussed. The chapter then highlights the main destination community characteristics required to promote township tourism visits, followed by a discussion on the sustainability of township tourism in South Africa. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main challenges faced by township tourism.

The following section gives a brief introduction to the history of townships and township tourism.

2.2 History of township tourism in South Africa

South African rejoined the international community after the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, and tourism again took its place in the national economy. Before the end of apartheid, the natural (and some cultural) attractions and the climate were the drivers of tourism to and

in South Africa, such as the national parks, spectacular mountains, beaches and wine-growing areas, but post the early 1990s tourism to the apartheid townships developed, firstly in Soweto (South Western Townships of Johannesburg), and then became a mass-phenomenon (Lemon & Rogerson, 2017).

Tourism to the townships is now (in 2018) a very important niche market, profitable and a workgenerating sector of South African tourism, with increasing penetration by businesses into this market, thus meeting an increasing demand for the township tours (Rolfes *et al.*, 2009:16). To understand township tourism, a definition of a township is necessary, outlining the underlying characteristics of a township.

"Townships are located on the fringes of the cities and metropolitan areas of South Africa; they are almost symbolically for the inhuman planning approach that was based on racist classifications; a large part of South Africa's urban population is still living under poor living conditions in the townships and the inhabitants of the townships still belong almost exclusively to 'previously disadvantaged' segments of the population" (Rolfes *et al.*, 2009:17).

Tourism and township tourism in South Africa was hampered by the previous political situation in the country, thus did not match the growing global tourism trend. With the growth of international tourism during the 1970s and 1980s, this country suffered neglect at the hands of international tourists because of the politics of apartheid (Butler, 2010:16). During the apartheid era in South Africa, non-white people were taken from their homes in huge numbers and forced to live in poorly constructed townships throughout South Africa (Butler, 2010:16). These townships were developed as dormitory towns, far from central businesses and 'whites only' areas; during this time urban tourism was strictly confined to white areas (Smith & Robinson, 2006:34). The apartheid laws restricted white people from going to black communities, and vice versa. White people were discouraged from going to the townships because of the perceived high level of crime and violence and to keep white eyes from seeing the conditions in 'black areas'.

The first South African non-racial democratic elections took place in 1994, with Nelson Mandela as the first democratically elected president, and South Africa developed as an international tourism destination. In the late 1990s, with the general growth in domestic and international tourism, township tours emerged as a niche market. However, settlement patterns, particularly in urban areas, remained characterised by racial and class divisions. Despite a new democratic South Africa, housing in the country was still provided along racial lines: "wealthy, historically 'whites only' areas and poor, historical black townships" (South African Venues.Com, 2013).

However, the characteristics of the poor urban areas, mainly located on the urban fringes of South African cities, attracted interests from township tourists. The growing interest of tourists to visit South African black townships can be recognised by township visits that are purport to offer a visitor an "authentic and non-performative experience", of the history and people that really represent the "real South Africa" (Smith & Robinson, 2006:34). The tourism interest therefore lies in the "ethnic diversity and rich cultural heritage", as seen and experienced in the daily lives and practices of the residents.

Township tourism has had a positive impact on local communities, bringing economic benefits, creating employment and income for the local communities in the township areas. People want to experience the unique local township culture through visiting, for example, "museums, shebeens serving traditional beer, traditional healers, dance performances, and dining on African cuisine" (George, 2007:18). Further attractions on a township tour are stops at squatter settlements, new housing projects, soup kitchens and recycling depots within these townships (Smith & Robinson, 2006:33; Butler, 2010:18, George, 2007:18). The township tour offers tourists a picture of the devastation caused during the apartheid system, and the poverty which is the attraction to a township. The "squatter camps, or informal settlements", are home to an increasing number of unemployed people "who use corrugated iron sheets, or any other material, to build shelters", which do not have the basic commodities of water and electricity,and "are extremely hot in summer and cold in winter" (Smith & Robinson, 2006:42).

Townships tours are a cultural revelation for tourists and for many local white people who were not aware of the apartheid living conditions. These tours differ in type and cannot be compared with tourism th traditional South African attractions, being different in that they are often "interactive, socially-minded, and potentially empowering for the communities involved". Township tourism has grown since the 1990s and is seen as a good generator of a sustainable income for the local residents and a "resource for attracting tourism revenue". Small, medium and micro operations developed among black tourism operators, as they identified the opportunities for empowerment, and of "bolstering the self-esteem of people in these historically marginalised communities" (South African Venues.Com, 2013). Township tourism is commonly conducted by small and independent businesses owned by township residents, using microbuses to bring visitors to townships. These attractions tell the story of what happened during the apartheid years.

"Township tours have emerged as popular tourist activities, as has 'struggle tourism', where tourist visit places associated with the South Africa struggle for democracy and liberation from apartheid" (George, 2007:30).

Township tours can be associated with "education, cultural tourism, heritage tourism, justicetourism, local development, pro-poor tourism, and dark tourism" (Butler, 2010: 19). Township tours can be viewed as a pro-poor strategy and the potential for township tours to contribute to economic development is recognised. Still, South African tourism is developed and managed along racial lines, with the lowest-paid, and seasonal jobs, primarily reserved for black employees. There is little training and support for black entrepreneurs from the townships. These people lack the business skills to start a business, and there is a lack of consultation for these entrepreneurs. These problems limit the establishment of businesses around township tours, which is compounded by the perceived high levels of crime in the townships. Thus, many tourists prefer not to visit the townships; only the most "adventurous" persons are prepared to go into the townships, and then they will stay in the vehicle rather then stepping out and interacting with community-members.

The next section discusses the main motivations for tourists to visit local townships.

2.3 Motivations for township tourism visits

Visitor motivations can be categorised into supply and demand side motivations. According to Pardee (1990), "motivation is the reason for people's actions, desires, and needs"This is supported by George (2011:191-192). Motivation is also one's direction to behaviour, or what causes a person to want to repeat behaviour. Yoon and Uysal (2005:51) describe motivation as "psychological/biological needs and wants, including integral forces that arouse, direct and integrate a person's behaviour and activity". These are the underlying reasons (or factors) influencing tourists to visit a tourism destination area in search of a unique experience or tourism product. The demand and supply side motivations are discussed next.

2.3.1 Visitor demand

The demand for tourism is discusse variously, "depending on the economic, psychological, geographic and political view" of the author. The geographic perspective defines tourism demand "as the total number of persons who travel or wish to travel, and use tourist facilities and services at places away from their places of work or residence" (Cooper *et al.*, 2008:76). Visitors seek an authentic experience when visiting an attraction or destination. A visit to a township should depict the true essense of the township as the inhabitants live, work and socialise, and should preferably not be a staged event. If the visitor does not see the real landscape then 'there is a loss of authenticity', and there is perhaps no relevance to the 'real world'.

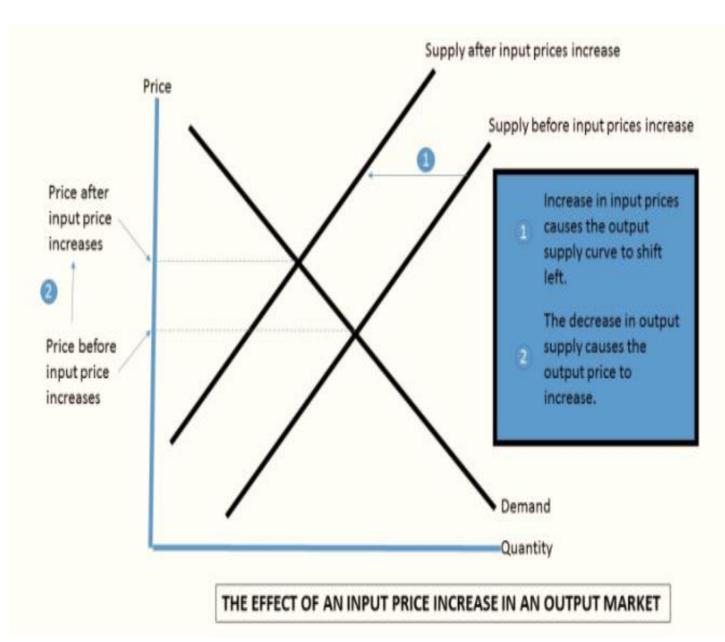


Figure 2.1: Daily demand and supply (Haab, 2016:1)

The theories of economics note that the price of a product is inversely related to the demand for that product — "as the price falls, the quantity demand for a tourism product rises, and as its price rises, the quantity demand falls" (Shapley, 2009:25). The demand side of tourism consists mainly of tourism markets and buyers of tourism products and services. The supply can be directly affected by tourism demand and determines the composition of the tourism offering as well as the level of demand for such products and services (Tassiopolous, 2008:10). The demand for tourism is derived from the "reason for travelling, the destination of choice, and the activities in which tourists engage" (Botha, Fairer-Wessels & Lubbe, 2006:3). The demand for travel can be sub-divided into two basic groupings, that of business- and leisure travel, and leisure travel can be further distinguished by the reason for the travel. The business travel component consists mainly of activities such as meetings, conferences, exhibitions and

trade, while leisure travel consists mainly of visiting friends and relatives (VFR market), holiday and leisure activities (Botha *et al.*, 2006:4).

According to Page (2009:84), tourism demand can be categorised into three principles: the first is "effective or actual demand, which is the number of tourists" (the number of departing or arriving tourists at a specific destination). The second is "suppressed demand" (unable to travel due to circumstances, like lack of disposable income, barriers to access in general), and the third is "no demand at all" (a market that has no desire to travel due to permanent barriers such as illness, family commitments or challenged by a disability). Cooper and Hall (2008:64) emphasise that the above demand principles can be influenced by many factors of which mobility is a major factor. This factor refers to the ability of an individual to move from one location to another. Township tourism involves travelling for the "purpose of observing the cultural expressions and lifestyles of black South Africans living in these townships", and offers direct contact with other cultures (Mabogane & Callaghan, 2004:1; Ramchander, 2004:15). Many South Africans, blacks in particular, have suffered because of perceptions that township are places of violence and squalor. Ramchander (2004:11) states that township tours present "themselves primarily as offering insight into post-apartheid progress and development".

According to Richards and Wilson (2006), "creative tourism evolved from cultural tourism is debatably an appropriate response to township tourism demand", developed and linked to the responsible tourist, who is described as "discerning, seeking education and demanding unique, authentic and meaningful holidays" (George & Frey, 2008:623; Steinbrink, 2013:164). This confirms that there is an increasing demand for more ethical consumption by conscious travellers (Steinbrink, 2013:172). There are researchers who argue that direct tourism experiences, which ensure more "direct interaction between locals and visitors, can mediate issues of voyeurism (or a 'human safari' experience) and authenticity associated with poverty tourism" (Butler, 2010:20; Steinbrink, 2013165). In additional, visitors to South Africa generally have very limited interactions with locals in townships (George & Booyens, 2014:410). UNESCO (2006:2) indicates that creative tourism involves more interaction on the part of the visitor with the place, the people who live there and its living culture and that this results in a social, participative, educational and emotional experience. The focus, therefore, for a township tour is on "cultural experiences", where the tourist and the community participation and learn, which could lead to the diversifying township tourism.

The next section discusses the supply side visitor motivation factors.

2.3.2 Destination supply

It is a challenge to describe tourism from a supply perspective as tourism does not have an output which can be physically quantified. This is because tourism is a collective of different industries, including transport, accommodation, leisure, and recreation George (2014:12).

These sectors do not operate for tourism purposes only and therefore cannot be exclusively categorised under tourism. This results in tourism being viewed as a process rather than an industry.

A basic characteristic of the supply of tourism (goods/services) that "differentiates it from other services is the way in which the population who visit the townships consume a tourism product, service, or experience". So, for a township tour the "supply elements are often fixed geographically" (for example shebeens, restaurants or other visitor attractions (George, 2014:13).

Tourism supply can be interpreted by elements of the industry determined by the host government, destination marketing organisations, or owners of facilities. This supply includes the "maintenance, promotion, and management of the tourism facilities and resources", where the resources needed in the (tourism) supply-chain range from natural to manmade. The infrastructure (and tourism super-structure) includes "telecommunication, accommodation, and transportation", not to forget the "reception services include travel agencies, tourist offices, hire companies, and visitor managers" (George, 2014:12).

According to Gartner (1996:35), early definitions of tourism focused on spatial dimensions. Tourists were defined according to the distance they moved away from home. In his definition, Gartner recognises four elements of tourism: "the tourist, businesses providing travel related services, governments which exert policy controls over tourism, and the people who live in areas visited by tourists". Leiper (2004:24) defines tourism (supply) as:

"...the system involving the discretionary travel and temporary stay of persons away from their natural place of residence for one or more nights, excepting tours made for the primary purpose of earning remuneration from points en route".

Leiper (2004:24) further describes tourism as an open system of five elements interacting with the broader and outside environment. The elements are:

- **"Tourists:** represent the most important element in the tourism industry that contributes in socio-economic impact. Potential tourists are not located at the destination and information about the destination and its products will have to be made available to them" (Leiper, 2004:24; Keyser, 2009:212).
- "Generating region: the location of the essential market of the tourism industry, the source of potential tourism demand" (Leiper, 2004:24).
- **"Transit region:** the route/s transport linking tourist generating and destination regions, along with tourist travel" (Leiper, 2004:24; George, 2014). This product refers to the specific features within a product offering and could consist of accommodation in close proximity to the beach, a view of the beach and access to the beach.

- **"Destination:** the region which attracts tourists for holidays. Successful tourism destinations succeed in delivering on the expectations of tourists and continuously strive to exceed these expectations". This objective can only be achieved if all role players effectively and efficiently contribute to delivering the tourism product/service. Tassiopoulos (2008:10) concludes that the tourism attraction/destination is where the tourist product/service is used, and the tourist linkes the product/service with the organisation offering the tourism product, as well as the place visited.
- **"Tourism industry:** tour operators, travel agents, accommodations, transports, tourist services involved to serve or deliver a tourism offering", as stated by George (2014:4).

Leiper's (2004:24) interpretation is supported by George (2014:13), who describes the four tourism elements as being "interrelated, interdependent and interacting elements that together form a functional entity", which are connected by speciality and functionality, and interacting with "physical, technological, socio-cultural, economic, and political" factors. The five elements discussed in this open tourism system all interact within a broad and open environment, which involves physical, cultural, social, economic, political and technological elements.

The propensity for South African tourism is determined by these factors. Because employment levels provided by tourism play a significant role in the economy, the number of people employed, and the types of jobs they have is an important consideration. Economic determinants such as high interest and inflation rates affect tourism, as well as political factors. South Africa may experience a drop in international tourists because of a change in government structures and change of presidency, which at some point in 2017 lead the country to a black status (Fin24, 2017:1).

Franklin (2003:26), in his definition of tourism, concentrates on modernity and its experience, and leisure and recreation. Modernity is the ever-changing living conditions such as social, technological and environmental changes, which seem to pull humanity further away from the things that are vaguely conceptualised as the roots of humanity's origin, their true state of nature and culture. The following are tourism characteristics which Franklin (2003:26) identifies:

- "Tourism is derived from modern life and the experience of modernity, not an escape from it. Modernity is a permanence of novelty, not an escape from it".
- "Tourism is more than just travel. It is the accessibility of novelty and the modern world in general". The new communicative technology and examples are the Internet which enables use of social media and emails. The Internet allows computer networks from around the globe to network with each other, giving individuals access to an incredible wealth of information. In 2010, about half of the world's population had access to the Internet, growing from only 6% of the population in 2000 (Szpak, 2018:1). Modernity

allows accessibility which is referred to as the escalation of mobility. This results in people's ability to move, thereby expanding the spatial limits of tourism from home to outer spaces.

"Tourism is not only the way of accessing the world, but also the means of locating ourselves in it, and tourism is an embodied experience, not simply a visual experience" (Franklin, 2003:26). Tourism is alive through our "body", being identified and consumed by "us", and belonging to a specific social grouping. As consumption, it is an expressive and performative activity in modernity. As such, tourism incorporates leisure, relaxation and pleasure and cannot be simply described as rest, because it also operates in political and social (moral), Some of these definitions are limited. They exclude travellers who are not leisure travellers and do not consider their trips to be pleasurable, and people who travel less than one day, or are at transit routes (Gartner, 1996:36). Jafari (1977:8), in an attempt to clarify this issue, defines tourism as:

"...a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs and of the impact that both he and the industry have on the host sociocultural, economic and physical environment".

Gartner (1996:36) sees this definition as succinct but broad enough to explain fully what tourism is all about, taking out the spatial limitations.

The influence of price changes on the provision of supply is an important factor in controlling the supply of products and the ability to adapt the supply accordingly. This is known as the price elasticity of supply and can be expressed as change in quantity supplied, divided by the change in price. Tribe (2005:91) argues that the main factors that influence price elasticity of supply are "availability of stock, spare capacity, flexibility of capacity, resource mobility, and the time period". In the tourism industry, capacity for any area to "absorb tourists without negative effects on the host area varies according to a multiplicity of factors". Environmentally sensitive- and wilderness areas have a "lower carrying capacity than urban areas". This, however, is a controversial concept and not necessarily one that is generally accepted (Williams, 2007:490).

Potential visitors plan their travel according to the availability fo tourist-facilities (supply side), and the impact of obstacles, for example, crime (Ferreira & Harmse, 2000:83). Visitor satisfaction is a "good indicator of a tourist's intention to revisit a destination", as a tourist who is happy with an positive tourism-experience will travel or visit an attraction again, whilst it is "highly unlikely that tourists who are not satisfied with their experience will revisit a

Tourism has proved to be broader and to encompass much more than what these authors describe. Different approaches have been used to study tourism, including the institutional, product, managerial and social approaches. South Africa's attraction is its natural beauty, and

historical and cultural diversity, including a "hot and sunny climate, varied scenery, unspoiled wilderness areas, accessible wildlife, diverse cultures, activities like bird-watching, hiking, hunting, river rafting and diving" (Schoenberger, 2001:377). Furthermore, there is the geographical discipline, focusing on "how cultures and societies write themselves onto the earth and how both the environmental and the social are transformed in the process" (Schoenberger, 2001:377). In 1980, the Manila Declaration on World Tourism stated that the ultimate aim of tourism was "the improvement of the quality of life and the creation of better living conditions for all people" (Cooper et al., 2008:14).

These approaches indicate that not one specific discipline can describe the tourism phenomena and that an interdisciplinary approach is needed to comprehend tourism (Bennett, 2000:35). The authors agree that tourism takes place away from home, but where they differ is in explaining the reason (motivation) why people visit places away from home—whether it is for leisure and recreation and/or business. Most of these definitions exclude business travellers (Franklin, 2003:54), but Jafari (1977:9)) acknowledges other travellers in his definition of tourism, even though it is generally no longer cited by academics.

"It is imperative that the tourists are educated of the dangers of crime in the townships in order to prevent it" (Mawby, 2000:118). Some potential visitors end up not travelling due to the problems on the supply side in the townships, of which crime is an example (Ferreira & Harmse, 2000:83). These formal definitions are designed to quantify tourism to measure its economic impact (Franklin, 2003:59).

2.4 Tourist behaviour

The getting and managing information of how people consume travel and tourism products is important, not only for academic research but for practical businesses (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:18). Understanding travellers' behaviour is important because of high competition. Effectiveness is correlated with the ability to tailor-make products to meet consumers' needs, expectations and desires (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:147). Moutinho (2011:83) states that consumers can no longer be classified according to typologies because they are individual human beings and having a deep understanding and insight into what drives their tourist behaviour is necessary.

Kotler and Armstrong (2010:137) refer to consumer (tourist) behaviour as the "buying behaviour of the final consumer — individuals and households buying goods and services for personal use". Moutinho (2011:83) describes consumer behaviour "as a process of acquiring and organising information in the direction of a purchase-decision, and of using and evaluating products and services". Schiffman and Kanuk (2010:5) define consumer behaviour as the study of how consumers make decisions to spend their resources (time, money, effort) on

consuming an item. This includes what consumers buy, why they buy it, when they buy it, and how often they buy and use it. Tourist behaviour is concerned with the "behaviour displayed by customers in searching for, purchasing, using and evaluating (tourism) products or services which they expect to satisfy their needs" (Schiffman & Kanuk 2010:5).

