tourism forum
southern africa

- impact of crime on international tourist numbers
- tourism policy in south africa
- selling myths, not culture
- avoiding the pathology of classical scientific method

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How can Tourism Forum Southern Africa contribute to enhancing the regions tourism system?

Editors' Preface

A nominal knowledge base and understanding of tourism as a system exists in Southern Africa at present. The majority of the region has only recently, by global standards, embraced international tourism and has yet to feel the full impact and implications of mass tourism.

Tertiary institutions throughout Southern Africa are grappling with the subject diversity within tourism and its credibility in terms of an academic discipline, for this reason very few tourism specific programmes can be found. This has played a significant part in maintaining the unfortunate status quo of lack of knowledge amongst those professionals working within the tourism system of this region.

This journal aims to educate and spread awareness amongst the varying sectors of tourism, so as to elevate tourism to the level of public and governmental recognition it deserves. At governmental levels heavy reliance has been placed upon tourism as a form of socio-economic activity that can make a significant contribution to poverty alleviation in the region. South Africa's Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Valli Moosa, as quoted in September 2001, states that according to the World Trade Organisation, tourism will soon be second to mining in its contribution to the GDP in South Africa. Given that mining is a non-renewable resource, it is time a sound and holistic support base for tourism was put into place. Without this, the expectations placed on tourism will never be materialised.

Whilst tourism might still be perceived as Southern Africa's panacea to socio-economic development, people in many other developing countries tourist destinations are counting the cost of development that has failed to put their interests and rights on a par with those of their visitors. Southern Africans have to intellectually equip themselves and be accountable for the prevention of such scenarios. This publication seeks to make a significant contribution to educating Southern Africans about tourism and simultaneously provide a medium through which tourism issues of all natures can be exposed and deliberated using a model of responsible tourism as its basis.
Summary inquiry has shown that demand is high for tourism-related information of good calibre both within and outside of Southern Africa. To date very little is written in this new discipline from an African perspective. This forum publication for such a trans-disciplinary subject aims to be the catalyst for changing this situation and stimulating research and publication of vital tourism information.

Coupled with this, significant and unique initiatives for sustainable tourism development are being created in Southern Africa, particularly with relevance to the region's unique mix of development and infrastructure. Many varied tourism models and mechanisms of success do exist in the Southern African region, but often in isolation and without public knowledge. It is vital that this tourism information be shared and so assist in further enlarging a very underdeveloped tourism knowledge base.

Given the recent surge in tourism developments in this region, coupled with a growing need for a better general understanding of the wider concept of tourism, it is our belief that an journal will enhance, support and add value in a number of ways to Southern Africa's tourism system, hence Tourism Forum Southern Africa was initiated.

The primary objective of this journal is to create a forum for sharing relevant cutting edge information and discussion amongst individuals within the tourism system in Southern Africa.

**Alm**
To share and debate tourism related information which is current, topical and relevant to Southern Africa's tourism situation; in order to achieve enhanced understanding of the tourism system and its effects and implications for Southern Africa.

**Objectives**
- Develop as a journal in an evolutionary manner, allowing its readership to mould its shape and form.
- Endeavour to gel a fragmented tourism system in Southern Africa and link industry with tourism professionals and academics working within and outside of this region.
- Meet the demand for tourism related information of good calibre, written from an African perspective in this new discipline, both from within and outside of Southern Africa.
- Expose contentious and irresponsible tourism issues.
- Share tourism related information including conferences, seminars, and other relevant events, that will be held in or affecting Southern Africa.
- Allow various relevant contributors to use this medium to publish papers of a formal and informal nature, thus stimulating relevant research while including debate on both academic and practical issues in Southern African tourism.

**Readership**
Readership is expected to be broad given the disparate nature of tourism. This new publication will be of interest to tourism-oriented academics, scholars and industry practitioners in a range of tourism related disciplines. The intention is to reach as many individuals as possible working within the tourism system of Southern Africa, locally or internationally, as well as developing a reciprocal sharing of relevant information with interested parties abroad.

It will be particularly useful to those in planning, policymaking and consultancy positions, as well as academic staff teaching tourism and tourism-related courses. Students of tourism in Southern Africa will find this a refreshing change to most other tourism texts that have a Eurocentric approach. The intention is to provide relevant and appropriate content on the Southern African situation in an affordable publication.

**Contributors**
Similarly, publications and contributions may emanate from a number of related sectors provided topics are specifically relevant to tourism in Southern Africa. Where this is nebulous, validity will be at the Editors discretion.

By covering topics such as nature based tourism, tourism policy and planning, cultural tourism, tourism interpretation, community based tourism, urban tourism, responsible tourism, coastal tourism and tourism in less developed countries among others it is hoped that new and relevant research will stimulate tourism development in this region.

Content will also include less formal papers and input from grass roots tourism practitioners as well as details from upcoming conferences, seminars, book reviews, relevant websites, newsgroups and other relevant items of interest. Giving those in the tourism system an opportunity to promote awareness amongst their peers.

**To share and debate tourism related information which is current, topical and relevant.**

**TIM FOGGIN**
The impact of crime on international tourist numbers to Cape Town

Richard George

Abstract
Cape Town, a major tourism destination, is under the spotlight due to its susceptibility of crime committed against tourists. The 'Mother City' of South Africa, along with Durban and Johannesburg, is increasingly perceived to be an unsafe place to visit. Street crime, car hijacking, petty crime, muggings and acts of serious violence have continued to increase. Furthermore, during the last two years there have been a spate of bombings - 21 to be exact - in and around Cape Town. Between 1998 and 2000 these attacks have left three people killed and 105 injured and have threatened the region's economic development and in particular its tourism industry. The most devastating of these incidences was a pipe bomb at the Planet Hollywood restaurant at the V & A Waterfront - Cape Town’s major tourist venue killed two people killed and seriously injured many, including tourists. This particular incident has since proved to be a catalyst for subsequent bombings, which have all caught the attention of national and international media. This paper examines the effects of this incident along with the slow rot of violent crime in the Cape Town region on its hospitality sector as well as the problems exacerbated by political instability in neighbouring African countries. A survey of 50 tourism establishments in Cape Town revealed that bookings to Cape Town's hotels and
other hospitality establishments decreased immediately after the pipe bombing at Planet Hollywood due to perceptions of high levels of crime and violence as well as other factors. In addition, an interview was conducted with a tourism police official to examine what measures were being taken to reduce and prevent crimes against tourists in Cape Town.

Keywords: Cape Town, tourism, crime, violence, crime prevention

Introduction

Tourism, in all of its manifestations, is commonly described today as the world’s largest industry. It is big business and is expected to become even bigger in the next century. The World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that this global $4.5 trillion (R27 trillion) industry will grow to a $10 trillion (R60 trillion) industry over the next ten years. In light of the World Tourism Organization’s (WTO) 2020 Vision-one, South Africa, as an international tourist destination, is predicted to make great strides in the world tourism industry. The South African government expects the tourism industry to grow to ten per cent of GDP by the year 2005, earning the country R40-billion in foreign exchange and creating about a million jobs if factors inhibiting the industry can be overcome. Indeed, it is projected that the country will receive 8.43 million visitors by 2002, compared to 5.7 million in 1997.

Developing countries, in particular, look to the tourism industry to generate foreign exchange, provide employment, and improve economic growth. Furthermore, worldwide trends suggest that industrial countries will continue to lose tourism market share and receipts to developing countries such as South Africa. South Africa, which is Africa’s premier destination (followed by north African countries Tunisia and Morocco) experienced its tenth successive year of increased foreign tourism between 1988 to 1997.

Cape Town is situated in the southwest in the province of the Western Cape, is a major draw card for international tourists. Nine of the main tourist attractions in South Africa are located in the 'Cape'. In 1999, approximately 45 per cent of all overseas tourists to South Africa included a trip to the V & A Waterfront (a vast shopping, leisure, and entertainment complex) during their trip to South Africa.

However, South Africa and more specifically Cape Town as a global destination has been under performing and has suffered from a growth slump in international tourists during the last few years. Crime has been cited as the main reason. Highly publicised crimes against tourists in South Africa as well as general high levels of crime rates in recent years (for instance, South Africa in 1997 had the highest murder rate in the world) has meant that the country has increasingly gained a reputation for being an unsafe place to visit by the international community at large. Many tourists during their decision-making process disregard Cape Town and South Africa for fear of their safety and well-being and choose to go elsewhere. In essence, this reputation is scaring tourists away. As stated by South Africa’s Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) - the fact that well-publicised incidents involving tourists as well as high levels of crime amongst the local population who invariably play host to international visitors constrain overseas tourism growth. Furthermore, embassies are warning tourists travelling to South Africa that they should be aware of crime problems (robbery, car hijacking, mugging, theft, and pickpocketing), particularly in the country’s main cities: Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town.

This paper seeks not only to detail the extent of the damage caused to the Cape
Town tourism industry from the Planet Hollywood incident and subsequent crime incidents but to also indicate what crime prevention methods the police authorities of the city of are taking to counter the problem of crime against tourists.

**Crime and tourism in South Africa**

South Africa has much to offer tourists including a beautiful coastline and sandy beaches, mountains, excellent golf and fishing, wildlife, historical monuments, cultural diversity and a wonderful year-round climate. In addition, a good exchange rate, direct flights and lower airfares have contributed to bolstering South Africa as an attractive long haul destination. In particular, Cape Town possesses Table Mountain, the V & A Waterfront and Robben Island—some of the top tourist attractions in the country. There is undoubtedly a strong resource base for tourism, which is now seen as important to the economy of the country.

Up until 1992 South Africa was blacklisted by many foreign governments. Tourists were discouraged from visiting the country on the account of the discriminatory policies pursued by the government at that time. At the beginning of 1994, when democracy was achieved, South Africa received an overwhelming influx of international tourists many of whom were attracted by the "post-apartheid" curiosity factor. For instance, in 1996, 4.9 million foreign tourists visited South Africa, compared with only 310,000 in 1986. Nevertheless, the transition in South Africa not only brought about positive repercussions for the tourism industry but also high levels of crime, non-political violence and general lawlessness.

High levels of crime and violence in South Africa can be attributed to a number of factors, many of which manifest themselves in other countries. The causes of crime are deep rooted and related to the history and socio-economics reality of society. Indeed there is no doubt that South Africa’s unique socio-political history has added to a range of factors specific to its situation, for example, comparative research from countries such as the former Soviet Union and Northern Ireland suggests that all forms of crime increase during periods of political transition. The country’s rapid transition also generated expectations of immediate wealth by the previously disadvantaged communities and coupled with an ineffective police force disrespected by large numbers of the population, left a culture of violence. As Kathrada et al states 'violence in South Africa has come to be regarded as an acceptable means of resolving social, political and even domestic conflicts'. Levels of unemployment have been very high, in 1999, the rate of those not actively looking for working was almost 40 percent (with over 90 per cent from previously disadvantaged groups). An abundance of firearms and the political and economic opening of the country to the rest of the world have resulted in drastic increases in organised crime and drug trafficking.

