



Township tourism: understanding tourist motivation

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Abstract

This study aims at exploring the motivation that drives tourists to townships. The theories that were chosen as the theoretical base of this study were the push and pull theory, the Travel Career Ladder, authenticity and the tourist gaze. Three research questions were asked around the theory base and a survey was done of 100 tourists in selected locations within Soweto. Results obtained from the respondents allowed for statistical analysis. The results indicated that the township tourists were intrinsically motivated and were driven by affiliation needs. Furthermore, the tourists that initially visited Soweto were motivated by authenticity; however, as the amount of tourism in the area grew, the tourist gaze became the more dominant form of motivation. The implications of the study findings are discussed.

Keywords: Authenticity, Tourist Gaze, Travel Career Ladder, Extrinsic and Intrinsic, Township tourism, Soweto.

Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

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Date: 01 August 2011

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TOWNSHIP TOURISM: UNDERSTANDING TOURIST MOTIVATION

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Slum tourism, or 'poorism', as some call it, is catching on. From the favelas of Rio de Janeiro to the townships of Johannesburg to the garbage dumps of Mexico, tourists are forsaking, at least for a while, beaches and museums for crowded, dirty – and in many ways surprising – slums.

Weiner, 2008

Global capitalist development has undergone significant transformations over the past few decades. The regime known as Fordism (taking its name from Henry Ford's assembly lines manufacturing mass-produced cars) characterised the major capitalist economies for the best part of the twentieth century. Scholars have posited a shift from a predominately Fordist model of capitalistic development to the emergence of post-Fordist and neo-Fordist modes of production and consumption. The tourism industry, an integral component of the global capitalist order, has not been immune to these changes (Torres, 2002; Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Pre-Fordist tourism can be defined as the initial stage of travel industry. This model lasted until the Fordist revolution of the 1950's. Starting from the 50's a new type of tourist demand led to a new stage in this evolutionary process. In keeping with the characteristics of other Fordist industries, tourism started providing mass products generally identified under the label of mass tourism. The inventor of tourism packages, Thomas Cook, in the 19th century created pioneering forms of mass tourism and the opportunity for a definitive shift from aristocratic forms of vacation to

the mass mobility of workers spending their paid time off work in travelling. Some authors prefer to talk about Cookism rather than Fordism, considering the influence of Thomas Cook on the first tourism package (Conti & Perelli, 2005). Characterised by specialisation and a detailed division of labour, Fordism placed a high value on homogeneity, standardisation, functionality and efficiency (Fittipaldi, 2008).

Post-Fordism manifests in a wide range of highly differentiated tourism products such as ecotourism, cultural tourism, rural tourism, agro tourism, archeo-tourism, „danger’ tourism and, since the mid-1990s, slum tourism. The latter form of tourism has emerged in the globalising cities of several developing countries. Visits to the most disadvantaged parts of the respective cities are often essential features of this form of tourism. It is mainly composed of guided tours through these disadvantaged areas (Rolfes, 2009). A slum is defined as a run-down area of a city characterised by substandard housing, squalor and lacking in tenure security (Torres, 2002; Ma, 2010).

A central appeal of slum tourism is that it is the antithesis of traditional cultural tours. Instead of showing tourists valuable cultural artefacts, slum tours show poverty. This focus is a break from Fordist mass-packaged tourism which has been criticised for concentrating on the „4 S’s’ of tourism: sun, sand, sea and sex. Because of its uniqueness, slum tourism will likely continue to grow in the coming years, as there are still many major slums around the world (Ma, 2010).

The phenomenon of touring slums is referred to, interchangeably, as reality tourism and social tourism. Critics use terms such as poverty tourism and poorism, which

express a belief in the activity's morally dubious, socio-voyeuristic quality. Furthermore, the term slumming (negative sightseeing) occurs in the field of critical tourism research (Rolfes, 2009). Slum tourism is thus a very controversial topic. According to Ma (2010), the controversy behind slum tourism is twofold. First, most slum tours are run by for-profit companies that often do not donate money back into the slum. Second, slum residents are said to suffer the humiliation of having their lives put on display for Western tourists. Moreover, Ramchander (2007a) argues that slum tourists can open up these culturally fragile areas, clearing the way for potentially damaging mass tourism.

Opponents of poorism reason that tourists can severely damage (in terms of socio-cultural impact) local communities. Tourists in search of active contact with the local population are likely to cause far more disturbance by seeking out „local' places where their presence may cause friction with the local population. The slum culture may become commercialised, and the youth may begin to copy the behaviour and the styles of foreign tourists. An increasing presence of tourists may even lead to inflated prices (Ramchander, 2007a). As a result, slum tours have often been called exploitative, voyeuristic, and imperialistic (Ma, 2010). Consequently, it can be concluded, according to this school of thought, that slum tourists potentially open up culturally fragile areas, clearing the way for potentially damaging mass tourism (Ramchander 2007a).

It has been discovered that slum tourism, in the form of slumming, was a mode of pre-Fordist tourism in Victorian England, where it was a leisure activity pursued by

the upper and upper-middle classes of London society. Nevertheless, by most accounts, slum tourism began in Brazil nineteen years ago, when a young man named Marcelo Armstrong took a few tourists into Rocinha, Rio de Janeiro's largest favela, or shantytown. His company, Favela Tour, grew and spawned half a dozen imitators. Today, on any given day in Rio, dozens of tourists hop in minivans, then motorcycles, and venture into places even Brazil's police dare not set foot. Organisers insist the tours are safe, though they routinely check security conditions as such areas can often be volatile (Rolfes, 2009; Weiner, 2008).

Since being founded in Rio de Janeiro, slum tourism has spread to seven major metropolises in four continents (See Exhibit 1 in Appendix). Slum tourism has grown quickly because its tour location is unique among other forms of post-Fordist tourism packages due to the intangible and unique cultural heritage of slums. In addition, in recent years, slums have received prominent coverage in the mass media.

Critics attack not just actual visits, but also virtual poverty tourism through film (Selinger & Outterson, 2009). In particular, films depicting slum life like *City of God* (2002) (Rio de Janeiro), *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) (Mumbai) and *District 9* (2009) (Johannesburg), have become international hits. Tourism researchers have long established a positive link between media exposure and business growth (Ma, 2010).

Slum tourism is offered on a relatively large scale in South African cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town, Brazil's Rio de Janeiro, as well as in the Indian metropolises Calcutta, Mumbai and Delhi, to name some important examples.

Guided slum tours are a very complex tourism phenomenon. They are extraordinary, as tourists are confronted with the subject – poverty – which is in marked contrast to the culture and lifestyle commonly employed to advertise these cities as luxurious tourist destinations. Before, during, and after the tours, poverty is made a subject for discussion. It is implicitly marketed as a supposed attraction, presented as reality or authenticity (Rolfes, 2009).

The present study seeks to understand why this form of tourism is attractive to the consumer. There are relatively few empirical studies concerning the phenomenon of slum tourism. Likewise, theoretical links helping to analyse and understand this form of tourism are still rare (Rolfes, 2009).

According to Alghamdi (2007), the ways in which people set objectives for their choice of destination, and how these objectives are then reflected in their choice and travel behaviour, can be revealed through an analysis of motivation and consumer behaviour theories. Additionally, Kay (2003) states that the application of consumer motivation theory to tourism is deemed especially relevant, as motivation is considered a critical variable in the tourist decision-making process. Furthermore, Ma (2010) states that understanding tourist motivations is crucial for evaluating the relevance and significance of slum tourism's moral critiques, such as claims of voyeurism and exploitation, which call into question the ethical intents of tourists. Motivation is the cause of human behaviour; this paper therefore explores what motivates people to engage in slum tourism.

According to Kozak (2004), it is difficult to respond to customer needs and wants, and to grasp the extent to which products and services at the destination can match their motivations unless priority is given to examining them. Therefore, in order to be competitive in the market, players in the South African tourism industry would need to understand the motives their customers have. In this way they can maximise the township tourists' level of satisfaction. It is important to note that the most important of these stakeholders, for the purpose of this study, are the business owners, such as the tour operators, and hospitality enterprises (for example bed and breakfasts and restaurateurs).

Through a review of the relevant literature, numerous theoretical approaches to tourist motivation can be identified. Tourist motivation theories embody an amalgam of ideas and approaches (Kay, 2003). This paper will focus on theories that seek to explain or have been used to understand post-Fordist tourism. It will start with the „Travel Career Ladder’; a theory that utilises a needs-based approach. It will then focus on the concepts of „authenticity’ and the „tourist gaze’ respectively; where authenticity means „to get with the natives’ (Rolfes, 2009: 422) and the „tourist gaze’ is a form of „sightseeing’ (Nash, 1990).

As there is currently very little research on slum tourism travel motivation, this paper intends to serve as an exploratory study into this field and to provide a foundation for future research. In South Africa, township tourism is growing rapidly. As there is scarce information on this phenomenon, the application of township consumer

motivation theory to the tourism industry is very relevant and indisputably beneficial to township tourism enterprises.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review seeks to give academic argument to the task of understanding the motivation behind tourists' attraction to township tours. It will provide a theoretical background to the study. The theory will perform the task of guiding the research as well as provide the direction for reasoning.

The form of reasoning that will be used for this research is deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning can be defined as „a thinking process in which one proceeds from general to specific knowledge through logical argument' (Ary, Jacobs, Razaviagh, & Sorensen, 2009). Bearing the above in mind, in this chapter tourism literature is used to identify theories that are pertinent to township tourism. Firstly, it will briefly introduce the extrinsic/extrinsic debate. Secondly, it will focus on the Travel Career Ladder. Thirdly it will examine the concept of authenticity. Finally, Urry's theory on the tourist gaze will be discussed.

2.2 Fordism and Post-Fordism

Upon reflecting on the modern-day evolution in the industrial sector, several researchers have suggested that the recent paradigmatic shift in tourism production and consumption from the old Fordist tourist locations towards more post-Fordist locales of „freedom', emphasises individuality over any perceived notion of mass markets. Others put forth the concept of neo-Fordism to describe recent transformations in the tourism industry which propose that, rather than a complete

break with Fordist production and consumption, mass tourism is becoming characterised by increasing individualisation, flexible specialisation, niche market segmentation and mass customisation (Torres, 2002; Ioannides & Debbage, 1998).

Table 1: Fordism, Post-Fordism and Neo-Fordism

Fordist Tourism	Post-Fordist Tourism	Neo-Fordist Tourism
Mass tourism	Specialised/individualised/ customised niche market tourism	Niche market tourism
Inflexible/rigid	Flexible	Flexible specialization
Undifferentiated products	Product differentiation	Product differentiation
Spatially concentrated	Shorter product life cycle	
Small number of products		Continuity of Fordist structures/institutions
Discount product		
Economies of scale	Small scale or „small batch’	Mass customisation
Large number of consumers	Consumer controlled	Consumer choice
Collective consumption	Individualised consumption	
Undifferentiated consumers	„Better tourists’	
Seasonally polarized		
Demand Western amenities	Rapidly changing consumer tastes	
Stages authenticity	Desire authenticity	Desire reality while revelling in kitsch
Environmental pressures	„Green tourism’	

Source: Torres (2002)

As with Fordist tourism, post-Fordist tourism production and consumption is an ambiguous and often-contested notion. There are, nevertheless, several specific characteristics that academics ascribe to post-Fordist modes of tourism production and consumption (see Table 1 below). Increased specialisation, individualisation and customisation in production and consumption are common traits associated with

post-Fordism. With rapidly changing and more diversified consumer tastes, highly segmented specialty niche markets emerge. Edensor (2001) suggests that a fragmentation of tourist specialisms into niche markets entails a proliferation of stages, activities and identities. Products are individualised, customised or tailor-made to meet individual preferences.

In accordance with neo-Fordism, South Africa's tourism industry consists of high levels of industrial concentration and large-scale industrial organisations, while simultaneously implementing increasingly sophisticated brand segmentation strategies and highly flexible travel-based products (Debbage & Gallaway, 2009).

2.2.1 The 'death of distance'

The most penetrating analysis that explains the forces that drive these global economic processes (that is, Fordism, post-Fordism and neo-Fordism) has been offered by the Marxist geographer David Harvey, who presented the concept of „time-space compression'. This concept is of considerable interest in unravelling the growth and development of Third World, including South African, tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

For Harvey (2004), the most important cultural change in the transformation from Fordism to neo-Fordism was the change in the human experience of space and time. He made his point through a time line of the increasing velocity of travel from sailing in the 1950's to aircrafts in the 1960's. The 1990's for instance, according to Urry (2001), have seen remarkable „time-space compression' as people across the globe have been brought „closer' through various technologically assisted developments.

This „death of distance’, therefore, stemmed from the rapid flow of travellers and tourists physically moving from place to place, across national and international borders through corporeal travel. This led to a significant social change whereby people found that they could take advantage of all the divergent possibilities, as well as cultivate a whole series of simulacra as a milieu of escape, fantasy, and distraction (Urry, 2001; Harvey, 2004).

In the racial-Fordism era (before the first democratic elections in 1994), South Africa’s unique selling points were scenic beauty, wildlife and climate; where 30% of the tourists visited South Africa for its scenic beauty, while 26% were drawn by its wildlife. Over the past decade, tourists have exercised a preference for travel that involves meaning and learning, as opposed to the mass tourism culture of relaxation in the sun. Since the mid-1990’s the interest of tourists coming to South Africa has changed. While the main focus was initially set on natural beauty during and in the immediate post-apartheid period (see Exhibit 2 in Appendix), the interest of tourists shifted increasingly towards other less mainstream forms of tourism, such as, alternative, sustainable, alternative, adventure, health and cultural tourism (Rolfes, 2009; Ramchander, 2007a)

In fact, post 1994, 27% of tourists came to see the „new’ South Africa, while 21% came to view the country’s cultural attractions. That is, 48% of tourists came to see South Africa with cultural motivation (Ramchander, 2007a). Furthermore, in a more recent survey (2009) conducted by VISA of international travellers visiting South Africa, individuals were asked what appealed to them about the country. The

following results were recorded: the majority (77 %) cited the natural beauty, 56 % agreed that there are lots of interesting things to do, 54 % noted that they enjoy the local culture, and 47 % alluded to the country's favourable weather.

In South Africa, cultural tourism, which is a component of special interest tourism, has primarily taken the form of township tourism and cultural village tourism. With the demise of apartheid, increasing emphasis has been placed on the role of township tourism as a catalyst for social change and healing by the state, the private sector and community organisations (Ramchander, 2007a).

2.3 Township Tourism

Townships are the focus of a new tourist trend in South Africa, where the emphasis is on cultural aspects. Cultural tourists are presumably motivated by a desire to experience local cultures when choosing to visit a particular location. Cultural tourism in South Africa is still in its infancy; however the political changes, post-apartheid, have stimulated increased interest in the fascinating mix of cultures found in townships (Ramchander, 2007a,b).

While the term slum is used generically to refer to socially degraded communities, it is important to note that slums, worldwide, differ in significant ways. In South Africa, the old pervasive apartheid policies had implications for, and an impact on, urban development, segregation and social polarisation. Thus residential areas of the black population were normally located a great distance away from city centres and residential areas of the white population. Even after the demise of apartheid, the social demarcations, along racial lines, continue to be manifest and remain a feature

of the country. Furthermore, before the end of government-instituted segregation, the townships were particular centres of conflict in the fight against the regime of the time. Such specific historical dimensions and ethnic disparities cannot be found within Brazilian favelas and Indian slums (Rolfes, 2009) and remain idiosyncratic of South Africa.

Townships throughout South Africa are in many ways similar in terms of their historical, geographical and socio-economic arrangement. Having originally been established as dormitory towns as a means of enforcing segregation, townships in South Africa are perceived as being inhabited by poor and crime-ridden communities in which high levels of political strife are prevalent. Consequently, there has been a deep-rooted perception among many South Africans and foreigners that townships are not a place to visit because of the threat they pose to personal safety (Ramchander, 2007b).

