CHAPTER 1 GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Weaver and Lawton (2002) contend that the basic aim of tourism management at a destination-wide scale is to maximise the sector's economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits, while minimising the associated costs. Over the years critics such as Mathieson and Wall (1982), Cohen (1988), Smith (1989), Ap and Crompton (1993) Lankford (1994), Swarbrooke (1999), Shackley (2000), Keyser (2002) and Weaver and Lawton (2002) have argued that in order to meet this objective, destination managers must understand the potential positive and negative impacts of tourism as perceived by the host community.

The aspect of tourism that has arguably generated most attention in recent times is that of its impact for good or ill, with most commentators stating that even the economic benefits of tourism are not always of the magnitude that tourism's supporters like to believe (Brown, 2000; Hall, 2000; Krippendorf, 2001). Most of the early studies of the effects of tourism focused on economic aspects. However, with the realisation that tourism development will inevitably lead to changes in host communities, researchers over the past decade have paid increasing attention to the social effects of tourism (Du Cros, 2001). Critiques and debates on this issue are particularly relevant to post-apartheid South Africa. As the country struggles to come to terms with the tasks of both social and economic reconstruction there is an obvious temptation to embrace an industry which promises extensive financial reward (Goudie *et al.*, 1999). However, the caution already expressed must be heeded, as tourism development may have negative impacts that outweigh actual economic benefits.

Researchers have over the past two decades focused with increasing intensity on the perceived impacts of tourism (Brown, 2000), primarily because residents' perceptions of and attitudes toward the impacts of tourism are likely to be an important planning and policy consideration in the successful development, marketing and operation of existing

and future tourism programmes and projects (Allen *et al.*, 1993; King *et al.*, 1993; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). If a host community perceives the overall tourism effects to be negative, the level of support from the host community is likely to diminish (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Jurowski, 1997), which makes positive resident perceptions of tourism development critical to sustaining the growth of community tourism businesses. If the level of residents' loyalty to burism development is high, potential conflict between residents and tourism establishments will in all likelihood be avoided. For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts must be minimised and it must be viewed favourably by the host population, as they are integral to the tourist economy (Ap, 1992).

Research in this domain would be particularly enriched by the debates concerning the way in which the culture and lifestyle of people in townships are marketed and commodified through cultural tourism in post-apartheid South Africa. There is a clear need to look beyond the obvious economic networks associated with the tourism industry to a deeper understanding of the issues of power, access, empowerment, and participation. Focusing on residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism, the researcher in this study assesses some of the challenges associated with the development of more responsible and socially sensitive township tourism in South Africa. Using Soweto as a case study the researcher examines the opportunities for and constraints on tourism development and the influences of these factors on township residents, questioning how tourism can be practised in these areas in a way that ensures that benefits reach locals without being detrimental to their social and cultural heritage.

Participation by the community (in the persons of residents, civic leaders and entrepreneurs) in developing and attracting tourism to their area is generally driven by the desire by some members of the community to improve the economic and social conditions of the area (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Selin, 2000). Others in the community find that tourism is thrust upon them by certain individual or group advocates. Irrespective of how tourism is introduced and developed in a community, residents are vital players who can influence the success or failure of the local tourism industry. Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) asserts that residents may contribute to the well-being of the community

through their participation in the planning, development and operation of tourist attractions, and by extending their hospitality to tourists in exchange for the benefits obtained from tourism. Sharpley (1994), by contrast, points out that residents may be instrumental in discouraging tourism by opposing it or exhibiting hostile behaviour toward tourism advocates or tourists. By satisfying the needs of visitors through the provision of quality experiences the host community will increase the desire for further interaction between hosts and guests, yet the encounter between these two parties may also have negative consequences. Knox (1982:77) encapsulates this very reciprocity in commenting that "[t]he tourist may have his vacation spoiled or enhanced by the resident. The resident may have his daily life enriched or degraded by the unending flow of tourists".