Consumer, including tourist behaviour, is important for a marketer because it brings insight about travellers' holidaying behaviour to best reflect the travellers' experiences and connect them to their specific needs (Moutinho, 2011:83). This will result in tourism providers developing experiences that consumers truly value (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:139; Moutinho, 2011:83).

Travel decisions are influenced by factors divorced from the individual. These factors include economic, technological, political, cultural, and social influences, and influences of other people (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:133; Moutinho, 2011:84). The characteristics which influence consumer behaviour also influence how consumers perceive or react to forces and events in the consumer's environment. These characteristics (factors) include cultural, social, personal and psychological influences on tourists' decisions.

2.4.1 Cultural factors

The belonging of a consumer to a cultural or sub-cultural group or social class helps consumers to make sense of and relate to their environment (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:135). "Culture is the set of basic values and perceptions, wants and behaviours learnt by a member of society from family and other important institutions" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:135). Culture plans and determines a consumer identifying with a particular "group or society which meets their basic needs and wants" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:135). Subculture is the multiple The cultural groups within a culture, or a "group of people with shared values", is refered to as a 'subculture', and is based on "common life experiences and situations", where age, gender, language, religion, and race help define these subgroups (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:135).

Different cultures will influence the way in which tourism is engaged. A critical factor in this regard is the way cultures perceive tourism as non-essential or essential behaviour in their communities (Seaton & Bennett, 1996:13; Cooper *et al.*, 2008:15).

2.4.2 Social factors

Factors, including the "culture, family, or social level" have a pronounced affect on behaviour because they define the individual. Culture refers to "traditions, taboos, values, and basic attitudes of the whole society within which an individual lives" (Fratu, 2011:19).

Consumers are influenced by people with whom they directly and indirectly interact. Reference groups, opinion leaders, and families are part of the groups of people (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:139; Moutinho, 2011:84).

"Reference groups help consumers attach meaning to products and services and also influence their attitudes and self-concept, and create pressure to confirm which will affect the product choice" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:139).

Persons in a leadership position, certainly within specific reference groups, can influence tourists in the decision-making process as their ideas, judgement and influences are trusted. Here the family is viewed as influential because of the "close and regular interaction with the consumer", and families can influence other members "to develop values and lifestyles" and provide financial and emotional surety and support (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:139).

2.4.3 Personal factors

The tourist's attitude is a combination of beliefs, convictions, and habits which, when linked, form a coherent and stable characteristic of the visitor to the stimulus offered by the external environment. This distinguishes him/her from other individuals. At different stages in a consumer's life, needs and taste preferences change, therefore different ages and lifecycle stages become important in consumer decision-making.

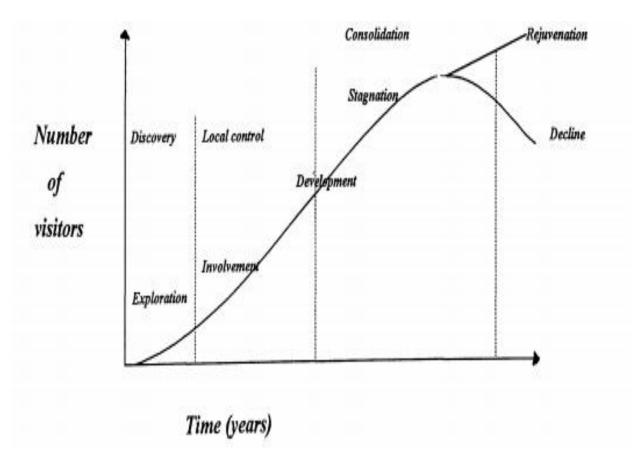


Figure 2.2: Tourism area lifecycle (Karplus & Krakover, 2005:238)

Consumers (tourists) move through the cycle of evolution in the same way that a product goes through the "product life cycle". The shape of the curve may vary but for tourists the lifecycle will depend on the market trends, competing destinations which can accelerate progress through various stages, as well as the government policy that may have an impact on the tourist behaviour.

Karplus and Krakover (2005:239) mention that the tourism lifecycle encompasses the stages of birth to maturity. However, the stages proceeding decline are argued by Butler (2006:5), which include:

- Exploration;
- Involvement;
- Development;
- Consolidation; and
- Stagnation.

Tourism management skills are needed to anticipate these 'life-cycle' changes and to plan speedily and appropriately to these changing tourist demands so that the tourism industry does not decline or disappear. Management and development of a tourist destination/attraction cannot change the "physical carrying capacity" but it can plan and manage this capacity through "thorough market research on other [relevant] elements", and to keep abreast of the market balance and demand, and "avoid unnecessary inflating of prices in the market" which itself can impact of the use of the (tourist) facility (Karplus & Krakover, 2005:240).

Economic situations include not only income levels but also prices and levels of demand and supply. When income levels are low people will meet only their physical needs, but as income increases they will look to meet other needs, according to the Maslow hierarchy of needs (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:148; Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:30).

Lifestyles are personal patterns of living expressed through activities, interest, and opinion. It explains reasons for purchases by revealing motives and values. Lifestyle can be used to segment consumers (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:176). A consumer's personality and the consistent response to their environment influences their buying behaviour.

The individual needs to overcome various constraints related to tourism mobility and include the following (Cooper & Hall, 2008, cited by Vivian, 2011:43):

Income

Potential travellers need to have disposable income after their basic needs have been fulfilled. The level of income and disposable income will influence the travel choices that are made, e.g. mode of transport, distance travelled.

• Time

The ability of the individual to take time off from paid income time is important as this results in the opportunity to travel. This will also determine how far and for how long people will be able to travel.

Political rights

To engage in international travel, political rights must be respected in terms of permission to travel from departing and receiving countries. These rights are supported by a system of travel regulations, visas, and travel documentation.

Health

The state of health of a potential traveller will determine if they can travel, the areas they may visit, the duration of stay, the activities engaged in at the destination and the kind of accommodation required.

Information and education

Travellers need information to enable them to make informed choices. Their education levels will improve access to information and improve the potential earnings of individuals.

• Work

The work environment might not encourage people to take holidays and it could harm their careers.

These factors influence the way in which tourism is supported and lends itself to different combinations of consumption and reduction in income generating time (Cooper & Hall, 2008:3). Consumers face a problem of limited time available for leisure and work and need to decide how much income-generating time is sacrificed for leisure time.

2.4.4 Psychological factors

Motivation, perception, learning, beliefs, and *attitudes* are four major psychological factors influencing consumers buying choices.

Motives are needs strong enough to cause the consumer to satisfy them. Consumers can be motivated positively and negatively. Maslow's hierarchy of needs demonstrates that people

are driven by particular needs at different times or stages in their lives (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999:165; Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:177).

Consumers who are motivated are ready to act but how they act depends on *perception*, which is the process of selecting, organising and interpreting information to form an understanding of their world. How perception is formed depends on culture, which is learned and can change. Perceptions form experience, which in turn influences perception (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:177).

When people act they *learn*, and learning is the change in behaviour resulting from the experience (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:178). Belief is a descriptive thought about something which can be based on knowledge, opinion or faith and carries emotional charge. Belief can stem from imitating people, influences from media, retailers, institutions and religion, and from own experiences and reasons. "The belief that consumers form about a product makes up the product or its brand image, which affects buying behaviour" (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:188).

A person's *belief* in a brand can help influence their attitude towards the products. Attitude is a person's relatively consistent evaluation, feeling, and tendency towards something. It is the set of likes and dislikes (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010:150).

It is important for any tourism-planner to ensure that the visitor has had a positive experience of an attraction, as this will almost guarantee repeat-visits to the attraction. A tourist who did not experience positivity, or had an unhappy encounter, will, in all probability, not revisit a destination (Campo-Martínez *et al.*, 2010:869). "Word-of-mouth communication regarding a particular destination, previous travel experience, and marketing are all factors that affect tourists' expectations", so the tourism-planner must ensure satisfied visitors, preferably those who will recommend a destination/attraction to other visitors. This is important for stimulating potential tourist demand (Bigné, Sánchez & Sánchez, 2001:608). Tourism management analyses the relationships between destination image and tourist satisfaction and the tourists' willingness to recommend the destination to others. Destination image has a great potential to either influence tourists to possibly return to a destination or recommend others to visit. The level of satisfaction experienced by tourists after visiting a particular destination influences their recommendations to others in future.

Tourism demand consists of decisions that consumers make based on their own needs and requirements, whilst external factors will influence these decisions. The demand composition consists of the mix and character of the potential customers, the size of the demand in terms of the number of trips and spending power, as well as the growth rate of demand are critical factors that influence supply decisions and future developments in tourism (Tassiopolous, 2008, cited by Vivian, 2011:9). For South Africa, it is anticipated that tourist-demand could

emanate from the "BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries as well as regional African source markets for South Africa" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2010:3). Disposable income in these countries is on the rise and therefore the demand for tourism and travel are also increasing.

In his theory, Maslow discusses our needs and wants to maintain ourselves. He explains that people (and tourists) need to feel safe and secure (personal safety), but that we also seek recognition and esteem. (Maslow, 1943:380). He maintains that human needs are arranged in a hierarchy, as shown in Figure 2.3 below.

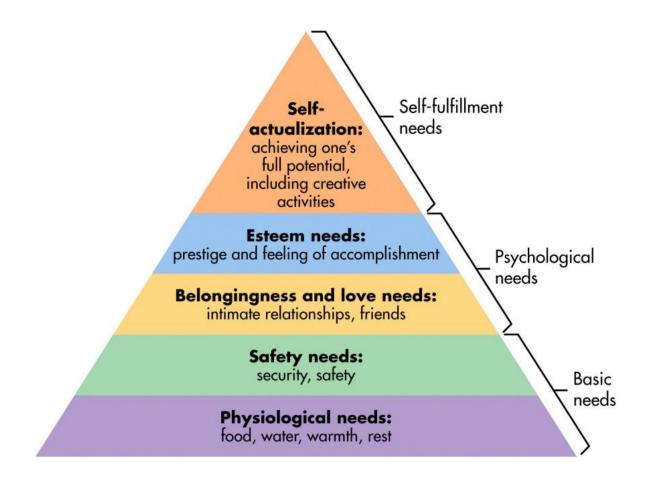


Figure 2.3: Maslow's hierarchy of needs (McLeod, 2018:1)

In Figure 2.3 Maslow has shown that the physiological needs (at the bottom of the model) must be satisfied by people before moving up the triangle to meet other important desires, if not in extent then certainly in importance, (the physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem needs, and self-actualisation needs of each person). People (and tourists) will first attempt to meet their basic needs of sustainance before moving on to the next level, and finally to the pinicle of the triangle, self-acceptance of achievement. For example, a person without food (for example, as seen during the 2020 Covid-19 lockdown) (physiological need) will seek to satisfy their hunger, and not show interest in a sports event (self-actualiaation needs), nor what other people will think of their clothing choice (social or esteem needs), nor whether the air in their community is clean (safety needs). Generally, as each level of need is acheived, the next stage will be addressed.

One of the reasons why tourists leave home and go somewhere else is because they are seeking novelty and want to be in some different place (PlanMyTravel, 2014:1). Travelling fits under the physiological need within the Maslow Hierarchy of needs.

2.5 Types of township tourism

2.5.1 Dark tourism

Dark tourism involves travel to places associated with death and suffering, and has long been a feature of the tourist experience (Biran & Hyde, 2013:193). Lennon and Foley (2000:13) note that the term dark tourism was first coined in the 1990s, and mention that dark tourism "is an act of travel to sites of death, disaster and the seemingly macabre". There are many examples of "dark tourism sites", including museums or heritage sites that have become tourist attractions (Strange & Kempa, 2003:389). In South Africa with its history of oppression and the forced movement of (Black) people to townships, a niche market for tourists was created in "township tourism", whilst Robben Island and "other sites associated with apartheid oppression" are examples of dark tourism (Strange & Kempa, 2003:387; Ashworth, 2004:98; Rogerson, 2013:198).

As tourism changed after the mid-20th century, so has the demand and supply of dark tourism experiences. For example, sites associated with war are probably the "largest single category of tourist attraction" (Lennon & Foley, 2000:45). Trips to "anti-apartheid struggle sites in South Africa are considered a sub-genre known as dark tourism", which is characterised by "sightseeing associated with death and human suffering" (Lennon & Foley, 2000:14; Yarmuch, 2010:5).

Sharpley and Stone (2009:12) opine that people, as long as they are able to travel, are drawn to sites, attractions or events that are linked to death, disaster, suffering, and violence. "The attraction of death and disaster introduced the term dark tourism" (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:35). Lennon and Foley (2010:44) state that dark tourism focuses on the relationship between tourism and death but not necessarily sites of death, disaster or suffering. Seaton and Bennett (1996:46) observed that death, suffering, and tourism are related. These scenarios are also found in areas like District Six and the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town.

In Cape Town the "Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town", was established in 1867as a home for all-comers — "freed slaves, merchants, artisans and many more, no matter their skin

colour" (Deutsch, 2014:27). What was a colourful and busy community on the fringes of the "Mother City" was reduced to "marginalisation and separation" in the early 1960s with the imposition of 'Grand Apartheid" by the then National Party Government, and the removal from the area of black South Africans, which actually began as early as in 1901. Due to this "turmoil and the clearance of the area through the [white Cape Town} City Council it became a disliked ward of the City" (Deutsch, 2014:27). Half a decade later, in 1966, it was declared a white area only and by "1982 there was no more evidence of the once-lively neighbourhood". According to the official website of District Six, more than 60,000 people had to leave their homes involuntarily and were placed outside the City in a sparse area suitably known as the Cape Flats. All their houses in District Six were razed to the ground. In 1994 the District Six people, recording their histories in their honour (Deutsch, 2014:27).

Defunct penal institutions "give us a thrill," according to (Deutsch, 2014:28), but these sites also provide matchless opportunities for spiritual land political reflection. "Once we can imagine this deprivation, we learn to cherish freedom" (Dobbs, 1999:36). Touring old places of punishment may be "gruesome" but is also "good" (Dobbs, 1999:35). Visits to anti-apartheid struggle sites in South Africa are considered a sub-genre known as dark tourism, which is characterised by sightseeing associated with death and human suffering.

Dark tourism is categorised as a visit to places or events, or associated with death, disaster and destruction (Shapley & Stone, 2009:42). Urry (cited by Novelli, 2005:52) noted that a division exists between "authentic history (continuing and dangerous)", and a "heritage (past, dead, and safe)". Herigage attempts to hide any inequalities between the social environment and spacial dimensions, and does not always reveal the impacts of "commercialism and consumerism", and, in protecting the heritage of a community, could destroy architecture or artefacts which should be preserved.

The dark sites are consumed for a variety of influences, such as a broader historical, political or cultural framework, within which broader socio-cultural and political frameworks are present. Visiting sites which could be connected to death is a significant part of tourists' experiences in many societies but little is known of the significance of these visits to the tourists (Lennon & Foley, 2010:43).

Twenty four years ago, on 6 April 1994, the small East African state of Rwanda witnessed the beginning of "one of the most coldblooded attempts to annihilate a people" in recent history (Cook, 2006:294; Friedrich & Johnston, 2013:310). Rwanda "Camps of Genocide" represent those sites and places which have "genocide, atrocity and catastrophe as the main product theme and thus occupy the darkest edges of the dark tourism spectrum". The "Dark Camps of Genocide" detail the horrible human suffering and infliction and "consequently have a high

degree of political ideology attached to them". Thus, these "Dark Camps of Genocide" are places that designate a "concentration of death and atrocity, and a concentration of death is no more apparent than that committed throughout the (Jewish) Holocaust" (Joachim, 2012:59).

Dark tourism is a growing niche area of tourism and it is becoming diverse. Ashworth (2004:98) states that dark tourism can often be related to heritage tourism since a great number of attractions are considered part of the dark tourism phenomenon. They therefore often have a considerable historical significance other than just being popular for a tragic event. Heritage tourism is also known as 'roots' tourism, which implies—as the name clearly states—that tourists look for their past, try to understand themselves and their history, and find a piece of past life. There is growth in the number of these attractions and experiences, increasing the number of people to promote and profit from dark events as tourist attractions (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:43).

Lennon and Foley (2010:45) report that communication technologies have shaped perceptions of what the significant sites are in political history. Dark tourism reflects the role of media harnessing the artefacts, texts, and power of the media in representing the event as part of a product for visitors (Lennon & Foley, 2010:49). At the same time there is a great willingness or desire from the tourist to visit these dark attractions (Sharpley & Stone, 2009:44).

Lennon and Foley (2010:11) attempt to show a connection in how the 'dark sites' are presented and used by visitors, and a shift in visitor-patterns, into three factors. The first factor is "global communication technologies play a major part in creating the initial interest" in both the "deaths themselves and in travelling to see the sites" where they occurred. The second is "the objects of dark tourism themselves appear to introduce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity and thus are hallmarks or intimations of post-modernity". The last factor is "the educative elements of sites are accompanied by elements of commodification and a commercial ethic". In this way what happened at these (dark) sites, and the interpretation of the events has led to a vibrant (tourism) market, where the truth is sometimes lost

"Death has come to occupy a central place in society's consciousness" (Deutsch, 2014:180). With this statement, there is a realisation that [the] "curiosity and the attraction to death, which in some cases might be preoccupying, becomes a key driver for dark tourism". For example, the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg affords visitors the "opportunity to immerse themselves in the apartheid history" of South Africa, where visitors are informed of the apartheid structures through pictures (and sound) of the apartheid era. This started in 1948 until 1994, the year Nelson Mandela was elected as President of South Africa (Williams, 2007:482).

There has been an increase in tourist interest in recent death, disaster, and atrocity, or simply there is an increase in dark tourism sites and attractions. Nevertheless, tour operators have exploited the tourists' motivations for "visiting sites related to dark tourism have only been explored to a certain extent". There does not appear to have been much research into the reasons and purposes supporting tourists' desires to visit such sites, the prospective 'drivers' of dark tourism (Sharpley, 2005 48).

2.5.2 Cultural and heritage tourism

Burns (1999:53) states that understanding something about the nature of the culture is important in gaining an understanding of tourism. The UNWTO (2006) indicated that cultural tourism is seen as one of the largest and fastest growing segments of global tourism. Culture has become a very important component of the economy of a country, through the promotion of "cultural heritage" in the development strategies of the European Union and other bodies. "Culture is increasingly used by cities and regions to preserve their cultural identity and develop their socio-economic vibrancy" (Ray, 1998:5).

2.5.2.1 Culture

Culture has a range of meanings, morals, and laws. It can mean high art as found in museums, and the person who creates them is said to be cultural. Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral-laws, customs and any other capability, and habits acquired by a person as a member of a society. It represents linked sets of rules, basic value perceptions, and standards shared by a society which produces behaviour judged as acceptable by that society (Burns, 1999:54; Kotler & Armstrong, 2010 190). Anthropologists define culture as an integral part of everyday life, a common reference point for meaning and value around economic and social life. The main elements are "norms, knowledge, belief, art, moral, customs and any other capabilities or habit acquired by the members of the society" (Kulindwa *et al.*, 2001:175)

Culture includes social relations and material artefacts. It consists of "behavioural patterns, knowledge and values which have been acquired and transmitted through generations". Culture can also be an attribute of race or biological observation. Because tourism is socially and economically dynamic, a systems-approach to tourism can be employed to focus on the relationship between culture and tourism. Culture can also be seen as a commercial resource (Burns, 1999:58).

2.5.2.2 Heritage

Heritage is what was inherited from the past, associated with the nation's history, culture, wildlife, and landscape. This could be buildings, art works and landscaping (Leslie & Sigala, 2005:8).

Cultural and heritage tourism places a special emphasis on" heritage and cultural attractions, performances, museums, displays and archaeological sites", (Leslie & Sigala, 2005:8). In the developed areas, these attractions are art museums, theatre, orchestral and other musical performances. However, in less developed areas these include traditional religious practices, handcrafts and cultural performances. Leslie and Sigala (2005:8) further state that there is still less understanding of how visitors describe heritage sites and what they mean.