There are townships located on the outskirts of all major cities in all nine provinces of the country. For the purpose of this research paper, tourists visiting one township will be studied. Since the researcher is situated in Johannesburg, Soweto (see Exhibit 4 in Appendix), which lies 15 kilometres south-west of the city, has been chosen as it constitutes the most practical and accessible site (Pohlandt, 2006; Ramchander, 2007b).

2.4 Motivation

Human beings experience needs at any given time. A need becomes a motive when it is aroused to a sufficient level of intensity to drive one to act. Motivation refers to a state of need, a condition that exerts a push on the individual toward certain types of action that are seen as likely to bring satisfaction. Consumer behaviour which can be defined as the decision-making process and physical activity involved in acquiring, evaluating, using and disposing of goods and services, is influenced by motivation (Kotler & Keller, 2009; Knowles, Diamantis & El-Mourhabi, 2004).

It should be noted that tourists rarely travel to satisfy one motive. A number of researchers have noted that tourists' motivations are multiple, with various reasons motivating their decisions to travel for tourism. Moreover, it is accepted that tourists hope to experience more than one activity in any destination (Alghamdi, 2007).

The study of travel motivations strives to understand the intrinsic and extrinsic factors that compel a tourist to go on a tour. Push factors are the intrinsic, personal motivations and desires that influence a person to make decisions regarding travel, such as travel destination and trip activities. Intrinsically motivated tourists go on the tour for the sake of the tour and the enjoyment they experience during the tour. Extrinsically, pull factors are the destination attributes that satisfy the tourists' push desires. Extrinsically motivated tourists are reward seeking and goal-oriented individuals. Thus, in planning a vacation, a tourist searches for destinations and activities with pull factors that match his/her push factors (Ma, 2010; Lubbe, 2003; Pigram & Jenkins, 2006).

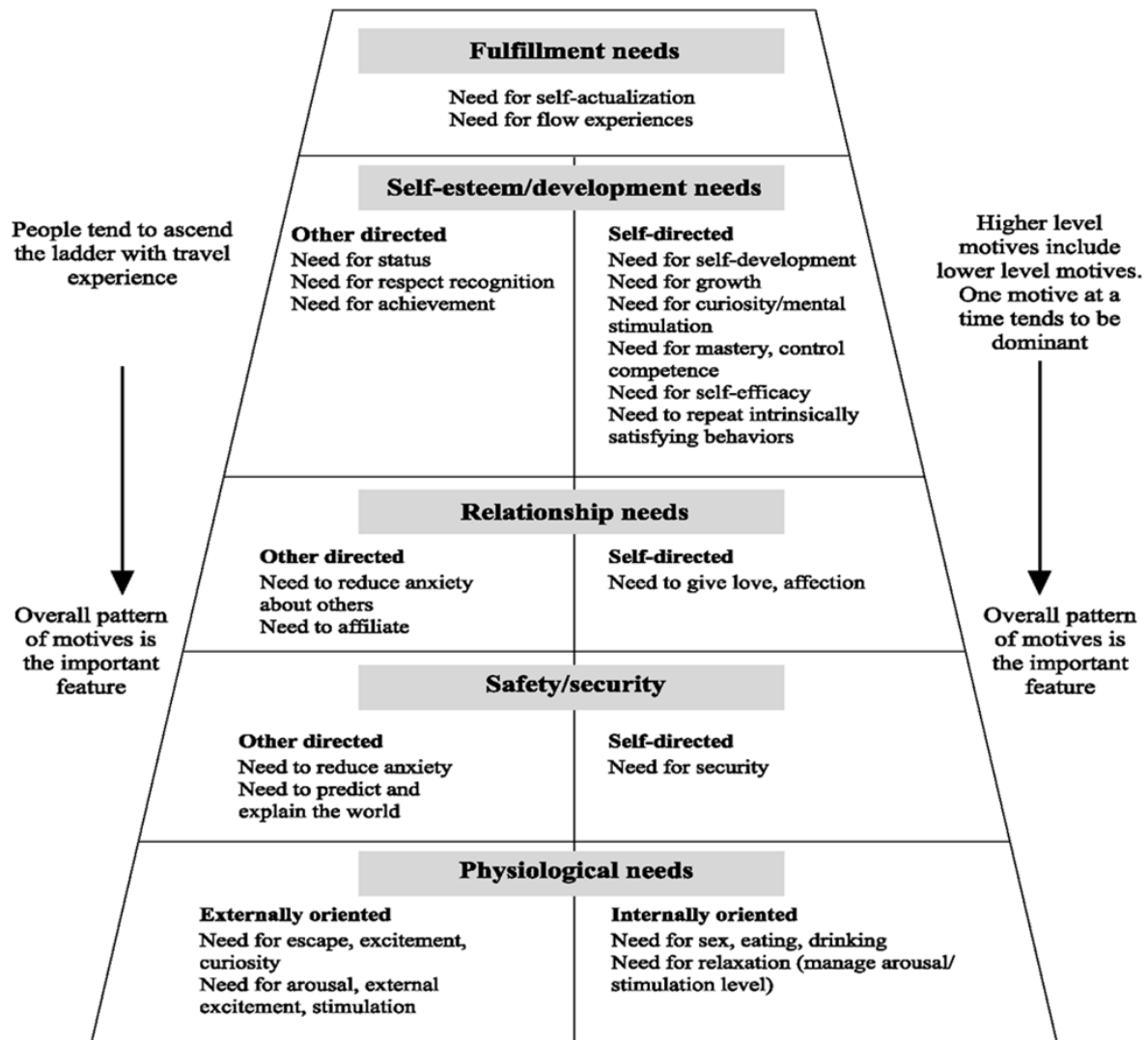
According to Wearing & Neil (2009), motives are located along a continuum with pull factors on the one end and push factors at the other. When disequilibrium arises due to a feeling of dissatisfaction in relation to one or more push factor, it can be rectified by a break in routine, thus restoring homeostasis (equilibrium), that is, through travel. Thus, the destination site is merely a medium through which contending motives can simultaneously be satisfied.

Beyond identifying individual push and pull factors, several researchers have sought to create umbrella groupings of travel motivations. This paper will focus on tourism motivation theories that have been applied to slum tourism by Ma (2010) and the Travel Career Ladder.

2.4.1 The Needs and Motivations of Tourists (Pearce *et al*)

According to Teichmann & Zins (2009), Pearce & Lee (2005) and Lubbe (2005), Pearce applied Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see Exhibit 3 in Appendix) to the field of tourist behaviour. In his paper, he argues that, on the one hand, tourists travel because of a desire for self-actualisation, love and belongingness, and physiological needs. On the other hand, they have a concern for safety and avoid failure to satisfy physiological, love and belongingness and self-esteem needs. Later, between 1986 and 1991, Pearce, Caltabiano and Moscardo developed the travel motivation theory labelled the TCL (Travel Career Ladder) which is less commonly known as the „Travel Needs Ladder’.

Fig 1: Travel Career Ladder



Source: Gonzalez & Bello (2002).

The theory explains that tourist motivation can be arranged in a hierarchy of five categories as shown in Fig 1: relaxation needs, safety/security (stimulation) needs, relationship needs, self-esteem/development needs, and self-actualization/fulfilment needs, in that increasing order of importance. As in Maslow's hierarchy, the lower needs must be fulfilled before moving to the higher level needs.

Nevertheless, travellers were not considered to have only one level of travel motivation, but it was suggested that one set of needs in the ladder levels may be dominant. Thus, several levels of the ladder work together simultaneously (Pearce & Lee, 2005; Lubbe, 2005). For example, a Western tourist may visit South Africa to relax in the bush surrounded by nature/animals (a physiological need), and because they want to help impoverished people, they may visit a township (a relationship need).

The ideas of Maslow represent only part of the genesis of the TCL. The concept of equating career progressions with leisure or tourism was incorporated in the TCL approach. From this approach, people may be said to have a travel career, that is, a pattern of travel motives that change (by moving „up the ladder’) according to their life stage and/or accumulated travel experiences (Pearce & Lee, 2005).

The resulting implication is that limiting factors such as money, time and healthcare needs change over time. It also implies that motives and needs change over time, along with social company and place. For example a family may go to a national park for the holiday, whereas their teenager may prefer a thrilling, adventure-type holiday. Similarly the holiday the teenager would want would be different when they become an adult and enter the workforce, seeking rest rather than adventure in their free time. The destination, as well as the individual’s social company, will also influence tourist motives. For example, an individual’s motives for attending an educational school field trip may be different from visiting the beach with some friends (Lubbe, 2005).

2.4.2 Authenticity (MacCannell)

Dean MacCannell believes that contemporary tourists are not on a mission in the pursuit of gratification solely, but rather, they are also searching for verisimilitude or more appropriately, „authenticity’ (Hillman, 2007). According to Theobald (1998:411), authenticity means „genuine, unadulterated or „the real thing”. Wang (1999) notes that authenticity can be differentiated into two separate issues: that of tourist experiences (or authentic experiences) and that of toured objects. While these are two separate aspects of authenticity, they are often confused as one.

A case in point are the different forms of township tourism, such as situations that involve a purely visual display of arts, crafts, and political land; and those that involve visitors in a genuine context, such as visits to people’s homes, traditional healers, and active dance (Ramchander, 2007b).

In 1961, Daniel Boorstin was the first to study authenticity as a travel motivation, by writing that tourists were driven to see pseudo-events, which were simulations of reality that served no actual function in real life. Pseudo-events were attractive because they provided fun, pleasure, and an escape from the real world. Dean MacCannell argues however, that „pseudo-events’ result from the social relations of tourism and not from the individualistic search for the inauthentic (Urry, 2002). In 1999, MacCannell proposed the theory of post-modern/Fordist tourism, which sought to counter Boorstin’s view by stating that tourists were not searching for the inauthentic, but rather the authentic, especially in rural and undeveloped areas.

The desire for the authentic can be likened to a quest for a holy place, therefore, a religious pilgrimage. The outcome of this is that the tourist only occasionally achieves the goal of authenticity. This apparently does not stem from the quality of the search, but from the way in which tourists are influenced by tourism operators, guides, staff, advertising and marketing. In areas developed for the use of tourists, they are trapped in a disguised, but encircling 'tourist space' (Urry, 2002; Hillman, 2007).

In order to define 'authentic', MacCannell draws upon the distinction made by the sociologist Erving Goffman between the 'front' and 'back' regions of social establishments. Front locations are constructed with the single purpose of attracting tourists, whereas back locations are the natural surroundings and environments of the local people, that is, the backstage locale is the home environment of the local people. These environments are not 'manufactured' for tourists (Hillman, 2007). MacCannell further amplifies Goffman's frontstage and backstage polarities into six regions which MacCannell declares are theoretically discernible. These six regions are (Hillman, 2007):

- i. Stage One - This is Goffman's front region; the type of socially constructed area tourists attempt to conquer or advance behind.
- ii. Stage Two - This is a front region, set up for tourists, that has been embellished to seem, in certain ways, as a back region. Operationally, this stage is an absolute front region, but is superficially enhanced with prompts of back area actions; tokens, labelled 'atmosphere'.

- iii. Stage Three - This takes the form of a front region that is fully arranged to appear as a back region. This is a questionable phase: the more comprehensive the pretence, the harder it is to separate from stage four.
- iv. Stage Four - This is a back region that is unobstructed to newcomers. It is the accessible trait that separates these particularly touristic areas (stages three and four) from other back regions.
- v. Stage Five - This is a back region that has been tidied up or changed around so as to allow tourists an infrequent perusal.
- vi. Stage Six - This is Erving Goffman's back region, the type of societal space that arouses touristic awareness.

Tourists experience shame if they feel that they had failed to see everything the way it „ought’ to be seen. The „superlative’ tourist is thus one who wishes to detour from the well-trodden route, who abhors exploitation and the obvious tourist traps. His/her motivation is based on a desire to go beyond the other 'measly' tourists to a more profound appreciation of society and culture. The post-Fordist tourist therefore seeks the backstage (genuine or contrived) locale as they demand true authenticity; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel (Hillman, 2007; Ramchander, 2007b).

In South Africa, both front and back stage are evident, for instance in cultural villages where locals „perform’ culture for the tourist in the front-stage area, returning to the backstage area when they return to their homes at the end of the day and carry out their normal activities. Townships as a destination are backstage regions. A visit to

these areas reveals the effects of the legacy of apartheid, while front stage experiences involve purely favourable images (Ramchander, 2007b).

MacCannell notes that, unlike the religious pilgrim who pays homage to a single sacred centre, the tourist pays homage to an enormous array of centres of attraction. He maintains that there is normally a process of sacralisation that renders a particular natural and cultural artefact as a sacred object of the tourist ritual. A number of stages are involved in this; naming the sight, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction of new sights. He adds that „anything is potentially an attraction. It simply awaits one person to take the trouble to point out to another as something noteworthy or worth seeing’ (Urry, 2002).

To reach self-actualization using travel, Wang (1999, 2000) identified three types of travel authenticity:

- i. *Objective authenticity* refers to the authenticity of originals. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are equated to an epistemological experience (i.e. cognition) of the authenticity of originals.
- ii. *Constructive authenticity* refers to the authenticity projected onto toured objects or tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers, etc. There are various versions of authenticities regarding the same objects. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism and the authenticity of toured objects are constitutive of one another. In this sense, the authenticity of toured objects is in fact symbolic authenticity.

- iii. *Existential authenticity* refers to a potential existential state of being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are to achieve this activated existential state of being within the liminal process of tourism. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects.

2.4.3 Tourist Gaze (John Urry)

John Urry (1990) provides another explanation for the fascination of authenticity by introducing the concept of the tourist gaze, which explains tourist motivations by the desire to witness observable differences between the tour object and what the tourist experienced in his/her daily life. Urry does not focus on authenticity. Rather, he writes that any experience that is out of the ordinary could create the desire to travel. Nash (1990) states that this theory postulates that tourism is a form of sightseeing. According to Nash, a tourist's appetite for new sights is enormous. Almost anything that constitutes a departure from the routine will serve (will serve what?), although different kinds of people prefer different departures.

Tourists consume because it supposedly generates pleasurable experiences which are different from those typically encountered in their everyday life. And yet, at least a part of that experience is to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of the ordinary. When people travel they look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to them in ways that they appreciate, or at least they anticipate that it will do so. In other words, tourists gaze at what they encounter (Urry, 2002).

Fordist tourists participate in a „collective tourist gaze’ which stems from the presence of large numbers of other people. This results in a spatial concentration of mass tourism amenities. The collective nature of mass tourism also contributes to the relatively undifferentiated nature of mass tourists. Fordist tourism consumers often demand western comforts provided in a protected „tourism bubble’. Their tastes and preferences are adapted towards the familiar and away from local and indigenous products. As a result, mass tourism inevitably leads to „staged authenticity’. Post-Fordist tourism represents a movement from the classic, mass tourism „sun-and-sand’ or „ski resort’ products to more diversified tourism commodities that fix the „tourist gaze’ upon unique environmental, cultural and social landscapes (Torres, 2002).

Gazing hence constitutes tourism; thus tourism is essentially an activity in which the objects of the gaze are there to be seen, to be appreciated for their difference, to be recognised and then left behind in the restless quest for yet more visual motives. It is for this reason that the tourist gaze has been criticised. Some scholars view it as a homogeneous phenomenon performed solely as a one-way process. Further, in relation to township tourism, critics say that it triggers a voyeuristic attitude in face of poverty and suffering (Pagenstecher, 2003; Franklin, 2003; Budhabhumbhitak, 2010, Medeiros, 2010).

However, Urry defends his theory by noting that a tourist gaze is not only the simple, visually seen process. The gaze represents the metaphor of those who perform „gazing’ towards anything with distinctive characteristics. The tourist gaze is,

according to Urry, dynamic and socially constructed, and is affected by certain conditions, such as dynamics within a host society or length of stay (Budhabhumbhitak, 2010). Moreover, Lang (2004) notes that the gaze is distinctive from every-day looking in that it attends to difference. It notices contrast and distinctiveness; it shifts objects and actions out of the common and mundane world, enabling or encouraging viewers to recognise their power as symbols, entertainment and art.