In South Africa there has been an absence of crime statistics following the Ministry of Safety and Security’s moratorium in releasing crime figures in July 2000. The most recently available statistics are those compiled by the Institute of Security Studies who reported a rapid increase in violent crime during much of the first half of 2000. The statistics are measured on a per capita basis of 100,000 of the population for the periods January to May for every year since 1994 and found that crime levels peaked in 2000. Researchers are furthermore hampered by a severe lack of data available on crimes committed against tourists. Indeed, tourist-related crimes were not recorded in South Africa until 1995. The South African Police Research Unit began to record all serious
crimes against tourists as part of their priority crime database. This data recorded "where" the reported crimes occurred as well as the "type" of crime committed. Unfortunately this category of data was terminated in 1997. More recently, The South African Police Services (SAPS) established a Tourist Assistance Unit (TAU) in 1998 to address all tourist-related incidents in the city of Cape Town as well as in all areas of the Western Cape. However, Cape Town officials realize that the statistics lack credibility and that the industry does not always report crimes against tourists.

The Growth 'Slump': International Tourist Numbers to SA

According to statistics produced by Cape Town International Airport the growth in international visitors is actually declining. In 1995, traffic through the airport increased by 52 per cent; in 1996 by 48 per cent; in 1997 by 38 per cent; in 1998 by 22 per cent, by 8 per cent in 1999, and decreased by one per cent in 2000. The substantial growth increase in the mid-90's was due to South Africa's readmittance onto the world tourism stage and which was assisted by a plethora of national and world sporting events such as the rugby world cup, the Cape Town Olympic bid, and the African soccer championships. International visitors through Cape Town international airport for the months of June and July 1998 were down by 10,000 on the previous year. Indeed, international tourist numbers appeared to be dwindling after the wave of bomb blasts towards the end of 1999. Cape Town had expected 120,000 foreign visitors over the usually busy Christmas period, however, only 50,000 arrived. This meant that the number of international arrivals was virtually unchanged on the previous 1999 season. Furthermore, international tourist numbers through Cape Town's international airport decreased by only one percent on the previous year. Various tourism authority stakeholders claimed this was a result of the effect of events in Zimbabwe and the numerous bombings - one of which occurred at the city's international airport in July 2000. It must be added that a number of other macroenvironmental factors have also affected the South African tourism industry during the 1999-2000 period. These include nervousness over the South African June elections in 1999, widespread flooding in northeastern parts of the country, a general global millennium letdown (where people were reluctant to travel), and farmland evasions coinciding with parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe.

It would therefore be over presumptuous to attribute the decline in tourist numbers solely to regional high rates of crime and tourism; as stated a number of other factors have contributed to this decline. In addition it would also be unrealistic to expect Cape Town, or for that matter any tourist destination, to sustain double-digit growth rate figures over a number years following a post-isolation period.

Negative Media Reporting on Cape Town Tourism

By any standard South Africa is a country plagued with high levels of crime and violence. More than 25,000 murders and 50,000 rapes were committed in 1999. Such statistics led reports of crimes and other problems such as: bus accidents, a spate of bombings, scores of raping incidents (that included international tourists) and bus and taxi wars, to be published in national and international media, and contributed to creating negative publicity for South Africa and the city of Cape Town. In September 1999, a tour bus accident which left 27 British tourists dead, made front-page news around the world, particularly in the UK (one of South Africa's major tourist generating countries). In the early months of 2000 clashes between taxi operators
and bus drivers, which left several bus drivers shot dead, was also reported in the international media. Tourist areas such as Camp's Bay, Sea Point, Green Point, the V & A Waterfront (all located in the city's Atlantic seaboard region), and the Cape Town International Airport were locations for bomb blasts during the 1998-2000 period. There have been several incidents of international tourists being subjected to rape. The international media's attention was captured when three Swiss tourists were raped at a KwaZulu Natal game park in 1998 and when a backpacker tourist was raped in a suburb of Johannesburg in 2000.

As the local and international media disseminate stories of crime and violence in South Africa, people increasingly perceive the major cities of the country to be dangerous places to visit and fear for their safety. An article in the American edition of Conde Nast Traveller examined ten major crime capitals, statistically, South Africa is now the world's criminal country outside a war zone... an average of 52 people are murdered everyday, a rate nearly ten times that in the USA.

Cape Town's crime and violence situation has also been published in other international printed media articles such as The Economist ("A Lacker (sic) Place for a Holiday: SA Seeks Tourists, Please"), Time ("Cops and Bombers: Cape Town Struggles to Cope With Crime"), The Daily Mail ("SA: Where Britons Find Fear and Fun in the Sun"), Newsweek ("South Africa: A Crime Wave Scares Off Foreigners."), and nationally (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1**

Sample of Cape Town and South African Crime Headlines 1996-2000

- Bomb Latest in Long Line of Cape Town Blasts (The Cape Times)
- Visitor 'Robbed' on Blue Train (The Cape Times)
- Crime Shoots Down Tourism (Finance Week)
- Swiss Tourists Gang Raped (The Cape Argus)
- Crime Scares off Tourists (The Cape Times)
- Terrorism: City Under Siege (The Sunday Times)
- Tourist Spots Terrorized (The Cape Argus)

Tourists often fall prey to more violent criminal acts with their livelihoods and lives at stake. It is these acts of violent crime especially frequent incidences that make the international media which have a devastating affect on a tourist destination's image. Therefore, it is not only the severity of violent acts but also the frequency that affects the duration of the decline in tourist arrivals to a destination. Indeed, the image and perception of violence can have a long and devastating effect on a destination's tourism industry. In addition, the 'knock-on' effect of political violence and instability in a particular region can disperse through a whole continent. Take for example the political strife in Angola and Mozambique in the mid-1980's, this discouraged Americans from travelling to Kenya - thousands of kilometers away. In a similar manner, the recent political instability in neighbouring southern African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe may well have deterred international tourists especially Americans (who tend to associate going abroad with a certain amount of risk) from travelling to South Africa.

**Methodology**

As was stated earlier the main purpose of this paper is to examine the effects of a restaurant bombing at Cape Town's V & A Waterfront. To achieve this a survey was carried out in which 50 tourism and hospitality establishments in the Cape Town region were randomly selected for
the purpose of this report. These businesses represent the tourism/hospitality community, which were directly affected by the bombing. A judgment sample was used as a tangible sample frame was difficult to obtain due to the fragmented nature of the tourism and leisure industry (consisting of countless hotels and other types of accommodation venues, restaurants, travel agencies, tour operators, car rental companies, travel agencies, and so on). These businesses makeup the hospitality community and impact tourism demand to the region. The breakdown of sample included forty-six hotels/guesthouses, one car rental company, two tour operators, and one travel agency. Due to time and financial constraints this was the best representation of the population possible. The survey took place during the last week of September 1998 - towards the end of the Cape’s tourism "green season" - a somewhat lapse period for the region’s tourism industry. Respondents were extremely willing to cooperate, answer the questions and provide information for the questionnaire, which was conducted over the telephone. All of the questions were "closed" (respondents had to choose an answer) except the last "open" question. This last question initiated qualitative research: a semi-structured interview providing a great deal of information on the subject area used in the findings of this report.

The Superintendent at the Tourist Assistance Unit in Cape Town was interviewed. An unstructured interview was employed to permit the official the freedom to speak about tourism and crime in the Western Cape region.

Limitations of Study

It is important to reiterate that this research is exploratory in nature. Because of its design and the limited sample size, it is not possible to claim that the findings obtained in this study are representative of the entire tourism community or that they are applicable elsewhere. In addition, the sample size was determined in part by time and budget constraints, which inherently impeded the study.

Findings

The Cape Town tourism industry providers were asked how many cancellations they had experienced as a direct result of the Planet Hollywood bombing. The local media noted the loss to the tourism industry in terms of economic value: some R300 million, while the research carried out for this report, cost is measured in more quantifiable terms of bed nights/pax. Findings revealed a total loss of 7,943 bed nights (average: 159) to the fifty tourism and hospitality venues in Cape Town as a direct result of the incident. It should be noted, however, that one establishment alone lost 4,740 bed nights, due to the cancellation of a conference to be held by Veesa's (the international estate owners society) which was relocated in Europe. Many of the respondents stated how difficult it was to quantify the amount of lost bookings, as one respondent stated "what about the ones that never booked?" Another proprietor put it this way, "the worst part is the tourists who had the chance to visit Cape Town, but have gone elsewhere to places such as Thailand". In essence, there could have been numerous tourists who opted for an alternative destination to South Africa at the time of decision-making. In the same manner there might well have been a number of cancelled holidays and then rebooking, on hearing that the incident had passed over.

The proprietors of the tourism establishments were asked whether they had received less international visitor numbers during the month of September in comparison to previous years. The findings illustrate that a majority (58 per
cent) suggested that indeed numbers were down. 24 per cent stated that business was the same as the previous year, while 16 per cent noted business had actually improved. Findings suggest that the hotels/guesthouses least affected were the business/corporate establishments; those that cater to the leisure market were most affected.

Those industry players that stated that their businesses had suffered were then asked to attempt to explain what they thought was the reason for this was. When offered a number of possible explanations for the decline, 18 respondents (36 per cent) suggested it was due to the August 1998 Planet Hollywood restaurant bombing along with visitors’ perceived high levels of crime in the Cape Town region (as shown in Table 1). 14 per cent implied it was due to an over supply of hotel and guesthouse rooms in the Cape, which had caused a reduction in visitor numbers. This factor was reiterated by a report in the Cape Times which examined the plethora of accommodation establishments in the Cape that had out grown demand. Only two respondents suggested the decrease was due to visitors having less disposable income due to the current global economic global recession.

The Cape Town tourism stakeholders were then asked if they had received any negative feedback from their clients regarding the region’s perception of high levels of crime and violence and general safety issues. Findings suggest that 48 per cent of respondents have received dissenting information from visitors, while 44 per cent had not. One proprietor noted that visitors were more inquisitive about safety/crime in Cape Town as well as acting more cautiously. Another respondent observed the feedback on visitors’ postcards mailed from the hotel: the state of the government, spiraling crime, and so on.

Tourism proprietors were asked what safety education material they provided for clients. The majority of respondents (62 per cent) suggested that staff who have consumer contact, such as front desk, tour guides, provide advice for guests. According to respondents this advice would range from warning guests not to ‘look like a tourist’ or ‘to walk in the city at night’, not to carry
valuables’, and so on. 12 per cent implied that no safety information was advocated because either they didn’t want to ‘frighten off’ visitors or they didn’t deem it necessary.

Of all of the companies surveyed 58 per cent do not keep any recorded details of crime incidences involving their guests. However, a number of those respondents that declined may well have done so because they have not experienced any criminal incidences involving their visitors.

Cape Town tourism industry providers were asked if they thought that there was a strong link between crime and tourism. 82 per cent strongly suggested that the persistent high levels of crime rates in South Africa deterred tourists from coming to the region (see Table 2).