The growing interest in tourism as one of the major socio-economic development tools of the twentieth century presents those concerned with its planning and management with a variety of challenges and questions. A number of tourism studies agree that while the basic aim of tourism development and growth is to maximise the economic, social and environmental benefits in a country, it can also lead to negative social impacts and can have serious adverse impacts on local and indigenous cultural values (Smith & Krannich, 1998; Asplet & Cooper, 2000). It has become crucial, therefore, that tourism managers and planners bear in mind that, in the quest for development, tourism should not destroy the values people seek in the community. It has also become very important that destination planners and decision-makers understand both the positive and negative impacts of tourism on host communities and the circumstances under which they occur in order to plan effectively.

1.2 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE HOST COMMUNITY

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism have been extensively studied and discussed, and were put before a wide audience in Mathieson and Wall's 1982 publication entitled *Tourism: The economic, physical and social impacts.* In general, the focus has been on the negative impacts of tourism on host societies and cultures. However, it is important

to recognise that the effects can also be positive. Research on the social and cultural impacts of tourism has focused on three areas, namely the tourist, the host, and the tourist-host interrelationship.

Sofield (1991:56) describes the socio-cultural impacts of tourism as "the sum-total of all the social and cultural influences that come to bear upon the host society as a result of tourist contact". Sharpley (1994) describes tourism as a socio-cultural event for both the traveller and the host. It is a social process that, in the context of both domestic and international tourism, brings together people from different regions and different countries in a form of social interaction. The resulting tourist-host relationship may impact on both the local community and visitors. Tourism is also, from the point of view of destination areas, a means of improving and modernising the economic and social condition of the host community and, therefore, tourism may be described as an agent of socio-cultural change (Johnson *et al.*, 1994; Sharpley, 2000).

In the past, few black South Africans were allowed access to the tourism industry, either as tourists, operators or managers. At worst, black cultures were ignored or repressed; at best they became stereotyped and trivialised commodities (Beavon, 1982; Goudie *et al.*, 1999; Ian, 1999). An analysis of the township tourism market should therefore necessarily be extended to include the perceptions of the host community towards this new form of tourism that has engulfed their communities. As already mentioned, tourism research reveals increased attention to the social impacts of tourism on local communities, particularly marginalised indigenous groups. Urry (2002) contends that the process of creating a commercial tourism product from local cultures involves the careful selection, as well as screening, of cultural elements; these products are never simple mirror images of reality. A constant struggle, he argues, has emerged between market viability and authentic representations of local cultures, frequently resulting in a commercial (and political) screening and packaging of reality. Urry suggests that what tourists are guided through are more often than not profitable 'pseudo-events' that are reflective of neither past nor present realities.

This raises important questions in South Africa about the social and cultural representation of township residents, and makes an examination of township tourism in South Africa particularly relevant. Black alienation and exclusion from mainstream tourism in the past has meant that most black South Africans have lacked control over the way in which their diverse cultures have been portrayed (Wolf, 2002). Yet the extent to which South Africa, like other developing countries, is benefiting by showcasing indigenous or marginalised communities as part of a cultural tourism strategy must be interrogated. Are the desired side effects of cultural tourism, such as job creation, the upliftment of communities and the preservation of cultural lifestyles and expressions truly being realised, or have cultural expressions in fact changed and adapted to suit the demand and needs of the consumer tourist? Further subjects for debate are whether the ownership of cultural products should lie in the hands of the community or the developer, and whether the township community is exploited in the practice of cultural tourism as a result of its need for consumer goods and financial gain.

1.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURAL RESOURCES POST 1994

Traditionally, in terms of tourism, South Africa's unique selling points have been scenic beauty, wildlife and climate. Before the first democratic elections of 1994, 30% of visitors came to South Africa for its scenic beauty, while 26% were drawn by its wildlife (Gauteng Tourism Authority, 2002; Lubbe, 2003). Yet, in the words of Goudie *et al.* (1999:24), with the demise of apartheid, "increasing emphasis has been placed on the role of township tourism as a catalyst for social change and healing in South Africa by the state, the private sector, and community organisations". In similar vein, Lubbe (2003:96) notes that "[a]fter 1994, 27% came to see the 'new South Africa', while 21% came to view our cultural attractions that is, 48% of tourists coming to South Africa with a cultural motivation." In a more recent survey, the number of tourists whose motivation for visiting South Africa is cultural or socio-cultural has risen to 46% (Lubbe, 2003).