There is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historic period. There is no universal experience that is true for all tourists at all times. Rather, the gaze in any historic period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness. What makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of the non-tourist experience happen to be. The gaze therefore presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied by the non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and with regard to paid work (Urry, 2002).

The tourist's motivation is driven by anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Therefore, tourists visiting slum areas are driven by a curiosity for new sensuous experiences for which they have had an expectation (Urry, 2002; Urry; 1990).

Franklin (2003) states that the tourist gaze tends to render objects passive in contrast to the effect of the mental activity to humans, that is, the ability to conjure mentally the significance and meaning of what is seen. He then proceeds to point out that only humans can imagine, only humans can learn to appreciate and develop their imagination through education and intellectual attention and only humans can direct their attention and their imagination (primarily) through their gaze.

A distinctive tourist gaze is created in many different ways through an established and sustained division between the ordinary and the extraordinary; that is (Urry, 2002):

- i. First, there is seeing a unique object such as Robben Island where Nelson Mandela was incarcerated. Unique objects are famous for being famous. Most tourists would hope to see such an object during their lifetime.
- ii. Then there is the seeing of particular signs such as „a typical South African township’. This mode of gazing shows how tourists are in a way emoticons, reading the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions or signs derived from discourses of travel and tourism.
- iii. Third, there is seeing of unfamiliar aspects of what had previously been thought of as familiar. One example is Museum Africa which holds a huge collection of objects, paintings and photographs that have been collected since 1935, aiming to tell the story of South Africa. Visitors therefore see unfamiliar elements of other people’s lives which had been presumed as familiar.

- iv. Then there is seeing of ordinary aspects of social life being undertaken by people in unusual contexts. For example, tourists visiting the townships find it interesting to gaze upon slum dwellers carrying out everyday tasks within their environment.
- v. Also, there is the carrying out of familiar tasks or activities within an unusual environment, for example, dining in Soweto.
- vi. Finally, there is the seeing of particular signs that indicate a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so. A good example is the house where Nelson Mandela grew up. Thus the marker (the house in this case) becomes the distinctive sight.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

This study aims at understanding the reason for the growing number of township tourists in South Africa, where township residents have gone from a period of surveillance to one of being subjected to the tourist gaze. The following questions were identified as being relevant to the research problem:

Question 1:

Topic: Push and Pull Motivation

What actually poses as the attraction visited during the tours through townships? Is it extrinsic or intrinsic?

Question 2:

Topic: Authenticity and Tourist Gaze

- a) How do township tourists experience authenticity and the tourist gaze?
- b) Are township tourists seeking authenticity or the tourist gaze?

Question 3:

Topic: Travel Career Ladder

- a) What needs motivate tourists to attend township tours?
- b) What is the relationship between Travel Experience and Township Tourism?

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Basis for Quantitative Research

This study's overarching objective is to investigate the motivation of township tourists in a comprehensive manner using the Travel Career Ladder (TCL), tourist gaze and authenticity theories. Quantitative research will be employed as it allows for precise analysis and prediction (Bodie & Fitch-Hauser, 2009). Nykiel (2007) offers even more reason for a quantitative design by stating that it is more appropriate when the issues to be tested are known. He then proceeds to list the two distinct advantages of using this approach:

- i. The results are statistically reliable.
- ii. The results are projectable to the population.

In selecting a suitable methodology for this study, the benefits and shortcomings of different methodologies were considered. A questionnaire was found to be the most appropriate as in the words of Peterson (2000:1), „One of the most ubiquitous forms of human communication is asking questions' which is „perhaps second only to observation as the way people acquire knowledge.'

4.1.1 Questionnaire

If a question is asked, an answer will be forthcoming.

Peterson (2000: 7)

A questionnaire is a self-report data collection instrument that each research participant fills out as part of a research study. Researchers use questionnaires to

measure different kinds of characteristics such as attitudes, behavioural intentions, beliefs, perception and values of the research participants (Johnson & Christensen, 2010).

Questionnaires typically involve many questions and statements. A question, whether verbal or non-verbal, communicates an inquiry. If verbal, it may be rhetorical or non-rhetorical. In the former no answer/only one answer is expected, whereas in the latter an explicit information seeking expression is required (Johnson & Christensen, 2010; Peterson, 2000). The types of questions within a questionnaire may be either open-ended or closed. Open-ended questions have no absolute response and contain answers that are to be recorded in full. A closed question is one to which the respondent is offered a set of pre-designed replies such as „yes/no’, „true-false’, multiple-choice responses, or is given the opportunity to choose from a selection of numbers representing strength of feeling or attitude. There are a number of approaches to asking closed questions (Gray, 2009):

- i. List questions: respondents are asked to select an answer from a list.
- ii. Category questions which are designed to allow for only one response.
- iii. Ranking questions: responses are to be ranked in order by the respondent.
- iv. Scale questions which are used to measure a variable and comprise four types of scale: nominal, ordinal, interval and ratio. A common type of scale questions is the Likert scale where the respondents are asked to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with a series of statements.

Questionnaires are probably the most popular data gathering tools. Their popularity may be due to the following advantages (Gray, 2009):

- i. Data analysis of closed questions is relatively simple, and questions can be coded quickly
- ii. The inflow of data is quick and from many people
- iii. They are low cost in terms of both money and time
- iv. Respondents can complete the questionnaire at a time and place that suits them
- v. The anonymity of the responds can be assured

4.2 Population of Relevance

The population of relevance was all township tourists (domestic and international) of ages 16 and above, who are undertaking a Soweto township tour. The above 16 age range has been specified as it is believed that they are the primary customers.

The size of the population is uncertain but is deemed to be significantly large. On the basis of media articles, the numbers are estimated to be in the region of about 1400 tourists per day and approximately 250 000 per year (Moeng, 2004; Stevens, 2008).

4.3 Sampling and Unit of Analysis

Sampling is the core of data collection. Sampling methods can be divided into two major categories, namely probability (also known as random sampling) and non-probability sampling. In keeping with the quantitative design chosen for this study,

probability sampling will be utilised as it facilitates statistical analysis (Boehnke, Lietz, Shreir & Wilhelm, 2010; Gray, 2009). According to Boehnke *et al* (2010), representativeness and statistical analysis are closely connected in all investigations that seek to make statements about the populations from which samples are drawn. This study is interested in the tourist motivations that drive township tourists as a group and not a single tourist. The population characteristic is therefore an average, or a total that relates in some way to the average behaviour of the average township tourist in an average township tour. Probability sampling is tailored to provide adequate information about such population characteristics and yields excellent results within the paradigm.

4.3.1 Multi-stage Sampling

The meaning of multi-stage sampling is clear from its name, as it involves the selection of units in more than one stage (Bajpai, 2009; Sigh, 2003). This form of sampling will be utilised because “the most efficient designs usually involve more than one sampling stage” (Bilsborrow *et al*, 1997: 276). In this paper, the multi-stage sampling will involve two stages as shown below:

4.3.1.1 Primary Stage

In the first stage of this study, stratified random sampling was utilised. The township tourist population was divided into homogeneous groups based on the locations they visited. The strata for this study were based on the most popular tourist locations as listed Murray & William (2000). These were:

- i. The Hector Pieterse Monument
- ii. Vilakazi St (Winnie Madikizela's house, Nelson Mandela's house, Walter Sisulu's residence and Desmond Tutu's house)
- iii. Regina Mundi Square
- iv. The Freedom Charter on the side of a container in Kliptown
- v. A squatter camp (there are a large number of squatter camps in Soweto; one in Kliptown was selected for this study).

4.3.1.2 Secondary Stage

In this stage, systematic random sampling „with a random start' was conducted (Babbie, 2008; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). As the size of the population is undetermined (there is no *bona fide* source with readily available statistics on the township tourist population), the researcher made the assumption that the size of the population is approximately 1000 tourists per day. In order for this study to be both representative of the population and be statistically relevant, a sample size of 100 participants was sought. Based on this, a sampling fraction of 1/10 (100/1000) was found. Therefore the sample will include every 10th tourist after the first unit is selected at random from the first 10 items in each stratum.

4.4 Data Collection

An *ad hoc* questionnaire was developed for this study using questions that relate to the selected tourist motivation theories. It is important to note that some questions were borrowed from Ma (2010). Pen to paper questionnaires were used in this study,

and all the questions, except for the demographics and two open ended questions, used a 5 point Likert-type scale.

An additional noteworthy point is that the demographic section was non-compulsory and therefore the respondents were not obliged to complete it. This section was included as the researcher wanted to know the population's makeup in terms of age, gender, income level, occupation/retired, education, and family circumstances (single/married with children). These questions served two main purposes: a) to see how strongly the sample replicated the known population, that is; the more closely the demographic distribution of survey respondents matched the population, the more confidence the researcher had in the data; and b) it allowed for the analysis of sub-groups of the respondents in the survey.

Generally, it is this second purpose (analysis of sub-groups), which provides the most utility. For example, one might find that 10% of tourists would rate intrinsic motivational factors as strong drivers and the researcher might be tempted to conclude that extrinsic factors drive tourists to visit a tourist attraction. However, if the researcher were to drill down into the data and find that 40% of tourists above 25 years rated intrinsic factors as strong drivers, a different conclusion would be made.

The questionnaire was administered face to face. The face-to-face interviewing approach had the advantage of ensuring that respondents and interviewers were able to communicate more effectively, thus allowing each party the opportunity to clarify any questions or responses given during the interview process. The interviewer was also able to assist the respondent with any relevant explanation

regarding questions that may be misinterpreted on the part of the respondent, as well as verify certain information.

4.4.1 Pretesting the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was given to five people during a pilot stage so as to maximise the reliability and validity of the questions, whilst reducing measurement error (Geer, 2004).

4.5 Data Analysis

After data collection, a template for data entry was designed in Microsoft Excel 2007, into which the data was entered. The data was then exported to a package known as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15, where data coding and data analysis was conducted.

The data was analysed and interpreted using frequency tables, means and percentages. Data for demographics was presented graphically as pie charts and/or bar graphs. Descriptive statistics such as the mean and standard deviation was used to try and understand how strong the motives and the perceptions the tourist had before visiting Soweto were (Wegner, 2009). Factor analysis of motives was applied to condense the collected data into fewer underlying factors. After factor analysis had been carried out, item-to-total correlation and internal consistency analysis (Cronbach's alpha) was used to confirm the reliability of each research factor. The idea for factor analysis is to isolate the underlying factors that explain the motivation behind slum tourism (Blaikie, 2004).

Factor analysis is an interdependence technique. The complete set of interdependent relationships is examined. There is no specification of dependent variables, independent variables, or causality. Factor analysis assumes that all the rating data on different attributes can be reduced down to a few important dimensions. This reduction is possible because the attributes are related. The rating given to any one attribute is partially the result of the influence of other attributes. A factor analysis approach called principal component analysis (where the total variance in the data is considered) was employed (Blaikie, 2004).

4.6 Research Limitations

Although the questionnaire methodology has its advantages, there are the following disadvantages to using this data collection instrument (Denscombe, 2007):

- i. Questionnaires offer little opportunity for the researcher to check the truthfulness of the answers given by the respondents.
- ii. Pre-coded questions can bias the findings towards the researcher's, rather than the respondent's way of seeing things.
- iii. Pre-coded questions can be restricting and frustrating for respondents and thus, deter them from answering.

4.7 Project Time-line

The study commenced in the fourth week of May, starting on Monday 23. The data was collected within two weeks and then analysed for a further week. The results of

the research and analysis are presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results emerging from the data analysis.

The results will be organised according to the research questions following a short section on demographics.

5.1 General Demographics

These results are based on a sample of 100 survey respondents.

Table 2: Demographics

Variable	Statistic	Variable	Statistic
Marital Status		Working Status	
Single	50%	Work Full-time	43%
Living with a partner but not married	9%	Work Part-time	20%
Married	32%	Student	28%
Divorced	6%	House Wife/ House Husband	2%
Widowed	1%	Unemployed	2%
Other	2%	Retired	4%
		Other	1%
Age		Literacy Level	
Less than 25 years	26%	Illiterate	1%
25-34 years	35%	Literate	20%
35-44 years	20%	Highly Literate	79%
45-54 years	8%		
55 years and above	11%		
Occupation		Gross Income	
Businessperson	30%	No Income	4%
Civil Servant	8%	Less than USD 10 000	42%
Educator	17%	USD 10 001- 25 000	14%
White-collar worker	27%	USD 25 001- 40 000	12%
Student	10%	USD 40 001- 55 000	7%
Blue-collar worker	8%	USD 55 001-70 000	10%
		USD 70 001-100 000	3%
		More than USD 100 000	7%
Tourist Origin			

South African	46%	Gender	
Other African	24%	Male	62%
Non-African	30%	Female	38%

Most of the respondents (62%) were male. Half of the respondents were single, 32% were married and 9% were living with a partner but not married.

The ages of the tourists were classified into five categories. These were: less than 25 years; 25 – 34 years; 35 – 44 years; 45 – 54 years and 55 years and above. Of the 98 respondents who indicated their age groups, 26% were less than 25 years, 35% were between 25 and 34 years. The complete breakdown of the age groups is shown on the demographics table.

The respondents were asked about their level of education and the results showed that 79% were highly literate (undergraduates and post graduates), 20% were literate (high school education), and a meagre 1% were illiterate.

Tourists were asked to indicate their place of origin. 46% were domestic and 54% were international. That is, 24% came from other African countries and the other 30% were from non-African countries.

The majority of tourists were working; either full-time (43%) or part-time (20%). The second largest group of tourists consisted of students (28%). The rest of the segments are shown in the demographics table.

Of the 61 respondents who work either full-time or part-time, 30% are businesspeople, 27% are white collar workers and 17% are educators.

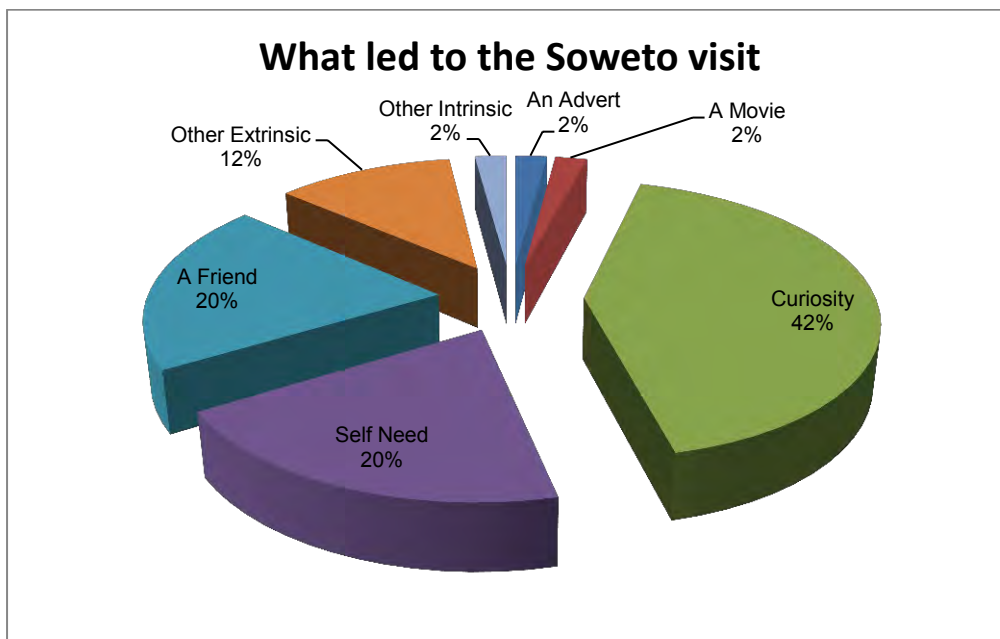
Respondents were asked about their gross annual income and 69 respondents agreed to reveal their income. Of the 69 respondents, 42% earn less than USD10 000 per annum and 4% have no income. Those without any income are students.

5.2 Research Question 1: - Topic: Push and Pull Motivation

What actually poses as the attraction visited during the tours through townships? Is it extrinsic or intrinsic?