2.5.2.3 Cultural tourism

This entails visiting specific "cultural attractions, historical and heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama festivals, museums, the visual and performing arts", and the destination culture, away from the usual or normal environment, to satisfy cultural needs and to gather information and experience (Leslie & Sigala, 2005:6). Pedersen (2002:35) defines a cultural tourist according to the person's motives, which is described as cultural. Examples are attending the performing arts, cultural tours and festivals, visiting cultural sites and monuments, and studying nature.

2.5.2.4 Heritage tourism

Heritage tourism is described as the motivation and perception of the tourist of the "heritage product". Motivation for visiting is based on the characteristics of heritage places according to the tourist's perception (Leslie & Sigala, 2005:7). Rogerson (2004:253) says township tourism has redeveloped South African "heritage tourism, which was previously synonymous with white heritage". The local tour operators are convinced that "township tourism can enhance the local economy of marginalised areas" (Ramchander, 2004:111).

2.5.3 Consumer demand and cultural tourist behaviour

Cultural tourism has seen rapid growth since 1980 because of the increasing interest in art, culture, and history, which can be explained by demographics, social and cultural changes. Poon (1994:22) believes that tourism developes through the changing population dynamics, which are becoming more knowledgable and independent-minded, through changed values and lifestyles, which affects tourist demand. Plog (1974:56) shows that most "American tourists look for cultural and educational value while Singaporean tourists seek novelty and business opportunities" (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2001:154).

Tourists visit destinations and attractions through a desire to improve their heritage and cultural attitudes and experiences of tourism products "enrich their cultural perspectives of the host community and its environment", (Ramchander, 2004:5). Such tourists tend to be educated and culturally sensitive. According to Ramchander (2004:5), tourists to South African are increasing more interested in the culture of the country, including that of the townships.

2.5.3.1 Demographic factors

An interest in history and culture grows with age and lifestyle change. As people get older, become senior citizens (referred to as the gray wave) and retire, they have leisure time at their disposal and money to spend on holidays. The traveller's interest to participate, learn, and experience places suggests that travel has become a way of achieving personal fulfilment, identity enhancement and self-expression. Income or money plays a significant role in tourism for a tourist and the economy of a tourism-offering destination. Money allows or prevents consumption of tourism as a product offering. Time and money is required for the tourism offering to take place (George, 2014:147).

2.5.3.2 Cultural tourism products

Cultural tourism attractions do not exclusively make tourism products but must be embedded in a range of products and facilities. It consists of the core product — the monument, the museum or the event, with a specific cultural tourist service (educational information rendered by museum guides) and additional general products such as transportation.

2.5.4 The socio-cultural and economic impact on township tourism

This following discussion includes the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism and are relevant to township tourism. There are positive impacts as well but this study focuses more on the negative impacts. Socio-cultural attractors can be interpreted as being manmade. Tourist attractions can, for example, be casinos and conference centres and form part of the economic stimulator, or they can be seen as a vehicle for the stimulation of tourist flow as part of local economic development (Pizam & Mansfeld, 1999 147).

2.5.4.1 Cultural impacts

Smith and Robinson (2006:22) indicate that cultural tourism policies are institutional and support artistic and cultural outputs, and cultural capital. Cultural capital is nurturing and marketing of an intangible 'sense of place'; referring to a place perceived as having positive cultural connotations. The development of long-haul travel from the main source markets resulted in tourists wanting to explore unknown areas, specifically to visit existing cultures and experience local life. Local communities and indigenous peoples were confronted with tourism development that turned their culture, traditions, and natural environment into a tourism product that was sold to new emerging markets.

Any negative effects on a host community, brought about by the association of tourism and cultural structures, must be avoided, or kept to an absolute minimum (Burns, 1999:65). Franklin (2003:59) sees the impact that tourism has on the culture as largely negative or diminishing, resulting in the commodification of culture, which then omits the authentic and mysterious quality that tourists crave. According to Franklin (2003:59), an anthropologist, by the name of

Margaret Mead, claimed that the 'host culture' is destroyed by the sudden arrival of wealth and aggressive foreigners into impoverished local areas. Mead emphasised this by saying that it generates globalisation of the culture — there is an unequal exchange of culture between the host culture and that of the tourist, where the host culture becomes part of the tourist product. The host countries usually go out of their way to establish facilities to accommodate tourists' interests. This is commoditisation of culture, meaning culture performed for commercial purposes and not as an expression of people's thinking, philosophy or wishes. Cultural activities become subject to market needs and alienated from the normal process of life.

However, Franklin (2003:56) argues that commodification of culture for tourism purposes is useful to local people, "marketing their culture, people discovered their own history and tradition and begin to realise their own worth". Several anthropologists have grappled with the issue of the relationship between culture and tourism. Some conclude that the industry renews pride in a cultural life due to an upsurge in demand for traditional arts, dance, music, and language (Kulindwa *et al.*, 2001:174).).

2.5.4.2 Economic impacts

Because tourism usually takes place between industrialised and, usually, less developed destinations, there is sometimes a difference of economic power between the tourist and the host, with the host trying to copy the 'wealthniness' of the tourist, often leading to clashes and resentment. For example, when a tourist uses local labour to drive a business this could cause the traditional worker to want to copy the wealthy attributes of the tourist-employee. The tax burden on local residents increases in order to meet growing demand for better infrastructure, without this cost being reflected in the tourist product. This will cause tension, as the residents struggle to meet their high tax demand (Cooper *et al.*, 2008:65).

2.5.4.3 Social impacts

Tourism workers are general employed at lower wage/salary-levels, which can lead to conflict between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots. Although tourism is associated with higher wages and salaries than traditional industries such as fishing and farming, there are many undesirable working conditions — child labour, casual contracts, part-time jobs with no training, prostitution and crime. This has been reflected in the "opportunities availed by the tourism industry in South Africa towards black people in the townships" (Butler, 2010:19). There is also a relationship between drugs and tourism and tourism activities make it easy for drug users to access drugs (Kulindwa *et al.*, 2001:176)

Another social problem, associated with the increase in tourism activities, is the increasing cases of prostitution, theft and robberies of tourists carried out by local residents, and the molestation of tourists by beggars. This behaviour cannot be directly associated with the growth of tourism. However, tourists are easy prey and victims for someone to commit such

offences, and most incidents are the result of economic and social problems (Kulindwa *et al.*, 2001:176). During 2008, there were 30 reported crime incidents in the Table Mountain National Park (TMNP) (George, 2010:802), including muggings and the theft of tourist's possessions. Research carried out by South African Police Services (SAPS) revealed that 70% of crime victims in the TMNP were South Africans (SANPARKS, 2018). These crimes, including the "mountain muggings" received much publicity in South Africa and overseas, which was condemned by national and local tourism authorities. Furthermore, "these crime incidents along with the associated publicity may have led to negative perceptions of the Cape and may have affected tourists' decisions to return in the future" (George, 2010:804).

There is also a growing problem of child labour, where children are seen selling petty goods such as cigarettes, sculptures, second-hand clothes and food to tourists and other customers. This is not caused by tourist activities but poor families and street children exploit the tourist markets as a source of income.

2.5.4.4 Behavioural and demonstration factors

If tourists are not aware of or sensitive to "local customs they may behave in a way that creates social friction between tourists and residents" (Cooper *et al.*, 2008:89). According to Kulindwa *et al.* (2001:175), improper dressing results in cultural conflict. In this case, local people complain that tourists do not cover themselves properly, for example, after a swim on the beach, which annoys and embarrasses local people as it undermines their culture. This is a result of a lack of culture-code in tourist areas.

2.6 Support systems required by township tourism (information and facilities)

For township tourism to function well there needs to be good support systems from the government and local town councils. Information centres and facilities in the township need to be maintained to ensure that township visitors' experiences are not compromised. There needs to be responsible tourism guidelines such as economic, socio-cultural, and environmental guidelines in the running of township tourism.

The (South African) National Department of Tourism (NDT) plans and motivates the development and growth of tourism in this country, and is responsible for the implication of the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS). To ensure the achievement of the sector's targets, the Department supports the implementation of the NTSS to work towards increasing the number of foreign arrivals. So, for example, tourists to the country increased from "9 933 966 in 2009 to 12 068 030 by 2015", and increased the number of "domestic tourists from 14 600 000 in 2009 to 16 000 000 by 2015" (South Africa, 2018a). The Tourism Act (Number 3 of 2014) (South Africa, 2014) provides for the development and promotion of sustainable tourism for the benefit of South Africa, its residents and its visitors. The Act aims to:

- "Promote the practice of responsible tourism for the benefit of South Africa and for the enjoyment of all its residents and foreign visitors";
- "Provide for the effective domestic and international marketing of South Africa as a tourist destination";
- "Promote quality tourism products and services";
- "Promote growth in and development of the tourism sector"; and
- "Enhance co-operation and co-ordination between all spheres of government in developing and managing tourism" (South Africa, 2014).

Township tourism can be used to boost the country's historical and cultural tourism, but tourism authorities, including the NDT, must develop package-tours to achieve developmental objectives. All government want to capitalise on job creation opportunities in this sector (Essays, UK, 2018). The tourism industry was (and still is largely) white-driven up to 1994, which has generally excluded the small and micro township tourism businesses. Township tour operators are, therefore, disadvantage insofar as sharing the township tourism market with multinational tourism organisations operating from major city central business districts, and of meeting "economies of scale" in operating township businesses. (Rogerson, 2005:202). The SMMEs operating in the townships are just not able to compete with the major role-players functioning from outside of the townships.

There are really no specific claims that township operators are still at a disadvantage when organising tourism activities in the townships; there is frustration of these tour operators in dealing with a powerful (all white) tourism industry (Rogerson, 2005:202). Experiences of, for example, transport during the FIFA World Cup 2010 suggest that where all "transport capacity was signed off to five or six larger tour operators in the Cape Town area, who then distributed it among small tour businesses under such poor conditions that only a few opted to get involved" (Koens & Thomas, 2015:320). Planning for accommodation was also in the hands of large organisations, which had similar restrictions for small business owners, requiring businesses to sign off their entire capacity without any guarantee of business (Koens & Thomas, 2015:320).

Examples such as these confirm imbalanced power relationships as a key problem for small businesses in the townships that try to get involved in tourism business linkages and small enterprise development in South Africa (Koens, 2014).

These restrictions on local tour operators limits small business development, and places doubt on how these organisations will be able to market themselves (and gain a market-share) which will have a very restrictive effect on economic development in the townships. A possible solution would be to "stimulate direct market access for small township tourism businesses, as is advocated by government" (Koens, 2012:93). This could include "creative uses of technology or brokerage of tours in hotels by intermediaries close to the businesses". However, to implement any service actions may be problematic as a result of the "uncertain living and business conditions of the small business owners and the intense competition within the tourism industry: (Koens & Thomas, 2015:331).

The next section outlines destination characteristics of the local community.

2.7 Local community/destination characteristics

Full involvement of local communities in township tourism and tourism planning addresses environmental and cultural concerns, but also benefits the community and the environment and improves the quality of the tourist's experience (Borelli, Minestrini & Guarrera, 1999:65). Consultation between the Department of Tourism, tourism establishments, organisations, and communities is important for township communities if they are to work together (Meadows, 2011:29). This cooperation involving the "marginalised peoples" and organised tourism allows for the generation of "economic growth and development that can be sustainable" into the future, and must lead to a need for "development[al] infrastructure", which in turn should experience economic growth, "job creation, education and training" (Reisinger & Turner, 2003:170).

Marketing should provide full and responsible information to attract and increase respect for the natural, social and cultural environments of the destination, enhancing the customer's experience (Meadows, 2011:17), and township tourism service providers need to focus on this aspect. The basis for the development of "sustainable destinations" as proposed by the National Geographic Society (NGS, 2007, cited by Booyens, 2010:276), talks to the developing of attractions which have "unique attributes", where "market authenticity" is very important for the future. The principle of cooperation between the local community and the tourist, that provides "hands-on or first-hand experiences" must lead to improved tourists-experiences and a grasp of the local culture and heritage, and enhance authenticity. This concept forms the basis for "responsible tourism and unique experiences", and must be used to 'developed in a socially responsible manner" (Booyens, 2010:276).

2.8 Sustainability of township tourism

Swarbrooke (1999:15) describes sustainable tourism as:

"...tourism that is economically viable, but does not destroy the resources on which the future of the tourism will depend, notably physical environment, and the social fabric of the host community".

The Brundtland Report of 1987 explains that sustainable development "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Kates, Parris & Leiserowitz, 2005:10). This approach ensures that "future generations everywhere will

have sufficient resources to adequately sustain themselves and maintain a reasonable quality of life" (Keyser, 2002:35). For people whose present quality of life is not of an acceptable standard, the resources, if sustained, will be available for them and their children potentially to achieve quality of life in the future.

Sustainable development of infrastructure, including tourism, was proposed in the mid-1960s. Kates *et al.* (2005:16) report that the term was first used in the "Brundtland Report, entitled *Our Common Future*", written by the "World Commission on Development and Environment" in 1987. Conservation of the environment and economic progress were twinned to promote sustainable development. The vision put forward by the Brundtland Report was one of "economic development, not concerned purely with attaining maximum economic growth such as pursuing economic efficiency" (Kates *et al.*, 2005:18).

Tourism has not escaped this principle of sustainable development, which should apply equally to township tourism (Hunter & Green, 1995, cited by Swarbrooke, 1999:42). This concept of sustainability is time-consuming, and will require much effort and "careful planning and management of resources" is key to achieving all development (Meadows, 2011:18). Keyser (2002:35) argues that the use of phrases such as "beyond the rhetoric of sustainable development" and "operationalising sustainable development" requires that communities and local authorities need to take action to ensure that "sustainable development" becomes a reality.

The overuse of sites such as cultural villages and townships sites can become a particular problem, as has happened with heritage tourism elsewhere in the world. One of heritage sites that is particularly affected negatively due to overuse is Machu Picchu in Peru. Machu Picchu is a 15th century Inca citadel and is one of Peru's most visited tourist attractions, and a major revenue generator, Machu Picchu is continually threatened by economic and commercial forces (Mink, 2009). The volumes of visitors to this UNESCO site is not sustainable and has led to the restriction in the numbers of daily-visitors to the "palace", and "monuments such as the great sundial Intihuatana have sustained severe damage" due to visitor numbers, and infrastructural development close to the site promised to "increase pressure on Machu Picchu's more fragile structures, speeding up their degradation "(Mink, 2009).

Any pressure on fragile destinations/attractions will result in the damage (and even destruction) of assets and the environment, and will result in the decline of visitor-interest and experience at the attraction (Meadows, 2011:20). "Too many visitors, too high a proportion of consumers visiting at the same time, or the wrong kind of visitors whose behaviour is not appropriate" will result in a decline in visitor numbers due to unsatisfactory experiences (Swarbrooke, 1999:14). A decline in numbers to attractions is a management problem, "often beyond the skill or

financial resources" of the owners of the cultural tourism resources to solve them (Swarbrooke, 1999:14).

Lack of local control in township tourism could compromise the available resources for the future generations, where interest groups and individuals have their own ideas and plans, resulting often in a conflict of interests, and "communities rarely speak with one voice" (McIntyre, 1993:67). Arrangements that are in place to test the views of communities sometimes provide an opportunity for a "minority of self-appointed community spokespeople, or people with strong views, to dominate the process" (Swarbrooke, 1999:17), which implies that the feelings of the "silent majority" do go unheard. Professional tour operators and organisers are then in a position to "ignore local views that are contrary to their own". This is particularly prevalent when "public participation exercises" are held to legitimise decisions that have already been taken (Ashley & Roe, 1998 93; Swarbrooke, 1999:18).

2.9 Challenges affecting township tourism

Du Toit-Helmbold (2012:1) comments:

"I do believe that it is time for us to debate the way we have labelled cultural experiences within previously disadvantaged areas as township tours, boxing it conveniently into a stereotypical, and often spectator-driven, experience that is not sustainable or to the long-term benefit of communities that desperately rely on tourism for their survival".

Tourism development is ofter perceived to have negative and positive outcomes for the local communities, and is sometimes seen as an economic benefit, which does not allow for social, cultural, or environmental improvement, but rather promotes its destruction.

The actual development by tourism in a "development programme has come increasingly into question because of an alleged meagreness of actual benefits, an inequality of benefit distribution, and the high social costs exacted by tourism" (Ashley & Roe, 1998:3). The economic attributes connected with tourism, therefore, should not be measured with any social disruption caused by tourism initiatives.

Cultural tourism falls in the grouping of special-interest or niche tourism, including where tourists will travel (considerable) distances to specific sites to experience a way of life (that is, the culture) which is different to that which they know and experince where they live, and from which they can learn something new (Smith & Robinson, 2006:73). In fact, the term "cultural tourism is sometimes used synonymously with the term special-interest tourism". All aspects of culture, including heritage, ethnic and township tourism, is perpetually in a state of flux, constantly growing, as visitors interact with local communities whose way of life, their cultures, serve to increase and "broaden their knowledge and personal experience base" (Lubbe, 2003:63).

Every culture is "different and curiosity about the world and its many different people is a strong motivation for travel" (Lubbe, 2003:41), and the development of tourism needs good management to establish who the "cultural tourist" is, and "an understanding of their motivations". Tourist behavioural patterns at an attraction or destinations are determined by what they know of their own country, which may determine their reasons for travelling. This aspect is important for the development of township tourism, allowing (foreign) visitors to experience something not available at their country of origine. Smith (2015:79) has determined motivations for cultural tourism "based on the premise that those who travel do so either because they are attracted to something, or because they want to escape from something".

Robinson and Boniface (1998, cited by Ramchander, 2004:57) are of the view that the positive and negative results of "contact fostered by tourism is closely linked to debates about authenticity", which is determined in the work of MacCannell (1973:592; 1976:98), who first made the connection between a "formal concept of authenticity and tourist motivation". Tourists' do want "authentic experiences" which they are not able to experience in their normal lives and activities. MacCannell (1973) suggested nearly fives decade ago that Western tourists needed to experience authenticity, and suggested this as a reason fro their travelling.

The recognised impacts of tourism, including those social and cultural changes does contribute to changes in "value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies, and community organisations", where Ramchander (2004:43) states that these recognised impacts on host communities or destination areas may be "classified into two categories":

"The first relates to the characteristics of the destination area, which includes the perceived social impacts of the resident-visitor encounter. Examples of this are cultural gap effects, crime, prostitution, and the demonstration effect (i.e. changes in values, attitudes, or behaviour of the host population that an result from observing tourists)" " (Pizam & Pokela, 1987:150)..

The second category involves impacts on infrastructural development, which must include social impacts, and the effects on the "local resources, for example, pressure on local resources and facilities, local versus imported labour, local language and cultural effects, and lifestyle changes" (Pizam & Pokela, 1987:150).

Urry (1991) and Sanderson (1990) (both cited by Ramchander, 2004:60), confirm that there was a rapid expansion on the social and cultural perspective of tourism in the latter half of the 20th century. Therefore, it is regarded as an important aspect because within individual destination areas or countries its development has led to changes in the structure of society.

[&]quot;Social impacts involve the more immediate changes in the social structure of the community and adjustments to the destination's economy and industry while the cultural impacts focus on the longer-term changes in a society's norms and standards, which gradually emerge in a community's social relationships and artefacts" (Murphy 1985:117).

Ap (1992, cited by Ramchander, 2004:62) indicates that tourism "as a factor of change can affect traditional family values and cause cultural commercialisation", which may lead to an increase crime, including to "negative elements such as prostitution and gambling". Tourism development has been linke to "social conflicts within the destination community", where "socio-cultural differences, economic welfare, and purchasing power" highlights the differences between a host community and visitors (McIntosh, Goeldner & Ritchie 1995:551).

Ap (1992) and Burns (1999), (both cited by Ramchander, 2004:63), are of the opinion that negative impacts, including an increase in the prices and services of "goods and services, inflation in property values, social disadvantages such as crowding, congestion and pollution, and an increase in undesirable activities such as prostitution, gambling, alcohol, drugs and crime".

Craik (1997, cited by Ramchander, 2004:63) is of the view that "authenticity and the identity of the traditional cultures" is destroyed because of the "host's tendency to imitate tourists", who they see and experience as being a more "advanced civilisation" which becomes a goal for local communities.