South Africa consists of a remarkable mix of cultures, with African, European and Asian influences intermingled to create a unique South African multi-cultural society. The many-faceted heritage bequeathed by this mixture of exotic and indigenous culture is

inextricably bound up with the social and political history of the country (Parker, 1997). Although cultural tourism in South Africa is still in its infancy, the political changes of 1994 have stimulated increased interest in the fascinating mix of cultures found in townships. In this melting pot, some things have remained unchanged, while other new and unique cultural expressions have evolved. Many forms of dance, music, song, theatre and cuisine, both traditional and modern, from every cultural group may be encountered. Festivals, concerts and performances reflecting lifestyles and regional interests are numerous. History and heritage are preserved in existing and newly developing museums and monuments in townships, living cultural villages and places where the freedom struggle took place (Damer, 1997). Finally, there is the wealth of art and crafts produced by talented South Africans for sale in craft centres and open-air markets in townships (Gold Reef Guides, 2003; Soweto Tours 2003a).

1.4 TOWNSHIP TOURISM

The urban black townships in South Africa differ from other deprived areas in the world largely as a result of the circumstances which prevailed under the ruling white minority during apartheid (Ramchander, 2003). To achieve social segregation, the National Party implemented a broad range of Acts and ordinances ensuring that different races could not come into contact with each other, even in their free time (Soweto Tours, 2003a; Soweto SA, 2003). The segregation of housing, education, and health and leisure facilities such as beaches, hotels, restaurants, libraries, cinemas, camping sites and national parks was an elaborate and humiliating system often entrenched with force, and which extended to the development of the townships as dormitory towns as a means of segregating black labour. Townships were established far away from the central business districts, and from the white urban areas; and were not allowed to develop as an integral part of the white city (Mabogane & Callaghan, 2002; Ramchander, 2003). Many black townships, in particular, have suffered as a result of the perception that they are places of violence and squalor.

Tourists over the past decade have exercised a preference for travel that involves broadening the mind and learning, as opposed to the mass tourism culture of relaxation in

the sun. The 1990s saw the emergence of various types of popular tourism, such as green, alternative, sustainable, cultural, adventure, health and eco-tourism, with each destination marketing its own unique offering (Poon, 1993). 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 (Dondolo, 2001; Ramchander, 2004). Township tours present themselves primarily as offering insights into post-apartheid progress and development, and cite attractions such as beer makers, traditional healers, traditional dancing, arts and craft centres, taverns, bed and breakfast establishments, crèches, political landmarks and shanty towns (Wolf, 2002; Chapman, 2003; Ramchander, 2003). Township tourism is growing rapidly as international tourists are eager to see how South Africa has progressed since its first democratic elections in 1994 (Sithole, 2003; Ramchander, 2004). Tourists are interested in townships that reflect past and present human experiences; they want to see the 'real' people and witness their daily life, their present developments and their cultural heritage (South Africa Online Travel Guide, 2002). Seeing that the township tourism involves tourists motivated by interests in other people's cultures and a search for the different, it falls incontrovertibly within the body of cultural tourism.

Township tourism is a new and unique tourism product existing only in South Africa. As a result there is little or no research on township tourism development and planning, or its impact on the community. The researcher has to date found no documented research on the growth or size of this tourism offering, the market segment that it serves, or its resulting impacts. In light of the absence of any research on township tourism development, the present study was conducted with a view to correcting this lack, and thus making a contribution to tourism development in South Africa.

Township tourism involves travelling for the purpose of observing the cultural expression and lifestyles of black South Africans, and offers first-hand experience of the practices of another culture (Mabogane & Callaghan, 2002; Ramchander, 2004). Tourists are typically transported in a microbus accommodating no more than fifteen people at a time. Many tourists visit South Africa's most famous townships because they symbolise

political freedom and because visits to the sprawling townships fit in perfectly with the new paradigm of special-interest tourism. Political violence may have made black townships no-go areas for foreign tourists in the days of apartheid, but 1976 and the political strife of the 1980s subsequently made townships such as Soweto world-famous (Mabogane & Callaghan, 2002; Ramchander, 2004), and it is not surprising that township tourism has increased significantly since the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994. Their legacy of violence and pain has made townships unlikely tourist destinations, yet busloads of visitors arrive every day to sample the renewed vitality of township life (Joburg Gateway to Africa, 2001; Sithole, 2003). Most leave with a very different impression from the one with which they arrived, having gained new insights following tours led by local entrepreneurs, and discovering that townships are not depraved areas of violent crime, but vibrant centres populated by friendly people with inspirational stories to tell (Chapman, 2003; City of Johannesburg, 2003).