Additional Findings
Superintendent Pistorius of the Tourist Assistance Unit (TAU) in Cape Town emphasized that crime against international tourists had decreased in the city’s Central Business District since the deployment of a team of Community Police Officers (CPOs). Indeed according to a report compiled by the unit crime against international tourists had reduced by 29 incidents (out of a total of 42) for the first four months of 2000 compared to the previous year. Pistorius also pointed out that the TAU was the only unit in the South African Police Services (SAPS) with a specific system for dealing with tourists keeping separate statistics for crime committed against tourists (both Durban and Gauteng also have tourism police units). When asked the question of what can be done to prevent tourist-oriented crime in the city he said that tourists needed to be educated about safety, awareness about the benefits of tourism needed to be increased, and the crime/prevention situation needed to be ‘marketed’ - to let the generating markets know that the problem of crime and tourism was being addressed. Pistorius pointed out the TAU applied ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ crime prevention measures ranging from increased police visibility to police handing out safety brochures and educating tourists. The interview also indicated that various problems exist within the TAU. These included staff shortages, lack of funding, and the need for more community cooperation.

The SAPS’s Reactions to Crime
The SAPS operates a TAU which was established in 1998, though the direct address of tourist incidents commenced in December 1999 with a 22-member team of CPOs plus 2 Captains. The main purpose of the TAU is to address all tourist-related incidents in the city of Cape Town as well as in all areas of the Western Cape. The main duties of the TAU include:

- Visible Policing
  22 Community Patrol Officers are executing visible policing at ‘tourist hot-spots’ in and around Cape Town (in certain areas operating 24 hours a day, and a tourist patrol car that attends to tourist incidents and hotel visits. All CPOs wear a white arm sleeve embroidered with the words “Western Cape Tourist Police” and have been trained in foreign language communication lessons.

- Crime Prevention
  CPOs also handout safety hints in the form of a brochure to identified tourists. These safety hints are also distributed to all hotels, tour operators, travel agencies, cruise liners, and to the international airport.

- Support service towards tourists
  The TAU provides support and assistance to tourists when involved in any of the following incidents related to police involvement:

  Victim of crime/accused of crime Accidents
Deaths
Lost valuables
Co-ordination of all tourist related incidents
Tourist related incidents at all police stations in the Western Cape are recorded and kept on file for statistical purposes.

A problem associated with measuring the tangible effects of crime on tourism is that it is difficult to obtain specifically tourist-related crime and violence statistics: most reported figures are not classified as crimes committed to foreigners and fall under national statistics. If one is to understand the scope of the problem of crime and tourism collecting reliable and comparable incidence data is the logical first step. The newly formed TAU has the task of dealing with crimes committed against tourists and reporting such incidents. However, these (tourism) crime preventative agencies are faced with a number of hindrances. One of these being the problem that at present there is no international standard definition of a crime against a visitor, who a visitor is, or how records are kept. In addition, ‘soft’ crime prevention measures such as safety brochures may indeed instill fear in both tourists and tourist establishments. Furthermore, the tourism industry must take the responsibility to report tourist oriented crime. Pizam, Tarlow and Bloom found similar findings in their comparative study of three destinations. These authors identified the following shared problems with dealing with crime in the study areas: lack of finance, manpower shortages, lack of cooperation within the media, need for greater community cooperation, and poor recorded keeping of crime statistics.

Conclusion
This report has revealed that the Planet Hollywood incident along with high levels of crime and violence has been one of the underlying reasons for a decrease in international tourist numbers to Cape Town during the last couple of years. The number of cancellations coupled with the decline of visitor arrivals during the month following the incident is a relatively valid indicator of the extent of the damage caused. However, findings also disclose that a combination of other factors have also played a role in the decline, namely a lack of overseas marketing of South Africa, and political instability in neighbouring southern African countries. Since the Planet Hollywood bombing there have been an additional 21 bomb blasts in the city of Cape Town. However, this study has not taken into account the effect of these incidents on international tourist arrivals. What’s more, there are the additional bomb threats and hoaxes which have threatened many individual hospitality businesses in the city and in doing so would have resulted in further lost revenue and heightening the community’s fear.

South Africa is not alone when it comes to the negative effects of crime and violence-related incidents. Many cities worldwide continually experience high levels of crime and violence, often caused by unfavourable conditions and political problems. Experience has shown that international tourism is highly sensitive to crime, violence, political instability, and terrorism. In recent years popular tourist destinations such as Rio de Janeiro, New Orleans, Florida, Fiji, Egypt and the former Yugoslavia have all suffered significant declines in overseas visitation in response to widely reported incidents of crime, terrorism and war. Take for example Egypt where an Islamic group specifically targeted tourists between 1992 and 1995 caused the death of 13 tourists. As a result the country experienced a 22% drop in international visitors. Egypt then suffered from a devastating terrorist attack in November 1997, which left dozens of tourists massacred. This was translated into a
significant decrease in visitors two thirds below normal during the several months afterwards. The same too applied in the case of the small South pacific island Fiji, where in 1987, two military coups devastated its vital tourism industry. Fortunately both countries’ tourist authorities acted swiftly in handling the crises and managed to eventually regain visitor arrivals through effective public relations strategies.

Tourists’ intentions to visit a destination such as Cape Town are influenced by their perceptions or their knowledge of that destination. It is an accepted fact that crime has become one of the most serious factors impacting tourism in South Africa. This has led to public perceptions, both locally and abroad, being tainted, and leading to labels such as "the crime capital of the world". Unfortunately these labels "stick", and a concerted effort is now needed to change both the experience (knowledge/facts) and the beliefs (perceptions) so as to effect a true value system change about safety and security of tourists visiting South Africa. As Mawby pointed out, ‘the perception of crime and adverse publicity which may result following well-publicised serious incidents is of more importance to the tourism industry and, hence, to tourism researchers’. Perceptions of a destination held by prospective visitors are known to have an impact on the success of tourism. This is exemplified by a study carried in Florida where a number of fatal attacks on foreign tourists and ensuing negative media publicity during 1992 to 1994 resulted in a decline of 16 per cent of Canadian tourists and almost 20 per cent decrease of European tourists visiting Florida in the following year. Another study reported that the same tourist murders during 1992 in Florida created considerable media attention resulting in a decrease in tourism. Both papers however also acknowledged that crime rates against non-residents (including tourists) had declined at the same time.

Clearly there are two broad crimes, which affect tourists: (1) group planned crimes such as terrorism and (2) individualistic crimes against unknown victims. Actions against tourists in South Africa are both of a group and an individualistic nature. In both circumstances what is required is careful handling of PR activities, increased policing and protection of tourists, and a coordinated partnership between the industry and law enforcement agencies to regain and maintain South Africa’s popularity as an international tourist destination.

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tourism policy in South Africa: potential and consequences

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Abstract
In recent years structural changes have occurred that have directly affected the direction of tourism in South Africa. However, these transformations have not brought about the tourism revival hoped for by the government. This paper seeks to understand the causes and consequences of policy, and its implementation, while examining policy objectives and integration at national, regional and local government level. The purpose of this paper is to raise some of the practical and theoretical issues in tourism policy development, using the example of South Africa, so that others in the Southern Africa region may continue to build upon it.

Keywords: South Africa, tourism policy

Introduction
International tourism to South Africa, after phenomenal initial growth of 52% in 1995, has declined in 1998 to only 3.5%. In 1998, the travel and tourism industry represented 2.4% of total employment and 2.6% of total GDP. The travel and tourism economy in turn contributed 7% of total employment, 13.2% of total exports, 11.4% of total investment and 8.2% of total GDP (World Travel and Tourism Council1998: 10). The avidly anticipated tourism boom has not materialized in South Africa. Tourist markets are stagnating, desperately needed job creation and poverty alleviation is not forthcoming. The tourism miracle, touted by government as panacea of the country’s economic ills, is losing its lustre.
The purpose of this paper is to highlight issues relevant to the Southern Africa region by examining tourism policy at national, regional and local level in relation to South Africa. The overall intent of the work is to highlight some of the practical and theoretical issues in tourism policy development so that others may continue to build upon it.

Tourism Policy Formulation
Tourism policy is influenced by the economic, social and cultural circumstances of a country together with prevailing structures of government and features of the political system (Hall 1995). Williams and Shaw (1988: 230) point out that various levels of government tend to have different tourism objectives, and that the aims of local authorities may bifurcate from those of national government. This situation particularly prevails in federal systems akin to that of South Africa, composed of national, provincial/regional and local levels of government. Under such circumstances some groups exert greater influence if policy is formulated at national level, whilst others may benefit more if policy is made at state or provincial level (Anderson 1984:18).

According to Pearce (1992: 4) tourism public policies are entangled in a dynamic, ongoing process during which it is evident that governments struggle to comprehend the tourism industry and their requisite role. This confusion manifests itself in the South African context by the fact that tourism has, over time, been relegated as a secondary function in departments with responsibilities as diverse as fisheries, forestry and water affairs. Currently, resources allocated to tourism at national government level, come a poor second to most other sectors.

In developing countries, suffering from high levels of unemployment and poverty, the issue of sustainability is frequently overlooked in tourism development. Meticulous planning, management, and implementation of policy in which the principles of sustainability are central is essential if the economic and social opportunities associated with tourism are to be sustained.

Middleton and Hawkins (1998: xiii) state that sustainable policy and management approaches operate on both supply and demand factors. They contend that policies are best understood when targeted at local, rather than national or regional level, and have specific significance for economic and employment needs of developing countries with otherwise limited resources to sustain the demands of exploding populations (Middleton and Hawkins 1998: 6). Jenkins (1980: 22:9) cautions that, in the initial stage of tourism development, many low-skill jobs can be filled by local people, with expertise provided by "imported" labour. Difficulties arise in meeting medium to long-term goals when local people should
be employed in the industry as managers.

Meadows et al (1992: 18) take the view that it is possible for policy makers, in all sectors of the world’s economy, to change the status quo and establish conditions of economic and ecological stability that is sustainable far into the future. Middleton and Hawkins (1998: 105) contend that the most critical constraint to tourism development is the lack of knowledge and understanding of tourism in the public sector. This represents a cardinal constraint, since expectations of tourism in developing countries run dangerously high, with little understanding of the implications of potentially negative impacts which tourism brings in its wake. In South Africa, and most developing countries, resource allocation and available capacity for tourism research are limited and statistics proffered highly questionable.

Of increasing significance in, and adding to the complexity of tourism policy-making is the growing number of actors within the tourism policy arena. These include non-producer interest groups such environmental and social lobbyists. Confusion regarding industry composition leads to uncertainty relating to which groups or individuals are legitimately entitled to active involvement in tourism policy formulation (Hall and Jenkins 1995: 51).