In order to answer this inquiry, two things were looked at: factors that led the tourists to visit Soweto and later their satisfaction levels were tested.

Fig 2: Factors that compelled tourists to attend the tour



Respondents were first asked what led them to visit Soweto: Curiosity was found to be the major driver (42%), followed by self-need (20%) and friends (20%). The rest of the reasons are shown in the pie chart above.

To ascertain their satisfaction levels, the interviewees, in an open-ended question, were asked whether they liked something about the tour and whether they did not like something about the tour. The resultant findings were that the majority (76%) of the respondents liked at least one thing about the Soweto tour; 17% had at least one thing that they disliked about the tour; all the respondents who did not like something about the tour had at least one thing they liked about the tour; and 24% of the respondents did not answer either question. These results are illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Testing satisfaction

	Frequency	Percentage of Sample
Liked something about the Tour	76	76%
Disliked something about the Tour	17	17%
Liked something and also disliked something about the Tour	17	17%
Did not answer either of the two questions	24	24%

5.3 Research Question 2:- Topic: Authenticity and Tourist gaze

a) How do township tourists experience authenticity and the tourist gaze?

b) Are township tourists seeking authenticity or the tourist gaze?

In order to answer this query, a question in the questionnaire was developed that asked the respondents for the reasons they attended the tour. This question will from here onward be referred to as QQ6 (the 6th question in Section B of the questionnaire). The reasons, 25 in total, were representative of all four theories used in this case; namely, the extrinsic-intrinsic dichotomy; Tourist Career Ladder; and the authenticity and the tourist gaze theories. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the answers to QQ6 were used to retrieve answers for the other research questions in Chapter 3 of this paper. The Cronbach's alpha for question 6 was **0.884**, which indicates a very good level of internal consistency for the scale.

Using a five-point Likert scale, with five (5) as strongly agree and one (1) as strongly disagree, the tourists rated the 25 factors that might have contributed to their decision to visit Soweto, South Africa. The results reveal that the most common factor was „I wanted to get more insight as to how things have changed since the apartheid era’ (4.03), followed by „I wanted to get more insight as to why Soweto is famous’ (3.96). The factor rated the least contributory was „I wanted to see why slum tours are controversial’ (2.91). The average (mean) score was calculated per category and the results showed that the tourists considered tourist „gaze reasons’ as the main reason for visiting Soweto. This response had a higher average (3.62) than authenticity reasons (3.42).

Table 4: Intrinsic/Extrinsic reasons

Reason for visiting	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I thought this tour would be an emotionally powerful experience	96	3.40	1.05
I wanted to see why slum tours are controversial	95	2.91	1.15
I wanted to see the slum I read about in a novel or saw in a movie	96	3.28	1.30

Table 5: Authenticity reasons

Reason for visiting	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I wanted to gain a better appreciation for the life I have	98	3.36	1.03
I wanted to interact with slum residents	97	3.14	1.01
I thought this tour would portray slum life genuinely	96	3.24	1.03
I wanted to personally experience life in a third-world setting	97	3.32	1.11
I wanted to get more insight as to how things have changed since the apartheid era	95	4.03	0.98
I wanted to contribute to the welfare of slum residents	96	3.19	1.11
I wanted to personally experience nightlife in a township	96	2.92	1.27
Slum life seemed more unspoiled to modern city life	94	3.18	1.07
This tour seemed different from a regular tour	95	3.72	0.92
I wanted to see the Mandela residence	96	3.95	1.01

Table 6: Tourist gaze reasons

Reason for visiting	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I wanted to see the local art and craft	96	3.70	1.00
I wanted to visit museums	98	3.79	1.03
I wanted to get more insight as to why Soweto is famous	98	3.96	1.01
I was curious to see a different way of life	96	3.93	0.90
I wanted to see a different kind of slum than the one back home	96	3.27	1.24
I wanted to see the scenery of a slum	97	3.22	1.19
I was curious how my life compared with those of slum residents	94	3.22	1.16
I wanted to see both the rich and poor sides of South Africa	96	3.82	1.19

Table 7: Travel Career Ladder

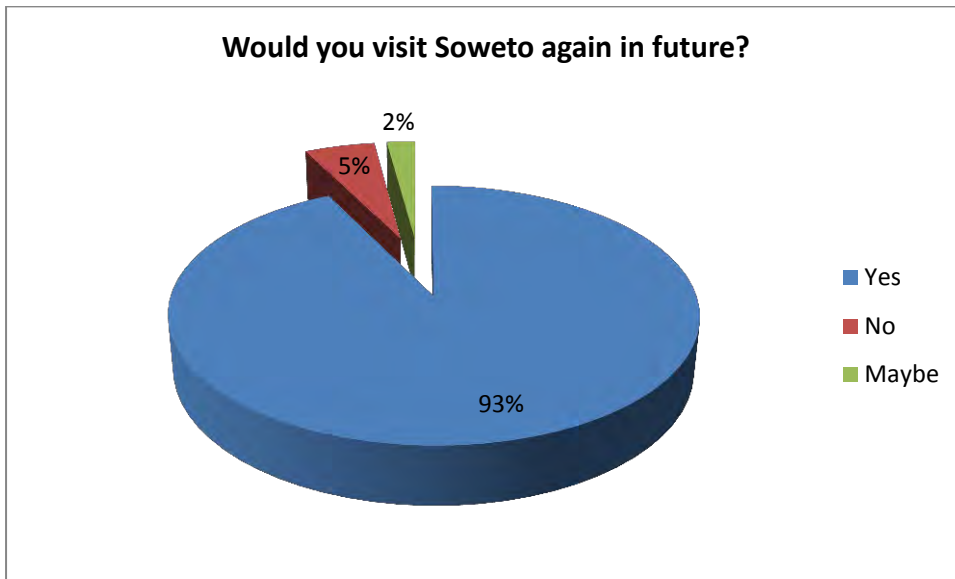
Reason for visiting	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I wanted to dispel the negative image of slums that I held	93	3.27	1.14
I could talk about this experience to my family and friends later	96	3.89	0.94
I thought this tour would be fun and exciting	95	3.47	1.15
My friends were also visiting Soweto	96	3.30	1.29

5.3.1 How do these theories apply to township tourism?

5.3.1.1 Authenticity

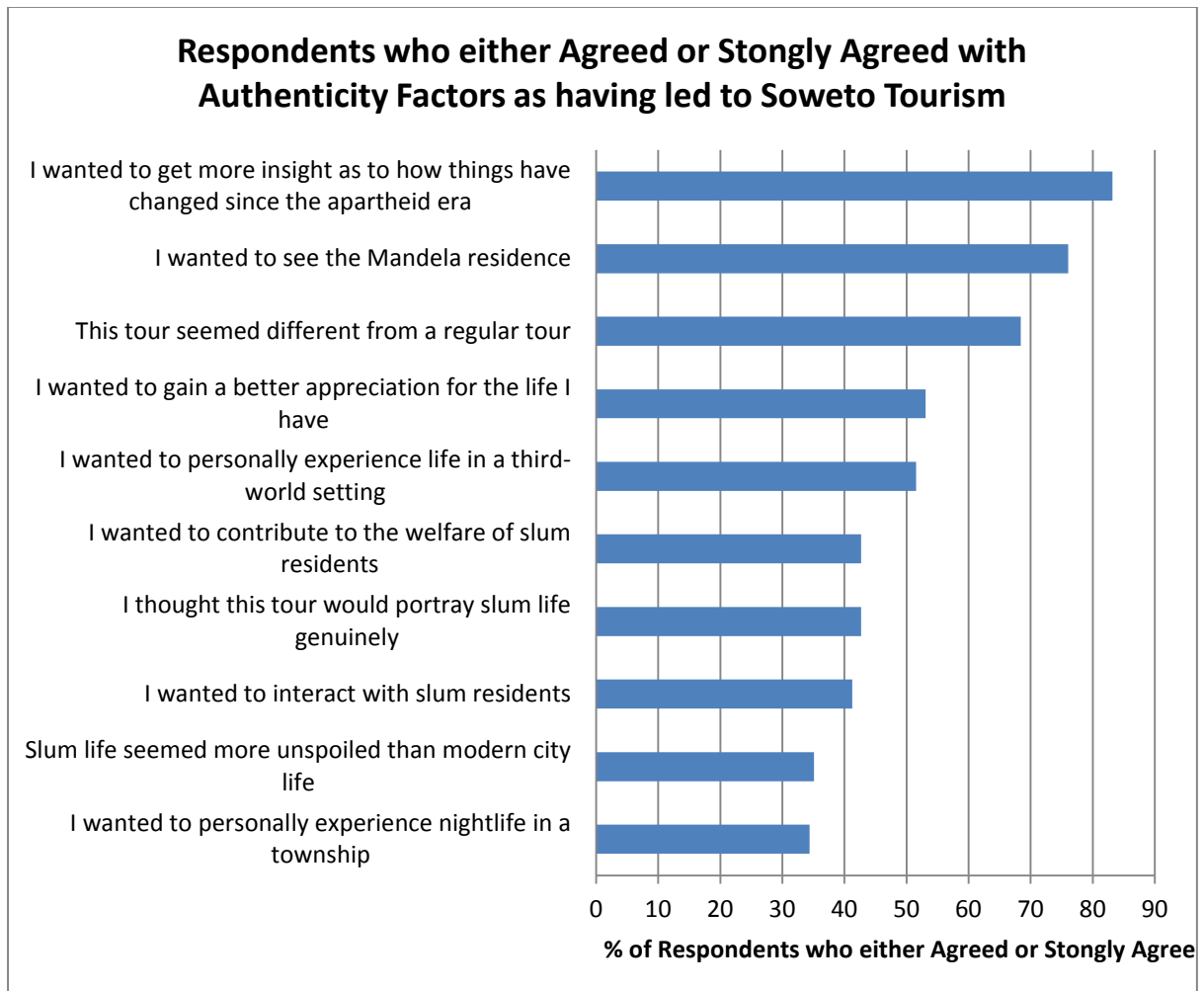
Respondents were asked whether they would visit Soweto in the future. The results show that tourism within this „backstage locale’ is on the rise as shown in Fig. 3 below:

Fig 3: Soweto tourism on the rise



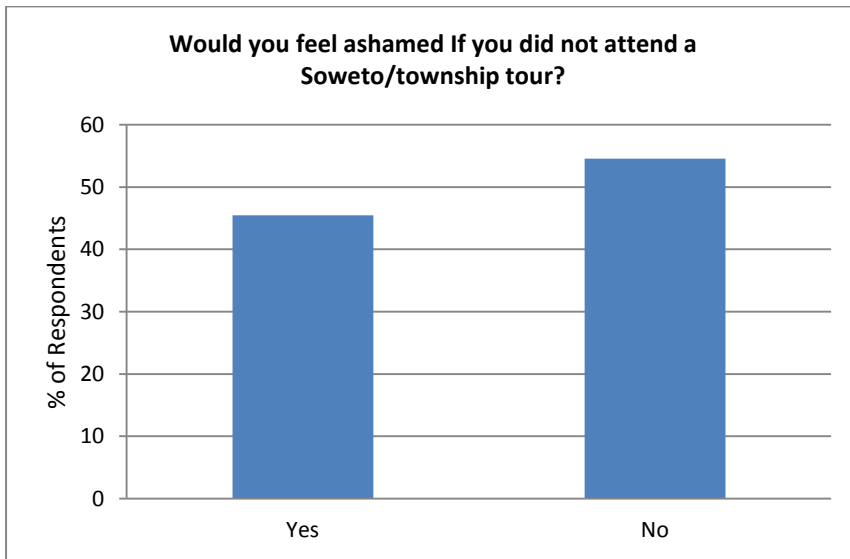
The percentage of the respondents who either agreed or disagreed with the authenticity factors as the contributory factors to tourists visiting Soweto were run and fig 4 shows the results. The results reveal that the statement most tourists agreed on was the one that read „I wanted to get more insight as to how things have changed since the apartheid era’ (83%), followed by „I wanted to see the Mandela residence’ (76%). The factor that had the lowest proportion of respondents either agreeing or strongly agreeing was „I wanted to personally experience nightlife in a township’ (34%).

Fig 4: Authenticity responses



Another step to understanding the authenticity theory is to answer the question: *Are township tourists seeking to be superlative tourists?* The first step taken to solicit an answer for this question was to ask the respondents whether they thought they would experience shame had they not attended the tour. The results of this question are presented in Fig. 5 below.

Fig 5: Percentage of tourists who would and would not feel ashamed.



The next step was to do a hypothesis testing to assess whether township tourists that are seeking verisimilitude aimed at being superlative tourists.

A variable was created to consolidate all the authentic questions (variables from Table 5). Following that, a mean authenticity score was calculated for those who would feel ashamed if they had not attended a Soweto tour and those who wouldn't feel ashamed. The results are shown in the table below:

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics

Would you feel ashamed if you did not attend a Soweto/township tour?		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Yes	Authenticity score	45	3.57	0.65
No	Authenticity score	52	3.29	0.51

The next step was to do a hypothesis testing, the calculations of which were as follows:

$$H_0: \mu_{Ashamed} = \mu_{Not Ashamed}$$

$$H_1: \mu_{Ashamed} \neq \mu_{Not Ashamed}$$

The test was done at a 5% significance level, therefore the rule of thumb was to: Reject H_0 if $Z_{calc} > 1.645$ or $Z_{calc} < -1.645$ (from the Standard normal distribution table); or accept H_0 if $-1.65 < Z_{calc} < 1.645$ (from the Standard normal distribution table).

$$\text{Test Statistics: } Z_{calc} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{S_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{S_2^2}{n_2}}} = \frac{(3.57 - 3.29)}{\sqrt{\frac{0.65^2}{45} + \frac{0.51^2}{52}}} = 2.33$$

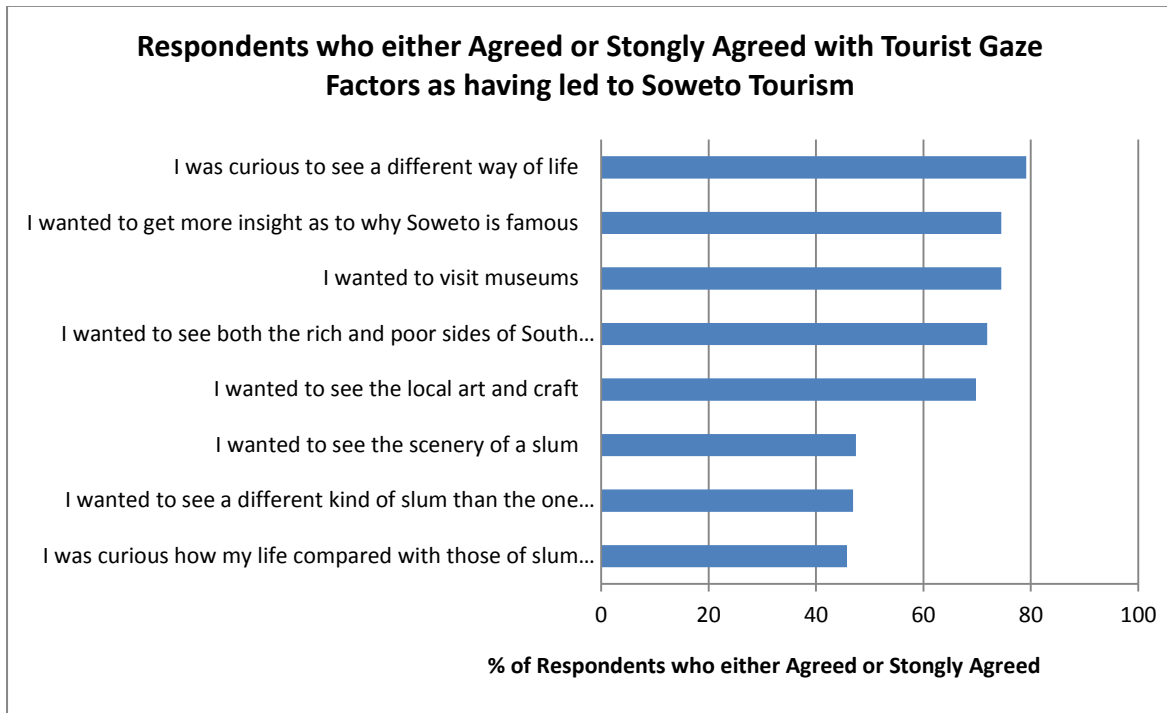
Since $Z_{calc} = 2.33 > 1.645$ and therefore lies outside the zone of acceptance, H_0 was rejected. The resultant conclusion is thus that authentic-seeking township tourists endeavour to be superlative tourists.