Tourists are given a glimpse of local residents' daily lives and living conditions. There is the mandatory visit to a few carefully selected people in their homes, which range from a small tin and wood house to a room in a hostel and a new RDP home (Ian, 1999; Latherwick, 1999). A day-care centre is chosen to put on a daily performance for the tourists. A short walk through a series of designated streets, under the watchful eye of the guide, is intended to impart the 'feel' of the townships (Ramchander, 2004). At a craft centre tourists are able to satisfy their expectation of encountering work and development, and at the same time feel they have made a contribution by purchasing what appears to be a hand-made memento of Africa. Finally there is the social experience, set up in a 'safe' shebeen, where the tourists will be able to partake of township life without being harassed by drunken and disorderly clientele (Chapman, 2003).

Despite urbanisation, displacement and modernisation, people in the townships hold their customs and traditions dear (CNN-TravelGuide, 2003), and township tours also include visits to traditional healers. Traditional healers are a source of health care to which

Africans have turned throughout the ages, and even with the expansion of modern medicine, healers are still popular (Wolf, 2002).

Like other forms of community tourism development in the rest of the world, township tourism is increasingly being seen as an important economic activity with the potential to enhance the local economy. The term 'tourism impact' has become increasingly prominent in the tourism literature (Allen *et al.*, 1988; Pearce, 1989; Ap, 1990; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Brown, 2000; Ratz, 2003), as the literature has demonstrated, at least to some, that tourism development has both negative and positive outcomes at the local level. Tourism development is usually justified on the basis of economic benefit, and challenged on the grounds of social, cultural, or environmental destruction.

The actual contribution made by tourism in a development programme has come increasing into question because of an alleged meagreness of actual benefits, an inequality of benefit distribution, and the high social costs exacted by tourism (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Further, economic benefits traditionally associated with tourism development are now being measured against its potential for social disruption. Some governments are now starting to realise that the welfare of the public should be considered along with the needs of tourists and investors.

Whilst the South African White Paper on Responsible Tourism (DEAT, 1996), addresses the development, management and promotion style of tourism development in the country, there is nevertheless a lack of information on the potential socio-cultural impacts that township tourism may have on the host destination. This very lack opens the way to the research problem to which this study will attempt to provide a solution.

This study is a first attempt in South Africa to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the perceptions of residents (hosts) towards township tourism. In it, the researcher examines host perceptions of socio-cultural impacts arising from township tourism in Soweto against the backdrop of contemporary literature.

1.5 FORMULATION OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

Because cultural tourists are motivated by an interest in local cultures in choosing to visit a particular location, they have been identified as both a blessing and blight as far as their social and cultural impact is concerned. Some authors have suggested that culturally motivated tourists are desirable because they tend to be relatively few in number and are more sympathetic in their approach to the local population and their culture than other tourists (Smith, 1989; Boniface, 1995; Asplet & Cooper, 2000). Others have suggested that it is precisely this cultural motivation that makes cultural tourists less desirable in some areas. Butler (1990) has suggested that 'alternative' tourists seeking authentic cultural experiences can open up culturally fragile areas, paving the way for potentially more damaging mass tourism.

Wheeller (1994) has gone further, arguing that cultural tourists who seek authentic experiences of local culture can inflict severe damage on local communities in spite of their low numbers. Those in search of active contact with the local population are likely to cause far more disturbance by seeking out 'local' places, which may cause increased rather than diminished friction between the local population and the tourists.

Many authors stress that cultural tourism brings about the gradual demise of traditional forms of art, craft and design, or its replacement with reproductions (Nash & Smith 1991; Fladmark, 1994; Pearce, 1995). The deterioration and commercialisation of non-material forms of culture has been a matter of major research concern, and the marketing of culture appears to be most prevalent in developing countries. The staging of contrived experience to compensate for the lack of real cultural experiences is another development that has become an accepted outgrowth of contemporary tourism (MacCannell 1973; Pearce & Moscardo 1986; Robinson & Boniface, 1998). Communities living in and around townships and cultural villages fall within the category of host populations, and so are included among those affected by cultural tourism. Socio-cultural impacts in these areas, however, are less well documented.