Determining the respective roles of the public and private sectors in the development of tourism is a basic policy decision that must be clearly articulated. Government must maintain basic policy, planning and legislative functions, in addition to development and maintenance of infrastructure and public attractions such as parks and museums. “Whatever the mix of public and private sector involvement in tourism, coordination among the various agencies and levels of government, and between government and the private sector is an essential element of successful implementation. There needs to be coordination between national, regional, metropolitan and local levels of government on policy, planning and infrastructure development, and among the various government and private sector agencies involved in aspects of tourism at each level” (Inskeep 1991: 431). The fragmented nature of the tourism industry places different demands, each with its own imperatives, both on tourism policy and the actions of government tourism organizations. Tourism businesses seldom present a unified front and are frequently in conflict over issues of policy.

Pluralism infers that power is roughly diffused throughout society and that policy-making is open to influence from a wide range of interest groups (Hall and Jenkins 1995: 70). A fundamental element of most tourism policy somehow involves a community approach, which is directed at empowering residents to be involved in consultation and the decision-making processes (Inskeep 1991: 377; Murphy 1985). Although public participation is regarded as essential in tourism policymaking, public participation is no guarantee of political openness and due to unbalanced power relations are seldom representative of all interest groups. In other words, there are no guarantees that all stakeholders’ voices will be heard (Butts 2000).

Thus, as Haywood (1988: 105) argues, public participation in tourism policy and planning may be more a form of placation than a veritable mode of empowering communities to make their own decisions. Policy alternatives are recurrently defined before public participation begins, and any changes
subsequently made insignificant. Too often public input, specifically that of the private sector, unless viewed as politically expedient, is given little or no credence, at anything other than a local level. This comes as no surprise as Fischer and Forester (1993: 7) re-enforce the notion that politics and public policy are inextricably linked and that policy arguments are unreservedly involved with exercise of power in which concerns of some groups are included and others excluded.

Tourism and Legislation

It is the role of government to enact, promulgate and administer tourism legislation and regulations which provide the legal basis on which tourism is developed, managed and operated. Legislation sets forth policies for developing tourism, establishes the relevant tourism organizational structures and declares their functions and stipulates sources of funding. Laws and regulations pertaining to issues such as zoning, land use, environmental protection, and labour laws have equal application to tourism and require careful consideration.

The extent of the state’s role in tourism varies according to prevailing circumstances, and policy will be processed, discussed and perceived differently. An important policy decision relates to determining suitable institutional arrangements to satisfy development objectives within the context of the overall government structure. Such arrangements are critical since institutions of state provide the framework within which tourism operates. They additionally mediate conflict by laying down rules and procedures that regulate how and where demands on public policy can be made, who has decision making authority, and how decisions and policies are implemented (Hall and Jenkins 1995: 18-25).

In South Africa, government tourism offices and statutory boards are generally funded directly from state coffers though the trend in recent years has been towards greater commercialization, with management reflective of private sector structures rather than government departments. Such changes have both structural and corporate value implications that are of fundamental importance if emphasis is being placed on policy change or reform (Hall and Jenkins 1995: 430).

National Tourism Policy

National government must assume the lead role in tourism policy formulation impinging on the entire country, and place national and community imperatives above those of individual or sectoral interests. Coherent, realistic national tourism policy establishes the basis for developing and maintaining tourism and is an essential element of tourism planning and decision making. Inskeep (1991: 432) believes tourism policy should first be formulated on a preliminary basis and finalized only after it has been tested for suitability in achieving objectives and implementation feasibility. In the South African context it is evident that, whilst policy statements in the National Tourism White Paper are appropriate, implementation and delivery are not forthcoming, leaving expectations unrealized and leading to frustration and disillusionment. Development objectives, formulated after analysis and synthesis of current infrastructure, development patterns, tourism attractions and tourist markets, should provide the basis of policy formulation since policy should reflect how such objectives can be achieved.

One of the primary national policy decisions is determination of the public sector role in tourism development. In most countries government, seeking to harness the economic potential of tourism, develops specific tourism
policies, determines objectives and implementation structures for tourism development and provides an adequate budget for tourism marketing (Inskeep 1991:418). In Western nations there has been a trend toward greater self-sufficiency (Hall and Jenkins 1995:36) with an increase in partnerships between public and private sector in terms of jointly funded and coordinated promotional activities. South Africa is following this trend with the recently established Tourism Marketing Forum and the inception of a voluntary private sector tourism levy.

Adopting proactive policy with regard to infrastructure provision, affording priority to that facilitating tourist access, whilst simultaneously serving the needs of the local community is a primary government competency. Case studies provided by Australia and New Zealand demonstrate how infrastructure development is increasingly the domain of the private sector (Hall 1994). This trend is gaining popularity in developing countries where public/private sector partnerships are assuming increasing prominence in infrastructure provision (Inskeep 1991:171). The Spatial Development Initiatives and Transport Corridors of South Africa are inclined in this direction.

Government may prescribe policy pertaining to national tourism marketing and promotion initiatives, in some instances choosing to focus on domestic tourism development in preference to international tourism. Primarily in developing countries, domestic tourism may be used as a catalyst for redistribution of economic benefits amongst income groups, from urban to rural and developed to undeveloped areas (Archer 1977:14). South Africa has a huge, untapped emerging domestic market. Little is understood of the needs and preferences of this sector and efforts to research and infiltrate the market are so far minimal.

Through techniques of selective marketing, and controlling the types of attractions, activities and services developed, government is able to encourage tourists who appreciate and respect the natural and cultural environment. Deciding on the type, extent and quality of tourism development to be pursued, and tourist markets targeted, is a basic national tourism policy consideration.

Policy reflects controls on the rate of tourism growth. Time required to balance infrastructure requirements, ensure a supply of adequately trained personnel and integrate tourism into the development plans of other economic sectors, are valid reasons for such intervention (World Tourism Organisation 1983). The realization that destinations are subject to cycles of popularity, with visitor numbers declining as capacity is exceeded, raises questions of policy implication such as regulation of the number of visitors in order to keep within pre-determined capacity limits (Butler 1980:118).

Lastly, national tourism policy should establish criteria for the level of standards applicable to tourist-related facilities and services, with minimum standards imposed for factors of safety, public health and sanitation. Policy, pertaining to vehicles, drivers and permits, and insurance required by tour operators, should be subjected to close scrutiny. Policy pertaining to tour guides should clearly articulate training and examination procedures and penalties for operating without meeting the necessary educational and licensing requirements (Inskeep 1991:326-27). With the exception of travel agencies whose licensing criteria are determined by IATA, and compulsory registration of tour guides, mandatory licensing requirements are currently not applied in South Africa.
Regional Tourism Policy

Formulation of regional tourism policy should take into account both national and regional development objectives including the type and level of tourism recommended. In developing countries the potential of tourism to balance regional development remains unrealized. In many areas development has led to a widening of disparities since the prime concern of governments is to boost the national economy and generate foreign exchange rather than consider how tourism may be spatially distributed. In developed countries of the European Union, regional development is conversely the most frequently mentioned issue in government tourism policies (Airey 1983: 234-244).

In some countries, notably the United Kingdom and Australia, government policy has dictated the establishment of regional tourism organizations (RTOs) in partnership with local authorities and industry representatives. The purpose of RTOs is to bring tourism delivery closer to the communities which benefit from development of the sector and which bear the cost of adverse impacts of tourism, and to generate commitment to the practice of tourism organization at local level.

Financial contributions for RTOs are provided from local authorities, supplemented by financial support from primary businesses at the core of local tourism. Funding from government, or the national tourism organization, obliges organizations to implement tourism policy at a regional level. Primary functions of RTOs are to promote tourism to their regions, facilitate product and facilities development, improve and monitor standards, provide tourism information centres and services to tourists and manage tourism flows through their particular region (Deegan et al 1997: 119).

Deane (1980: 120) is critical of the function of RTOs because of their limited power to make things happen, the inherent rivalry and local political pressures which affect operational independence and their limited financial resources. He questions the unnecessary duplication of effort and waste of resources which arises as regions vie for increasing shares of the tourism market and argues that regional policy objectives can be more effectively delivered from a national perspective. Clearly competition between regions can be destructive, and duplication of effort wasteful, yet this may be the lesser evil than allowing centrally driven and uninformed officials at national level to ensure delivery on a regional basis.

Policy at Local Government Level

It is a global phenomenon that tourism policy is discussed, formulated and analyzed at national level. Few governments have adequate systems for the collection of reliable data at local level to yield accurate local tourism trends and impacts. Despite this, there is clear recognition that a "grass-roots" approach is the only logical basis for understanding the impacts of tourism and for evaluating and coordinating national policies which should be based on detailed local knowledge.

Middleton and Hawkins (1998: 81-84) contend that attempting to develop sustainable tourism policy without consistent and systematic measurement of tourism at local level reduces the process to mere political aspiration and guesswork. They argue that whilst local government holds impressive potential for control, regulation and influence on tourism, nowhere is the public sector lack of knowledge and understanding of the industry more prevalent than at local authority level. Reality decrees that, whilst local government has the authoritative powers to manage tourism practically, the lack of political resolve, tourism industry expertise and research data, inhibit its ability to act effectively.
Conclusions

Formulation and adoption of appropriate tourism policy is the essential first step in tourism development. This task is now complete in South Africa. There is exigency for the drafting of a congruent, coherent national tourism strategy that empowers regions and local communities to stimulate job creation, entrepreneurial development and environmentally friendly, sustainable tourism. The mapping of a coherent organizational structure, with a clear delineation of functions and responsibilities, is imperative in order to ensure policy execution.

No amount of funding will solve the current impasse unless government ensures that these measures are in place, and continuously monitored. As a final note, there is no logical reason for other countries in the Southern African region to follow in the erratic footsteps of South Africa in terms of tourism development. However, without a clear and communicative organisational structure from national to local community level, direct lines of responsibility, and targeted and accountable funding, there is no practical reason for them not to do so.

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sells myths, not culture: authenticity and cultural tourism

Keyan Tomaselli & Caleb Wang

ABSTRACT
This article discusses issues of representation in cultural tourism, and provides a critical overview of a research project which is being conducted by the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal. The first section discusses the objectives of the research, its theoretical underpinning, and possible outcomes. The second section offers some speculation on responses to cultural tourism, and debates what exactly is being transacted during the encounter between tourists and cultural performers, and observers and observed.

KEYWORDS: Cultural tourism, Zulu, South Africa, Khoi San, representation, myth.

Cultural tourism is a growing sector of all economies. This kind of tourism is defined as that form of travel in which visitors are located by the industry as popular anthropologists, as temporary and passing observers of people, cultures and ways of life. In short, the object of the gaze of cultural tourists to Africa is the often premodern other in the form of the 'traditional' Zulu, 'Bushman' or Ndebele. Cultural tourism involves both formal entrepreneurial responses via tourism capital, and under-resourced and remote villages, where such activities are often little more than ad hoc survival strategies enacted by their inhabitants. As such, the social and cultural impacts of cultural
Tourism need to be studied to develop policy and strategies which locate the staging of 'authenticity' within an educational framework. The 'performers' themselves should be able to engage the perceptions and anticipations of visitors who might bring with them all manner of Western stereotypes and myths to the encounter. How to shape the nature of this relationship is the domain of cultural policy studies.