5.3.1.2 Tourist gaze

The percentages of the respondents who either agree or disagree with the tourist gaze factors as the contributory factors to tourists visiting Soweto were also run and fig 6 shows the results. The results reveal that the statement most tourists agreed on was the one that read „I was curious to see a different way of life’ (79%), followed by „I wanted to get more insight as to why Soweto is famous’ and „I wanted to visit

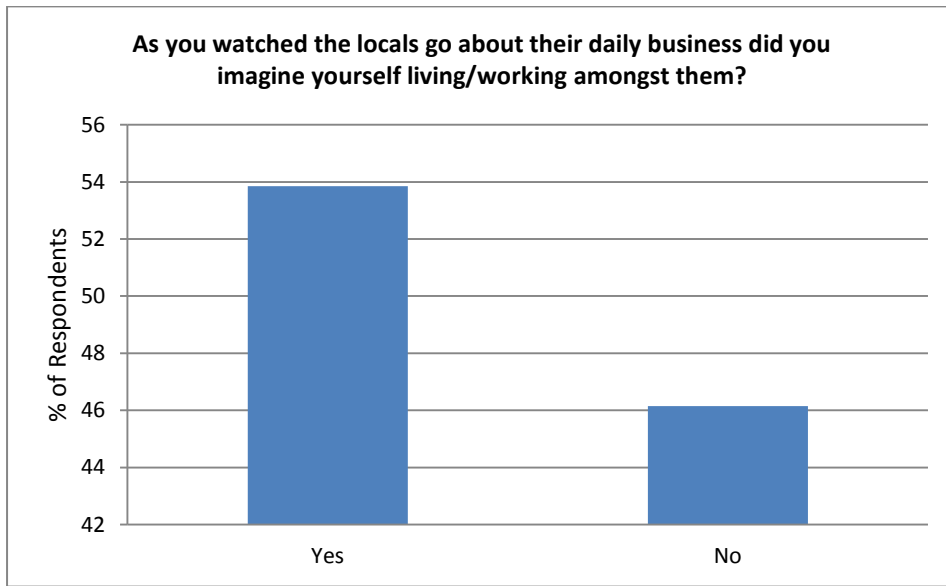
museums’(74% each). The factor that had the lowest proportion of respondents, either agreeing or strongly agreeing, was „I was curious how my life compared with those of slum residents’ (46%). These results are reported in Fig. 6 below.

Fig 6: Tourist gaze responses



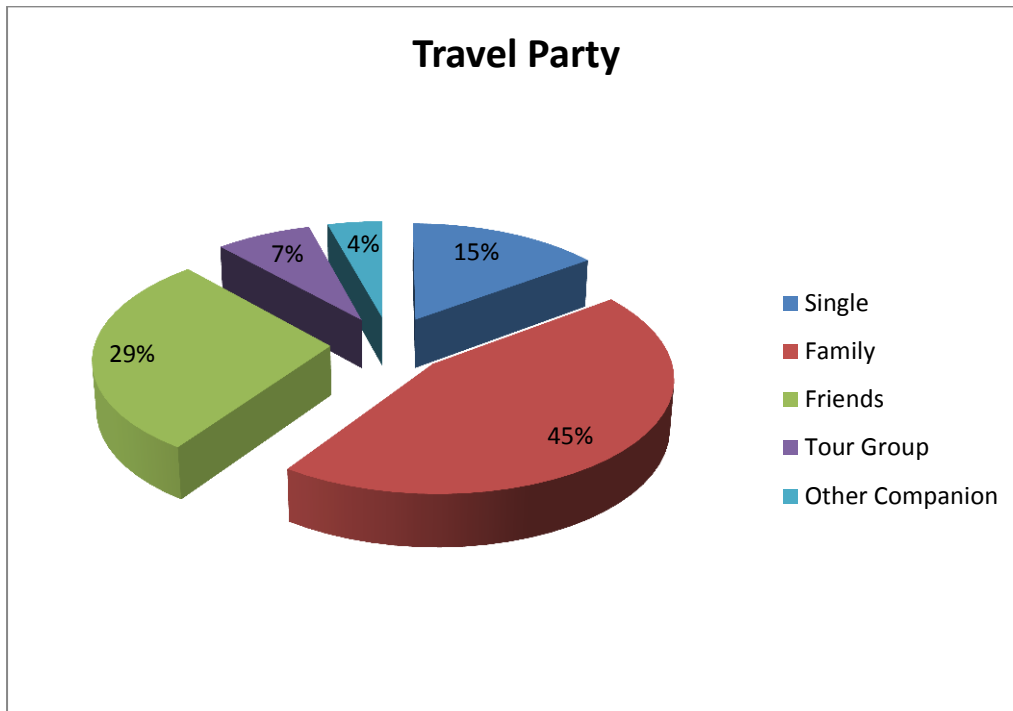
A significant part of the tourist gaze is the use of imagination. Thus the respondents were asked whether they imagined themselves living/working among the locals. The results are shown below.

Fig 7: Imagination in the tourist gaze



Another important element of the tourist gaze is that of the collective gaze. In this neo-Fordist economy it is of importance to know whether the Fordist collective gaze occurs within a post-Fordist/alternative tourism package. The sample's travel party was found to be as follows: The highest proportion of tourists (45%) had travelled with their families, 29% travelled with friends, 15% travelled on their own. The distribution of the travel parties of the respondents is summarised in the pie chart below.

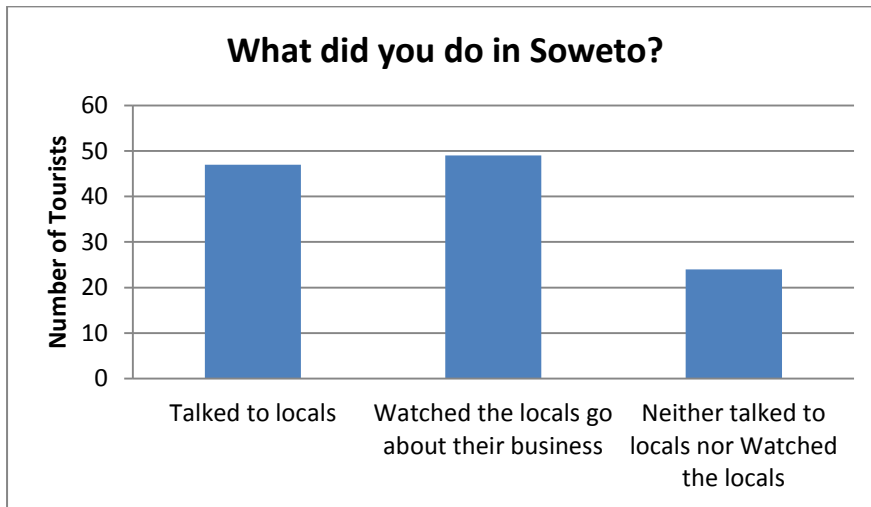
Fig 8: The sample’s travel party



5.3.2 Are township tourists seeking authenticity? Or the tourist gaze?

Respondents were asked what they did in Soweto as shown in Fig. 9. If the respondent talked to locals they were „authenticity seeking’ whereas those that watched the locals were motivated by the tourist gaze.

Fig 9: Township dwellers and the tourists.



A paired sample T-test was carried out on the authenticity score against the gaze scores to assess whether the visitors were authenticity-seeking or belonged more in the category of tourists' gaze. The results are shown below.

Table 9: Paired samples statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Pair 1	Authenticity	3.42	98	.587
	Gaze	3.62	98	.682

Table 10: Paired differences between authenticity and gaze

		Mean	Std. Deviation	t	df	P-value	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
							Upper	Lower
Pair 1	Authenticity - Gaze	-0.20	0.54	-3.67	97	0.00	-0.31	-0.09

The gaze mean score is higher than the authenticity mean score and the t-test p-value is less than 0.05. Thus the gaze value is significantly higher than the authenticity value. This means that the tourists that visit Soweto are most likely to be motivated by Urry's theory of the tourist gaze rather than MacCanell's authenticity theory.

5.4 Research Question 3:- Topic: Travel Career Ladder

a) What needs motivate tourists to attend township tours?

b) What is the relationship between Travel Experience and Township Tourism?

5.4.1 What needs motivate tourists to attend township tours?

A question was developed for this query, that is QQ5 (Question 5 in Section B of the questionnaire), with a Cronbach's alpha of **0.839** indicating a very good level of internal consistency for the scale. Using a five-point Likert scale, with five (5) as strongly agree and one (1) as strongly disagree, the tourists rated 17 possible reasons for visiting Soweto. Results presented in the table below indicate that „Discover new places & things' was rated as the most important reason (4.41), followed by „Learn about townships/slums' (4.22), and „Satisfy your curiosity' (4.20). „Be respected by my peers for visiting extraordinary sites' (3.01) was the least rated reason to visit Soweto.

Table 11: Responses to QQ5

Needs	QQ5: As individual this tour will enable you to?	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Fulfilment	Value what I have	96	3.81	1.07
	Get insight for future tours	94	3.87	1.03
Self-Esteem/Development	Be respected by my peers for visiting extraordinary sites.	91	3.01	1.11
	Satisfy your curiosity	94	4.20	1.06
	Grow as an individual through the township experience	95	3.99	0.97
	Learn about townships/slums	97	4.22	0.95
Relationship	Be with others	95	3.87	1.06
	Build friendships with others	96	3.74	1.11
	Have a good time with friends	93	3.98	1.01
	Develop close friendships	94	3.45	1.09
Safety/Security	Reduce fear and anxiety about townships	95	3.52	1.25
Physiological	Discover new places & things	97	4.41	0.95
	Get entertainment	97	3.82	1.03
	Satisfy your curiosity	94	4.20	1.06
	Avoid the hustle & bustle of daily life	91	3.40	1.13
	Eat different food	90	3.70	1.16
	Relax mentally	93	3.43	1.23

The results did not sufficiently answer this question. Therefore an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was carried out. The EFA attempted to discover the nature of the

constructs influencing the set of responses to QQ5. Table 12 below displays the results of the EFA.

Table 12: Exploratory Factor Analysis results

	Component					Communalities
	Affiliation	Id	Relax/stimulation	Self-esteem/development	Trivial reasons	
Be with others	0.798	-0.153	0.300	-0.023	0.074	0.756
Have a good time with friends	0.765	0.169	0.290	-0.157	-0.139	0.741
Develop close friendships	0.758	0.056	-0.125	0.124	0.155	0.633
Value what I have	0.752	0.026	0.034	0.226	0.137	0.637
Build friendships with others	0.677	0.191	0.107	0.289	0.207	0.632
Get insight for future tours	0.522	0.041	0.070	0.500	-0.006	0.529
Relax physically	0.099	0.821	0.053	-0.070	-0.065	0.696
Get entertainment	0.071	0.815	0.266	0.054	0.034	0.745
Relax mentally	-0.031	0.836	0.101	0.097	0.228	0.771
Discover new places & things	0.045	0.140	0.750	0.181	0.047	0.619
Satisfy your curiosity	0.100	0.396	0.698	0.149	-0.134	0.694
Reduce fear and anxiety about townships	0.061	-0.053	0.640	0.155	0.318	0.542
Avoid the hustle & bustle of daily life	0.186	0.277	0.452	-0.025	0.132	0.334

	Component					Communalities
	Affiliation	Id	Relax/stimulation	Self-esteem/development	Trivial reasons	
Grow as an individual through the township experience	0.077	0.171	0.124	0.802	0.214	0.739
Learn about townships/slums	0.243	-0.268	0.413	0.692	-0.130	0.796
Be respected by my peers for visiting extraordinary sites.	0.112	0.137	0.065	0.156	0.868	0.814
Eat different food	0.389	0.001	0.444	-0.108	0.627	0.753

As shown in the table above, a factor analysis of the motivations led to five factors: „Affiliation’, „Id’, „Relax/stimulation’, „Self-esteem/development’, and „Trivial reasons’. The „best fit’ factor analysis accounts for 67.3% of the variance and was obtained by using principal component factor analysis. It is noteworthy that all factor loadings are greater than 0.40 and the communalities in all but one factor are over 50%; the variability of the retained factors is therefore relevant.

The first factor is referred to as „**Affiliation**’ and contains nine reasons. These reasons include „Be with others’, „Have a good time with friends’, „Develop close friendships’, „Value what I have’, „Build friendships with others’, and „Get insight for future tours’. These explain 29.3% of the variability.

The second factor can be called „**Id**’ and consists of three reasons: „Relax mentally’, „Relax physically’, and „Get entertainment’. These explain 14.5% of the variability.

The third factor, which can be called „**Relax/Stimulation**’ and that explains 9.45% of the variability, entails four reasons, namely; „Discover new places & things’, „Satisfy your curiosity’, „Reduce fear and anxiety about townships’, and „Avoid the hustle & bustle of daily life’.

The „**Self-esteem/Development**’ grouping is the fourth factor. It entails two reasons, which are „Grow as an individual through the township experience’ and „Learn about townships/slums’. The factor explains 7.3% of variability. The fifth factor which explains 6.9% of the variability is the „**Trivial reasons**’ category. It entails two reasons: „Be respected by my peers for visiting extraordinary sites’ and „Eat different food’.

5.4.1.1 Correlation

A correlation was done to seek the relationship between the stages in the TCL with both theories in the authenticity/tourist gaze dichotomy.

A correlation analysis was first conducted for TLC needs against „authenticity’; a consolidated factor for all authenticity factors in Table 5. The analysis was then done for authenticity against the aggregated TLC needs of this study (found in Table 11). The results indicate that all the needs are positively correlated to authenticity and all the correlation coefficient values are significant at 5% level of significance. The results in the table below reveal that: „Fulfilment’ (0.33) is the need that has the

highest correlation to „authenticity’ followed by „Safety/Security’ (0.29), and the need that is least related to „authenticity’ is „Physiological Needs’ (0.26). These results indicate that authenticity-seeking tourists are seeking fulfilment more than any other TLC need.

Table 13: Correlation between consolidated TLC needs and authenticity

	N	Correlation Coefficient with Authenticity
Fulfilment	98	0.33
Self Esteem	98	0.28
Relationship	98	0.27
Physiological	98	0.26
Safety Security	93	0.29

A variable was also created to consolidate all the gaze questions (variables shown in Table 6). An average gaze score was computed and then a mean gaze score was used to run correlations with the TLC needs; „Fulfilment’, „Self-esteem’, „Relationship’, „Safety/Security’, and „Physiological’. The results for the correlation for „tourist gaze’ against the TLC variables are shown in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Correlation between consolidated TLC needs with the tourist gaze

	N	Correlations Coefficient with Gaze
Fulfilment	98	0.32
Self-esteem	98	0.39
Relationship	98	0.28
Physiological	98	0.39
Safety/ Security	93	0.34

All the needs are positively correlated to „gaze’ and all the correlation coefficient values are significant at 5% level of significance. „Self-esteem’ (3.9) and „Physiological’ (3.9) have the highest correlation to „gaze’, followed by „Safety Security’ (0.34), and the need that is least correlated to „gaze’ is ‘Relationship’ (0.28).

5.4.2 Is there a relationship between travel experience and township tourism?

The TCL theory postulates that tourists travel through a career which changes over time. The researcher therefore made a modest attempt to track „the travel behaviour of the sample’ by asking the respondents about the number of times they had visited either a township or a slum before and how often per year they travelled. The results were cross tabulated and are displayed in the table below.