Township tours are meant to be more authentic and non-performative, and to give access to 'real' history, 'real' people and the 'real' South Africa, and are presented as an alternative to cultural village performances. The cultures of local residents are seen not as fixed or frozen, but as dynamic and changing with the times. Township tours have thus caused a shift in the representation of 'authenticity', as the township has now become synonymous with that quality. Townships through township tours thus seem to be a contact zone, as they are spaces of interaction between the local people of the visited areas and the visitors.

1.5.1 Problem statement

Political violence may have made townships no-go areas for foreign tourists in the days of apartheid, but since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, township tourism has been growing rapidly as international tourists are eager to see how the country has progressed. Communities living in and around townships are thus affected by township tourism, either positively or negatively. Township tourism is a new and unique tourism product that is rapidly gaining currency in South Africa, with little or no research on its development, planning and impacts.

An important variable in community tourism development such as township tourism is the host community's perception of the impacts of tourism. These perceptions may influence the project or community itself favourably or unfavourably. There is increasing evidence that the appropriate level for analysing tourism impacts is the community, since the greatest impacts of the industry are felt within the host system (Tyrrell & Toepper, 1991; Pearce *et al.*, 1996). If they are to plan effectively, destination planners and decision-makers must understand the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism on host communities and the circumstances under which they occur. A systematic analysis of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism in South Africa can help government planners, community decision-makers and tourism promoters identify real concerns and issues as a precursor to introducing appropriate policies and action.

1.6 REASONS FOR SELECTING SOWETO AS THE STUDY AREA

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.

There are townships located on the outskirts of all major cities in all nine provinces of the country, and in selecting a study area the researcher recognised that an investigation of the socio-cultural impacts of cultural tourism spanning all townships in South Africa would have proved excessive in scope. Since the researcher is situated in Johannesburg, Soweto constituted the most practical and accessible choice of site for a study of this kind. The researcher was further led to select Soweto as the site for the present study because it is representative of South African black townships, while simultaneously being an icon: "Soweto has developed from a mere geographical concept into an international symbol of victory over oppression.

Throughout the world there are monuments condemning fascism, tyranny and abuse of human rights, with the implicit message: let this never happen again. Soweto like townships around South Africa represents living proof that, with determination, spirit and a just cause, an ordinary community can make a difference" (City of Johannesburg, 2003). This sentiment was reiterated by Mrs M.J. Woods, Director of City of Johannesburg's Tourism & Marketing during an interview conducted on 21 August 2003; in her view, Soweto is internationally known and is South Africa's most famous township because it symbolises political freedom to people around the world. As a result, with little or no marketing, and despite a great deal of adverse publicity, it has established itself as a major destination for foreign tourists in South Africa. Thus, because of both Soweto's representativeness and what it represents, the researcher considered that

findings and conclusions reached from this study could be applicable to other townships in South Africa.

Woods (2003) describes Soweto as an unusual tourist destination because the events for which it is famous took place within recent living memory and the people responsible for these events are ordinary Sowetans. In this sense, Soweto is not an artefact or a museum, but a living place. It is not just another tourist destination; it is in part a memorial to those who died for freedom and in part a celebration of what human beings can achieve (Soweto SA, 2003, Woods, 2003). Soweto boasts special attractions as it is home to people who resisted the apartheid system. Tourists therefore visit sites that were the frontiers of anti-apartheid battles and today hold memories of that struggle (Mabogane & Callaghan, 2002). Cultural tourism is therefore an integral element of all tourism in Soweto.

A final compelling reason for selecting Soweto as the site for this study is its very popularity as a tourist destination. Soweto has drawn innumerable visitors because international tourism trends for South Africa have also moved to cultural tourism patterns, and the sprawling township satisfies the new paradigm. Despite a scarcity of precise data on tourism markets and marketing relating to Soweto, evidence suggests that the majority of tourists originate from Europe. The perception is that they want to make contact with local people and experience the Sowetan way of life. National tourism statistics suggest that 8% of all visitors who visit South Africa's main attractions visit Soweto. Soweto holds joint fourteenth position on the list of the most popular attractions in South Africa, and is one of only eight attractions to have drawn an increased number of tourists over the past year (SA Tourism, 2003a).