2.10 Summary

This chapter introduced the concept of tourism and looked at the history of township tourism. The tourism product is complex and has a set of infrastructure and physical resources that together create an experience that the tourist demands. Therefore, tourism needs to be considered from a production and consumption perspective. Township tourism is developing into a viable sector in the tourism industry, with increasing numbers of organisations competing in township tourism as a result of growing demand for township tours. Visitor motivation was discussed, looking into supply and demand side motivations. The demand side of tourism consists mainly of tourism markets and buyers of tourism products and services. The supply can be directly affected by tourism demand and determines the composition of the tourism offering as well as the level of demand for tourism products and services.

For township tourism to function well there needs to be a good support system from government. Information centres and facilities in the township need to be maintained to ensure that the township visitors' experiences are not compromised. Full involvement of local communities in township tourism planning addresses environmental and cultural concerns. This benefits the community and the environment and also improves the quality of the tourist's experience. The sustainability of township tourism is vital and the overuse of cultural villages and townships sites must be controlled. The future of township tourism depends on it.

This chapter also briefly discussed consumer (tourist) behaviours. Consumers have to choose between time spent producing an income or utilising time for leisure purposes. Consumer

behaviour is important for a marketer because it offers insight into travellers' holiday behaviours. This insight enables marketers to match tourists to their specific needs.

This chapter also visited some of the challenges facing township tourism. The positive and negative impacts of tourism have been closely linked to debates about authenticity.

The following chapter gives an overview of the township of Langa, the area under study.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF LOCAL AREA OF LANGA TOWNSHIP

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study area of Langa through identifying key trends that may be important informants for the recommendations section of this dissertation, highlighting key factors to be considered when discussing township tourism in the area.

The chapter contains five sections. An environmental analysis is followed by an analysis of social infrastructure, crime and demography. The third section is the economic analysis which seeks to highlight local businesses, household support and income structures, and employment information of the area before documenting and briefly discussing various policies relevant to the area. Cyril Ramaphosa, the current South African president, mentioned in his 2019 New Year message that he has embarked on a huge plea to obtain international investment to boost the South African economy, and to create growth and development. He emphasised that the South African Government was pleased by the many investors, both at home and from abroad, "who have shown keen interest in investing in our economy. Millions of South African employees should enjoy the impact of the "country's first national minimum wage" on their pay-packets (South Africa, 2018b).

This chapter also contains a policy review section, and the chapter concludes with a legislative and institutional context of Langa.

As outlined in Chapter Two, "township tourism has become a booming and highly profitable sector in the tourism industry, with more and more companies pushing into the market to meet the growing demand for the township tours" (Rolfes *et al.*, 2009:16). Township tourism could have a direct effect on the townships "socio-cultural and economic sectors", substantiating the "links between tourism systems and culture", which could impact positively on the negative impacts on the host culture, perhaps even removing them (Burns, 1999:65).

In 2011 the City of Cape Town undertook a study in the Langa township to establish the "resources, strengths, and vulnerabilities that would inform locally relevant adaptation response strategies aimed at protecting communities from the impacts of tourists' visits or township tourism" (CoCT, 2011:24). The purpose of this chapter is to describe the tourism structures in this township, to identify important elements in the "development of authentic township tourism" for the study area. This chapter will identify and discuss existing opportunities for this community, and learn from the study of the Langa area, conducted by the City of Cape Town in 2011, entitled the "Spatial Development Framework Report" (CoCT, 2011:24). The Langa plan is the main data source from which the analyses in this chapter are derived.

3.1.1 Physicality of Langa

Langa is the "oldest African township in Cape Town" (CoCT, 2011:25), with the first infrastructural developments having been built in the 1920s and some of it still standing today (2019). This township is about "300 hectares in extent and is situated about 10 kilometres from the Cape Town Central Business District" (CBD). The history of the place, as a "dormitory township for Black migrant workers", reflects the evolution of the presence of Africans in urban areas in South Africa (CoCT, 2011:48). See Figure 3.1 for the location of Langa township within the Cape Town area.

Langa's physical characteristics, such as the location at the (then) edge of the city, near the industrial plants of Epping, bounded by railway lines and freeways, and having poor standards of facilities, are all typical of South African townships that were developed to accommodate the Black labour force in the cities in a controlled manner. When it developed, the aim was to house the Black migrant workers who would come from the rural areas to seek means with which they could better their lives. Around the 1920s, people of colour could not live in the same areas as white people, who lived in the low density suburbs, hence the point was to isolate the black folk (Christopher, 2001:460) However, because of the demand for low income accommodation outside of the city centre, city growth 'absorbed' Langa into the urban fabric and it is now situated at the most strategic part of the city. Access into and out of the township of Langa is limited to the two points that lead to the freeways as well as the railway station (CoCT, 2011:48).

The Municipality Spatial Development Framework (Muni SDF) forms the spatial component of the City's integrated planning and management process, based on a principle argument that calls for a spatial approach to land and urban management that will begin to improve the lives of those most in need in earnest. Although this framework has a spatial focus, it is strongly informed by sectorial issues and studies, and informs similar layers of work for specific sectors, including housing, health, welfare and economic development (CoCT, 2011:24).

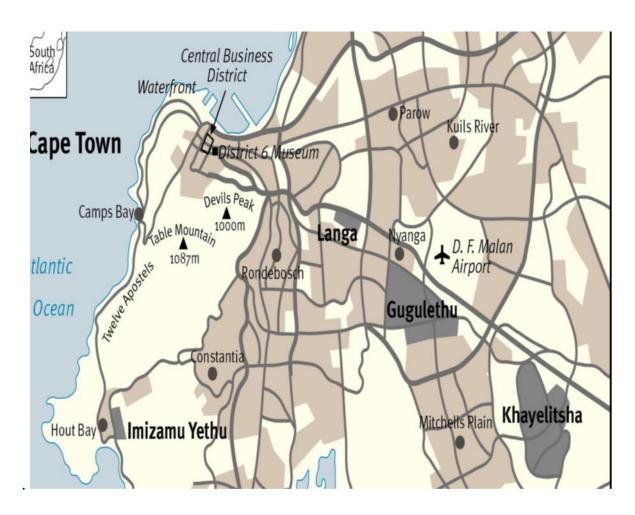


Figure 3.1: Location of Langa within Cape Town (Koens, 2012)

3.2 Environmental analysis

The position of Langa offers potential for township tourism to the area, and is at the forefront of attracting tourists to visit it, and other attractions in Cape Towns, but is therefore open to environmental impacts, both positive and negative, caused by tourism activities (George, 2007:30).

Any relationship between the natural environment and tourism needs proper environmental planning, management and control by the "government, NGOs and local communities, donor agencies and the private sector" needs to be addressed to prevent degradation of the area. These government and non-governmental organisations must be involved in promoting the "development of tourism and the extent to which its interaction with the environment is positive or negative" (Holden, 2008:442). Therefore, consultation between the Department of Tourism, tourism establishments, organisations, and communities is important if they are to work together. In 2016, the City of Cape Town received over five million visitors according to airport arrivals, which is a growth of approximately 18.1% from 2015 (CoCT, 2016:56). A number of these tourists visit Langa Township as it is the closest and most highly recommended township on many platforms. However, as stated above, environmental impact is one of the major

concerns around tourism and is directly proportional to the growth in the number of visitors. Environmental stress is caused by the excesses demand on scarce resources, and the problems (for example, noise, pollution, social) attrituted to "the rise in living standards of the relatively affluent" (Holden, 2008:129).

The various forms of pollution "that are apparent from tourism are noise pollution from airplanes, cars and buses, as well as recreational vehicles such as snow-mobiles and jet skis, is an ever-growing problem of modern life" (Holden, 2008:129). Not only do these forms of pollution impact humans (including "annoyance, stress, and even hearing loss for humans"), and could cause poverty, but they also distress, and affect the habitat of animals. As Langa is an impoverished community, this is also a cause of pollution and environmental stress. "Poverty denies people the freedom to be able to take a long-term perspective on resource usage" (Holden, 2008:128). In the context of Langa, street braais are one of the many ways that people explore small businesses to support their families but these have a negative impact on the environment.

3.3 Social characteristics

Township tourism cannot function in isolation, and requires careful planning and managing of this activity, for it to survive and even expand. Firstly, there exist a definite need for the preservation of the cultural attractions in this host community, and the need to understand and work conservatively and effectively within the tourism industry. This clearly ensures that the community's culture receives the respect that it deserves and the tourism industry understands the boundaries. Secondly, all tourism role-players must take cognicance of the "needs and requirements" of township communities (including those in Langa), as well as the principles and concerns, of "cultural heritage preservation" (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002, cited by Ramchander, 2004:149). By doing so, the assistance coming from tourists will be directed and meaningful and will therefore be warmly accepted. With this approach, people of the community will feel that tourists have sought understanding in their quest or attempt to help the host communities.

3.3.1 Cultural problems

The Cape Flats, which is an area south-east of the Cape Town CBD, comprises a number of townships. It represents some of the "most marginalised areas in the City of Cape Town municipal area", mostly characterised by low-income housing and limited economic activity (CoCT, 2011:24). The cultural injustices in the townships include rampant and continuing poverty, where the inhabitants apparently just accept their township birth and, therefore, the livelihood they have been given. These cultural injustices include problems with "teenage pregnancies and school drop-outs", and the high levels of drug dependancy in the townships (Mkhwanazi, 2010:15). This means that these people will not be able to acquire the skills that

they need to navigate the economic demands, hence they will always be economically excluded and the cycle of poverty will continue.

Langa township and surrounding areas are subject to many social challenges, including those of by violent crime, substance abuse, and the prevalence of gang violence. This poses a threat to the security of tourists as there are cases where, for example, people have been hit by stray bullets during gang shootouts (Leggett, 2004:56). It is also characterised by low standards of living with the highest unemployment rate in the City of Cape Town area (CoCT, 2011:25). In 2018 Cape Town has been recorded as the city with the lowest rate of unemployment but with the larger portion of the unemployed being from the townships such as Langa (Cape Town Etc, 2018:1).

3.4 Economic characteristics

Tourism has been acknowledged as a vehicle for job creation and has already (2018) created 1.5 million job opportunities, including in South Africa where "it is estimated that for every 12 tourists that come to South Africa, one job is created" (Vos, 2018:10), which includes jobs for drivers, tour guides, and the hospitality teams in hotels. Township tourism does provide employment for numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers, for example, hotels employ cleaners and luggage handlers. "People from townships form most of the population of unskilled workers for several reasons, including the ongoing cycle of poverty in marginalised communities" (Vos, 2018:10). This means that families who experience a "poor quality of life" in these communities could see that changed significantly if one of them gets a decent job, and in this way could lead to "changing perceptions" and a new life-style in the community. Therefore, tourism should be used to boost the economy of the local communities, for example, bringing foreign currency into the country, and specifically into these marginalised areas (Vos, 2018:10).

The established and developing tourism infrastructure must be promoted into the townships so that it becomes more accessible for Black South African persons, especially those active in township tourism. There are preconceived perceptions that people have about townships before going into them, that are not always true, such as the hospitality of the people. Allowing tourists to visit the community helps them to gain an understanding of the locals and the environment in the townships. If tourists are to have successful experiences this might attract investors into the country and more specifically, into the townships and (Mkhwanazi, 2010:19).

Township tourism "has a huge potential to provide ever-growing economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs" to have access to the tour-operating business at ground level. If supported, it has a positive "contribution to make to overcome the legacy of social and economic exclusion, which has for too long characterised township life" (Frey & George,

2010:623). The history of South Africa cannot be mentioned without one thinking of the apartheid era. Although it is many years since the formal end of apartheid, it is still very visible in the present day. Most people who live in townships are at the bottom of the social and economic classes and are the same people whose lives were oppressed during apartheid (Mkhwanazi, 2010:36). Circumstances of the past crippled them to such an extent that they cannot participate in the current highly skilled and ever-changing economy, which has made it difficult for them to make a living. Thus, township tourism means bringing opportunities to their doorsteps and allows for untapped natural talent and improving minds in these townships to be put to good use with minimal or no skills required. However, South Africa's Minister of Basic Education "announced a 2018 Matric pass rate of 78.2% in the first week of January 2019", and included other "significant achievements" (The Conversation, 2019:1). These results are used to gauge the state of the country's education system. Based on this performance, the argument is that "South Africa's education system is on the right track and making steady, if slow, progress" (The Conversation, 2019:1), which could be interpreted as opening job opportunities for township dwellers.

The South African Department of Tourism needs to be fully involved in tourism for it to impact positively on communities in the promotion of tourism capacity-building projects and resources. Tourism in the townships could promote many economic opportunities for the residents of the townships, where the township communities have very few economic opportunities available to them (CoCT, 2011:24). The infrastructure in Langa is somewhat dilapidated and there have been no improvements or development for many years. It is important that some of the funds that are generated from township tourism are re-invested to help develop these revenue-generating townships, especially infrastructural developments, such as road works, that do not require highly skilled individuals. People from these communities could do the work, thereby creating employment for them.

The South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, spoke to the country during the presentation of the ANC's 2019 elections manifesto, on the 107th anniversary, at the Moses Mabhida stadium in Durban. He stated that the "ANC will proceed with the establishment of an infrastructure fund that will pool government's infrastructure budget", which will be used to develop infrastructure for various public and private projects to "build roads, rail lines, broadband networks, hospitals, schools, dams and other infrastructure vital for a growing economy" (EWN, 2019:1).

The majority of townships, including Langa, are subject to slow economic development with few, if any, real industrial or commercial enterprises within their precients, in contrast with advanced properties closer to the municipal centres, which can be relied on to pay taxes and support government initiatives to promote economic growth, and therefore job creation.

Commercial properties in the Langa township accounted for only "3.6% and industrial properties only 1.1%, showing the lowest levels of commercial and industrial activity of all the districts in the City of Cape Town municipal area" (CoCT, 2011:1). The municipal valuations of retail property tend to higher than "office property values, showing a more prominent retail sector" within the Cape Town municipal district, and this is perhaps the reason for small "investment towards economic development" in townships (CoCT, 2011:1).

The City of Cape Town (CoCT, 2011), through the Spatial Development Framework, has developed a plan for "employment and improved access to economic opportunities". The proposals to achieve this include the following:

- "Maintain the assets of Cape Town, such as its infrastructure (airports, road network to mention a few), natural environment, universities and other social facilities, which attract investors, visitors and high-skilled labour".
- "Help small and large formal businesses as well as informal business to set up and trade in appropriate locations, by facilitating their access to information and land, and by simplifying application procedures".
- "Reduce the distance between where people live and work, especially for those in the metropolitan southeast (Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain, Philippi, Gugulethu) and Atlantis by encouraging investment and job creation in or near these areas".
- "Support the development of a good public transport system that conveniently takes people to wherever they live, work and play", and
- "Encourage shops, businesses, higher-density residential development and industries to locate on routes well served by public transport, namely activity and development routes, so that people can reach them more easily" (CoCT, 2011:1).

3.5 Policy review

All the plans and strategies proposed in the "framework", which applies equally to national, provincial and local authorities, apply to the tourism sector. The following national policies exist and have specific focus on tourism (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016a:1), and are now discussed in detail as they specifically refer to township tourism in, for example, Langa.

3.5.1 The "White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa, 1996"

This "White Paper" has as its aim the "development of the tourism sector in a sustainable manner", to promote the livelihood of all South Africans. This "White Paper", as far as the "Langa Township Tourism Programme" is concerned is that all spheres of government will have to support the local community and tourism through active maintenance of services and "skills development". The "White Paper promotes community involvement and empowerment

of marginalised communities", and social and cultural development (du Toit, Pillay & Tomlinson, 2006:28).

3.5.2 The "Responsible Tourism Guidelines, 2002"

These guidelines are geared to addressing the work opportunities for providing "holiday experiences for guests and business opportunities", including all sectors of the tourism industry (Frey & George, 2010:627). Once fully implemented the guidelines should promote an acceptable lifestyle for the township communities "through improved socio-economic benefits and better natural resource management". The purpose of the "Responsible Tourism Guidelines" on the "Langa Township Tourism Programme" is to ensure participation of all sectors of the community in promoting "economic, social, and environmental benefits", through the adoption of the "triple bottom line approach of economic growth", also incorporating environmental infrastructures. "Cultural sensitivity and community involvement" are important aspects of the "Guidelines", as is the position of economic development which is geared to job creation and retainment, which should see the "prevention of exploiting marginalised communities" in the Langa township. If these "Guidelines" are properly monitored in the townships to ensure "responsible tourism", a inclusive and profitable tourism industry could develop in the townships (Frey & George, 2010:627).

3.5.3 The "South African Tourism Planning Toolkit"

The "South African Tourism Planning Toolkit" suggests information, and proposes processes, which address the "situational analysis, strategic planning, capacity building, implementation, and monitoring performance" of tourism development in South Africa. This "planning toolkit on the Langa Township Tourism Programme" should provide the necessary guidelines for the proper and "thorough planning, monitoring and evaluation" of the tourism industry in the Langa township, and should ensure future community development through the involvement of the Langa community in the tourism industry (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016b:53).

3.5.4 The "National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2011"

This "Strategy" is developed on the need for "values of mutual trust, respect for our culture and heritage, responsible tourism, transparency and integrity, service excellence, upholding the values of our Constitution" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2011:56), which will ensure the "accountability, commitment to transformation, and flexibility and adapting to change" the national, provincial and local tourism industries of the country. The importance of the "National Tourism Sector Strategy on the Langa Township Tourism Programme" is that it could "maximise the expansion of the tourism industry and provide greater entrepreneurial opportunities and supports employment creation" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2011:56), through continuous monitoring of tourism demand and the promotion of the tourism supply assets, to the benefit of local communities (SA. Department of Tourism, 2011:56).

3.5.5 The "Rural Tourism Strategy, 2012"

This strategy had as its purpose the development of rural tourism to promote economic growth and a "strategy" for the "rural tourism economy". Its mission is defined as "achieving enhanced growth and development of tourism in rural communities" certainly is the more rural and less populated provinces (SA. Department of Tourism, 2012:65). In this widest sense, the "Strategy" was designed to provide mechanisms to

"create a platform to share knowledge of best practices, development opportunities, and challenges in rural areas for tourism development, facilitate the coordination of rural tourism development initiatives amongst relevant stakeholders, create an enabling environment for rural tourism development to stimulate job creation and local economies, to identify and recommend strategic areas for tourism development in rural areas within the sector, to guide strategy development within key documentation generated for tourism development and management in South Africa" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2012:42).

As explained in Chapter Two, Langa township tour operations are primarily driven by largely white-owned organisations who do provide for a growing township tourism industry, and do contribute to Langa as a tourist destination. One of the purposes of the National Department of Tourism (NDT) is to promote tourism within South Africa, including the townships, where SMMEs are the prominent form of business enterprise, which are geared towards the promotion of the local community through job participation and (sometimes ideally) wealth distribution. In 2017, the NDT launched a new marketing campaign called "Township and Rural Tourism Development Drive" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2017:18).

3.5.6 The "National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012"

The NHCT strategy has as its aim the realisation of the international importance of South Africa's "heritage and cultural resources through product development for sustainable tourism and economic development" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016b). This is to be achieved by opening the "economic potential of heritage and cultural resources through responsibly and sustainable tourism", where these are used to promote and publicise the opportunities available for culture and heritage to contribute towards the growth of tourism in this country, especially where these impact on community "social cohesion" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016b). The "National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy" looks at the facilities, "products, research, and all aspects", including "elements and interventions", which contribute to tourism development", including in the Langa township, to promote "sustainable development", especially as Langa tourism is based on "heritage and cultural tourism products" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016b).

3.5.7 The "Domestic Tourism Growth Strategy, 2004-2007"

The important "objectives and strategies of the Domestic Tourism Growth Strategy are Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, job creation and transformation". This "Strategy" was developed to promote the local tourism industry, particularly in the "Eastern Cape as one of the top three domestic tourist destinations" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2016a) but is eaually applicable to all provinces and rural areas, which would include townships. It made provision for the development and growth of South African inbound and local tourism, based on an implementation:

"greater promotion of the domestic tourism brand, promote a set of experiences that relate to South African consumers, distribute appropriate information in specific places, facilitate the development of co-operative product packages, develop marketing and distribution channels as well as promote repeat visitation in the township areas" (SA. Department of Tourism, 2010).