Table 15: Travel experience and township/slum tours

		Number of times travelled abroad for vacation purposes						
		Zero	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Total
Number of times visited a Township/ slum before the Soweto visit	Zero	6	5	4	3	1	0	19
	One	3	8	3	0	0	1	15
	Two	1	4	1	1	0	1	8
	Three	0	2	4	0	0	0	6
	Four	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
	Five	3	1	1	0	0	0	5
	Six	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Seven	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Ten	2	5	1	1	0	1	10
	Sixteen	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total		16	30	15	6	1	3	71

A chi-square test was also conducted on the number of times the tourists travel abroad for vacation purposes per year against the number of times the tourists have visited a township/slum before. The results are shown in the table below.

Table 16: Travel experience chi-square test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	41.370	45	.627
N of Valid Cases	71		

The results reveal that there is no association between the number of times individuals travel abroad for vacation purposes per year and the number of times they have visited a township/slum.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The overriding aim of this study is to understand the attraction that the township holds for tourists with regard to the township as a tourism package. In order to do this, the questions in Chapter 3 were asked based on motivation, falling in three categories:

- (i) Push/pull
- (ii) Authenticity and gaze
- (iii) Travel Career Ladder

It was important to do so, given the centrality of motivation as „a basic construct in human behaviour as well as in consumer behaviour’ (Evans, Jamal & Foxall, 2009, p. 6).

Judging from the respondents of this study, the average township tourists are young, employed, literate males deriving from the rest of Africa and other parts of the world. The most significant of these characteristics is the literacy level, as according to Lubbe (2003), the more educated and cultivated tourists are, the wider their interests and knowledge will tend to be, and the more they will tend to travel.

In this chapter, the answers to the three questions will be discussed using the results presented in Chapter 5. The author will draw on the relevant literature for explication.

6.1 Research Question 1:- Topic: Push and Pull Motivation

What actually poses as the attraction visited during the tours through townships? Is it extrinsic or intrinsic?

The findings, as shown in Fig. 2 on page 39, reveal that push factors are the key driver for township tourism. Push factors are strongly related to self-actualisation needs in Maslow's hierarchy of needs; intrinsically-motivated individuals are more focused on higher level needs than basic needs (Wearing & Neil, 2009). Since Maslow's theory serves as the backbone to the Travel Career Ladder, it stands to reason that township tourists are motivated by fulfilment needs. It can therefore be assumed that, since these are the highest level of needs and intrinsic consumers strive for them, there is an increased likelihood that these tourists will be satisfied.

Giving substance to this idea is the fact that several attempts that have been made to examine this dichotomy of motivation have consistently supported the notion that intrinsically-motivated tourists enjoy tour activities, whereas extrinsically-motivated tourists do not (Fielding, Pearce and Hughes, 1992). This is supported by the results in Table 3, where 76% of the sample stated that they „enjoyed an activity/the activities in the tour'. Further highlighting the tourists' level of enjoyment, the results in Fig. 3 show that most people in this study (93%) stated that they would visit Soweto again in the future.

Another explanation for the level of satisfaction in relation to intrinsic motivation derives from numerous studies that aimed at finding the relationship between intrinsic motivation and loss of awareness and passage of time within the context of

tourism. For example, one such study found that people who are intrinsically-motivated individuals were more likely to experience time as passing quickly whereas extrinsically-motivated individuals were more likely to perceive time as passing slowly (Fielding, Pearce and Hughes, 1992).

Lubbe (2003) explains that this is due to the fact that extrinsic tourists are goal-oriented. They, therefore, are more focused on the passage of time in comparison to intrinsic tourists. They tend to over-estimate the passing of time. Intrinsic tourists, on the other hand, focus on the cues during the tour and not only on time. According to Fielding *et al* (1992), when one is engaged in an absorbing activity, temporal awareness is minimised and time is perceived to pass relatively quickly. Thus the more absorbing and enjoyable the activity, the less attention paid to temporal cues, and the shorter the perceived time.

A theory that best explains the association between push factors and enjoyment/satisfaction is the attribution theory. Attribution refers to the assumption that tourists assign (or attribute) a cause to a behaviour in an effort to make sense of it. There are two factors comprising attributions: „stability’ and „internally’. „Stability’ refers to the probability of the tourist participating in a tour or any activity associated therewith in the future. „Internally’ refers to whether a person feels intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to participate in an activity. According to this theory, individuals who make attributions from a stable, intrinsically-motivated perspective will have the most enjoyable experience. People who make unstable, extrinsically-

motivated attributions tend not to feel satisfied with an experience, and discontinue or limit future participation (Ferrante & Ferrante-Wallace, 2005; O'Connell, 2003).

Although the results from this study support push factors to a larger degree than pull factors, the fact remains that extrinsic factors did influence the decision with a noteworthy 36%. It would, therefore, be unwise to say that intrinsic factors provide all the stimulation for the trip decision. If the attribution theory holds true, then this last fact could have a negative impact on the rise of township tourism in Soweto. That is, there is a significant amount (judging from the 36%) that will not enjoy the tours and thus will not participate in future tours.

6.2 Research Question 2:- Topic: Authenticity and Tourist Gaze

a) How do township tourists experience authenticity and the tourist gaze?

b) Are township tourists seeking authenticity or the tourist gaze?

6.2.1 How do tourists experience authenticity and the tourist gaze in Soweto?

6.2.1.1 Authenticity

Judging from theory, there are two ways to discover how tourists experienced authenticity as a motivator: by making an inquiry into the notion of the superlative tourist, and by questioning the perception that authentic tourists seek backstage locale.

The results from the hypothesis testing on page 47 support MacCannell's philosophy; the authenticity-motivated township tourists from the sample would

indeed feel shame if they did not attend the tour. According to Hillman (2007), touristic shame is not based on being a tourist but on not being tourist enough; that is, the tourist would be disappointed if they did not see everything the way it 'ought' to be seen. They desire a deeper involvement with society and culture. An example in this study would be the results displayed in Fig. 9, where the authenticity-motivated individuals talked to locals.

Recent literature suggests that township tourism is both a blessing and blight; the superlative tourist representing the latter. According to Ramchander (2007b), the influx of authenticity-seeking tourists in search of active contact with the local population (as shown in Fig. 9) is likely to cause disturbance by seeking out local places where their presence may cause friction with the local population. Furthermore, the constant presence of foreign tourists may result in the erosion of the local culture as the youth may begin to imitate the styles and behaviour of the tourists.

The results in Fig. 3 provide evidence that township tourism in Soweto is on the rise. The findings presented in Fig. 4 show that the main reasons (scoring above 60%) for this upsurge is that tourists (i) are eager to get insight into the progression of the country, post-apartheid (ii) to view historical sites such as Mandela's childhood residence on Vilakazi Street (iii) and they are drawn to Soweto due to the fact that the tour is different from the „norm’.

From an authenticity point of view, Soweto, with all its attractions, was chosen because the location is „real’, it is a township in its true form where one can escape

into a stage six backstage locale for reasons given in Fig. 4. This begs the question, how long will Soweto remain a backstage locale if the inflow of tourists into the area continues to rise?

The researcher firmly believes that the arrival of tourists to any area brings about change, largely due to the economic benefits of tourism. This view is in accord with Hillman (2007) who states that the degree to which any tourist attraction or participation can be deemed authentic once it is assembled and offered as a segment of the complete tourist concoction is debatable. Hillman proposes that in becoming an article of *quid pro quo*, the tourist package, and therefore any part of the township authenticity attraction, is devalued.

Ramchander (2007b) adds substance to this argument by writing that township tours are not fully authentic as the tour guides carefully construct packages that include performances in pre-schools and shebeens, as well as performances by cultural groups in different locations. Moreover, the above-mentioned advantages of authenticity-seeking tourists visiting the township includes changes in the township, such as the increased development of recreational facilities and amenities for residents and the need to maintain and improve the appearance of the area.

Additionally, in accordance with neo-Fordism, some tourists go so far as to take temporary residence within this alternative tourist location. Soweto has, therefore, seen the development of bed and breakfasts, hotels and a small, but growing number, of middle-class and working-class homes opening their doors to visitors. An

important case in point is the presence of a fairly new hotel in Freedom Square, the Soweto Hotel.

It therefore stands to reason that the Soweto of 2011 is not the stage 6 backstage locale it once was. It is a present day stage 5 back region that has been tidied up, arranged and customised to suit township tourists. Moreover, some may argue that the township is, in truth, a stage four region due to the „high’ level of accessibility allowed to tourists.

6.2.1.2 Tourist gaze

The emerging theme from the literature review on the tourist gaze and the results in Chapter 5 was the tourists’ desire to observe difference.

Consumer demand in every industry is driven by the need for „something new or novel’; an „innovation’. In most instances, the difference is provided by an improved version of any existing tradable product/service/experience. Consumer demand is driven, therefore, by difference. As stated in the literature review, the gaze constitutes tourism and is driven by a yearning for difference.

The findings presented in Fig. 6 support this literature. The most agreed/strongly agreed that their reason for visiting was „I was curious to see a different way of life’. Moreover, although all the reasons in Table 6 and Fig. 6 (each containing elements of difference) were intermingled amongst reasons from all the four theories in the questionnaire, they received the highest scores of all four with a mean of 3.62. Jackson (2005) supports these findings by stating that the tourist gaze is directed at

features of the township which separate the tourist from everyday experience, while still seeking the familiar.

There are different distinctive gazes, as listed in Chapter 2. In keeping with Urry's theory, during the course of this study it became apparent that township tours fall under the „seeing of particular signs' category. Hence, tourists, in their search for visual attractions look for „signs' that are associated with a typical South African township. The tourism industry is aware of this fact and thus they turn the tourist sites into managed commodities, strictly governed by a highly evolved and complex system of signs and symbols (Mayer, 2006). For example, the tourist groupings for this study were visiting sites recommended by Murray & William (2000) in a guidebook of South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland. The design of township tour packages reflects sites as commodities.

According to Franklin (2003), tourists collect sign values from tourist sites such as „Vilakazi Street', and in so doing, access a world of difference that is deemed to be pleasurable during the tour as well as in anticipation of the tour. Difference, therefore, in the tourist gaze leads to pleasure. The power of the gaze lies in the tourist's imagination. The term „imagine' means the incorporation of anticipation and curiosity, framed by expectation (Jackson, 2005). It is an exercise in inferring, based on accrued knowledge. Imagination determines how tourists understand reality. It permits reality to resist concrete definition, and allows the tourists' understanding of it to assume a slippery shifting from lived experience to interceded image to imagined comparisons of the two (Jackson, 2005).

According to Kangumu (2000), the tourist gaze involves the search for difference in the cultures of others. Every country has numerous cultures and subcultures. Kangumu states that cultures of the visited should differ from that of the visitor; in this study the majority (58%) of visitors were non-South African (thus from a different culture).

Tourists motivated by the „tourist gaze’ tend to appreciate an attraction, recognise the difference and then leave it behind in restive pursuit of other visual attractions. This, as noted in the literature review, is a behaviour that critics deem to be voyeuristic. In agreement, Jackson (2005) states that tourists visit another place, compare it to their home environment and sometimes find it wanting; they may judge or laugh at the peculiarities and limitations of the tourist destination. Kangumu (2000) defends the notion of difference, stating that the emphasis on difference should not be seen negatively but, rather, as a mode of exploration and understanding.

Emerging from this discussion is the fact that cultural difference, as experienced by tourists, from a safe distance, is the essence of the visit (Kangumu, 2000). This is yet another element of township tourism that has led to controversy as it is an element of Fordist tourism, whereby „viewing from safe quarters’ is rarely done individually but by the collective tourist gaze. In fact the term „tourist gaze’ implies that the gazer keeps a critical distance, to survey all that they behold (Jackson, 2003). In this sample, an overwhelming 85% were accompanied on the tour/s, as shown in Fig. 8. Furthermore, Ramchander (2007) states that in Soweto many companies run safari style drive-through tours, where tourists snap photos and peer at the surrounding

poverty from air-conditioned busses. As a result Soweto residents are made to feel as though they are living in a zoo.

6.2.2 Are township tourists seeking authenticity? Or the tourist gaze?

Through some parts of Chapter 5, the answer to this question comes to light. That is,

- i. The high mean scored by „tourist gaze reasons’ as noted in the overview of QQ6.
- ii. Fig. 5 and Table 8 make it clear that most people in the study did not aim at being superlative tourists; only the authenticity-seeking tourists did.
- iii. Fig. 9 illustrates that most people watched the locals „go about their daily duties’, indicating they were involved in the tourist gaze.
- iv. Finally, the most important results for this question are those from the paired sample statistics in Tables 9 and 10. These results make it undisputed that the tourist gaze is the highest motivator of this authenticity/tourist gaze dichotomy.

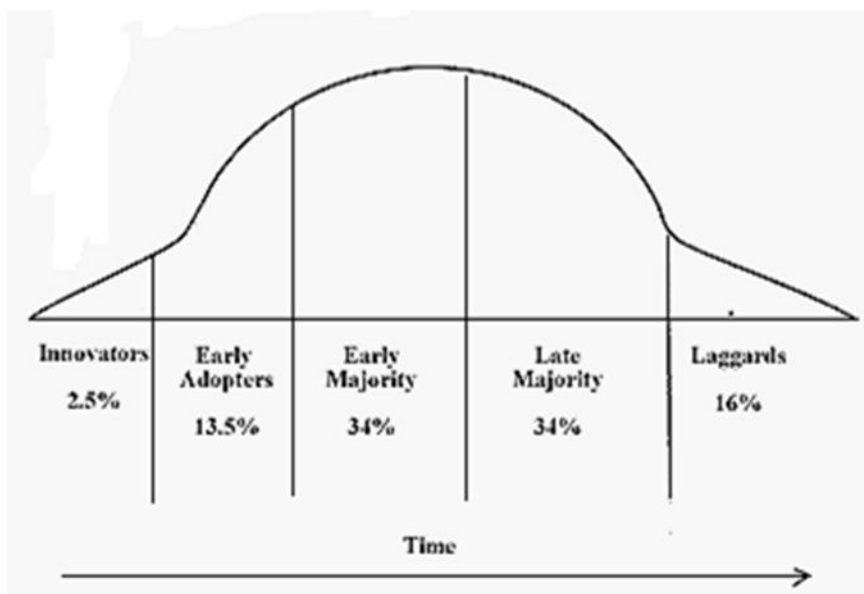
A theme that emerges from this study is that as tourism goes through the time-space compression, new packages arise to satisfy the growing number of tourist prosumers. Thus the township is merely an authenticity package that consumers motivated by the tourist gaze can fix their gaze on.

6.2.2.1 The township tourist adoption and diffusion process

According to Kotler & Keller (2009) and Stone & Desmond (2007), „consumer adoption’ refers to a consumer’s decision to become a regular user of the service.

The diffusion process describes how an innovation spreads through a market and provides information that enables management to identify target markets. The adoption process focuses on the mental process through which a consumer passes from first hearing about an innovation, and therefore „difference’, to adoption. The figure below is a diagram showing the consumer adoption process.

Fig 10: The consumer adoption and diffusion curve



Source: <http://www.marketingteacher.com/lesson-store/lesson-adoption-process.html>

Using the „consumer adoption and diffusion process’ as a frame of reference, the author proposed a model that applies the findings of question 6.2.2 to action. That is, the „township tourist adoption and diffusion process’. In order to explain the diffusion process, the product life cycle needs to be explained.