Tourism research, linked to heritage studies, has become an increasingly important component of South African academic teaching and analysis over the past five years. Australian cultural policy studies provided some guidelines in the 1990s (see, eg. O'Regan 1998), but little attention has been given to questions of representation, how that representation is negotiated between tourists and the observed, and what meanings each party to the encounter takes away with them. What, in fact, is being exchanged between tourists and cultural performers?

This article provides the background to an ongoing project which examines the relationship between media constructions of First and indigenous peoples, the so-called 'performative primitives' who are employed in 'cultural' villages such as Shakaland, Simunye, Dumazulu and Rob Roy on the one hand, and Bushmen San initiatives on the other. The role of movie-induced tourism underpins the larger research project discussed elsewhere (Riley et al 1998; Tomaselli 1999, 2001a, 2001b). The inter-relation between Western myths about the 'other' and the way they represent themselves as moving through, or frozen in, history, is the theme of this article.

We conclude that the nature of the transaction between cultural performers and tourists is a commodity exchange of myths rather than of 'culture'. If myths work as marketing devices on the one hand, they can also provide a sense of empowerment for the performers on the other. Myths present timeless truths; the appearance of unchanging knowledge we have always known, in naturalising and convincing ways. Cultural authenticity is thus a saleable product, a way of earning a living.

In KwaZulu-Natal cultural villages and their performers have a clear and structured relationship with visitors, while the indigenous informal San villages and cultural performers in the Kalahari Desert tend to work on an ad hoc basis with the safari companies with which they are cooperating. Where the Zulu villages are part of big capital, like that represented by Tourvest, the Kalahari ventures are often still-born, despite the hype created around their 'potential'. The Zulu villages are close to the main tourist routes and national highways, while the Kalahari and other San sites can sometimes take one or two days drive to reach.

**Objectives of the General Study**

The project aims at systematically connecting the work of three previously parallel strands of inquiry. These have been conducted by staff and students in the Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies (CMS):

1. *representation/re-negotiating monumental histories* (Shepperson and Tomaselli 1997);
2. *cultural policy* (Tomaselli and Mpofu 1997; Tomaselli et al 1996); and

The three strands interact via three key
channels of popularisation, and their associated social practices:

i) media (mainly cinema, TV, coffee table books, postcards, pamphlets, and now the World Wide Web);

ii) manifestations of heritage and history (in advertising, cultural villages, brochures, postage stamps, etc.); and

iii) cultural tourism and responses to it (spontaneous, economic, developmental) (Tomaselli 1999, 2001b).

Specifically, CMS aims to examine the ways in which these three forms of communication intersect via media and cultural tourism, reconstituting both modern and customary narratives into discourses of ‘history’. Ultimately, cultural tourism is a negotiation of these discourses: observers mainly obtain their images of ‘other’ peoples from movies and media; and often the observed reconstitute themselves in terms of conventional media images about them. South African movies which have played key roles in this regard include *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1989,) and the *Shaka Zulu* TV series (1981, rebroadcast in 2001). South Africans are aware of two Gods movies, released in 1980 and 1989 respectively, but they are not aware of three sequels made by a Hong Kong based company. *Crazy Safari: The Gods Must be Crazy III* (1991) is set in the Kalahari; *Crazy Hong Kong’s* (1993) narrative occurs in Hong Kong and the Kalahari, and *The Gods Must be Funny in China* (1996) located in mainland China. None of these latter films were released in South Africa, though they all star Gao, the San Bushman actor. The extraordinary success of the first two Gods titles across the world, and the latter three in the Far East, has resulted in movie-induced tourism to the Kalahari, but in the absence of a proper tourist infrastructure. Individuals in 4X4s and some Namibian safari companies take such adventurers to eastern Bushmanland where Gao lives. The business, marketing, ownership and employment practices, and transport infrastructures, which typify the Zulu ventures in KwaZulu-Natal simply don’t exist in the Kalahari. Where tourists can be taken through Zulu cultural villages in a day or even a few hours, and stay in top quality hotels, visitors to the Kalahari need two to three days to visit a small informal San mock up at Klein Dobe, for example. They are not served by five staraccommodation anywhere en route after leaving Windhoek.

Kaptein’s Pos, a Ju/’hoansi village, Eastern Bushmanland, Namibia, once a tourist destination for safari travellers. Photo by Keyan Tomaselli, July 1996.

A small Lodge was built at the Tshlumkwe settlement in the Nyae Nyae district of Eastern Bushmanland in 1996, where the first two *Gods* films were partly filmed. One of the Lodge’s services is to take visitors over an appalling track to Klein Dobe for an evening of dancing and singing by that community. Where the visitors to Zululand feel they have had their money’s worth, the latter often leave the Kalahari angry, dusty and disappointed, especially in the time before the small Lodge was built.
The reality is nothing like the *Gods* film sets, while at Shakaland, the film set is the 'reality'. Other better capitalised Bushmen cultural villages can be found at Intu Africa, Namibia, Mabalingwe in the Waterberg and of course, Kagga Kamma. Less developed sites are the Kruipers’ own cultural village at Witdraai, Northen Cape, and a number in Eastern and Western Bushmanland, Namibia.

**Relevance of the research**

The idea to pursue cultural tourism research arose from CMS’s field observation in the Kalahari (1994-1996) of San responses to tourists (Tomaselli 1999). Even in the remotest parts of the Kalahari, some Ju/'hoansi villages, like Klein Dobe, have (re)constituted cultural sites and performances in cooperation with a few safari companies in order to earn an income. Such village income is erratic, though relatively high vis-a-vis the majority of the population in Nyae Nyae, for example, but when averaged out per capita across the whole area is so low as to amount to very little indeed.

The postmodern thrust towards the internationalisation of cultural tourism has direct relations to film and TV imaging. The Western fascination with the 'Bushmen' is one from which the Kruipers and the Kagga Kamma Game Park, Cederberg Mountains, have profited, notwithstanding the many unanticipated problems which resulted from this often difficult partnership with the Park (White 1995, Bester and Buntman 1999). While the Kruipers are well used by the film and advertising industries as actors and models, neither the Park nor the Kruipers have systematically used these films and TV programmes to attract visitors, nor to develop a San film or TV location. Neither have the Kruipers themselves learned to make movies. They rely on film, TV producers and advertising companies approaching them.

In contrast, The Sound of Music especially, and The Salzburg Connection, to a lesser extent, are deliberately mobilised by tourist businesses and the city to attract visitors to Salzburg (Luger 1992). The Shaka Zulu TV series is used to attract day-trippers and overnighters to Shakaland and other KwaZulu-Natal historical and cultural sites. Shakaland was built as the set for the TV series, and then used by the Rural TV network (Burton 1994). Since its conversion from a film/TV set to that of an "authentic Zulu hotel" which also functions as a film set, numerous other cultural villages have been established all over the province. Some others that come to mind include Phezulu, the Heritage Hotel, Phumgama, and Lesedi Johannesburg, and a whole slew of new ones in the planning.
The complement less appealing places in the world, the well-known Itala is mainly a craft factory and the partial of Cetshwayo’s Kraal at researchers Lisa Linton and the entrance to Shakaland, the poster says: “See our photo by Keyan Tomaselli, the site of Cetshwayo’s Kraal, January 1999. Photo by Keyan.

One of undertaking the Zulu-Natal is due to: located travel and tourism; there are a number of emergent experiences not served by this there in the far north of the Western) perspectives on the ‘other’;

ii) how these stereotypes about ‘people’ as ‘primitives’ impact conservation and development policies;

iii) how marketing of cultural villages, authenticity and indigenous artifacts replicates common sense discourse about the Western ‘Same’ (Europe) and African ‘Other’ (cf. e.g. Kahn 1994; Hamilton 1992a, 1992b); and

iv) how tourists make sense of their encounters with the ‘other’ as they compare and negotiate real people with their previous common sense media depictions.

Our research at Kagga Kamma and Shakaland, for example, suggests that many tourists avidly prepare themselves for these encounters with the Zulu and Bushmen by reading appropriate (and, sometimes, bizarre) literature, especially on the World Wide Web. They also tend to question their own received assumptions about the world, and the people with whom they have interacted in situ. While they might arrive with stereotypes about the ‘Bushmen’, for example, they don’t always leave with the same perception. Tourist perceptions do shift during the encounter itself.

...the majority have come to see the myth
more mythical education is sometimes woven into this form of presentation. Each visit is different, depending on the officiating guide’s approach.

Research Approach and Methods
All the projects conducted to date have been constituted as team research. The projects have incorporated students from both Natal University (postgraduate), with one graduate student from the University of Durban-Westville, the Smithsonian Institution, Michigan State University. Specialist internationally renowned contributing academics, drawn mainly from the discipline of anthropology, but also from cultural and media studies, have been employed as advisors. Some of these as yet unpublished studies are available on our Programme’s “Visual Anthropology” website: www.und.ac.za/und/ccms. Other articles uploaded deal with cultural policy, and the redefinition of monuments and national symbols during the ten year transition of the 1990s.

Theoretical Framework
The general methodological framework applied is an extension of Tomaselli’s previous work on anthropological and media semiotics (1996). Semiotics is the study of how meaning is made in both the making and the interpreting of messages, and in the way both makers of media and interpreters negotiate meaning. The present project additionally incorporates Irving Goffman’s (1990) theory of social performance and social roles, to explain field observation and the spatial architecture of “living” museums. Anthropological theory developing Goffman’s presentation of ‘self’ in everyday life is being applied to the discourses and practices of cultural tourism in ‘exotic places’. Such theories have been developed by Dean MacCannell (1989), himself a film maker and visual anthropologist, and Valene Smith (1978), amongst others. Students and staff are also examining issues of identity, observer-observed responses, and are doing case studies relating to actual performance strategies developed by cultural village actors to recreate images and identities of yesteryear.

Most cultural tourism occurs front stage, the public spaces where the meeting of hosts and guests/tourists is designed to occur. Back stage is where the hosts and performers live, retire, and conduct their own social, leisurely and symbolic lives. Cultural and historical villages provide access to the back stages, the previously off-limits areas where spontaneous social intimacy pervades, and where culturally organic activities occur beyond the conventional tourist routes. Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape, for example, on which a floating number of the Kruiper San (‘Bushmen’) family have lived since the early 1990s, until early 1999, gave tourists the impression that what was actually front stage with regard to the San (‘Bushmen’) performers, was really the back, culturally mysterious region. Tourist access to the ‘village’ about two kilometres from the lodge occurred by 4X4, for 90 minutes a day only under the supervision of a game ranger. In 2001, this front stage was replaced with a more functional meeting site within walking distance of the lodge. Tourists can simply buy trinkets, or negotiate to socialise for longer periods during the day and sometimes at night. In Shakaland, front and back stages have been artificially joined. Only structured access is permitted on
formal tours run three times a day. (Shakaland’s design is partially
distinct from Colonial Williamsburg,
USA, which historically is a real town in
which both normal and tourist functions
interact.)