According to a report from the Gauteng Tourism Authority (2002), the number of visitors who pay to enter the Hector Peterson Memorial site is an indication that an average of 1 498 tourists visit Soweto each month. However, as not all tours visit the memorial square, this figure is likely to be conservative. Mr W. Radebe, tour guide employed by Jimmy's Face to Face Tours, the largest tour operator in Soweto, explained in an

interview on 12 June 2003 that the enterprise takes approximately 3 000 tourists to Soweto per month. Three smaller operators take in the region of 1 000 visitors to Soweto per month between them (Radebe, 2003).

In an interview conducted on 15 September 2003 Mr K. Sithole, research manager of the Gauteng Tourism Authority estimated the total number of foreign and domestic tourists entering Soweto daily at 800. This figure does not take into account those not participating in official tours.

1.7 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The purpose and scope of this study is to investigate the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism in Soweto as perceived by the host population and to examine the extent to which these coincide with the classifications in the literature. The study aims specifically to examine local residents' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism, without measuring the actual social effects of tourism development on the area. Results from the study may provide the basis for formulating responsible tourism guidelines that will shape appropriate policies and measures intended to prevent negative tourism impacts and reinforce positive ones.

The realisation of the following objectives will give effect to the stated aim of the study:

- ? To profile the history, people, lifestyle, culture, religion and tourism potential of Soweto (Chapter 2)
- ? To provide a theoretical basis and framework for assessing the host community's perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism (Chapter 3)
- ? To review suitable tourism development strategies and approaches for tourism planners, managers and communities in managing the effects of township tourism on destination communities (Chapter 4)
- ? To use key socio-cultural impact variables and concepts identified in the literature review to develop appropriate research methodology and instruments that will direct and inform the research process (Chapters 3 and 5)

- ? To develop a multiple-item attitudinal scale for measuring resident perceptions of the impacts of township tourism, and to assess the effects of selected independent variables identified from the literature on resident perceptions of township tourism development (Chapter 5)
- ? To evaluate and interpret main trends or patterns within the perceived socio-cultural impacts (results) found in the literature and the study itself (Chapters 3 and 6)
- ? To profile the intricate relationship of residents' perceptions and tourism impacts by measuring the stage of tourism development in a host community, i.e. relating resident perception research to a corresponding stage of township tourism development in Soweto (Chapters 6 and 7)
- ? To formulate responsible tourism guidelines and to recommend approaches that can be applied to the development of sustainable township tourism in South Africa, so as to create the basis necessary for good practice for any community cultural tourism project (Chapter 7)

1.8 VALUE OF THE RESEARCH

The only literature the researcher has found on township tourism consisted of descriptions of township tours, their tour operators, and visitors to the area. There therefore appears to be no available research in South Africa on the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism. The results of the study will make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on township tourism development in South Africa and to the cultural tourism discipline.

In South Africa, socio-cultural impacts have received relatively modest attention, partly because most social and cultural beliefs or practices are much less amenable to direct observation and the conventional forms of measurement through survey-based enquiry of the kind that is so popular in the analysis of tourism. For similar reasons, social concerns arising from tourism are often poorly accommodated in planning processes, where primary interests centre upon controlling physical development, encouraging economic growth, and, more recently, promoting sustainable environments.

Host communities seek to attract tourists to their area because of the industry's potential for improving existing economic and social conditions (i.e., the host's quality of life). However, previous studies have shown that tourism also has the potential to degrade residents' perceptions of their quality of life if too many visitors are attracted. If this is allowed to occur, opposition to tourism is likely to emerge in the community. The development of an assessment instrument to measure perceived impacts is intended to facilitate a monitoring process that will assist communities in sustaining tourism at a level at which both visitors and residents perceive net benefits to accrue.

Understanding residents' perceptions of tourism impacts is fundamental to tourism planning and development. An important variable in tourism planning is residents' perceptions of new developments. This aspect is crucial for tourism planning and development, as residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism may impact positively or negatively on new projects. This study is an attempt to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the perceptions of township residents of a specific type of tourism.