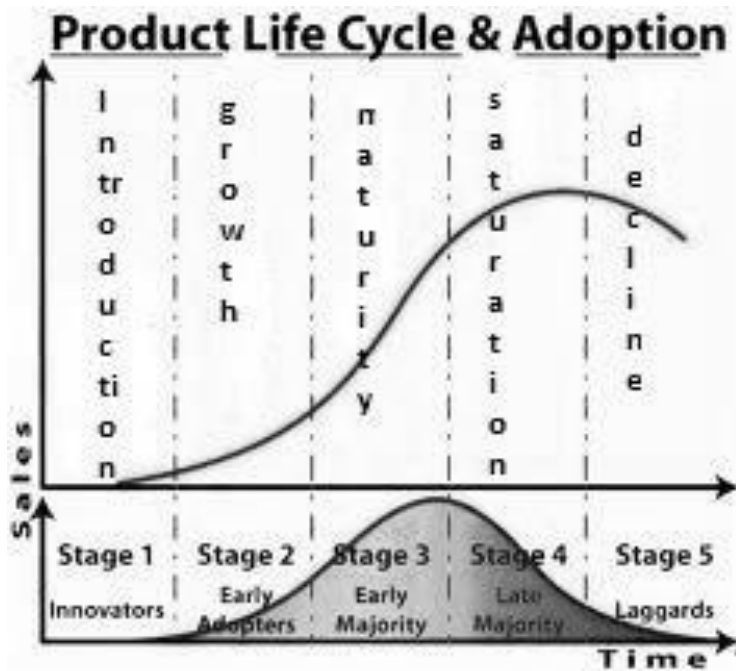
All products and services go through a life cycle from their first introduction to their decline as the market conditions for all products and services change (Saleemi,

2009). This is known as the product life cycle and consists of five stages as shown in Fig. 11 below. The five phases for the purpose of this study are as follows (Saleemi, 2009):

- i. The introductory phase is when the new product/service is launched.
- ii. Growth phase: demand for the product strengthens.
- iii. At the maturity phase demand for, and sales of the product/service, are at their highest.
- iv. Saturation stage: the success of a product/service leads to saturation in the market as similar products/services are launched. Supply thus exceeds demand.
- v. Finally, a product will go into a decline stage when the demand falls.

The diagram below illustrates that different „adopters’ are found in each stage of the PLC.

Fig 11: Product life cycle & adoption



Source: http://www.beasuccessfulentrepreneur.com/product-lifecycle-do-you-know-where-your-business-is/&docid=BFfZJ8JwDg8QDM&w=440&h=400&ei=pyErTp_oNpHJsgaVrvnhCw&zoom=1

Application to the authenticity/tourist gaze: A possible derivation from this study is that township tourism and other forms of slum tourism have throughout their „life-span’ been offered as an authentic package. Using the consumer adoption theory, it is possible to determine that the innovators and early adopters of this package were, in turn, the authenticity-seeking tourists. However, as the package is in its growth stage in the „product life cycle’ (see Fig. 11 above), the early and late majority categories would be motivated by the tourist gaze with very few motivated by authenticity.

The five market segments that are distinguished by the time consumers take to adopt a new product are discussed below (Stone & Desmond, 2007):

i. Innovators

Innovators are the first to adopt the new product and usually are no more than 2.5% of the population. These tourists are MacCannell's authenticity-motivated individuals that are attracted to the fact that the tour at this time is a stage 6 backstage locale that has not been ventured into. The location is at its authenticity peak. It can be said that these tourists are most likely to be superlative tourists.

ii. Early Adopters

Early adopters represent the next 13.5% of the population to adopt a new product. They are educated opinion leaders and respected individuals that seek authenticity in their travel career. The early adopters represent the most important consumers of any new tourist package as the majority of tourists will only travel to the area once it has received the „seal of approval by the early adopters'. These authenticity-seeking early adopters have opened Soweto, clearing the way for the detrimental effects of modern/Fordist tourism.

iii. Early Majority

Township tourism is at its growth stage in PLC (see Fig. 11 above) and has attracted „the early majority' who represent 34% of the consumer adoption population. They are more cautious of new products than the early adopters. If they are exposed to sufficient information, they will follow the example of the early adopters. In the growth

stage of township tourism, authenticity is constructed by powerful players such as tour operators and their agents. Therefore what is consumed by the tourist is not „authentic’ culture, but rather a marketed representation of that culture (Tribe & Arey). The tour operators know that the township tourist gaze is signposted. They create markers which distinguish the things and places worthy of the tourist gaze; in this study these tourist nodes include Vilakazi Street and The Freedom Charter in Kliptown (Sharma, 2004). Towards the end of this stage, Post-Fordism will have paved the way so that Soweto and all its attributes can be staged for the endless devouring gaze (Tribe & Arey).

iv. Late Majority

In the maturity stage, too many townships will be on offer for tours. As demand exceeds demand, the late majority begin trickling in. The late majority are the 34% of the population who are more sceptical about new products and are harder to persuade. They place greater importance on word of mouth recommendations than on those from players in the tourist industry. For these tourists the construction of the tourist gaze is related to the nature of tourism motivation. Where the journey leads to is not important, the main thing is to get away from the routine, to switch off and change the scene. To this extent travel destinations are altogether interchangeable (Sharma, 2007). At this stage the late majority are fully aware that authenticity is staged. This tourist seeks a playful enjoyment (Tribe & Arey).

v. Laggards

Laggards are the last 16% of the population who are the most reluctant to try new products. This group would only visit the township if their products of choice were unavailable/unattainable. They are the Fordist consumers and would tour the township in a voyeuristic mannerism. At this point, „difference’ would no longer be attainable as all the townships would have been toured.

6.3 Research Question 3:- Topic: Travel Career Ladder

- a) What needs motivate tourists to attend township tours?
- b) What is the relationship between Travel Experience and Township Tourism?

6.2.3 What needs motivate tourists to attend township tours?

As stated in the literature review, tourists travel because of a disequilibrium in their lives as a result of a feeling of dissatisfaction (a need). The need then develops into a motive leading to actual travel. The questions/items relating to tourist motives were subjected to a factor analysis. Five categories of needs emerged and these are depicted in Table 12. They are: Affiliation, Id, Relax/stimulation, Self-esteem/development, and Other reasons. A brief description of each will now ensue.

i. Affiliation

The following items emerged under one category, which the author named „Affiliation’: „Relationship’ and „Physical’ needs, where relationship needs are

dominant. The term „affiliation’ was chosen for this category as it is, according to Schiffman & Kanuk (2000), a form of motivation that has a far reaching influence on consumer behaviour. Furthermore, they state that people with affiliation motives are driven by their desire for friendship and a feeling of belonging; they are socially dependent on others. The results in Fig. 8 give additional support to the significance of the affiliation grouping from the factor analysis, as the figure shows that 85% of the tourists were not visiting/travelling on their own.

Township tourists in this study are mostly motivated by affiliation and driven by „higher level’ needs in the TCL. They are seeking to build and extend their personal relationships. They enjoy events through others, as well as being directly involved. They would like to be transported to „another new world’ where they can be totally immersed in the setting. People here emphasise the creation of a shared history of good times (Holden, 2005).

ii. Id (Intrinsic P)

The second group of needs that motivates township tourists involves internally oriented physiological needs, hence they can be considered as intrinsically motivated. This is on par with Holden (2005), who states that a tourist’s travel career is most likely to be weighted towards intrinsic, rather than extrinsic, motivation. Apart from seeking affiliation, township tourists are also likely to be involved in restoration, personal maintenance and repair. The word „Id’, according to Evans, Jamal & Foxall (2009), denotes the reservoir of a person’s base instincts. The term was coined by Sigmund Freud, who argued that the libido and sexuality are the driving forces

behind it. When motivated by the Id, the township tourists would therefore emphasise basic services and enjoy activities involving sex, eating and drinking.

iii. Relax/stimulation

To a certain degree, township tourists are motivated by externally oriented physiological needs as well as stimulation needs. These tourists would most likely enjoy a sense of escape and lack of demands on them. They would want to be safe but not bored and would emphasise „out of the ordinary settings’ where they would eat different foods and would be around different people (Holden, 2005). They would do this in a safe environment, for example through a collective gaze within a minivan or by experiencing Soweto in the four-star Soweto Hotel.

iv. Self-esteem/development needs

To a minor extent township tourists aim at developing their skills, knowledge and abilities. The „Self-esteem/development’ tourists are vigilant, as they are concerned about how others see them. They want to be respected and in control (Holden, 2005).

v. ‘Other-directed/extrinsic’ reasons

Judging from the sample, this is the least likely group of needs that would motivate a township tourist. The motivation behind visiting the township for these tourists does not have to do with Soweto itself; they could satisfy these needs in another tour package. They are precisely extrinsically motivated and therefore the visit is not important *per se*.

It may have been assumed that the items making up the Affiliation category would be of the highest correlation with the tourist gaze, but in fact, as shown in Fig. 14, they had the lowest with regard to the relationship needs (0.28) and second lowest in the fulfilment category (0.32). It would seem that the tourist gaze would most likely „develop’ from the Id or Adventurous category; this would however be unlikely due to generally weak correlations in this study. Even with the authenticity theory, the fulfilment needs as shown in Table 13 (though the highest amongst all its categorisations) only scored a correlation coefficient of 0.32. It can therefore be confidently said that the needs of the TCL are not appropriate for the linking of township tourist needs to either the authenticity or tourist gaze theories of motivation.

It is worth mentioning, at this juncture, that the correlation between the TCL with the tourist gaze/authenticity dichotomy, as presented in Tables 13 and 14, resulted in a positive relationship with all TCL stages; the corollary was that the tourist gaze was more positively correlated with TCL phases than its counterpart.

6.2.4 Is there a relationship between travel experience and township tourism?

The premise behind the TCL is that tourist motivation changes, that is, future motivations are impacted by each individual’s prior travel experiences. Linking the post-Fordist theory to the TCL, one would believe that as a tourist gains more experience during their travel career, they would begin travelling to post-Fordist, alternative locations such as Soweto. This was not the case in this study, as is presented in the results from the chi-square tests in Table 16; there was no relationship between travel experience and touring Soweto. This does not negate the

above principle as this enquiry was simply an attempt at testing the Travel Career Ladder. In fact, as discussed Section 6.3.1, the concept of different categorisations of travel needs remains important. Moreover, a tourist can have different needs at different times. These needs could rise during the travel career of the individual. It would seem that the only negative with the TCL is the word „ladder’. In agreement, Pearce (2005) states that the term „ladder’ has perhaps drawn too much attention to an analogy with a physical ladder, with the result that any audience of the TCL would concentrate on ascending the steps and being on one step at a time. Pearce then proceeds to present a new approach that de-emphasises the hierarchical elements in the Travel Career Ladder. In this new approach the travel career pattern accentuates the change of motivation patterns, reflecting career levels rather than hierarchical levels.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Findings

Using theories from tourism literature to understand township tourism, the main findings from this study were as follows

7.1.1 The Intrinsic (Push) - Extrinsic (Pull) Dichotomy

Township tourists are largely intrinsically motivated to travel. Intrinsically motivated tourists are more likely to attain higher satisfaction levels than extrinsically motivated tourists. Thus, on this basis, they are more likely to visit the township in the future.

7.1.2 Authenticity

The goal of authentically motivated travellers is to be superlative tourists – the best tourist they can be. These tourists are attracted to the location as it is a backstage locale. They tend to immerse themselves into the tourist package which could have detrimental effects on the township such as the erosion of culture. A further detrimental effect is that once the location becomes a commodity it loses its value as a stage 6 local and becomes less authentic with the arrival of more visitors.

7.1.3 Tourist Gaze

For the tourist gaze tourist, the authenticity of the package is not the attraction, rather, the different nature of the township in comparison to other tours, for example, the difference in the cultures of the visitor and the visited. These tourists are eager to

fix their gaze onto the new tourist attraction. They also tend to immerse themselves in the location; however, they do this through imagination rather than actual contact.

7.1.4 The 'Authenticity'-'Tourist Gaze' Dichotomy

The findings informed that most tourists were motivated by Urry's theory of the tourist gaze. In light of the findings affirming that most tourists fall in the tourist gaze category, the researcher was keen to apply the results to the consumer adoption theory.

7.1.4.1 The township tourist adoption and diffusion process

The consumer adoption process was applied to the field of township tourism whereby the first two adopters (innovators and early adopters) are the authentically motivated tourists who pave the way for the tourist gaze falling the in the early majority category at the growth stage in PLC of township tourism in Soweto today.

7.1.5 Travel Career Ladder

From the factor analysis, it was found that township tourists were motivated by the following categories of needs in a descending order: Affiliation; Id: Relax/stimulation; Self-esteem/development needs; and „Other-directed/extrinsic' reasons.

7.1.6 Travel Experience and township tourism.

There was no link established between travel experience and township tourism in this study.

7.2 Recommendations to stakeholders

In order to understand tourists' decision making process, players in the township tourism industry need to understand their motivation. This study provides a deep understanding of the township tourist's motivation. That would enable businesses in targeting the right audience and thus be competitive in the market. Recommendations include:

- i. *Soweto Tourism Niche*: Soweto tourism is on the rise. An unintended consequence of this is that the authenticity of the Soweto package has been reduced making Soweto a stage 4/5 back locale. In order to compete for tourists with other townships, players in this field should market this package and capitalise on the „difference between Townships and favelas and state that Soweto is the ideal township to visit due to advantages such as its safety.
- ii. *Hospitality sector*: The authenticity of the township culture is the key attraction that drives tourists to location. Therefore, culture should be promoted through various media such as art, music, the general ambience and food. .
- iii. *Tour operators*: This group should be aware of the disadvantages involved with the active participation of their clients in the township as well when tourists collectively gaze at locals making them feel like they are in a zoo. These negative and possibly voyeuristic forms of behaviour should be negated by the tour operator.

An important outcome from this study was the development of the „township tourism adoption and diffusion processes. This marketing model allows for the development of important recommendations per tourist segment

- iv. *Innovators and early adopters*: These groups are important as they are initially targeted because they seek those sites that are authentic and undisturbed (by tourists). They, in turn, influence later adopters.
- v. *Early majority*: This group is an important target for the township tourist industry as they take the tourist package from the introductory stage to the growth stage in the PLC (Stone & Desmond, 2007).
- vi. *Late Majority and laggards*: At this stage, the authenticity of the township may have been greatly devalued therefore marketing tactics such as advertising and activities (for example events) would need to be employed.

7.3 Future Research ideas

This section is aimed at scholars who are interested in post Fordism and its effect on the post fordist tourist in the specific areas of slum/township tourism, poorism, and/or cultural tourism. Ideas for future research include but are not limited to:

7.3.1 A study using the ‘Expectancy theory’ of tourism

The TCL when correlated with both authenticity and tourist gaze theories resulted in weak correlations, moreover, it only concentrates on needs making it a „partial theory’. Therefore one suggestion is the use of a theory that Sign (2008) considers to be a “...a framework for the analysis of tourist motivation” (p. 249), in near replication

to this study. The theory in question is the expectancy theory - a theory that informs the process whereby needs are translated into motivated tourism action.

7.3.2 'Cross studies'

To build on this study, future studies could also take a cross township approach. :

- i. A cross township study whereby this study would be replicated in two locations: Soweto and Alexandra.
- ii. A cross-country study of a slum for example in Kenya and the Soweto Township or another South African township.

7.4 Limitations

There are four noteworthy limitations in this study. The main limitation in this study related to time constraints which did not allow the researcher to sufficiently meet and engage with a wide cross section of tourists. Given the period during which the study was conducted – during the winter months – tourism figures had dropped considerably. Tourists to South Africa tend to visit during the months of November to March. Research gathering could, therefore, only be based on one township and the results are therefore unlikely to be representative of all South African townships. Further, the research would be more educative had it been a cross-country study such as the aforementioned South Africa-Kenya study in section 7.3.

As a result, the TCL ladder could not be properly tested as looking into a tourist travel career would have taken a significant amount of time given the longitudinal methodology.

Another limitation is that Township tourism is a relatively new phenomenon therefore the results in this study may need to be tried and tested.

7.5 Summary

The transformation from Fordism to post Fordism paved the way for new forms of tourism under the umbrella term, alternative tourism. Slum tourism is a controversial phenomenon known by different names around the globe. In South Africa, it is Township tourism. This study was conducted in order to understand this form of tourism from a consumer point of view; it studied their motivation.

Through an extensive literature review, it was found that there were two main theories that have been linked to post fordist tourism that is, authenticity and tourists gaze. Other theories were the TCL and the extrinsic/intrinsic dichotomy.