**Applying the theory**
The research incorporates the following
in its field methodology:

**Field Work**
Particular films, villages, publicity
brochures, park and lodge advertising,
web pages and cultural sites are
subjected to:

i) a semiotic analysis in which the
ways that meaning is constructed by
message makers is examined;

ii) audience reception/responses to
these media and sites;

iii) the interpretations gleaned from (i)
and (ii) are compared with the
written academic literature;

iv) where possible, reception to films
and cultural and historical sites and
living museums by the subject
communities themselves are
observed and evaluated.

Methods of recording include audio and
video tape recording, print still film,
videotaping, and written ethnography.

**Formal Living Museums**
Ethnographic research involves
participant observation at:

a) operating “living museums”
(Shakaland, Simunye, PheZulu,
DumaZulu, and others); and

b) emergent sites where cultural
villages are to be established.

By joining tours as participant
observers, the researchers are able to
assess tourist responses, from their
off-the-cuff remarks, their interaction
with the guides, and with each other.
Further, asides made by performers in
indigenous languages not intended for

Tourist consumption are noted and
analysed in the context of the tours. By
this means the researchers are able to
document performer and guide
responses to the tourists.

Formal unstructured, face-to-face, tape
recorded interviews with tour guides,
hotel managers and visitors, on their
respective perspectives, follow.
Analysis of the structure of the sites vis-
avis front and back stages is done in
relation to the anthropology of cultural
tourism.

The approach taken in the research is
original to South Africa. Local
expression of ‘authentic’ cultures is
being examined in relation to received
images and perceptions imported by
tourists. We focus on how local
communities and commercial ventures
rearticulate their ‘authenticity’ in terms
of tourist expectations and discourses.
The result is a form of dialogical cultural
negotiation in which indigenous
practices and knowledge are packaged,
re-presented and negotiated in ways
which make sense to visitors. The
latter then re-circulate images and
impressions obtained via video, stills,
curios, postcards, brochures and so on
when they return home overseas.

**What are we doing here?**
Our work is part of a broad-based and
well-staffed project, but what’s the
point of it, why should we bother?
Southern Africa, as part of the
‘developing world’ is host to many
cultures which have been represented
as ‘other’ and, as such, interesting to
the First World. This means that
tourists from wealthy countries are
keen to come and discover these exotic
‘tribes’ for themselves. The business
of preparing the actual occupants of the
area for these busloads of pop
anthropologists is called cultural
tourism. A business perspective might
sound something like this: Tourists are
going to come looking for exotic peoples. For South Africa to profit from this, we need to have something ready for them. Further, we need to give tourists what they want. If someone sees an advert for a VCR on sale at Game, when they go to Game they want the VCR they saw on TV, not some other one that's more 'real'. Similarly, cultural tourism ventures need first to present tourists with what they want to see, before offering realistic touches. If they come to see Zulu warriors, bring out performer in skins with spears and shields.

When tourists seek authenticity, they seek a representation that fits the myth they have learned from the media, not a representation that captures the essence of a contemporary culture or social conditions, or one that depicts a culture at a specific point in its history. The business of cultural tourism is thus to present tourists with the myth they came to see, rather than people performing or depicting aspects of their own 'culture'.

One of the obstacles in the path of cultural tourism is the confusion between performance (front stage action) and reality (what happens backstage). Many critical academics and journalists accuse tourism businesses of prostituting 'culture' and putting a price on people's heritage, and of impugning their dignity. Our research, however, suggests that cultural tourism sells myths, not cultures, and already well known popular representations, not the people, or the performers themselves. The performers themselves do not feel that they are cultural 'prostitutes' though critics of this form of earning a living often take this position (cf. Bester and Buntman 1999). Few scholars even bother to talk to the performers to obtain their positions, and hardly ever do they interview management on their perceptions of what they are doing or selling. If they did, they might find the responses quite surprising. While the performers' conditions of employment might be, on occasion, unduly exploitative, commentators should not confuse the symbolic and material domains. The performers might want to earn more, but that does not prevent them from feeling culturally empowered when acting out myths for paying audiences and tourists. Cultural tourism thus isn't prostituting anybody's culture, it is making money by selling myths. To illustrate this point, imagine an entrepreneurial group of Xhosa who came to Natal to make some money from tourism by starting a Zulu cultural village. Even if performers couldn't speak a word of Zulu, German tourists, for example, would leave satisfied if they'd seen muscle-bound black men and buxom black women dressed in blankets dancing outside their huts. Although the performers are not presenting their own textbook Xhosa culture but a mythical representation of Zuluness, they will be successful as long as they can satisfy the myth that tourists come to see because "a good representation is one that works" (Fabian, 1990:757). Clint Eastwood isn't actually a crooked policeman, but he was very convincing as Dirty Harry. Cultural tourism makes money by performing myth, not revealing the actors culture even if they claim to be doing this.

The fine symbolic distinction between myth and material culture might not be fully understood by either managers or performers. But the distinction between the performed reality and the culture of the actors remains important. An emerging cultural tourism venture may seek to reveal unique local traditions because of the
perception that actors must perform their ‘own’ culture. This may suit a minority of specialty tourists to Simunye, for example. But the majority have come to see the myth they know. Most tourists want to see ‘real Zulus’, not a representation of how Zulu speaking people live today. Visitors to San cultural villages aren’t interested in their struggles with local governments, development agencies or cattle herders, and don’t want to see them making mieliepap in a plastic drum. They want to see ‘real Bushmen’, the myth of the romantic hunter gatherer living in harmony with nature. The distinction between performance and reality is important in the marketing of cultural villages. This is because it can assist communities by: first, reminding them that they’re not selling themselves, just an act; and second, by showing communities what to present in their shows to make the most money which, after all, is the aim of the business.

The problem with authenticity results from the perception that a performance is authentic if it is assumed to express the ‘culture’ of the performers. This is not the case as customer satisfaction results from the similarity between the performance and the myth in the mind of the tourist. It is a discourse, not a way of life. From the tourists’ point of view, an authentic performance is one that is sufficient to invoke the myth they have learned from the media and other sources. Authenticity is judged by the relationship between the performance and the myth, not the relationship between the performance and the culture of the performers.

Our objective, then, is to reframe the way that cultural tourist ventures are understood by both performers and tourists, and also managements. Performers we have interviewed often insist that the authentic mythical recreation is their ‘real’ culture. Management similarly sometimes espouses this view. Both are living in terms of the myth rather than the reality. The performers are acting out ‘fronts’ suggesting that their act is the everyday life. Managers then sometimes come to believe that the ‘act’ is the ‘life’ itself. Tourists, ironically, are often the least taken in by the act and myth as what they find rarely matches the content of the myths they bring with them. They tend to negotiate their myths via the experience of meeting real people acting out the myth. They may be reassured that the myth is valid, they may negotiate the myth, or the may reject it completely. Often, they come to reconsider their own values and motivations in wanting to visit the ‘other’ (Tomaselli 2001a).

Conclusion
Cultural Tourism is a rapidly growing area of business in Southern Africa being targeted by the government of South Africa for funding and investment. Unlike most forms of tourism, cultural tourism has the potential to benefit disadvantaged communities because their rural setting and raw materials are selling points in the industry. If this investment and development is really to benefit the poor, rather than only national and multinational companies, appropriate legislation will have to be promulgated, and communities will have to be educated on how to develop their potential. For these tasks to be achieved, in a way that will yield sustainable improvements in poor communities, a theoretical framework will need to be developed. This project, then, aims to build an understanding of the field of cultural tourism, in order to ensure that the business develops in a way that corresponds with the interests of disadvantaged communities and performers. Cultural tourism has the potential to help the poor in a tangible fashion. This project aims to map the
theory behind the industry to help it fulfill this potential. It also aims to develop educational frameworks which assist both performers and visitors to identify the myths they are trading with each other. In so doing, we need to know what is learned by all parties to the encounter. Ultimately, we hope that our research will contribute to tourists reassessing their prior mythical perspectives of Africa as a "dark continent".

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avoiding the pathology of classical scientific method
matching methodology to the problem contexts of tourism research.
W J Quigley

Abstract
By 1996 it had become apparent that tourism research extended beyond a compilation of numbers with the result that it was possible to dedicate an entire conference to the discussion of master paradigms influencing tourism research, the various methods by which knowledge is accumulated and the encouragement of alternative approaches to study in this field. Although the conference papers concluded that there were valid alternatives to the predominant style of statistical analysis there was little guidance or discussion about why a researcher might choose a positivist methodology or seek some alternative. This paper reviews the various paradigms available to tourism researchers concerned with tourism research which would lead to practical improvement through Improved Insight. Using a specific example of a methodology mis-matched to a problem it is argued that not only is it possible that alternative paradigms should be used by tourism researchers but that it is essential if valid research is to be undertaken. The real problem lies in how a methodology should be chosen. The paper considers a framework within which the problem situation to be researched can be located, and in turn linked to a methodology complementary to that problem. Conceding that the framework offered is simplistic and would have to be refined and developed, the paper argues that rigour, at the point of research design, is often over-looked. Instead it is influenced by
Inertia, blind prejudice and a failure to recognize that problems encountered in tourism contexts are often complex and poorly structured and are therefore particularly ill-served by oft employed quantitative analysis.

Key words: tourism research, research paradigms, SSM, TSI, complexity, research methodology.

Introduction

As reported by Riley and Love (2000) at the 1996 conference "Paradigms in Tourism Research", Jyväskylä, Finland it was noted by Dann (1996) that "far too many conferences seem to be little more than mega-events given over to hundreds of papers that are merely recitals of official statistics or survey data". The 1996 conference was different. Although it was conceded that the master paradigm affecting research in this field was positivism it was also noted that alternative qualitative methodologies had been accepted in many fields such as education (Guba, 1987; LeCompte and Preissle 1993; Lincoln and Guba, 1985, 1987), sociology (Blumer, 1969; Denzin 1989, 1993, 1995), anthropology (Clifford, 1988; Rosaldo, 1989), and consumer behaviour (Anderson, 1983; Hirschman, 1986; Hirschman and Holbrook 1992). These researchers had challenged the established positivist paradigm in order to extend the boundaries of knowledge generation in their respective disciplines.

Riley and Love (2000) went on to examine whether this benefit would extend to the study of tourism by conducting an analysis of major journals to provide information about where qualitative research is located in this field. Citing Cohen (1988:30) The most significant and lasting contributions... have been made by researchers who employed an often-loose qualitative methodology.

Their often acute insights and theoretical framework in which these have been embodied provided the point of departure for several 'traditions' in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tension, even as much more rigorous quantitative touristological studies often yield results of rather limited interest.