It is conceivable that the study may produce warning indicators that can be used to identify those areas needing intervention as a result of tourism impacts. Guidelines and principles will be offered as a means of informing decision-makers in government at national, provincial and local levels, in the private sector, in the tourism industry and within the cultural sector of the potential and importance of sustainable township tourism. We will need to understand these matters if we are to create sustainable cultural tourism products that will boost our economy and bring real benefits to local communities. The development of research on township tourism impacts should contribute to the sustainability of the tourism business and promise a better quality of life to the host community.

Principles and recommendations concerning intervention derived from this study could be usefully applied to other townships in South Africa where township tours are being undertaken. Evaluating the growing significance of township tourism in South Africa will help to increase the effectiveness with which cultural tourism and products are managed and promoted in a sustainable way.

1.9 ASSUMPTIONS

- ? It is anticipated that social exchange theory, which explains residents' attitudes to tourism, will support the results of this study. In terms of social exchange theory, assessments of community support can be made by understanding the characteristic of host residents (such as age, acquired educational levels, previous employment in the tourism industry, levels of income and whether they earn income deriving from tourism-related jobs) and by linking these to negative or positive attitudes towards tourism.
- ? It is assumed that residents who have a direct business relationship with tourism would have more positive perceptions toward tourism than those with no direct business relationship with the industry, that self-employed residents would have more positive attitudes toward tourism than employees, and that residents with immediate family members working in tourism-related businesses would have more positive attitudes towards tourism than those who did not.
- ? Heavy tourism concentration in a destination area leads to negative attitudes towards tourists and tourism in general.

1.10 **DELIMITATIONS**

- ? The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceptions of socio-cultural impacts and consequences of cultural tourism in the case of township tours. The social and cultural impacts of tourism are often difficult to measure, as they are to a large extent indirect. Consequently, the study concentrates on residents' perceptions of the effects of tourism on their region rather than being an attempt to measure the actual effects.
- ? The study focuses on only one major cultural tourism product in South Africa, namely township tourism, using only one township (Soweto) as a study destination.

? The host community consists of residents, tourism professionals, employees, planners and tourism entrepreneurs exclusively in the community of Soweto.

1.11 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

Tourism management is only just emerging as a discipline. Despite recognition of its status as an independent discipline, it nevertheless draws on other disciplines such as geography, sociology, social psychology, economics, marketing and history to inform its research processes and theoretical frameworks. Tourism is becoming an increasingly widespread and complex activity that requires sophisticated management to realise its full potential as a positive economic, environmental, social and cultural force, a fact acknowledged by Weaver and Lawton (2002:2), who state that "The implication of this is that sustainable tourist destinations and businesses, more than ever, require highly educated and adaptable managers who understand and can respond to the dualistic behaviour of the sector — that is, its relentless growth over the long term and its increased vulnerability to sudden downward interruptions".

Because of the enormous diversity of the many elements that make up tourism management, problems in this field will not be resolved by the adoption of only a single research method. The breadth and complexity of tourism make the use of many methods necessary, depending on the topic (Gunn, 1994). The nature of the information needed should be emphasised, and then every relevant and appropriate principle, technique and method must be brought into service. Graburn (1993, 2002) argues that no single discipline alone can accommodate, treat, or understand tourism; it can be studied only if disciplinary boundaries are crossed and if multidisciplinary perspectives are sought and formed.

In summary: tourism management is a complex phenomenon, and, therefore, tourism research must utilise all the disciplinary approaches that will be most useful in managing and solving problems. Because tourism management is multidisciplinary, solutions to problems will increasingly require the cooperation and collaboration of researchers from several disciplines (Weaver & Opperman, 2000; Weaver & Lawton, 2002).

1.11.1 Dimensions of tourism management

Tourism is the product of a number of source disciplines. Figure 1.1 shows sixteen disciplines from which the study of tourism has evolved, and indicates the content that each discipline has contributed. The individual disciplines tend to create their own perspectives, ideas and concepts of tourism.