3.6 Township stakeholders

With the increasing demand for township tourism, and given that township tourism has become popular to the extent that tourists regard the tours as a "must see" when they visit Cape Town, a need has arisen for legislation which will seek to protect tall natural, cultural and historic assets, and will monitor tourism developments and any exploitation of resources. In South Africa, the National Government has the supreme power and thus is responsible for the major decisions that drive the direction and agendas of the provinces and municipalities under them.

Other stakeholders that play an important role in tourism are Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and local communities, donor agencies and the private sector; all of whom have to be involved in the planning, implementation and development of tourism (Chen, 2015:225).Township tourism is a sector that is growing rapidly and for it to have the level of impact that it should have, funding will need to be injected into the sector. However, the government will not be able to do so on their own, hence the need for NGOs and donor agencies to step in. It will also require the originality and the authenticity of the townships to be maintained if it is to attract the degree of attention it has the potential of attracting, and this is where the local community comes in (Chen, 2015:225).

3.6.1 Attractions in Langa

Shebeens are part of the history of townships. A shebeen is a place where affordable alcohol is sold illegally, in other words without a liquor licence. During the apartheid era migrant workers needed to deal with a lot of difficult situations which all stemmed from being oppressed. Men would leave their families in their homelands to come and work in the cities and would have to deal with being treated unfairly on a daily basis simply because they were people of colour (Scheper-Hughes, 1995:63). The shebeen was the place where they could come together to talk about all these difficulties whilst drinking (Scheper-Hughes, 1995:64).

There are also street restaurants that cook and serve African cuisine to give tourists and visitors a taste of original African food (Kornblum, Julian & Smith, 2012:16). The food that is prepared at these restaurants serves as an attraction as tourists want to taste South African township cuisine to have a full experience during their visit to the township. The history of

Langa and that of migrant worker settlements cannot be explained without mentioning hostels, as these were the shelters for the migrant workers. Shacks — erected as a result of the growing population and lack of housing for the population — have increased in numbers, merging with Langa to create a larger township, and are also an attraction for tourists.

The Guga S'Thebe cultural centre in Langa is where concerts, mostly jazz sessions and stage plays are hosted. When visiting the centre, tourists can also watch pottery being made.

3.6.2 Tour operators

Township tours have both inbound and outbound operators. There are private companies that facilitate tours around Cape Town, inclusive of Langa. There are also some local organisations and individuals who have used this opportunity to start up township tour organisations. Some of these offer transport services to the township, others only offer guiding services as they take a walk around the townships (Rolfes *et al.*, 2009:34).

3.6.3 Safety and security especially for tourism

Langa township is perceived to have a high crime rate, including robbery, murder, sexual offences and illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. Township gangs deal in drugs and prostitution, and violent "turf" (territory) wars are a constant activity between the various groups, posing a threat to the security of visiting tourists to the township. Tourists, especially foreign visitors who do not know the 'atmosphere' ruling in a township, and who generally carry valuable possessions with them on the tours, are easy targets for criminals. Recently (post 2012), CCTV cameras were installed at various locations in Langa, which did improved the security of tourists and locals, andimproved the atmosphere where-in tour businesses operate, making the township safer for visitors.

3.6.4 Transport, accommodation and other services

Tour operators co-ordinate township tours and, in some cases, also need to offer transport services for tourists. There are people, such as Ma Neo in Zone 7, and other organisations which perceived an opportunity to starting accommodation services. Tourists, however, do not usually seek accommodation in townships such as Langa because issues such as crime make them feel unsafe (Pilon, 2011:15).

3.6.5 Infrastructure

The National Party government provided "free-standing and fully serviced houses for the African urban dwellers" who lived in the townships surrounding Cape Town, including Langa, on a rental basis (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1540), however, after apartheid ended some of the township residents of these houses were offered ownership. However, much of the accommodation for the residents, who where migrant workers (from the "Homelands"), was in

hostels, which was the first form of housing to be built in Langa. During the apartheid era, service delivery was managed by the local city council (Cape Town) but post 1994 this service gradually disappeared under the ANC local and provincial government, which led to the deterioration of these buildings which were not serviced or renovated, and the population of the township also continued to grow. These hostels became crowded, and the number of informal settlement homes increased, with the attendant squatter camps merging with the original settlement. These problems have impacted on "(P)oor drainage systems, dilapidated buildings and roads, and poor service delivery, [and] has caused Langa to become an area in Cape Town with one of the poorest infrastructures" (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1540). With the change of local government to the DA party, projects were initiated to "improve the infrastructure and sanitation of Langa, such as the N2 Gateway housing project". The major purpose of this project was to address the problems caused by the rapid urbanisation and homelessness within Langa. Mboyane and Ladzani (2011:553) report that "poor infrastructure, such as inadequate electricity and water supply and poor sanitation derails the chances of business growth".

3.6.6 SWOT analysis of Langa

The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of tourism in Langa are now explained.

3.6.6.1 Strengths

One of the strengths of Langa in terms of township tourism is the fact that it was the first migrant settlement in Cape Town. If tourists want to understand and gain an in-depth understanding of townships, Langa township is an excellent starting point. Langa is located in Cape Town, which is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. This is a strength for the township because tourists are already attracted to Cape Town for other reasons, thereby bringing tourists to Langa's doorstep. An example is the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was held in Cape Town, attracting very many visitors to the city.

3.6.6.2 Weaknesses

Inadequately managed infrastructure such as poor drainage systems, dilapidated buildings and roads, and poor service delivery has caused Langa to become one of the places in Cape Town with the worst infrastructure (Smith & Hanson, 2003:1529.

3.6.6.3 Opportunities

Townships are places that were previously closed off and excluded from the outside world. Township tourism has allowed the townships to open up to the visitors, hence enabling trade between township dwellers and the 'outside-world'. Langa now has the opportunity to improve living standards because township tourism offers opportunities to start businesses such as kiosks that sell snacks and cool drinks to tourists. Furthermore, residents have developed handcraft businesses and make cultural artefacts that tourists can buy as souvenirs, simultaneously upskilling themselves.

3.6.6.4 Threats

Tourism can play a significant role in overcoming the many socio-economic challenges that South Africa faces. Crime, violence and social unrest remain the most immediate and challenging threats confronting Western Cape townships, including Langa. This poses a very significant threat to township tourism, which is an aspiring globally competitive tourist product offering. Township tourism safety and its public involvement do require a high level of responsibility and accountability by all authorities concerned to ensure policies and activities on all levels to promote, implement and manage public safety during tourism activities.

Tourists are seen by criminals as easy targets, and the media could have an unsatisfactory influence on any visitor's views, and on the actual numbers of tourists to township-destinations. For visitors to strange areas, and for the local communities not used to tourists, any criminal could disappear into the warren of township paths, and not be found, so that any victim of a crime could not identify any perpetrator (Harper, 2001:1050).

3.7 Summary

Township tourism is a viable and growing initiative that has for the most part fostered positive economic growth in townships, where travelling to townships becomes meaningful through the unique history, culture, and social environment on display, inviting positive tourist-experiences of the townships. Tourists visiting townships are presented with an opportunity to gain insight into the history of South Africa and into the way of life of local residents, and a chance to understand the cultural attributes of the communities, and to experience meaningful cultural exchange. Tourists have their own culture and way of life and seeing how people in townships live, their languages, beliefs and even their food, will broaden the tourists' cultural spectrum. As long as it is approached with respect and transparency, the tours to townships can, and do, contribute to promoting economic growth through job-creation for community residents, and introducing foreign currency into the country, which filters down into the townships. This will contribute to the infrastructural development for townships such as Langa that have not seen any infrastructural development for some years. The Langa township is unique and has a story to tell learnt from its "historical richness, heritage and culture", and to set it apart from other townships in South Africa; this is the focus of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study used a mixed method approach to gather data on the authenticity and sustainability of township tourism. Authenticity is defined in a variety of ways but it has advanced into a notion that many agree is now obsolete" (Olsen, 2007:27). The term was initially used in relation to exhibits in museums to enable "differentiation by tourists between false objects and the real thing" (Trilling, 2009:25). Peer-reviewed academic journals and published books were used as the main source of tourism-related information, as well as articles published online, with particular focus on township tourism. The fieldwork was conducted once the literary review had been completed. In-depth interviews were undertaken as a qualitative method of gathering data, owing to its explorative nature. A qualitative interview is a discussion where the interviewer sets a pattern for exchange with an interviewee and "pursues a specific topic raised by the respondent" (Babbie *et al.*, 2001:269). Where-as in-depth interviews allow the participants in a study to speak for themselves and also provide room for probing for further specific information (Babbie *et al.*, 2001:270), the quantitative research measures of quantities of data gained, and the qualitative data is concerned with quality (Rajasekar, Philominathan & Chinnathambi, 2013:9).

A mixed methodology research action means the collection and analyse of data involving a combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods, and this method will help in gaining in-depth development patterns of the data, and also offers a more realistic approach to the research problem, together with generating a deeper understanding of the problem at hand than might otherwise have been possible (Maree, 2007:15).

4.2 Research methodology

This chapter describes the research design and methodology techniques that were applied in the study, where a mixed approach was used to address the study problem, together with the aim and objectives, which would lead to a decision on the study title, namely "the authenticity and sustainability of Cape Town's township tourism as a product", specifically in Langa.

While a quantitative research seeks to establish "numerical information" from the data obtained, a qualitative method looks to the quality of the information (Rajasekar *et al.*, 2013:9). Qualitative research specifically focuses on behaviour or on the natural settings of social actions. It gives rich, detailed information, which usually has emotional insight determined by personal experiences. In this study, tour operators were interviewed to learn of their experiences and views. It was also important to get information on the numbers of people who

are interested in township tourism and this was where the quantitative approach was employed (Babbie *et al.*, 2001:270). The two methods complement each other, permitting the gathering of all data for the comprehensive analysis of the information which should satisfy the broad perspective of the research problem.

The quantitative method established the numbers of residents and tour operators and the qualitative component gathered interpretative responses from the tourist participants (qualitative method). This was done to develop an understanding that the two methods would provide definite results from all the data gathered (Creswell & Clark, 2011:73). A mixed methodology "assists in gaining in-depth development patterns", and it provides a "more elegant approach to the research problem", and "generating a deeper understanding of the problem at hand than might otherwise have been possible" (Maree, 2007:15).

Mixed method results offer a more holistic picture of what the researcher is trying to determine. Using both approaches in one study provides additional evidence and support for the findings. The holistic picture comes together because with the mixed method you have the 'why' from the qualitative study and the numerical component from the quantitative study. The qualitative approach also allows the researcher to be on the ground and connect with the respondents (Maree, 2007:15). Apart from conducting interviews, the researcher spent many days at the various attractions sites in Langa, observing size of groups, modes of transport, shopping in Langa, and interacting with local residents.

4.2.1 Research design

The research design refers to the "plan according to which a study is executed" (Maree, 2007:15), and it refers to the "planning involved regarding the study as well as the decisions" that the researcher needs to make to answer the research questions as efficiently as possible". The researcher's study questions should lead to "decisions and actions", and therefore, the research design to be adopted for the study is important (de Vos & Fouche, 1998:79). According to Babbie et al. (2001:55), "a research design is defined as a strategy regarding how one plans to conduct research". Maree (2007:70) and Nieuwenhuis (2011) state that six types of qualitative research design are available, and two were used in combination in the current study-conceptual and historical studies. Historical data were required to lay the basis for this study conducted in Langa. Conceptual research is based on specific references in the literature, to establish township tourism authenticity in Langa. "The specific research design also depends on the researcher's assumptions, research skills and practices, and the way the data are collected" (Maree, 2007:70). The researcher is in need of a strategy to can grasp what was to be examined (the study questions), and being considered from different perspectives. Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006:72) note that it is necessary for the research design to "testing the hypothesis", or the study objectives in a particular research, in terms of the

specified form. Achieving the research objectives requires a good research design to answer the research questions, which relate to the focus, the unit, and the time dimension of the problem. In the current study, this was to identify constraints to effective business organisations and operation of SMMEs in Langa. In essence, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the authenticity of township tourism in Langa it was important to adopt a mixed methods approach.

The research design was carefully selected to meet the research aims, research objectives and answer the research questions of the study. This is discussed in the following sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5.

4.3 Township tourism study

Tourists visiting South African townships share an unknown common interest which has an impact on sustainable economic growth. It is therefore imperative to identify this common interest and its linkage to the sustenance of the economy. This study sought to establish how the consumer-oriented product-development approach, with regard to township tourism products and attractions, could be adapted to South African townships (Spenceley, 2008:88). Any visit to a township, which involves the cultural and heritage attractions, should be so constructed as to offer interest and pleasure for the visitors in the variety of sites visited. Most tour operators and other people in the community who run small businesses that contribute to the tourists' experiences have not been able to grow their businesses and in a way that will make them more marketable because they have very little support from the government (Mbonyane & Ladzani, 2011:553). They lack funding and the knowledge and skills that they require to be able to expand their businesses and the government should assist in this regard. According to Pirie (2007:237), tourists prefer to visit "cultural attractions such as museums, art galleries, theatres, performing art productions, festivals and indigenous arts and crafts centres". Pirie is of the opinion that a variety of niche tours should be considered, including a "struggle trail, a shebeen trail, or an arts and crafts trail". Frey and George (2008:124) report that tourists are always looking for "new, authentic and different cultural experiences". Responsible tourism practices encourage the use of local heritage and knowledge to meet the demands of tourists.

The problem investigated in this study was whether township tours, as they are presently offered in Cape Town, particularly in Langa, are authentic and sustainable. As alluded to earlier in this dissertation, entrepreneurs struggle to grow their businesses because of lack of management skills and funding. Areas such as Langa in Cape Town have the highest crime rate in the Western Cape, with SMMEs prone to robberies and break-ins. This therefore makes the sustainability of township tourism problematic as a whole.

4.4 Research data collection techniques

This section explains the tools/techniques used to collect data for the study. Deciding on data collection techniques is a very important part of a study. It is important to decide on data collection techniques that will answer the research questions because not all data collection techniques are always suitable. In this study, the researcher elected to use questionnaires and interviews as a means to gather the information needed.

4.4.1 Pilot study.

A pilot study is necessary to test the "data-gathering tools", and is in essence a mini exercise to evaluate the "feasibility, time, cost, adverse events, and improve on the study design prior to performance of a full-scale research project" (Babbie et al., 2001:35). During 2015, a pilot survey was conducted on tour operators in Langa township and the outcomes of this study contributed to the design and compilation of the 2016/2017 final interview questions. The questionnaire was administered between August and September 2017 to tour operators and residents of Langa township.

4.4.2 Data collection

Primary and secondary data are two types of data that should be collected. Secondary data refers to data that have been generated in previous studies and lends itself to be used in other arguments. Primary data were collected with specific research objectives in mind and are known as new and original data (Clark, Riley, Wilkie & Wood 1998:7). Primary data comprise information such as demographic, intention, motivation, behaviour and opinion.

This type of information was considered when compiling the questionnaire, which is contained in Annexure F. Obtaining this information was done by means of communication, referring to the questioning of respondents, using the questionnaire as the data collection instrument. This process can be shown in a written or oral format. Another form of obtaining information that could have been used is observation. Observation does not involve questionnaires and relies on observing the subject of interest and recording the relevant facts, actions and behaviours. For this study, the communication method was chosen as it was practical and cost effective to utilise a questionnaire to reach tourists who participated in the Langa tours.

Primary data collection techniques in this study were questionnaires for tourists and interviews for tour operators, administered, distributed and collected by the researcher and the tourist guides conducting the tours. A sample was drawn from the tour operators for the interviews, and the tourists on selected buses answered the questionnaires. To achieve the objectives of the study, both secondary data (from the literature reviews) and primary data had to be collected. The secondary data provided the background to the study, helped to clarify the problems under investigation, improved methods of data collection for understanding the

problem, and provided a benchmark to interpret primary data (Churchill & lacobacci, 2009:49). Primary data were obtained from questionnaire surveys of 183 tourists visiting the township of Langa, using an on-site intercept (convenience selected) method. Using questionnaires and interviews were deemed the most suitable methods of collecting data as they presented firsthand information in a cost-effective manner.

In compiling the questionnaire, the researcher used a structure-undisguised questionnaire that relied on fixed questions and fixed answers. This ensured that all respondents received the same questions and had the same choice of predetermined answer options.

4.4.3 Interviews

According to Babbie et al. (2001:292), interviews should be held in a relaxed atmosphere. To reduce the influence of possible context effects, the researcher should be sensitive to the time and place when interviews are conducted. The researcher was especially sensitive to these factors because township tour operators are always pressed for time, have very busy tour schedules and are mostly interested in generating revenue. To minimise the effect of the context, participants were allowed to suggest a suitable venue and time for the interviews. All participants preferred the interviews to be held at their place of work. An interview in the qualitative research context is defined as a set of questions that are structured and asked to explore the perspectives of a small number of respondents on a particular situation (Rubin & Rubin, 2011:57). In terms of the interview schedule, 15 questions were posed to 20 tour operators, and 15 questions were posed to 20 Langa residents. The researcher conducted personal interviews during September 2017 to establish the constraints facing township tour businesses in Langa. To obtain detailed information from each interview the researcher used open-ended questions, which allowed the respondents to explore all the possible answers in their responses. The responses were handwritten as electronic recording devices were not suitable in many situations.

4.4.4 Visitor questionnaires

The survey questionnaire consisted of 22 questions. The target was to obtain 200 completed questionnaires, however, the researcher managed to secure 183 completed and usable questionnaires in September 2017. The other 17 questionnaires were considered unusable as they were hardly completed. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the conveniently selected Langa township tourist participants. Questionnaires were chosen as a suitable data collection technique for this study because they are flexible and inexpensive. Flexibility was very important as these questionnaires were handed out to tourists on tour buses and they could complete the questionnaire in their own time during the tour. Questionnaires allowed the researcher to gather a significant amount of information on the subject of study through the use of some Likert scale-type questions. According to Boone and Boone (2012:3), a Likert

scale uses an "odd number of options, usually 5 or 7", with the one extreme denoted positive and the other extreme labelled as negative, while a "neutral" will be the middle scale. The study utilised questionnaires as an instrument that was purposely designed to extract information relevant to the study. Some tourists were not eager to participate and complete the questionnaires for various reasons, such as it being time-consuming; some had come from a Cape Winelands tour and were intoxicated from wine-tasting. The survey questionnaire is a suitable instrument for assessing the attitude and orientation of a large population (Babbie *et al.*, 2001:280). Babbie *et al.* (2001:280) further state that survey questionnaires are particularly effective in narrating the distinctiveness of a vast population. The questionnaire in this study used language that was easily understood by respondents. It was designed to elicit the following information:

- Demographic data of respondents;
- Information about the visitor as a tourist in Langa; and
- Respondents' views on Likert scale questions.

Responses to closed-ended questions are easier to analyse than responses to open-ended questions. The questionnaire for this study contained 22 questions, was self-administered, and handed personally to respondents. Distribution and collection of the questionnaire was managed by the researcher. The researcher assisted respondents who had difficulty in answering because their first language was not English.

4.5 Research population and sampling

The Langa population and the sampling methods are now briefly considered:

4.5.1 Sampling design

The population of this study comprised of tourists who visited Langa township, local residents of Langa (the population is not easy to define as it is constantly changing as people come and go), and tour operators who take visitors through the township. Conveniently selected local community members between the ages 18 to 60, who are the economic providers, were used. To understand what local communities or residents felt about the presence of tourists, structured interviews were conducted with *20 on-site selected residents*. The aim of the required information was to determine what township residents thought about tours in their townships, and tourists visiting with tour guides. Local community members who participated in this study were selected on-site. They were located within a 1-kilometre radius of the tourist activity, or lived on main streets where township tour activities took place. To obtain information from tourist participants about their views of township tourism, questionnaires were issued to 200 conveniently selected tourists who had just completed either a walking- or bus township tour in Langa township. Non-probability sampling was applied in this study. Non-probability

sampling is based on human choice to participate and convenience. There was no set criteria in selecting participants and anyone who was on the bus could be a participant (Mwangi, 2017:122). "Convenience sampling is a type of non-probability sampling that involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population that is close to hand" (Babbie *et al.*, 2001; Wikipedia, 2018). Convenience sampling was deemed suitable in this study because the sample had to be drawn from unknown tourists who boarded the bus.