Using these theories as a frame of reference, a study was conducted with 100 tourists in Soweto. It was found that the average township tourists were intrinsically motivated individuals, inspired by affiliation needs. These tourists were attracted to an authentic package but equally participated in the tourist gaze during the tour. The main conclusion, therefore, is that while township tourists are more likely to be motivated by intrinsic factors, they also exhibited traits of tourists that would be normally be motivated by extrinsic factors. Thus tourists cannot be said to be driven by only one set of motivations, rather, they are complex and various motivations are at play simultaneously but with one set of motivations being dominant. In the case of township tourists, the intrinsic motivators are more dominant than the external set of motivators.

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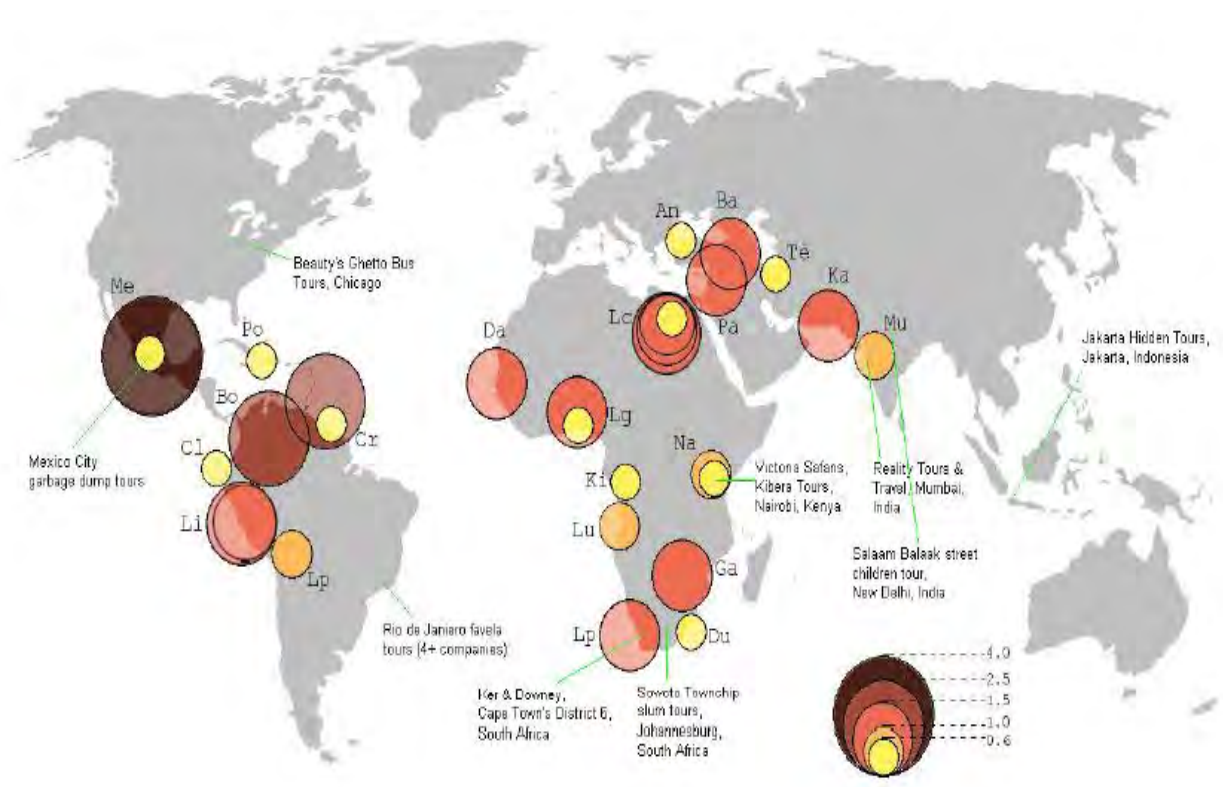
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APPENDIX

Exhibit 1: Global Slums and Slum tours



Source: Ma (2010)

The collared circles represent the 30 largest slums in the world according to Mike Davis' *Planet of Slums*. The legend's numerical values represent millions of slum residents in the slum. Note: According to Brazil's census data in 2000, the favelas in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are bordering on 600,000, so these two cities just missed being marked on this map

Exhibit 2

INTERNET ARTICLE: The History of Apartheid in South Africa

South Africa is a country blessed with an abundance of natural resources including fertile farmlands and unique mineral resources. South African mines are world leaders in the production of diamonds and gold as well as strategic metals such as platinum. The climate is mild, reportedly resembling the San Francisco bay area weather more than anywhere in the world.

South Africa was colonized by the English and Dutch in the seventeenth century. English domination of the Dutch descendents (known as Boers or Afrikaners) resulted in the Dutch establishing the new colonies of Orange Free State and Transvaal. The discovery of diamonds in these lands around 1900 resulted in an English invasion which sparked the Boer War. Following independence from England, an uneasy power-sharing between the two groups held sway until the 1940's, when the Afrikaner National Party was able to gain a strong majority. Strategists in the National Party invented apartheid as a means to cement their control over the economic and social system. Initially, aim of the apartheid was to maintain white domination while extending racial separation. Starting in the 60's, a plan of "Grand Apartheid" was executed, emphasizing territorial separation and police repression.

With the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948, racial discrimination was institutionalized. Race laws touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of "white-only" jobs. In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of three categories: white, black (African), or colored (of mixed descent). The coloured category included major subgroups of Indians and Asians. Classification into these categories was based on appearance, social acceptance, and descent. For example, a white person was defined as "in appearance obviously a white person or generally accepted as a white person." A person could not be considered white if one of his or her parents were non-white. The determination that a person was "obviously white" would take into account "his habits, education, and speech and deportment and demeanor." A black person would be of or accepted as a member of an African tribe or race, and a colored person is one that is not black or white. The Department of Home Affairs (a government bureau) was responsible for the classification of the citizenry. Non-compliance with the race laws were dealt with harshly. All blacks were required to carry "pass books" containing fingerprints, photo and information on access to non-black areas.

In 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act established a basis for ethnic government in African reserves, known as "homelands." These homelands were independent states to which each African was assigned by the government according to the record of origin (which was frequently inaccurate). All political rights, including voting, held by an African were restricted to the designated homeland. The idea was that they would be citizens of the homeland, losing their citizenship in South Africa and any right of involvement with the South African Parliament which held complete hegemony over the homelands. From 1976 to 1981, four of these homelands were created, denationalizing nine million South Africans. The homeland administrations refused the nominal independence, maintaining pressure for political rights within the country as a whole. Nevertheless, Africans living in the homelands needed passports to enter South Africa: aliens in their own country.

In 1953, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed, which empowered the government to declare stringent states of emergency and increased penalties for protesting against or supporting the repeal of a law. The penalties included fines, imprisonment and whippings. In 1960, a large group of blacks in Sharpeville refused to carry their passes; the government declared a state of emergency. The emergency lasted for 156 days, leaving 69 people dead and 187 people wounded. Wielding the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the white regime had no intention of changing the unjust laws of apartheid.

The penalties imposed on political protest, even non-violent protest, were severe. During the states of emergency which continued intermittently until 1989, anyone could be detained without a hearing by a low-level police official

for up to six months. Thousands of individuals died in custody, frequently after gruesome acts of torture. Those who were tried were sentenced to death, banished, or imprisoned for life, like Nelson Mandela.

Source: <http://www-cs-students.stanford.edu/~cale/cs201/apartheid.hist.html>

Exhibit 3

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs



Source: <http://www.performancecoachingtools.com/pages/view/questionnaire3>

In a 1943 paper called *A Theory of Human Motivation*, Maslow presented the idea that human actions are directed toward goal attainment. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs has often been represented in a hierarchical pyramid with five levels. The first four levels (lower-order needs) are considered to represent *physiological needs*, while the top level represents *growth needs*. The lower level needs need to be satisfied before higher-order needs can influence behaviour (Zimmerman, 2002).

Exhibit 4

INTERNET ARTICLE: Soweto

Early development The establishment of Soweto is, like Johannesburg, linked directly to the discovery of Gold in 1885. Thousands of people from around the world and South Africa flocked to the new town to seek their fortunes or to offer their labour. Within 4 years Johannesburg was the second largest city. More than half the population was black, most living in multi-racial shanty towns near the gold mines in the centre of the town. As the gold mining industry developed, so did the need for labour increase. Migrant labour was started and most of these workers lived in mine compounds. However other workers had to find their own accommodation often in appalling conditions.

The first residents of what is now known as Soweto were located into the area called Klipspruit in 1905 following their relocation from “Coolietown” in the centre of Johannesburg as a result of an outbreak of bubonic plague. The Johannesburg City Council took the opportunity to establish racially segregated residential areas. Some residents were to be relocated to Alexandra township (near the present day Sandton). This group comprised black, Indian and coloured families and they received freehold title to their land (this was subsequently reversed by the Apartheid Government). Only black families were located into Klipspruit and the housing was on a rental basis. Klipspruit was subsequently renamed Pimville.

During the 1930’s the demand for housing for the large numbers of black people who had moved into Johannesburg grew to such an extent that new housing was built in an area known as Orlando, named after the first administrator Edwin Orlando Leaky.

In the 1940’s a controversial character James Mpanza led the first land invasion and some 20000 squatters occupied land near Orlando. James Mpanza is known as the “Father of Soweto”.

In 1959 the residents of Sophiatown were forcibly removed to Soweto and occupied the area known as Meadowlands. Sir Earnest Oppenheimer, the first chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, was appalled by the housing shortage and was instrumental in arranging a loan for the construction of additional housing and this is commemorated by the Oppenheimer Tower in Jabulani.



Current status of Soweto.

Soweto falls within the municipality of the Johannesburg Metro Council in the province of Gauteng which appropriately means place of Gold.

The original rental houses have now been sold to the tenants who received a subsidy from the government to cover the cost of the houses. Private sector housing was developed from the 1980’s funded by the various banks. Freehold title is available to the properties.

Services are provided by the Johannesburg Metro council and electricity by Eskom.

Origins of the name.

Soweto obtained its name from the first two letters of South Western Township which was the original description of the area.

“Soweto is a symbol of the New South Africa, caught between old squatter misery and new prosperity, squalor and an upbeat lifestyle, it’s a vibrant city which still openly bears the scars of the Apartheid past and yet shows what’s possible in the New South Africa”

Source: http://www.soweto.co.za/html/i_overview.htm

Exhibit 5

Consent letter and Questionnaire

I am conducting a research study on understanding the motivation behind township tourism. To that end, you are kindly requested to answer the questions on the questionnaire below. This academic questionnaire will help us to understand tourism motivation in South African Townships, and this will not take more than 20 minutes of your time. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without penalty. Of course, all data will remain strictly confidential and used solely for the purposes of this study. Please note that you are not obliged to answer demographic questions, which are meant for respondent profiling. By completing this survey, you indicate you voluntarily participate in this research. If you have concerns, please contact me or my supervisor. Our details are provided below;

Thank you,

Researcher: Olivia Mengich

Email: oliviam146@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr Jackie Chimhanzi

Email: jchimhanzie@yahoo.com

Questionnaire

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS	
D1: RECORD GENDER:	
Male	1
Female	2
D2: Which of the following statements best describes your marital status at the moment?	
Single	1
Living with a partner, but not married	2
Married	3
Divorced	4
Widowed	5
Other (SPECIFY)	6
D3: Into which of the following age groups do you fall?	
Less than 25 years	1
25 – 34 years	2
35 – 44years	3
45 – 54 years	4
55 years and above	5
Refused	6
D4: Please tell me which level of education you have got?	
No schooling	1
Primary schooling	2
High school	3
University	4
Post-Graduate	5



Other, Specify	6
D5: Could you please tell me your Nationality	
D6. May you please tell me your working status	
Work full time	1
Work Part time	2
Student	3
House wife/ house husband	4
Unemployed	5
Retired	6
Other, Specify	7
D7. May you please tell me your occupation	
Businessperson	1
Civil servant	2
Educator	3
White –collar worker	4
Student	5
Retired	6
Blue –collar worker	7
Unemployed	8
Other, Specify	9
D8. For statistical purposes may you please indicate for me into which category does your annual gross income fall? Is it...	
Less than USD 10,000	1
USD 10,001 – 25, 000	2
USD 25, 001 – 40, 000	3
USD 40, 001 – 55, 000	4



USD 55, 001 – 70, 000	5
USD 70, 001 -100, 000	6
More than USD 100, 000	7
D9. How big is your travel party?	
Single	1
Family	2
Friends	3
Tour Group	4
Other, Specify	5
SECTION B	
Q1. How many times have you visited South Africa before this visit (if not South African?)	
Q2. How many times have you visited a township/slum before this tour?	
Q3. What led you to take a tour of Soweto?	1
An Advert	2
A movie	3
Curiosity	4
Self need	5
A friend	6
Other, Specify	7
.....	
Q4. How often per year do you travel abroad for vacation purposes?	
Q5. As an individual this tour will enable you to	
	Scale
	Strongly disagree Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Agree Strongly Agree No Opinion
Relax Mentally	1 2 3 4 5 9
Relax Physically	1 2 3 4 5 9
Discover New Places & Things	1 2 3 4 5 9
Get entertainment	1 2 3 4 5 9
Satisfy your curiosity	1 2 3 4 5 9



Avoid the Hustle & Bustle of Daily Life	1	2	3	4	5	9
Have a Good Time with Friends	1	2	3	4	5	9
Reduce fear and anxiety about townships	1	2	3	4	5	9
Eat different food	1	2	3	4	5	9
Be with Others	1	2	3	4	5	9
Build Friendships with Others	1	2	3	4	5	9
Learn about townships/slums	1	2	3	4	5	9
Grow as an individual through the township experience	1	2	3	4	5	9
Develop Close Friendships	1	2	3	4	5	9
Be respected by my peers for visiting extraordinary sites.	1	2	3	4	5	9
Value what I have	1	2	3	4	5	9
Get insight for future tours	1	2	3	4	5	9

Q6. Please indicate the extent to which each of the following factors has contributed to your decision to visit Soweto South Africa?

	Scale				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I wanted to gain a better appreciation for the life I have	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to interact with slum residents	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see the local art and craft	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to visit museums	1	2	3	4	5
I thought this tour would portray slum life genuinely	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to personally experience life in a third-world setting	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to get more insight as to why Soweto is famous	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to get more insight as to how things have changed since the apartheid era	1	2	3	4	5



I wanted to contribute to the welfare of slum residents	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to personally experience nightlife in a township	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to dispel the negative image of slums that I held	1	2	3	4	5
I thought this tour would be an emotionally powerful experience	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see why slum tours are controversial	1	2	3	4	5
Slum life seemed more unspoiled than modern city life	1	2	3	4	5
I could talk about this experience to my family and friends later	1	2	3	4	5
This tour seemed different from a regular tour	1	2	3	4	5
I was curious to see a different way of life	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see a different kind of slum than the one back home	1	2	3	4	5
I thought this tour would be fun and exciting	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see the slum I read about in a novel or saw in a movie	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see the scenery of a slum	1	2	3	4	5
I was curious how my life compared with those of slum residents	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see both the rich and poor sides of South Africa	1	2	3	4	5
I wanted to see the Mandela residence	1	2	3	4	5
My friends were also visiting Soweto	1	2	3	4	5
Other , Specify	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5

Q7. What did you do while there?		
Talked to the locals	1	GO TO Q9
Watched the locals as they go about their business	2	Continue
None of the above	3	GO TO Q9
Q8. Ask only if Code 2 on Q7: As you watched the locals go about their daily business did you imagine yourself living/working amongst them?		
Yes		1
No		2
Q9. Would you feel ashamed If you did not attend a Soweto/township tour?		
Yes		1
No		2
Q10. Would you visit Soweto again in future?		
Yes		1
No		2
Q11. What activities did you like the most during the tour?		
.....		
.....		
.....		
Q12. What activities did you hate the most during the tour?		
.....		
.....		
.....		

-Thank you for participating in this research. Have a nice day-