Cohen points out that while most of the seminal work in tourism was developed through qualitative research (Boorstin, 1964; Cohen, 1972, 1979; Graburn 1976,1983) much of this work was published in non-tourism journals and monographs. Although critical of the rigour adopted by some of these early contributors Cohen attributes this to the fact that early qualitative techniques were less well defined than they are now. Riley and Love (2000) speculate that this tendency to publish outside existing tourism journals may have been simply due to the lack of knowledge that specialised tourism journals even existed (note the relative absence of journals for this discipline in the SAPSE accredited lists) or of tourism reviewers and editors whose interests lay elsewhere in fields such as economics which are more appropriately served by quantitative techniques.

Having briefly outlined the two broad paradigms that affect all research, namely quantitative and qualitative, and having established that tourism researchers have been using both it is now time to look rather more closely at the nature of inquiry and how it relates to tourism research as undertaken within a technikon, before addressing the problem of determining which methodology complements what problem context.
Inquiry and the nature of tourism research problems

At the core of the traditional approach to inquiry is the assumption that a consistent set of needs can be identified and these needs can in turn be reduced to smaller and smaller sub-sections until each sub-section can be managed by the appropriate experts, who have in turn have been identified in similar manner. Most problems facing human endeavour do not conform to this simplistic model. Specifically it is argued that the study of tourism is a systemic activity and that a major element of the tourism system is the human activity system.

Tourism both as an activity and as a discipline has been shown to be particularly slippery to define. This section suggests that soft systems thinking offers improved insight into the type of environment encountered by tourism researchers, namely one of turbulence and ill-structured, ill-defined problem contexts of human endeavour. It is argued that improved insight into problem contexts will lead to improved problem structuring incorporating a characteristic identified by Singer (1936) who opined that any useful inquiring system will have no real terminating point on any issue and that not only will an inquiring system be able to convey what has been learned but also what still needs to be learned.

The traditional paradigm, the hard systems approach to inquiry is exemplified, according to Jackson (1991: 88) citing Ackoff, by traditional hard systems thinking. In this the predict and prepare paradigm rests upon the assumption that the world is an orderly place. Drawing on the methodologies of the natural sciences, proponents of hard systems seek to uncover the realities of the world through systematic and rational procedures. The knowledge so gained creates elites who have the power to not only implement its conclusions but also validate its correctness (Lyotard, 1984). This leads to a vicious circle wherein power becomes the basis of legitimation and vice versa. With this knowledge they are able to identify hard, easily identifiable systems and within those systems, sub-systems which when reassembled, create a picture of the whole. Human beings are components within these systems and sub-systems and so must behave like any other component; rules are introduced to help them. The aim is enhanced "predict and control". This paper contests that this rigid approach is an unlikely to help with inquiry in the context of tourism research.

Jackson (1991) refers to these clear cut problem contexts as mechanical-unitary and Quigley (1999) establishes that it is extremely unlikely that an analyst could uncover an optimum model accepted and supported by all parties given the current contexts facing tourism development. Checkland (1995), by no means the first to do this, clarifies an alternative to the stern 'hard' tradition of inquiry as that of a 'soft' system of inquiry in this way. The essential difference is that in the hard tradition models emerge from attempts to model the real world whilst the soft approach develops models that lead to debate about the real world. Upholding the vocational tradition of the techikon movement, focussed research inquirers must be concerned with real improvement that derives from inquiry.

The difference between 'hard' and 'soft' analysis can be summarised thus. Hard methodologies can be regarded as suitable for structured problems devoid of activity that incorporates human perception, whilst soft systems deal with the more complex issues which include human activity and actively embrace...
subjectivity as an essential component of the system under analysis.

**Research that embraces subjectivity**

Both Jackson (1991) and Riley and Love (2000) contain a philosophical review of knowledge formation which is summarised here. Eisner (1997) when discussing the formation of knowledge in what he terms 'The New Frontier in Qualitative Research Methodology' turns to Aristotle for a discussion on the origin of widely held knowledge types. The pursuit of objectivity from these early times has been a commonly held goal. However how this objectivity is to be achieved is not always declared but assumed in most research reports. Hegel has argued in his writings that paradoxically it is only by confronting one set of a priori assumptions with another based on an entirely different set of assumptions, is there any possibility that a richer and more objective appreciation of the situation can be reached. It therefore follows that subjectivity must be included in any research inquiry if greater sense is to be made of the problem context. As Denzin and Lincoln (1994) point out, qualitative research provides a crucial perspective that helps researchers understand phenomena in a way that is different from a positivist perspective alone. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 39-43) had already identified a number of held characteristics that were necessary if qualitative research was to be distinguished from positivist knowledge generation. The list is similar to that which would be held by soft systems thinkers concerned as it is with emergent properties, the human instrument, grounded theory, focus-determined boundaries, inductive data analysis to name a few.

In 1991 Jackson declared that "soft systems thinking opens up a completely new perspective on the way systems ideas can and should be used to help with decision making and problem resolving". Soft systems thinking deals specifically with problem situations that are not so regular. Unlike hard systems thinking that tends to ignore subjectivity, soft systems thinking specifically embraces subjectivity and the various perspectives that might be brought to a problem situation. In order to find these arguments convincing one would have to subscribe to the emergent paradigms listed in Fig 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Paradigm</th>
<th>Emergent Paradigm</th>
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<tr>
<td>from</td>
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<td>Simple</td>
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<td>Linearly casual</td>
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<td>Assembly</td>
<td>Morphogenesis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Perspective</td>
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*Fig 1: Lincoln and Guba (1985:52)*

Using the framework of analysis established by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Fig 2, Riley and Love (2000) chart the ontological, epistemological and methodological progress in this area of qualitative research. They identified five 'moments' of progress examples of the first moment stemming from the now infamous Margaret Mead (1928) Coming of Age In Samoa. Embedded within the five research 'moments' are are a series of descriptors. These summarise the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives the investigator views the research question. It is interesting to note that whilst Mead (1928) was using qualitative methods the paradigm held was that of a positivist. Although Riley and Love (2000) go on to use the framework to analyse research papers published in four prominent tourism journals over the last 30 years, they make no effort to explain why or indeed how researchers should select a chosen methodology. The analysis is
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Alternative Paradigms</th>
<th>Ontology</th>
<th>Epistemology</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positivism</td>
<td>Realism: Truth exists and can be identified or discovered</td>
<td>Objectivism: Unbiased observer</td>
<td>Hypothesis testing, falsification, quantification, controlled conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-positivism</td>
<td>Critical realism: Truth exists but can only be partially comprehended</td>
<td>Objectivism is ideal but can only be approximated</td>
<td>Modified quantification, field studies, some qualitative methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Theory</td>
<td>Value-laden realism: Truth shaped by social processes Eg: feminism, ethnicity, neo-marxism</td>
<td>Subjectivism: Values influence inquiry</td>
<td>Interactive process that seeks to challenge commonly held notions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructivism</td>
<td>Relativism: Knowledge is socially constructed, local and specific</td>
<td>Subjectivism: Knowledge created and co-produced by researcher and subject</td>
<td>Process of reconstructing multiple realities through informed consensus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Fig 2: Denzin and Lincoln (1994)

thorough but descriptive, and indeed uses quantitative techniques, a classic if ironic example of examining the 'what' whilst circumventing the 'why' and ignoring the 'how' at the point of research design.

In a framework subsequently known as Total Systems Intervention (TSI) version one Flood and Jackson (1991) link the context of the problem in focus with the values offered by the people either under study of affected by the study. In Fig 3 the horizontal axis is concerned with increasing divergence of values between those interested in, or affected by, a problem situation. People can be in a unitary relationship if they share values and interests They can be in a pluralist relationship if their values and interests diverge but they share enough in common to make it worthwhile remaining as members of the group involved in the research. They can be in a conflictual or coercive relationship if their interests diverge irreconcilably and power comes to bear so that some group or groups gets its own way at the expense of those who are coerced. Large parts of tourism research are concerned with tourism development, and the benefits or penalties that accompany this development.

The vertical axis is to do with increasing complexity: problem contexts can be spread along a continuum, ranging from simple to complex, according to such factors as number of elements, rate and character of the interactions between the elements, nature of subsystems and the environment.

Problem structuring methods are a broad group of problem handling approaches whose purpose is to assist in structuring problems rather than directly solving them. They provide decision makers with systematic help in identifying an agreed framework for their problem. The result is either a well defined project that can be addressed using traditional management and operational research methods, or an clarification of the situation which enables those responsible to agree on a course of action. Classic managerial methods for problem handling in pacified
research conditions are not suitable in more turbulent and problematic environments (Churchman, 1971; Ackoff, 1973; Checkland, 1981; Checkland and Scholes 1990). Typically there is a range of actors who are not in subordinate superordinate relationships with each other. They have a considerable degree of autonomy. The different actors have their own interests and perspectives that lead them to pursue different objectives and to identify different factors as relevant. The potential is here for conflict. This is often exacerbated by the high levels of uncertainty which actors commonly have to endure about their own options, the likely consequences, the objective and possible tactics of others, and so forth.

The use of problem structuring methods rather than classic research methods is dictated by conditions of the present social, cultural and political environment. These conditions suggest that decision makers are more likely to use a method and find it helpful if it accommodates multiple alternative perspectives, can facilitate a joint agenda, can function through interaction and iteration, and is able to generate ownership of the problem formulation and subsequent action implications through transparency of representation.

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<th>UNITARY</th>
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Fig 3: Flood and Jackson 1991

An Example Of A Classic Research Methodology III Matched To A Problem Context

As part of a B Tech Tourism Management course a classical research project was designed to measure the attitude of a rural community to tourism development (Mkhwanazi, 1999). The purpose of the study was to test the hypothesis that economically depressed rural communities will embrace a proposal to improve their economic circumstances through rural tourism development rather than retain a lifestyle of subsistence exploitation of natural resources.

In the manner of classical research
design opinions were to be gathered by way of a carefully designed questionnaire that had been translated into Zulu and would be administered by a first language Zulu speaker. The research design was specific about sample size and the criteria to select respondents, and these were governed by accepted statistical practice.

The project was not successful in its initial purpose of determining whether rural people supported tourism development. However analysis of this application of classic research methodology which did not consider the problem context and the constituency of the human factor to be researched has proved to be most fruitful.

There is virtually no guiding literature in this field of research. Few investigations have taken place in rural kwaZuluNatal and those that have tend to be descriptive and have not dwelt upon research design. The researcher had to rely on the advice contained in Research Methodology the subject designed to offer research designers help. This subject, as it is currently taught at Technikon Natal is classical and hard systems orientated. In order to reduce the problem to a simple set of manageable components rather too many assumptions were made at the design stage. Although a fluent user of both English and zulu Mkhwanazi had difficulty in translating the questionnaire. In some cases there were no zulu equivalent phrases, and other cases it was impossible to avoid ambiguity or at least arrange the zulu so that the statistical analysis held up. It was assumed that the interviewees would know what tourism actually was, and that they would exhibit common concern about the use or exploitation of natural resources.