4.6 Data analysis

Normally, qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis complement each other in terms of data analysis progression. The data review was conducted in a manner that allowed the researcher to identify clear patterns within the data. Qualititative data were analysed using a method that allowed the researcher to "categorise the findings into themes, relative to the sample utilised in the research to the larger community to which the research was of concern" (Bless *et al.*, 2006:163). The researcher transcribed the responses and coded them for further analysis. The researcher was able to simplify the qualitative data by defining the main themes and analysing these. After the quantitative data were gathered from the questionnaires and captured in the SPSS program version 25, the descriptive data statistics (qualitative data) were summarised, and these provided a first-level description of the study findings.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Research ethics determines the procedure and rules to conduct a scientific research, and guides the researcher to observe all the protocols for ethical principles to protect the dignity, rights and welfare of research participants. Ethical approval was received from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology's Faculty of Business and Management Sciences Ethics Committee (see Appendix A).

An informed consent letter (see Appendices B and C) accompanied all questionnaires and written consent was required for participation. The covering letter explained the aims of the research and the respondent's role in the process. The letter assured participants that strict confidentiality of all responses would be maintained. The research was conducted in a responsible manner, embracing the values of honesty, clarity and accountability. The respondents were at no time forced to answer questions, as their participation was voluntary. Respondents were free to withdraw from the study at any time.

This researcher did not deliberately mislead participants in any way.

4.8 Limitations

Limitations refer to factors that present obstacles and do not allow for a smoothly planned study (Horner & Swarbrooke, 2016:218). One of the limitations was the laziness of some of the participants. Some of the participants, although having given written consent to participate, decided to opt out after answering only a few questions. This resulted in a number of spoilt, unusable questionnaires. It also meant that a longer time had to be spent on reaching the target number of questionnaires needed for the study.

Another limitation was that many tourists were not interested in participating in the study. Possibly they felt that time spent on completing the questionnaire was a waste of time and would detract from their tour experience. Again this meant more time being spent on reaching the target number of questionnaires needed for the study.

Drivers of the tour buses were requested to distribute the questionnaires but were reluctant to do so, possibly because they were not being paid for the task. This again caused time overruns to reach the targeted number of questionnaires for the study. The researcher distributed the questionnaires with the help of the tour operators but they felt it was a waste of their time. It is not really possible to discern whether the 'missing' 17 questionnaires would have had any material impact on the data; the answers provided on the questionnaires were very similar.

4.9 Summary

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology applied in this study. A mixed method approach was used. Mixed method results offer a more holistic picture of what the researcher is trying to determine. Using both approaches in one study provides additional evidence and support for the findings. The data collection was thorough an in-depth, which added to the validity of the study. Interviews were conducted with tour operators and the residents in Langa township (qualitative data), and tourists completed questionnaires (quantitative data). The data collection instruments were carefully selected to achieve the research aims and objectives of the study. This study was conducted in a responsible and ethical manner, with consideration given to the principles of research ethics.

The next chapter presents the results and data analysis for the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four presented an overview of the research methodology and data collection techniques. Using questionnaires, the quantitative data were collected and coded, using SPSS version 25 for a descriptive analysis of the data. The interviews provided content, which was analysed, coded, and grouped into themes manually.

This chapter analyses the data collected according to the methodology described in Chapter Four. It starts with a review of the data collected from the groups of interest in this study, namely tourists, who undertook tours to the township of Langa, the tour operators who conducted the Langa tours, and residents of Langa. The literature review and other secondary sources provide context to the findings for a clear understanding of the data.

The study objectives were to identify visitor motivations for township tours. A mixed methodology was used in this study to obtain data for analysis. Qualitative interviews were conducted with tourists visiting the township, with interviews conducted with residents and tour operators in Langa township, enquiring into the impacts of township tourism in the area. Investigating the sustainability of township tourism was very important because it plays a crucial role in the economic development of the country. It is, however, not only the economic dimension of tourism that needs attention, the cultural, physical and social aspects of tourism are equally important.

Quantitative data collected from tourist participants was analysed, whereafter the qualitative data collected from a subset of tour operators, and finally from the residents of Langa Township. This was followed by an integrative review of the findings and conclusions drawn from each of these groups to provide a holistic understanding.

Finally, a reflection on the objectives within the context of the above analysis is presented to answer the research questions and conclude the analysis phase of this research.

5.2 Analysing questionnaires coded using SPSS

The data in this section are exclusively quantitative and consist of survey data drawn from a sample of 183 respondents surveyed over the August and September 2017 period. This is a smaller subset than the actual number of respondents as a considerable number of invalid surveys, mainly incomplete or where the participants had provided information not specifically relevant to Langa or the survey in general, were excluded from the data analysed. The tourist

questionnaire consisted of 21 questions. The analysed data are presented in the themes listed below, according to the objectives of the study.

Theme 1: Typology (nationality, gender and age);

Theme 2: Motivating factors;

- Theme 3: Facilities and the environment;
- Theme 4: Tour operators; and

Theme 5: Employment creation.

5.2.1 Theme 1: Typology

5.2.1.1 Nationality of participants

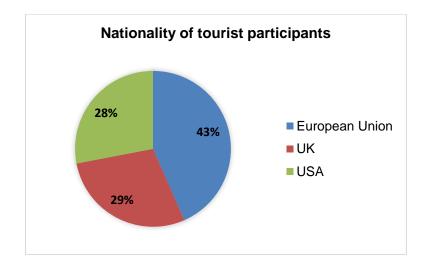


Figure 5.1: Nationality of tourist participants

Figure 5.1 illustrates the nationality split of the participants in this study. They were found to originate mostly from the European Union (43.2%, n = 79) with the remainder being split almost evenly between the UK (28.4%, n = 52) and the USA (27.9%, n = 51). The majority of respondents were from Germany, which is supported by StatsSA (2019:4), that Germany is traditionally a tourist source for South Africa. Approximately 13.5% of South Africa's overseas tourist inflow is from Germany (StatsSA, 2019), which is the second largest tourist source country (of non-African origin). It is difficult to suggest why other nationalities were not represented on the township tours, other than that the specific tour operators/in-bound travel agents who conduct the Langa township tours possibly choose the tourists they accompany on township tours.

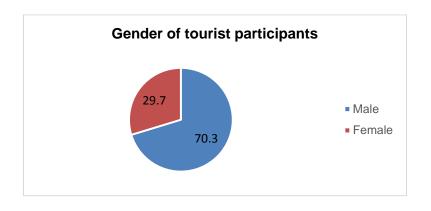
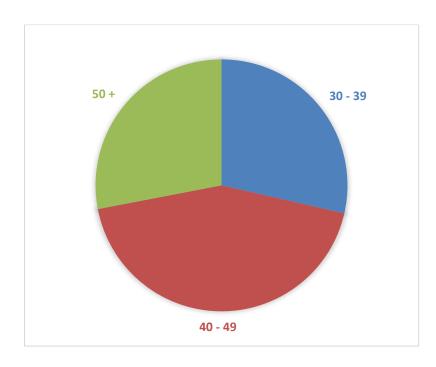


Figure 5.2: Gender of tourist participants

As reflected in Figure 5.2 above, the majority of participants were male (70.3%, n = 128). The tourism and migration report from StatsSA (2019:6) suggests an approximately even distribution of males and females within the inbound SA tourist population. However, the data from our sample suggest a significant deviation in that the majority of tourists were male. It is possible that 'dark tourism' exhibits differing gender trends than the broader tourism industry but this requires further investigation and is outside the scope of this research.



5.2.1.3 Age of participants

Figure 5.3: Age groupings of tour participants

The data in Figure 5.3 represent the age groups of the survey participants. The majority of participants surveyed were within the 40–49 year age range (43.4%, n = 79). This suggests that this particular age group consists of travellers who no longer have family commitments to children, freeing up more leisure time and making travel more economically feasible (Siegrist & Wahrendorf, 2009:323). Travellers' interest to participate, learn, and experience places suggests that travel has become a way of achieving personal fulfilment, identity enhancement, and self-expression. This is supported by Erikson's (1946:370) stages of psychosocial development, which proposes that this age range would be especially interested in personal fulfilment, identity and self-expression.

A study by Rolfes *et al.* (2009:39) agrees with the findings of the Langa study, noting an "interest in local cultures and people", which was the major reason offered by visitors to Langa, with many participants hoping that during the tour they would be introduced to the intrigues of "apartheid", and the general history of South Africa. Rolfes *et al.* further explained that the tourists visited a township to know learn about life in such an area and, as far as Cape Town was concerned, the socio-cultural diversity.

These data do not align with the tourism and migration report from Statistics SA (2019:6), which suggests that the most common age group for tourists to South Africa is the 25–34 year age range. However, it should be noted that the elderly appear to be more common in overseas tourist groups. Similar contrasting trends were observed that are inconsistent with the data from the township tourism surveys, suggesting distinguishing factors within the dark tourism segments (Rogerson & Mthombeni, 2015:8).

5.2.1.4 Repeat attendance

The study revealed that 85.7% (n = 156) of the respondents had previously attended a township tour, with the majority having attended more than one township tour (85.2%) and 13.7% (n = 25) having participated in seven previous township tours.

5.2.2 Theme 2: Factors motivating township tours

The survey distributed to the township tour participants sought to clarify the factors that motivated the decision for each participant to attend a township tour of Langa. The following six options were presented to each participant as a reason for undertaking the tour:

- i) Aesthetics of the environment;
- ii) Research and academic purposes;
- iii) Township experience;
- iv) Business;
- v) History of the area; and
- vi) The tour was a component of a pre-packaged tour programme.

The findings are presented in Figure 5.4 below. The majority (56.6%, n = 103) of participants cited the township experience as the most significant factor that motivated their decision to go on the tour. This is followed by history (29.1%, n = 53) and, finally, the packaged tour factor (14.3%, n = 26). None of the participants selected any of the other proposed motivating factors.

These results align with suggestions from the literature consulted, where Sharpley and Stone (2009:40) reported that visitors wish to experience places, attractions or events associated with "death, disaster, suffering and violence". These scenarios (i.e. death and suffering common in dark tourism) are also found in some South African township areas.

Another core motivating factor (history) can be contextualised as the attraction to various forms of culture within the townships, through museums, township shebeens, traditional healers, and African dance and cuisine. Visitors seek to see evidence caused by the apartheid structures on communities, coupled with the authenticity stemming from the persistent poverty within the township areas, further ties in with the dark tourism attraction theme. This is consistent with the 45.1% of participants who cited cultural experience as their primary reason for visiting South Africa. This sentiment was also reported by Ludvigsen (2002:64), where similar trends are described in the factors motivating township tourism.

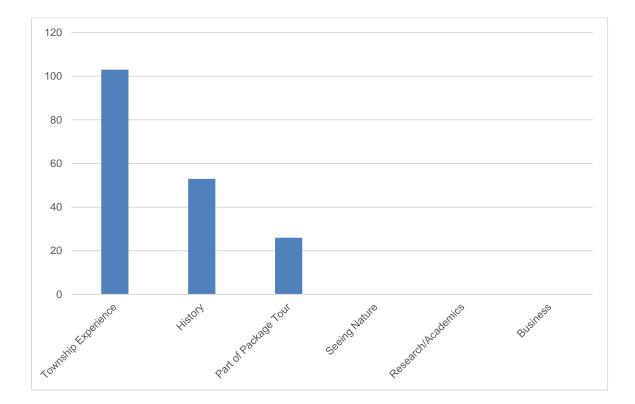


Figure 5.4: Factors motivating a township tour

The above is further corroborated by interviews with the tour operators (discussed in section 5.3) that cited the same core motivating factors for tourists within this niche industry. Another

factor that was presented by the tour operators was the desire or need to give back to the community.

5.2.3 Theme 3: Information

The most significant contributor to informing participants about township tours was the tourist information centre, which was the source of information for 42.9% of the respondents. Of those who answered the question asking about the suitability of this facility, 75.2% (n = 79) agreed that it was beneficial. Furthermore, 100% of participants confirmed that they had no problem in obtaining information about the township tours. The findings are presented in Figure 5.5.

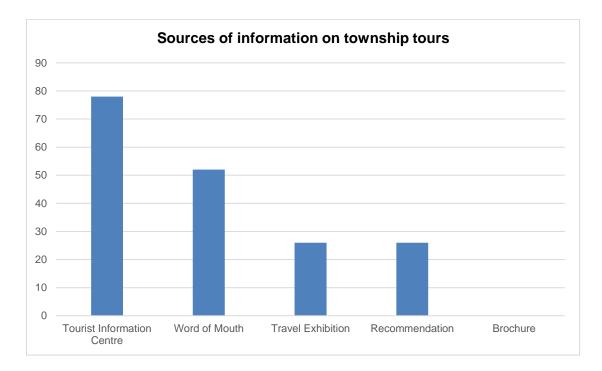


Figure 5.5: Sources of information on township tours

5.2.4 Theme 4: Facilities

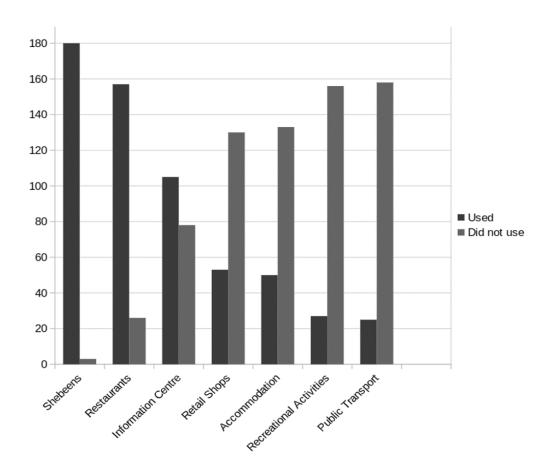
The objective of this point was to investigate the sort of information and facilities that draw tourists to participate in a township tour. The study found that the majority of township tour participants rated the tour facilities as neutral, while the facilities provided for them, and the facilities of which they did not make use, were not rated. This could be because the majority of the participants had participated in other township tours and it is unlikely that the industry will enjoy continued support from tourists if the facilities provided are not used.

Cultural tourism facilities do not exclusively make tourism products, but are embedded in a range of products and tour experiences, which consists of the core product — the monument, the museum or the event — with a specific cultural tourist service (for example, educational

information rendered by museum guides) and additional general products such as transportation. These township tours do impact on "social matters and on infrastructural development", and how will affect all tourism resources/attractions, for example, "pressure on local resources and facilities, local versus imported labour, local language and cultural effects, and lifestyle changes" (George, 2014:148) thus he supports the need for relevant information for these tours.

Experiences during the tour illustrated that all transport capacity was provided by the larger tour operators in the Cape Town area. Arrangements for accommodation did not necessarily play a role with these particular groups as all tour participants were participating in a day tour only. This is a big disadvantage for the accommodation business owner because it requiress businesses to be on standby with their services without any guarantee of business. The tour participants were asked to reflect on the individual facilities used during their tours, both in terms of whether they were used (true or false) as well as a Likert rating of their perception of the quality of each facility.

The graph below (Figure 5.6) illustrates the responses in terms of the first element. It is clear from the data that the most popular facility used was visits to a shebeen, while the least popular was public transportation. The more popular facilities included restaurants and information centres, while the less popular options were accommodation and recreational activities. The frequency of responses is measured on the vertical axis.





The responses to the Likert scale statements were largely uninformative, with the majority of responses (where a facility was used) being rated either neutral or positively perceived. The only meaningful conclusion to be drawn is that where participants made use of a facility, they did not have any negative experiences. It is therefore concluded that the facilities provided are of a reasonable quality and quantity, and provide for a good tourist experience.

A large number of facilities provided for tourists are barely used, which suggests a need for review of the nature of facilities being offered to tourists as part of the township tour package. It suggests that the facilities are often unsuitable and therefore not used. Rolfes *et al.* (2009:42) provide context in terms of popular tourist facilities within the scope of township tours. Township tours are generally day tours and therefore accommodation is not a common facility directly related to the township tour packages. The dominance of the shebeens as a facility is further contextualised by the fact that the majority of tour participants wish to immerse themselves within the township culture.

A similar study done by Mahlangu (2017:120) supports these findings, stating that:

"Some people visited the townships out of curiosity and also because of the desire to know more. They are interested in apartheid areas and we wanted to see townships, to see how people lived in those troubled years".

It appears that the late Nelson Mandela brought a lot of interest to these township areas, and people admired him so much that they want to see South African townships, even though Langa is not one of the townships in which Mandela had resided (German Tourist, 2017).

The above findings are supported by similar trends exhibited within Soweto tours. Booyens (2010:281) states:

"(T)ourists do not get off coaches and tour operators do not stop long enough at sites but rush past, which means that visitors are unaware of their establishments", noting a similar trend in low accommodation uptake on township tours.

Booyens (2010:280) further states that very few tourists overnight in Soweto and fewer than 8% of the respondents said they would spend money on accommodation there.

5.3 Tour operators

This section addresses the data obtained from the interviews conducted with four tour operators in the Langa area during the same survey period. Their experiences of running township tours are discussed under the following themes:

5.3.1 Typology of tourists

The tour operators describe the tourists who take part in their township tours in terms of key trends. Operator 1 (2017) reported that their tourists come from, "Europe, some from South Africa, Ireland and Germany", while Operator 2 (2017) said that their tourist sources are "Netherlands, USA and Europe".

Based on these responses, it is suggested that most township tourists originate from abroad, not from South Africa and neighbouring countries. They suggest that reasons for participation in township tours primarily involved wanting to see the ways that other people live and experiencing other ways of life. For example, Operator 2 (2017) said, "they enjoy seeing the culture and living in the streets of Langa", while another said, "to learn (the) language, cultural dance, and the history". These quotes strongly support the idea that tourists are seeking immersion in the culture within the township areas. They also mentioned that many of their clients feel good about contributing to local businesses and uplifting the community—creating a sense of "giving back" to the community rather than just viewing it.

This follows what is reported by Rolfes et al. (2009:79), where the motivation for dark tourism was proposed to include both curiosity as well as a want to uplift the areas visited. The means by which tourists feel they "contribute" include supporting local vendors and making donations.

The literature provides further context in terms of the reasons tourists engage in dark tourism, of which township tourism is a subset. Sharpley (2005:10) describes these reasons as:

"...from morbid curiosity to expressions of national grief (e.g. the death of Princess Diana), the achievement of some mental purification through the confrontation of unpleasant events, the sense of identity and "intense collectivity" or survival in the face of disruptions to the normality of everyday life or, more simply, nostalgic yearnings".

These proposed reasons correlate positively with the data obtained from the tour operators. The "sense of identity" referred to can be seen in an aforementioned quote, "...to learn language, cultural dance, and the history", indicating a desire to engage with the cultural identity of the locals.

5.3.2 Operations and logistics of tours

The operators generally reported that the average township tour lasts from one to four hours, which includes the bus ride, a walkabout in the township area and visits to local restaurants to engage with the local community and to sample the local cuisine. A minority of operators reported that tours lasted the whole day.

The majority of tour guides took between 10 and 20 people on their tours, while a few took less than 10. A very small minority took more than 20 people. The operators said that the ideal tour group size should be small, to allow for maximum engagement with the tour guide as well as the community.

Operator 3 (2017) said "some tourists buy the tour for not more than R100", while another tour operator said that "the costs range from R400 to R700 per person".

These responses suggest that the average spending by tourists in the township area is relatively small, limiting their actual contribution to the local economy. This finding is supported by Ludvigsen (2002:40) in his study on township tours in Langa, where similar trends in terms of spending by tourists were reported.

Visiting a township is time-consuming, and usually follows a specific route, and a detailed and tight tour schedule. Therefore, the attractions and services planned on these tours, and the places where the tour stops, typically those facilities that will portray what has come to be accepted as of "black townships" and "the black community", will receive prominence. For example, a 'sangoma' or a shebeen, and places of 'black' heritage or historical value, will generally be visited as part of the township tour (for example, memorials for political activists and migrant hostels). Many of the township tours will include public institutions or community projects (health centres, schools, community upliftment projects and crèches), and probably not specifically what (international) tourists would wish to see. These tours could include LEAP and Eziko Fireplace Cooking and Catering School projects in Langa.

Some tour operators are more specific in their choices; they choose to take tourists to the more "positive sides" of the townships and consciously neglect badly developed areas. This means

that the tourists' views of the townships are positive, where these tour operators focus on displaying the "cultural heritage" of Langa. Some of the interviewees emphasised that tour operators tried very hard not to show tourists unpleasant things, such as beggars or physical violence, and to therefore will try not to embarrass the local residents (for example, HIV-infected persons). All four of the tour operators interviewed stressed that visitor-safety and security was paramount in their planning of the tour, supporting Rolfes *et al.* (2009:120) in his study.

However, some operators purposely included stops that explicitly reveal the poverty of residents, prompting offers from tourists to make monetary offers to support the poor (for example, by donating to township projects). There are tour operators who deliberately plan their tours to highlight the poverty of residents, but, at the same time, also reveal the potential for the improvement of the townships. These tour operators believe that both the positive as well as the negative aspects of township life should be shown.

5.3.3 Community considerations

The tour operators generally reported that the township tours are safe, with a negligible minority disagreeing. They felt that the use of local tour guides was critical in providing expert and up-to-date information on Langa and ensuring the safety of the tourists, as it allowed them to avoid the dangerous areas within the township. The tour operators, however, reported significant challenges stemming from the service delivery protests in the area, saying, "...business is disrupted by service delivery strikes". This poses a serious threat to the sustainability of the township tours.

Rolfes *et al.* (2009:85) provided an assessment of the socio-political and security factors, insofar as they affect township tourism. In this regard, safety is a major risk to the industry, and tourists are concerned about their personal safety in townships. Experienced tour operators are crucial in ensuring the safety of the tours.

The Langa tours had similar spending patterns to Soweto tours, as reported by Booyens (2010:279):

"...most spend between R50 and R500 on a package tour to Soweto. They spend most of their money on food and beverages, souvenirs and entrance fees, if these were not included in a package".

Nemasetoni & Rogerson (2007:210) reported that:

"...because of constrained access to markets, limited funds for marketing and a lack of support from established enterprises, the majority of black tour operators become marginalised in a situation of large firm dominance of the tourism operating industry as a whole".

A similar sentiment was reported in the interviews with the four tour operators. The low spending by tourists, combined with the limited marketing reported by the operators, constrains operational growth and development for the tour operators.

5.4 Township residents

5.4.1 Life in the townships

Twenty township residents who benefit directly from the tours, for example, owners of shebeens, restaurants and spaza shops, as well as artists and souvenir traders, were interviewed. Most residents reported loving the caring environment experience of living in the townships, where one resident reported that they, "live close together [in close proximity] and take care of each other".

The research questions referred to their perceptions and experiences of township tourism. Residents experienced many challenges and a few said that they hated living in the township or that they have given up on any life other than the one that they presently have. One resident described his feelings regarding township life as a "love-hate relationship". Residents value their rich history and culture and feel positive about sharing it with foreigners for educational purposes but still seek a better lifestyle.

5.4.2 Level of understanding regarding township tours

The interviews revealed that township residents were not very knowledgeable about the tours taking place in their community. While they are sometimes aware that the tours take place, they do not understand the purpose, benefits or influences, in detail, certainly to residents in general.

Only four of the residents said that the expectations and mission statements of the township tours had been communicated to them, whereas the remainder (16) of those interviewed said they had no interaction with any tour operators at all. There were also a few (2) residents who had spoken to tourists regarding the reasons why they embarked on the tours. Their perceptions of the reasons included that tourists visited townships mostly implying guilt of past (apartheid) policies on the part of tourists, or simply a desire to help. Some participants mentioned that tourists might want to see a different perspective on life.

Residents criticised the voyeuristic elements, especially the intrusion into private life (7 respondents), the poverty which became obvious during the visits (5 responses), and the performances of the 'sangomas' (4 responses), which were perceived as too artificial or staged. Almost a third (7) of the respondents evaluated the extensive knowledge of the tour guides as positive but the very tight tour time schedule was criticised most often (8 responses). Also criticised was the portrayal of the poverty, which became obvious during the trip (5

responses), suggesting that it had been deliberately included in the tour to elicit expressions of dismay and criticism of the (apartheid) policies of the previous minority White-only government. All 20 respondents made suggestions as to how the tour could be improved, calling specifically for more financial support for the communities from the tour operators.

5.4.3 Perception of benefit or harm

Residents expressed mixed feelings regarding the tours that take place in their township. Some said that they were "disgusted by the tours" or found them "disturbing", whereas other residents felt that the tours were "good and benefits businesses in the area".

Many residents, however, reported feeling "indifferent" or feeling "nothing" about the tours, and commented that the tours were voyeuristic and exploitative, saying that there was "nothing entertaining about black struggle". The majority of the residents interviewed said that they "hate them [the tour operators]", whereas some had business relations with the operators and said that the tours are positive for businesses specifically and the township economy in general.

When asked what benefits residents experienced from the township tours, most expressed business and financial benefits. Some residents felt that random individuals experienced no benefits from the tours, and that only "residents who are vendors" benefitted. However, a few said that the tours allowed the township to become "world-renowned" and "popular".

On the other hand, a few people felt that the sharing of the township culture with foreigners was "disgusting" and commented that, "these people come to take picture (sic) and laugh about them in their own places". However, most were open to sharing the township culture with tourists and felt that the township tours improved the community by promoting cross-racial interactions and helping to empower the community.

5.4.4 Involvement of residents and future prospects of township tourism

This section evaluates the responses from those actors (respondents) in the townships who profit directly from the tours, being the owners of shebeens, restaurants and spaza shops, as well as artists and souvenir traders. The interview questions probed the interviewees' perceptions and experiences of township tourism. The responses revealed how townships are characterised in the eyes of the interviewees. The fact is that persons with many different languages, different religions and cultures live together, and that the social network of friends, family, and neighbours functions very well, which was mentioned as a positive aspect. In addition, the residents say that the townships are distinguished by their historical richness and that they keep "African tradition" alive. Residents repeatedly stressed that South African townships have made significant developmental progress in the last few years, which is in line with the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR, 2016:15).

A large number of residents (n = 12) expressed a desire to be involved in tourist activities, which is unexpected, considering that many of them expressed primarily negative attitudes towards the tours and tour operators. This sentimental analysis emanates from quotes from residents calling the tours "disgusting" or "disturbing", as outlined above. It is hypothesised that the low degree of understanding and involvement in township tourism may be a strong contributor to these negative attitudes. When asked how interviewees would like to see the township tours improve, many residents expressed interest in efforts being made to make the tours more beneficial to all the residents and in promoting job creation for residents.

Townships are mainly perceived as "problem areas", characterised by poverty, unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse, street gangs, prostitution and crime, were mentioned as negative aspects of township life. In this context, a number of successful prevention activities were suggested, such as outreach and community support projects (Koens & Thomas, 2015:75)

Rolfes *et al.* (2009:93) found that tourists wanted to see how people lived in the townships, to learn about things that do not exist in their home countries (e.g. shebeens, sangomas, local art and craft, music and dance, foreign foods and beverages), and they wanted to learn about the culture and history of townships.

Most of the interviewees claimed that the tours had the support of the communities. The residents were eager make contact with the tourists and to talk about their personal experiences and life situations. They stated that this served the purpose to correct and improve the negative image of townships portrayed by print and visual media and social contacts. Moreover, there is a strong economic interest in tourism and the interviewed residents are conscious that there is a developing tourism market, which could create employment and better income opportunities. The tourism sector's approximately 700 000 employees outnumber the workforce of other dominant market sectors, such as mining. "Total employment in South Africa amounted to 15.8 million workers. Of these, 4.4% were directly employed in the tourism sector, an increase from the 3.8% recorded in 2005" (StatsSA, 2018:2).

5.5 Discussion

This section integrates the data analysis of the three stakeholder groups (tourists, residents and tour operators) to provide a holistic overview of the data. The hypothesis and research questions are reviewed, followed by a reflection and critical evaluation of the impacts of the interviews with the researcher in framing observations under the qualitative analysis performed in sections 5.3 and 5.4.

5.5.1 Sustainability

The study found that most township tour participants had enjoyed their tour and were satisfied with the services and facilities (such as restaurants, transport, information) provided for them. This is supported by the fact that the majority of respondents had attended a tour previously, and suggests that the township tour industry is likely to enjoy continued support from tourists.

In stark contrast, the support from the community and residents of the township area (Langa) was found to be lacking. Residents displayed hostile attitudes towards tour operators and expressed discomfort with the viewing, feeling exploited by the tourists. Only a few of the residents had any involvement in or benefitted from the township tours.

These issues, such as lack of resident engagement, were identified as a threat to the peaceful and continued existence of township tours in the area. In this regard, UNWTO's (2006:3) code of ethics elaborated on "six principles of tourism's contribution to the mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies". Four of these principles are of particular relevance to township tourism, namely:

- i) "Tourism resources belong to the common heritage of mankind; the communities in whose territories they are situated have particular rights and obligations to them".
- ii) "Tourism policies and activities should be conducted with respect for the artistic, archaeological and cultural heritage, which they should protect and pass on to future generations".
- "Financial resources derived from visits to cultural sites and monuments should, at least in part, be used for the upkeep, safeguard, development and embellishment of this heritage", and
- "Tourism activity should be planned in such a way as to allow traditional cultural products, crafts and folklore to survive and flourish, rather than causing them to degenerate and become standardised".

Tour operators who were concerned about the effects of distrust and boycotts on their tours could benefit from involving the community in their tours and making sure that residents are aware of the tours and experience the benefits thereof.

While tour participants seemed satisfied with the quality of facilities provided on the tours, the tour operators expressed concerns about infrastructure in the long-term sustainability of the township tours. Improved accommodation, transport and tourist facilities are factors that promote repeat attendance on these tours. Concerns about safety could deter potential tourists. Poor infrastructure in the area has prompted an additional threat to the stability of the tours, invoking protests from residents about the lack of service delivery. Improved

infrastructure in the area would thus be beneficial to both the residents and the township tour industry.

Safety and security is another major challenge to the sustainability of township tours. Both tour operators and tourists cite the safety of the tours as a major consideration when deciding to embark upon a tour. Donaldson and Ferreira (2009) report that tourists who feel unsafe at a destination can contribute to the formulation of negative destination images, which could lead to a decline in tourism activity in an area. Donaldson and Ferreira (2009:1) add that, "safety and security are, accordingly, regarded primary ingredients for tourism growth and destination competitiveness."

According to Sönmez and Graefe (1998:125), tourists are most likely to choose a destination which is perceived to be the least dangerous. Similar research conducted by George and Booyens (2014:450) had corresponding results in terms of visitors generally regarding township tours as unsafe, however, they noted the importance of good tour guides (ideally locals) as a safety measure. In this regard, it is essential that the socio-political climate regarding safety and security remains conducive to the continued sustainability of the tourism industry.

5.5.2 Reality and authenticity

The search for reality and authenticity in terms of tourism was attributed to MacCannell (1973:602) but this concept has its roots in cultural authenticity. The reality and authenticity theory is a modern construct whose emergence is closely related to the impact. This is of particular importance to township tourism, where cultural authenticity is critical to the value given to tourists as well as the positive attitude of residents to the tours.

Township tourism embodies the fulfilment of a desire for authentic cultural experiences. Although tourists in this study were interested in the perceived authenticity of their experiences, the authenticity of the displays did not appear to be a major motivating factor. Many tourists responded that the "cultural authenticity" was important but none actually reported verifying said authenticity.

The motivation for dark tourism, and by extension, township tourism, can be understood in terms of utility of meaning. The meaning people had of words, events and phenomena reflected and created a subjective view of the world. Tourism concepts such as tourist gaze, which is based on expectations of the tourists on the local population and the resulting 'gaze' when they follow those expectations for the financial reward being offered, and the quest for reality and authenticity implies that discrete forces drove dark tourism (and, by extension, township tourism). In particular, the economic rewards, especially for impoverished local communities, is a serious motivator for inauthentic experiences being commodified.

The tour operators and township residents who participated in the survey knew a considerable amount about their local community. Responses from the touristson the tours indicated that they had joined these tours because they wanted to learn more about township-life, or to see the effect of apartheid on the "human spirit", or simply to experience justice for these residents. These tours are designed and developed to show life in the depressed areas around South African cities, but it would be difficult to prove that township tours desired to reveal the "unknown other". Tourists are seldom allowed to mingle with the residents and therefore can only watch their activities from the safety of the arranged transport. Many tourist who participated in this study were interested in the meaning of the sites visited, but this study could not make decisions, based on the tourist-participants feedback, on whether the tourists sought an "away-from-home" experience, or whether they just wanted to learn something new. However, some of the visitors, especially from Europe (for example, Germany), had visited townships in other South African cities, but not in neighbouring countries, so it was difficult to draw conclusions for their wanting to go on a township tour. There are countries in Africa, for example, Ghana and Senegal, which have "slave ports" which were categorised as dark tourism attractions, and could be compared to South African dark tourism places.

5.5.3 Reflexivity

Berger (2015:220) defines researcher reflexivity as:

"...the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the researcher's positionality as well as active acknowledgment and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome".

It is acknowledged as critical to qualitative research, specifically to this study. The researcher has lived in Langa township for many years and can relate to the stories of other black residents and to the survey participants, which made the research meaningful and interesting.

The distribution of questionnaires to tourists and the interview process with residents and tour operators led to some unexpected challenges and outcomes. To begin with, the distribution of the questionnaires was an intervention that required discussion with the participants about the research purpose and its meaning. The researcher encountered several obstacles, sometimes common to more than one participant, when approaching the tourists to participate in completing a questionnaire. Without the presence of a reputable tour operator, there was significant resistance because many of the participants felt that the survey was not legitimate. Most tourists on these tours were white and the researcher was of a minority group. Even today, the majority of businesses in the tourism industry are white-owned, and are small township businesses (StatsSA, 2015:14). In this respect, it was fascinating to have access to facilities to conduct a study making use of a large tour operator-company that does not originate from the township.

It became evident during the interviews that some interviewees' responsea were similar, as if they had briefed each other, thereby curtailing any extensive dialogue. This seemed prevent the participants from exploring and developing their ideas. The residents were asked, "How do you feel about sharing your culture with the foreigners?" The majority of residents responded saying that they felt the tourists were interested in the positive side of their community living, while some said that tourists are attracted to bad things only. The follow-up question posed was, "Do you think that these township tours are improving the livelihood of the community?"

This question elicited similar responses but the researcher felt more could have been said as the tours should have had more impact on Langa township. The majority of the resident respondents said the tours created employment opportunities for the community.

The researcher felt the relationships built with the participants before conducting the research, having resided in this particular township, gave her an advantage and worked in her favour in terms of understanding and interpreting the culture of the people in the area. The researcher had formed a cordial relationship with Cape Town Tourism and had an opportunity to encourage South Africans to travel widely locally. The initiative used a slogan that stated, "I do tourism, we do tourism".

Being part of such a network broadened the researcher's own network, not only in the townships but also with other tour operators in Cape Town.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results of the research as well as a contextualisation and analysis of these results. Both quantitative and qualitative results were discussed, using the methodologies described in Chapter Four. Results were grouped by the three groups of respondents—township tourists, tour operators and township residents, and sub-divided further based on the main research themes.

A typology of typical township tourists was constructed in terms of nationality, gender and age. This characterisation was enriched by interview data from tour operators and their perceptions of what the typical tourist looks like. The tourists were found to originate mostly from overseas countries, especially Europe, and were predominantly males in the senior age groups.

In exploring the factors that motivate participants to attend a township tour, it was found that tourists are chiefly motivated by an interest in the "township experience". This was supported by both tourists and tour operators. This finding is best understood through the lenses of seeking cultural authenticity as well as dark tourism, which were explained.

The facilities provided and logistics of the tours were discussed from the perspective of tour operators as well as data on the usage and perceptions of these facilities by the tourists. Shebeens were found to be especially popular as a destination in all instances.

The experiences of township residents in relation to the tours were also explored through an in-depth qualitative analysis. Few residents were directly involved in the tours, however, many of them had strong, albeit mixed, opinions about them. It was found, and therefore recommended, that greater resident involvement may contribute to a positive attitude and greater sustainability of the township tours.

Finally, the specific results from the above sections were integrated in a discussion on the major themes of sustainability and authenticity of the township tours. While tourists were found to be happy with the tours, community hostility and security concerns were identified as major threats to the industry. Some principles of ethical tourism have been addressed as a possible counter-measure to these threats.

Further recommendations are discussed in detail in Chapter Six, where solutions to the problems identified in this chapter are presented.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results of the research as well as the contextualisation and analysis of the results. Both quantitative and qualitative data were discussed, using the methodologies described in Chapter Four. The results were grouped according to the three groups of respondents—township tourists, tour operators and township residents who participated in the survey—and were sub-divided further based on the main research themes.

Tour operators play an important role in the tourists' experiences, as they are responsible for selecting individual products and services, which constitute the total tourism product on offer Vivian (2011:15). To this extent, township tourism can contribute to the economy of the country and enhance the experiences tourists can enjoy in South Africa

6.2 Overview of the research

The introduction and background to the problem of the research study was discussed in Chapter One. The problem statement, along with the aim and objectives of the study, as well as the limitations and the delineation of the study were presented. Chapter Two introduced the concept of tourism and investigated the history of township tourism. The tourism product is complex and has infrastructure and physical resources that together create the experience that the tourist demands. Secondary data were collected from sources, such as journal articles, textbooks, Internet sources, and completed theses.

Chapter Three outlined the study area of Langa through identifying key trends and highlighting factors to be considered in the area when discussing township tourism. Chapter Four explained the research design and the techniques that were employed to analyse the data. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of the research findings in Chapter Five, with interpretations. Finally, following the research objectives and supporting questions, conclusions are drawn on the study, and recommendations made, in this chapter.

6.3 Research objectives

The research objectives of this study were to achieve the following:

- Identify visitor motivation for a township tour;
- Identify the types of tourist visiting a township;
- Investigate the sort of information and facilities that draw a tourist to participate in a township tour;

- Examine the extent to which local township communities are involved in promoting township tourism; and
- Investigate the sustainability of township tourism.

Township tourism plays a very important part in the economic development of a country. It is, however, not only the economic dimension of tourism that needs attention, the cultural, physical and social aspects of tourism are equally important

The study was guided towards identifying the authenticity and sustainability of township tourism as a sustainable product. The objectives of this study were met and are linked to the data analysis in Chapter Five. The research briefly outlined the challenges faced by entrepreneurs that required addressing. The barriers explained by the stakeholders were the constraints experienced primarily in accessing finance, the inadequate education infrastructure, and the lack of management and business skills.

6.4 Contribution made by the study

A notable example of the value-add of this study is the South African Planning Toolkit for Local Government (South Africa. Department of Tourism, 2010:6), which was previously made available to the Minister of Tourism. This toolkit should enable viable policies to be developed that allow for sustainable township tourism-product offerings, which can contribute to the GDP of the country.

6.5 Limitations

Various challenges were encountered during the data collection phase of the study. Obtaining the required number of responses was difficult. Some businesses were not interested in participating in the research for various reasons, including fear of victimisation. Another limitation was that many tourists were simply just too lazy to participate in the study, possibly feeling that the time spent on completing the questionnaire was a waste of their time. Drivers of the tour buses were requested to distribute the questionnaires but were reluctant to do so, possibly because they were not being paid for the task. This caused time overruns to reach the targeted number of responses for the study. The researcher distributed the questionnaires with the help of the tour operators but they felt it was a waste of their time as they stood to gain nothing from the exercise.

6.6 Recommendations

This study makes the following recommendations, which will inform policy and the management of township tourism sites in South Africa. The recommendations are directed at Government, and to the three participant groups in this study (tourist, residents and tour operators).

6.6.1 Tour operators in the township

In many cases, the tourism attractions are public facilities, such as floral kingdoms, scenic beauty, natural features, and manmade additions, which any operator can include in his product offering. The tour operators in South Africa, and specifically in the Cape Town townships, need to be supported and specific start-up funding should be made available for these ventures that have the potential of exploiting new opportunities and creating work opportunities, and unique, fast growth enterprises.