A sample of size of thirty respondents had been specified in the research design. In the field the questionnaire proved impossible to administer. It proved impossible to isolate and interview single respondents in the manner required in a classical research method. The people approached did not want to be seen to be talking to a researcher, and certainly did not wish to offer an individual opinion. Talking informally to the groups did illicit information, but this merely highlighted how difficult it had been to predict questions and issues that were of concern to the population in focus. As conversation continued the initial hostility shown by the groups towards the questioner change to one of inquiry. The interviewees became the interviewers. As the session continued it became apparent that the intervention had transformed a group initially hostile to the very notion of tourism into one who wanted more information on the subject. This was a prima facie example of the very act of inquiry altering that which was to be investigated. The principle is not new. Although not documented it was clear that a second researcher, given the same set of questions and the same sample of interviewees, would not be able to replicate this event. The conditions that existed at the start of the first interview had irrevocably been altered by the very act of interview.

As the questionnaire failed to produce primary data for analysis the research stalled at this point as an example of classic scientific method.

Although it was likely that part of the failure was due to cultural aversion caused by an interviewer who spoke what was regarded by the interviewees as poor urban zulu it is proposed in this paper that the failure of the research design was due to a mismatch between the problem in focus and the methodology selected to improve understanding of that problem. An examination of the research proposal shows that the design was correctly undertaken, had it been possible to
correctly isolate the sub-problems, and had they remained isolated throughout the investigation. Unfortunately the sub problems did not comply with this aspect of classical method, and changed themselves during the course of the investigation, possibly as a result of the investigation.

The Use Of The TSI Framework In A Tourism Research Context

Turning to the TSI framework offered by Flood and Jackson (Fig 3) the first action is to locate the problem context as it is initially perceived in this research. On reflection the researcher concedes that it was impossible to predict and isolate one or two factors that might influence rural opinion on the desirability of tourism development. As informal discussion proceeded it became apparent that there were many competing elements that combined to influence rural opinion. It made no sense to isolate one or two and investigate them only. The problem context itself can therefore be considered to be complex. Turning to the participants. Initial opinion might suggest that as the community group answered the questions with one voice then they might be considered to hold a unitary position of shared values and interests. However the position of the group changed during discussion and this would suggest that at least some opinion within the group was at variance with the rest or the position would have remained unchanged. However as there was enough shared interest for the group to remain coherent it could be located in the pluralist sector. Thus according to Flood and Jackson the problem context is one that could considered to be complex pluralist.

According to the principle of complementarism various different methodologies can be selected to address the different aspects of difficulty as they emerge. Although it is not in the scope of this paper to explain the principle of complementarism (see Flood and Jackson, 1991; Jackson, 1991) as it applies to TSI in the tourism context (see Quigley, 1999) a systemic cycle of inquiry can be followed engaging the researcher, the 'clients' and the problem context and others identified as necessary.

In the case of the specific research problem considered in this problem it is likely that Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) mode two (Checkland 1991) would have been an appropriate methodology including as it does three streams of inquiry in; an intervention analysis, a social system analysis and a political system analysis. In the case of the Mkhwanazi research it was not necessary to establish an absolute truth. The work was to uncover the perceptions of the community under study. The paradigm necessary for this to be of value, according to Denzin and Lincoln (Fig 2) was that of Critical Theory.

Improvements To TSI

By 1995 considerable criticism had been attached to the simplistic nature of TSI version one, not least from Jackson himself who published his revised thinking in 1996. Flood (1995) revised the concept of TSI with the objective of operationalising it still further. TSI version two. According to Flood (1995) the criticisms inherent in version one, including the idea that competing paradigms were incommensurate in one methodology, were removed in version two. Further work by Brown (1998) and criticism from Midgely, 1997; Wilby 1997; Ragsdell, 1997 have lead to continuous improvement in the technique which is now applying its own principles to itself in order to evolve. Quigley (1999) contains a more complete discussion on the operational nature and feasibility of using TSI version two in the field as a framework to guide research.
Recommendations
Research Methodology as it is currently taught in technikons can be considered to be in deficit until it places more emphasis on, and sympathy with the possibility that alternative paradigms can be held by a researcher, and that these will require research methodologies that are complementary to the problem context of the research undertaken.

Co-requisite with an awareness of alternative paradigms is the need for a methodology of methodologies to enable the researcher to use rigorous techniques when matching methodologies to problem contexts and not rely on blind prejudice or inertia for that choice.

Conclusions
This paper has shown, through Riley and Love (2000) that a wide variety of research methodologies have been employed in the field of tourism research. Denzin and Lincoln have provided a framework within which are located the various paradigms necessary to accept alternative research methodologies. Examining the work of Flood and Jackson (1991) and Flood (1995) this paper has proposed that there should be more rigour introduced at the level where methodologies are selected in a research proposal. It is suggested that methodology must be complementary and commensurate with the problem context and that this selection process must include a critical review within which the chosen methodology is evaluated and shown to be relevant for use in the chosen problem context.

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1 This paper was first read at the Annual Technikon Natal Research Conference, September 2000
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Profits and Exploitation

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DATE: October 16 - 18, 2001
VENUE: THE PRESIDENT HOTEL, BANTRY BAY
CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA
COST: R500.00 (five hundred rand per person)

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DETAILS:
Join key stakeholders from the international Tourism Industry, Academia, NGOs, Private Sector and Government to discuss common concerns, share experiences and explore resolutions. The deliberations will be guided by internationally respected keynote speakers.

Community Tourism

Association Congress 2001

Hosted by: Pietermaritzburg Tourism
DATE: October 21 - 25, 2001
VENUE: VARIOUS HOSPITALITY VENUES
PIETERMARITZBURG, SOUTH AFRICA
COST: R350/R450 (Members, Non-Members)

ENQURIES: Pietermaritzburg Tourism,
Publicity House.
177 Commercial Rd
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More information is available at http://pmb-midlands.KwaZulu
Natal.org.za\pmb-midlands\2.html

DETAILS
Theme of this three-day conference is MAXIMISE YOUR TOURISM POTENTIAL
Rumblings of Codes and Charters...
The following extracts from the net have led me to wondering how the "tourism thriller" is going to change over Southern Africa?

Tourism Growth: Africa shows positive advance
The tourism sector rebounded after two years of restrained growth due to the Asian economic crisis. Preliminary results by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) show international tourist arrivals growing by 4.5 percent in 1999 to reach an estimated 700 million by the end of the year. Growth is not included in the above. It was 2.5 percent higher in South Africa with Middle East Destination and Europe having 4,489,000 arrivals- an increase of 4.5 percent.

World Tourism Organization Global Code of Ethics
The intention of protecting the earth’s environment and cultural heritages from the non-stop growth of international tourism, world leaders approved a Global Code of Ethics for Tourism during a summit meeting in Santiago. The code, developed by the World Tourism Organization (WTO), outlines a 10-point blueprint for preserving the resources upon which tourism depends and for ensuring that the skyrocketing profits from tourism benefit residents of tourism destinations.

"With international tourism forecast to nearly triple in volume in the first 20 years of the next century, we felt that the Code of Ethics was needed to ensure the sustainability of our industry," said WTO Secretary-General Francesco Frangialli. The Global Code of Ethics for Tourism includes nine articles outlining the "rules of the game" for destinations, governments, tour operators, developers, travel agents, workers and travellers themselves. The tenth article involves the redress of grievances through the creation of a World Committee on Tourism Ethics. For example, travellers are required to learn about the customs, health hazards and security risks of countries they are preparing to visit before departure, while destinations and tourism professionals are held responsible for repatriating tourists in the case of the bankruptcy of a travel service provider.

Investors and public authorities are required to carry out environmental impact studies before beginning tourism development projects and to involve local residents. Other articles involve the rights of workers in the tourism industry and the freedom of movement of people across national boundaries. The code was developed after extensive consultation with governments, trade associations, labour unions, private sector companies and non-governmental organizations. It marks the first time that a document of this type will have a mechanism for enforcement, which will be based on conciliation through the World.

Committee on Tourism Ethics
The five-day WTO General Assembly, held in Santiago, attracted some 800 delegates from 110 nations around the world-including 60 ministers or secretaries of state for tourism. Other items on the agenda included a day-long session on Tourism & Cyberspace and the release of a new study published by the WTO Business Council Marketing Tourism Destinations in the Information Age.
"Internet is the perfect medium for public-private cooperation in tourism and it is revolutionizing all aspects of the tourism sector," said Business Council CEO José Luís Zoreda. Delegates also endorsed a new system for accurately measuring the economic impact of tourism activity called the Tourism Satellite Account and urged member nations to begin implementing the system as a way of raising awareness about the vital role of tourism in their national economies: World Tourism Organisation.

Tourism industry adopts empowerment charter

Leaders in South Africa’s tourism industry adopted and signed an Empowerment and Transformation Charter for the industry at the Annual General Meeting of the Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA) held in Johannesburg on Friday.

The Charter, aimed at creating a more equitable distribution of jobs, skills, income and ownership of capital in the industry, signifies a commitment to working individually and collectively to ensure that the opportunities and benefits of the tourism industry are extended to previously disadvantaged South Africans.

TBCSA Chairperson Dr Danisa Baloyi said that the signing of the Charter was not just about social responsibility, but that it made sound business sense.

"It requires signatories to report openly and honestly about progress made in their transformation programmes. This includes promotion of ownership in the industry, business development, creating management opportunities and enhancing community development."

She said the ceremony signified a milestone in the TBCSA’s pursuit of real growth and development in the tourism industry.

"I believe this historic occasion is the result of a solid partnership with our Government partners and key individuals in the tourism industry. Together we will ensure that the tourism environment is conducive to growth and sustainability."

The charter outlines two fundamental challenges for the tourism industry, namely the need to become more globally competitive and the need to include the formerly disadvantaged into the industry mainstream.

"We believe these two challenges are closely linked and for them to be met properly, they must be underpinned by sound commercial logic and be focused with deliverable growth objectives," said Baloyi.

In a keynote address, SANPARKS Chairman Murphy Morobe congratulated the TBCSA on this initiative and reminded the industry that it will be judged not by the signatures on the Charter, but by the actions in pursuit of its tenets. "I believe the Charter, which is long overdue, will definitely send out an unequivocal message about the tourism industry’s commitment to transformation."

Signatories of the Charter and the organisations represented by them will be required to compile an annual status report on empowerment and transformation.

For further information on this charter please contact:

Veronica Motsepe, Assistant Director,
Tourism Business Council,
http://www.tbsca.org.za/

Codes, charters and documented organisational ethical practices are on the increase. Lots of words and good intentions are raining from these ethical clouds. But do these reach the grass roots in tourism areas or is there a drought in local pockets. How much do regional tourism growers know about this ethical front approaching? Are they aware of how to access this fertilising agent or will it pass over, dark and ominous, without shedding a drop of life giving fluid; as most storms in Southern Africa tend to do?

from a Local Tourism ‘Farmer’

Letters and extracts will only be accepted on this page if accompanied by a full name and address, items printed anonymously are at the discretion of the editor. Responses to articles and debates will be acknowledged and not anonymous.
As access and usage increase the WEB is offering more and more opportunity for tourism practitioners from all spheres of the process to gain insight into what’s happening “out there.”

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