The interest of tourists, especially international tourists to South African townships, drives the development of tourism niche areas in Cape Town's tourism industry. This fact is evident in the increasing demand for township tours, which form an important part of the tourism portfolio of the local industry, and the increase in the number of organisations offering guided tours to Cape Town's townships.

The direct economic influence of travel and tourism is referred to as the tourism industry. It takes cognisance of the key sub-sectors such as accommodation, tourist transport, entertainment, tourist attractions, services and tourist guiding. The broader influence of travel and tourism is reflected in the tourism economy that comprises all tourism activities, directly and indirectly influencing the economy (Keyser, 2002:290).

6.6.2 Training needs of tour operators

Training is one of the interventions needed to transform the tourism industry and to achieve the targets set by national, provincial and local government. The challenge is to ensure that appropriate skills development and training takes place in an attempt to transform and develop the tour-operating sub-sector in South Africa, especially for township tourism.



Potential Benefits of Tourism for Communities

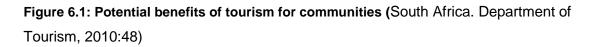


Figure 6.1 identifies the potential advantages and disadvantages of tourism for a community. The Municipal Structures Act (2000), through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), allows for the involvement of a local community in local government planning. This covers all aspects of goods and services managed by local government, including tourism activities, for which they are directly or indirectly responsible.

A danger for all tour operators is that they decide on the tour itinerary, and what they thick a tourist would be interested in. As far as a township tour is concerned, one must be careful not to portray the community in a stereotyped way; all residents are the victim of apartheid for example. From the evidence obtained during the study period and place, it would appear that the four tour operators involved in the study offer pretty much the same tour, visiting the same sites, and imparting the same information, as if they had decided together what a tourist wants. The townships in South Africa are not "Disneyland-equivalents", but constitute a major semi-urban population living around the environments of major cities, where the inhabitants strive to make a living. Thus said, tour operators have a "political responsibility" to distinguish between a township as a living dormitory, and as a tourist destination.

Tour operators should, therefore, make the effort to inform the tourist, especially the international visitor, of the true state of affairs in a township, and not to continue to express the "stereotypical Eurocentric clichés about Africa", some of which date from colonial times. This "colonialism" considers the impacts on the environment, health issues, economic instability, "ethnic competitions, and human rights violations" — impacts which will survive even after the "colonists" have lefr. Tour operators should be expected to plan their tours with the tourist in mind, but should be challenged to represent matters as they are in the townships even if not what visitors may anticipate. The unexpected and unusual (in the eyes of the international visitor) does not necessarily disappoint the tourists, and could even help them to understand South Africa's complicated society. This could encourage tourists to reconsider their predetermined perceptions of a township. Above all, township tourism should be educational tourism, teaching tourists of the diversity, complexity and the continuous cultural changes in the townships. This is an aspect to which tour operators should respond. The concluding recommendation is that a strong involvement of the township residents in the tours has to be achieved.

The interaction between residents and tourists should be a matter for urgent consideration, where interaction is not restricted to, for example, a visit to a shebeen, where the tourist would only meet a specific group of residents, in this case "the drinking unemployed males" and females who frequent such places. Such a site does not depict the residents of a community; Langa in this study. For a township tour to be really successful it should be expected of the community to be involved in the decision-making to reveal themselves to the (international) tourism market, and not to just what a tour operator suggests is the tourists' demand. The perception that township residents are 'forced' into the tours as an 'participating extra' (as in a film) needs to be removed, which would indeed be the case if there was mass community participation. There is really an urgent need for authenticity in these tours; to bridge the "gap" between what actually transpires in a township, and what operators say is happening, is being sold as "authentic" to the tourists, and the actual life of the residents, from getting too wide. Such action would improve the experiences of tourists, as the purpose of undertaking a township tour is probably "to experience real township life". It was a goal of this study that the (Langa) communities themselves should be involved in the tour arrangements so that the the tourists would get a "real" township experience.

6.6.3 Tourists coming to the townships

Most of the tourist respondents did not form negative images to the extent that they had expected. In many instances, the living conditions were evaluated as being better than expected by the tourists. The study recommends that the Apartheid Museum incorporates interactive learning media to sustain the level of interest in the township tourism product. This also applies to the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum in Soweto, where Nelson Mandela was

the main attraction, and to the Robben Island Museum. The researcher strongly recommends that the whole apartheid structure be explored from different innovative but authentic angles. This needs to be done so that visitors always have something new to learn about apartheid and Nelson Mandela's part in this history; this needs to be done in the townships such as Langa, the current study area. It can be concluded that the tours clearly contribute to improving the image of the townships. However, this does not mean that the tourists have a more realistic idea of the living conditions, the population, or the culture in the townships after having made a tour (Rolfes *et al.*, 2009:35).

Township life is a complex social environment and should not be portrayed as anything other, which would give an incorrect, and perhaps biased, view that the tours may convey. Any tour arrangement should involve the local community in the route selection process to ensure a thorough coverage of what the area has to offer. From the data obtained during the study it did not appear that visitors were particularly worried about safety in the township, certainly they did not view Langa as "dangerous", and visitors did not get the impression that the residents were "poor". Strategies should therefore be introduced to dispel the sometimes-confusing images that visitors have of places like Langa.

This study further recommends that the South African government and the Department of Tourism should uphold the spirit of the Rainbow Nation, developed by Mandela, to create and maintain tourism to South Africa, and especially to the townships.

Allied to this is the need for government to ensure that South Africa is kept positively alive in the international news and on global agendas. This means that the country must not be forgotten and disappear from the international stage.

6.6.4 Residents in the townships

Interview responses from the residents were mainly positive, in particular to the developmental effects on the local communities. The survey could not examine whether the views represented here are shared by those residents who do not benefit from the tourist industry. The research findings suggest that the majority of residents are not disturbed by the visitors and, in principle, enjoy the interest in their daily lives and lifestyle.

A recommendation for the long-term sustainability of township tours is for local municipalities, together with the relevant museums, to consider exhibiting authentic township life artefacts and images in the museums. Langa is one of the most popular townships to visit in Cape Town and visitors valued the architecture and other authentic experiences. Hence, this study recommends the incorporation of unique elements of indigenous architecture and lifestyle in the design of buildings and other structures to attract tourists (for example, the Athlone soccer stadium, creating township tourism-based museums).

The local Government could start an initiative to attract more tourists for the township tours, consider working with tour operators, and making use of social media such as Facebook and websites such as TripAdvisor for the purpose of attracting younger crowds, nationally and internationally

The researcher is pleased that the recommendation of having a central database for tourism enterprises is being considered by the National Minister for Tourism, as suggested in the Tourism Bill that was published in 2011 (South Africa. Department of Tourism, 2011:52). This should benefit many of the small tour operator businesses. The South African Tourism Planning Toolkit promotes the "improvement of business operations and marketing", while simultaneously "fostering benefits for local communities" through, for example, better "utilisation of natural and cultural resources, increasing spend on local products as opposed to imported products and increasing job creation opportunities" (South Africa. Department of Tourism, 2011:52).

The researcher highlights a recommendation regarding overnight stays in the township. There are a number of reputable B&Bs from which to choose, all of which provide the tourist with an opportunity to sample local food and engage in insightful conversations with the guesthouse owners. The townships are rich with old churches to be enjoyed by visiting tourists. This may encourage tourists to engage further during the tour to learn about not only the culture but also the spiritual connection with the community, which benefits both the resident and the tourist.

6.6.5 Crime challenges in the townships

South African townships face a horrible culture of assault, rape of women and murder, and burning just for the sake of destroying. 'Crime' or 'challenges' like these occur in Langa, such as the burning of taxis, buses and shacks (Smith, 2019:6).

Crime hampers business ventures and a solution identified by businesses is the collaboration of communities with the South African Police Services (SAPS). Police patrols and CCTV need to installed throughout Langa, certainly in approved tourist areas, to identify criminals and their activities in the area. Such involvement of the SAPS and the community should lead to a reduction of criminal activities, and perhaps improve "community involvement and community police forums" (Smith, 2019:6). Having security guards and the South African Defence Force patrolling the area, as is happening in 2019, will also assist, and police should be proactive on matters related to crime.

6.6.6 Government support

For any business to succeed, especially community-based businesses, all levels of government must be involved. Public and private financial and non-financial institutions need to interact with communities, with offices in the communities, so as to support entrepreneurs.

Langa is no exception, and assisting organisations must be situated where they can assist and empower budiness-owners in the township, information and networking possibilities about other developmental programmes. The DTI could partner entrepreneurs and financial institutions in the townships, to ensure a reliable and efficient service. The same sentment applies to municipal offices also in a central business hub, close to financial and DTI services. and at information centres, perhaps as part of libraries, where attention could be given to local languages. All forms of government need to monitor and evaluate business experts, who could assist with the "finance, labour, infrastructural, and technological needs" of tounship entrepreneurs.

6.6.7 Effective infrastructure

A suitable infrastructure is required to facilitate the success of tourism businesses in the townships. It is therefore recommended that the CoCT should provide the necessary infrastructure for these businesses, which should include a business incubation area where tour operators will have cost-effective space available to them and where they will be supported by the Department of Tourism in their particular fields of operation.

The promotion of "community-based tourism" could not only stimulate economic development by opening up commercial opportunities in the disadvantaged areas but it could also serve to strengthen the population's participation. This would amount to a participation of (formerly) disadvantaged people in an important political process—the process of intercultural dialogue.

6.7 Dissertation summary

People in the South African townships are a rich mixture of mothers trying to feed their children, doctors, artists, labourers and other professions—including criminals. It would help if more tourists visited South Africa because tourism creates employment and redistribution of income/wealth. Taxes paid on income from tourism help provide more socio-cultural activities. What is sorely needed is education—education and employment. If South African townships can put these in place there is hope for the future of people who run tourism businesses in the townships, and also those living there, as infrastructural changes can benefit the residents, tour operators, as well as the visiting tourist.

The literature reviewed focused on various factors, both positive and negative, facing township tours. Township tourism could be used to provide for economic opportunities for the local communities to enter the "tour-operating business at ground level". Social, cultural and economic impacts on the townships would be addressed if this opportunity was extended to local entrepreneurs (Frey & George, 2010:621).

The aim and objectives were discussed, as were the research findings, and discussions were briefly summarised, allowing a way forward to be achieved with the necessary tools. The findings of the study were summarised and recommendations made about the authenticity and sustainability of township tourism. It is concluded that government support plays an important part in township tourism and that education and training should be embedded in the use of human resources for growing the economy of the townships.

It is further concluded that the tours clearly contribute to improving the image of the townships. This of course should not amount to the assertion that the tourists have a realistic notion of the living conditions, the population or the culture in the townships after having completed a tour. The picture that the tours convey will show the complex social world of township life only in a selected, reduced and stereotype form, because the arrangement always includes a process of selection in the course of which the tour operators or the actors in the townships decide what to show and what to leave out

Government can encourage tour operators in the development of township tourism social responsibility and express the intention to initiate positive social and economic processes in the townships. Some of the operators use a share of their profit to support particular projects in the communities.

The promotion of "community-based tourism" would not only stimulate economic development by opening up commercial opportunities in the disadvantaged areas, but it could also serve to strengthen the population's participation in the "production of images", which are, after all, the images of their own living environment. This would amount to the participation of formerly disadvantaged people in an important political process—the process of intercultural dialogue.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CPUT ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM – COMMUNITY

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM –TOUR OPERATOR

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESIDENTS

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TOUR OPERATOR

APPENDIX F: VISITOR QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX G: GRAMMARIAN LETTER

APPENDIX H: TURNITIN REPORT

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM CPUT

-	South Africa •Tel: +27 21 4603239 • Emeil: zouftyf@cput.ac.za
Office of the Chairperson Research Ethios Comunities	Faculty: BUSINESS
At a neeting of the Research	Ethics Committee on 4 March 2014, Ethics Approval
was granted to PHELCKAZ	NDZUMO (205059890) for research activities
Related to the MTech/DTech:	MTech: TOURISM & HOSPITALITY MANAGEMENT at the
Cape Peninsula University of	Technology
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APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM – COMMUNITY

CAPE PENINSULA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

AUTHENTICITY AND SUSTAINABILITY OF TOWNSHIP TOURISM AS A PRODUCT OFFERING

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH AND YOUR PARTICIPATION

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Phelokazi Ndzumo a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The purpose of this research is for academic use and will go towards the completion of my MTech Degree

Your participation will involve taking part in a short interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

There are no known benefits to you that would result from your participation in this research.

PROTECTION OF CONFIDENTIALITY

All information obtained will be treated in the researcher's confidences. You may also withdraw from the study at any stage should you so desire. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Phelokazi Ndzumo at 0716067369 or email- <u>pndzumo@gmail.com</u>. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact Professor Spencer on <u>jpsafron@mweb.co.za</u>.

CONSENT

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature	Date:	

A copy of this consent form should be given to you.

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM –TOUR OPERATOR

June 2013

Dear sir or madam

My name is Phelokazi Ndzumo. I am a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, studying for an MTech degree in Tourism Management. Please assist me with my study by completing this questionnaire. All information obtained will be treated in the student's confidences. You may also withdraw from the study at any stage should you so desire.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research study

The topic to my research is Authenticity and Sustainability of Township Tourism as a product offering. During my study I am required to administer some questionnaires to tourists that will be participating in the tours that you offer. This will enable me to gather all the information that I need towards the completion of my research. The questionnaires should not take much of your time to complete. I will also need to carry some interview.

All information that is supplied in this questionnaire will be treated as **confidential** and will only be used for the purpose of this research. Access to the questionnaires is restricted to my supervisor and me. If you would like to obtain a summary of the results of this research, I would be happy to send it to you.

Yours sincerely,

Phelokazi Ndzumo

MTech Tourism & Hospitality Student

Cell: 0716067369

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APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESIDENTS

Interview Schedule for Residents

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Phelokazi Ndzumo a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The purpose of this research is for academic use and will go towards the completion of my MTech Degree

All information obtained will be treated in the researcher's confidences. You may also withdraw from the study at any stage should you so desire. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalised in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

- 1. How do you feel about tours that take place in your community?
- 2. What are the any benefits for you as a township resident from the tours?
- 3. What type of a relationship do you have with the tour operators?
- 4. How do you feel about living in the township?
- 5. How do you feel about sharing your culture with the foreigners?
- 6. Do you think that these township-tours are improving the livelihood of the community? How?
- 7. Are you aware of the mission statement of tour-operators in your township? Please explain your response.
- 8. Have you taken part in any of the tours in your own township?
- 9. How would you like to see the township-tours improve?
- 10. Would you like to be involved in any tourist activities?
- 11. What do you think/ feel motivates tourists to visit the townships?
- 12. Have you discussed a township visit with any tourists?
 - 12 (a) If you answered yes, why did you speak to the tourists?
- 13. What facilities do you feel are necessary to improve township visits?
- 14. Are these township visits sustainable? Why do you think so?
- 15. What effect do you think the township boycotts have on visitors to your area?

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TOUR OPERATORS

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Phelokazi Ndzumo a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The purpose of this research is for academic use and will go towards the completion of my MTech Degree

All information obtained will be treated in the researcher's confidences. You may also withdraw from the study at any stage should you so desire. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalised in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

- 1. Where do your tourists come from?
- 2. What do your tourists want to do?
- 2 (a) Why do tourists undertake these township tours?
- 3. How many tourists do you take on a township-tour?
- 3 (a) What do you consider the ideal number of visitors per tour?
- 4. How long is a township-tour?
- 5. How much do your tourists spend on a township-tour?
- 6. How safe are these township-tours?
- 7. How do you market your township-tours?
- 8. What challenges do you face as a business person in the township tourism sector?
- 9. How do you package your township-tours?
- 10. What do you promise your tourists who take part in the township-tours
- 11. Is your mission statement known by the community?
- 12. How does the community benefit from your business?
- 13. How do you encourage interaction between tourists and residents
- 14. How do you determine a successful tour?
- 15. What facilities do you consider necessary for a township tour?
- 16. What improvements do you consider necessary in a township for the tour to be successful?
- 17. What are the obstacles (municipal, provincial, and local) to your taking tour to a township?
- 18. What support do you get from the township residents?
- 19. What effect do you think the township boycotts have on visitors to your area?

APPENDIX F: VISITOR QUESTIONNAIRE

VISITOR QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Phelokazi Ndzumo. I am a student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, studying for an MTech degree in Tourism Management. Please assist me with my study by completing this questionnaire. All information obtained will be treated in the student's confidences. You may also withdraw from the study at any stage should you so desire.

Question 1

What is your nationality?

Question 2

Gender

- **Female**
- Male

Question 3

What age category do you fall under?

- Under 20
- 20-24
- 25-29
- **D** 30-39
- **40-49**
- **D** 50+

Question 4

Is this the first time you take a township tour / holiday?

- Yes
- 🗖 No

Question 5

How many times have you been on township tour? (Please give a number)

.....

Question 6

When was the last time you visited?

Year..... Month.....

Question 7

If you are not South African, why did you visit South Africa please indicate on the table below, please make as many ticks as you want?

- Scenery
- History
- Cultural experience
- Business
- Township tours
- Other (Please specify)

.....

Question 8

What was the length of your visit in the township? (Please X the appropriate block)

- Overnight
- 2-5 days
- 6-10 days
- More than 10 days
- Other (Please specify)

.....

Question 9

How did you travel to this place where you are completing the questionnaire? (Please X the appropriate block)

- Private car
- Hire vehicle
- Motor bike
- Tour Bus
- Public transport/ coach

.....

Question 10

What is the motivation for your visit to the townships? (Please X the appropriate block [s])

Part of the package tour
Seeing nature
Research purposes
Township experience
Business
History
Other (Please specify)

Question 11

How did you hear about the township tour? (Please X the appropriate block [s])

.....

- Word of Mouth
- Brochure
- Recommendation
- **Tourist Information centre**
- Travel exhibition
- Other (Please specify)

.....

Question 12

Did you have any trouble obtaining information about the township tours?

- Yes
- No

Please motivate your answer

Question 13

Did you experience any difficulty in travelling to the township area?

Yes
No
Please motivate your answer

Question 14

The facilities provided in the area are suitable for the number of visitors in my group today. (Please indicate your answer by rating the facilities from numbers 1 strongly agree to number 5 strongly disagree)

	1	Strongly	2 Agree	3 Neutral	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree
	agre	ee				
Accommodation						
Information Centre						
Recreation activities						
Public transport						
Restaurants						
Retail Shops						
Shebeen						

Question 15

Did you enjoy your visit to the townships? (Please mark the appropriate block with X)

- Yes, it was excellent
- Yes, Good
- Reasonably
- Not sure
- Other (Please specify)

Question 16

Do you plan to visit a township again?

	Yes
	No
	Not sure
Pleas	e motivate your answer

Question 17

What did you like about the township visit?

- Accommodation
- Information Centre
- Recreation activities
- Public transport
- Restaurants
- Retail shops

Motivate your answer

.....

Question 18

What did you dislike about the township visit?

- Accommodation
- Information Centre
- Recreation activities
- Public transport
- Restaurants
- Retail shops

Motivate your answer

.....

Question 19

What would you have liked to have experienced (if this was not included in the visit)?

Please specify

.....

Question 20

Would you recommend a township tour to family and/or friends? Please explain your answer.

Yes
No
Do not know

Question 21

How were you treated by residents during your township tour?

.....

Question 22

Please feel free to add in any other comments:

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX G: LETTER FROM GRAMMARIAN

22 Krag Street Napier 7270 Overberg Western Cape

4 November 2019

EDITING & PROOFREADING

Cheryl M. Thomson

AUTHENTICITY AND SUSTAINABILITY IN TOWNSHIP TOURISM

Supervisor: Prof J Spencer

This is to confirm that I, Cheryl Thomson, executed the language and technical editing of the above-titled Master's dissertation of PHELOKAZI NDZUMO, student number 205059880, at the CAPE PENINSULA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY in preparation for submission of this dissertation for assessment.

Yours faithfully

mon

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