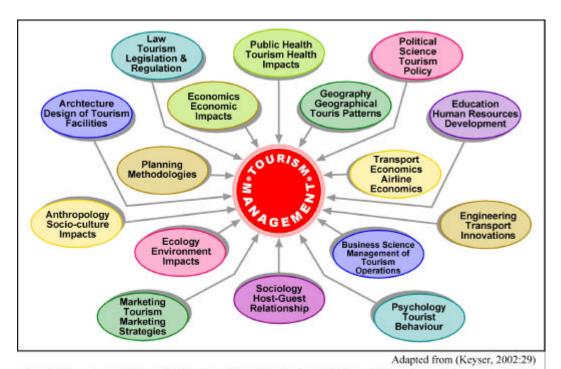


Figure 1.1 A MULTIDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE OF TOURISM MANAGEMENT

For the purposes of this study, the tourism management research design is informed by an interdisciplinary approach involving social and cultural phenomena. Social phenomena, comprising the social interaction between tourists and residents, and between tourists and the tourism industry, are influenced by social factors such as fashion and status. The patterns and influence of social interaction on residents and to urists and the social factors affecting tourism demand are among the topics studied in the sociology of tourism (Cohen, 1979; Burns, 1999; Graburn, 2002; Keyser, 2002). Cultural phenomena bring about contact between cultures, or cultural exchange. The anthropology of tourism deals with cross-cultural communication in tourism, cultural conservation, cultural change, arts, and artefacts (Cohen, 1979; Burns, 1999; Graburn, 2002; Keyser, 2002).

The theoretical background for this study is social exchange theory. Ap (1992) incorporated social exchange theory into a conceptual framework to form the social exchange-processing model as a theoretical basis to assist scholars in understanding why residents have positive and negative perceptions of tourism. Social exchange theory articulates that residents will be inclined to exchange their resources with tourists if this allows them to acquire benefits without incurring unacceptable costs (Ap, 1992). People who perceive the benefits of tourism to be greater than the costs may be more amenable to participating in the exchange and giving full-fledged support for tourism development (Allen *et al.*, 1993; Getz, 1992). In other words, if residents perceive that more benefits will be accrued through the exchange process, they will tend to support their community tourism business more loyally.

1.11.2 Philosophy of research methodology

The current research does not fall within a single domain, i.e. either a phenomenological or positivistic paradigm. These two main paradigms represent two extremes of a continuum, and this study represents a blend of assumptions and methodologies. The benefits and shortcomings of the various methodologies were considered, and an integrated approach was selected that combines elements of both qualitative as well as quantitative data, making triangulation possible.

1.12 METHODOLOGY

An approach described by Easterby-Smith *et al.*, (1991), referred to as methodological triangulation and involving both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection is used. The research methodology therefore allows for a combination of techniques, making a convergence of results possible, since no single research method will ever capture all the changing features of the social world under study (Massey, 2003).

Qualitative interpretative research helps the researcher organise and describe subjective data in a systematic way (Bowen, 2003), whereas the quantitative, positivist mode guides the researcher on a quest for certainty and absolute truth, and insists on objectivity (Blaikie, 1991). Combining methods was therefore considered advantageous for a

number of reasons. Gathering together a number of separate impressions was accepted as means of providing a fuller and richer picture of the way respondents experience and perceive township tourism. Respondents were interviewed and asked to complete a questionnaire informed by the literature review as a way of eliciting their perceptions and opinions of township tourism development in Soweto.

Multiple-method research offers two complementary approaches to different research problems or different aspects of the same problem, and offers the advantages of triangulation. The original formulation of triangulation was advanced in 1970 by Denzin, who argued in favour of combining research strategies as a means of examining the same research problem and hence enhancing claims about the reliability of the conclusions that could be reached (and the methods used to reach them) and minimising the risk of generating erroneous findings. In other words, triangulation is about exposing potentially conflicting perspectives to analysis and showing that data findings can be integrated and cross-referenced to highlight consistency (Blaikie, 1991; Bowen, 2003; Massey, 2003).

A full description of the research instruments used for data collection and techniques of data analysis is contained in chapter 5.

1.13 RESEARCH DESIGN

As Vogt (1993:196) explains, research design is the "science (and art) of planning procedures for conducting studies so as to get the most valid findings". The research design contains the work plan or blueprint of the study to be undertaken, and provides a chronological explanation of the steps or phases to be followed in the research process (Neuman, 1994; Mouton, 2001). Aside from providing a detailed plan to guide and focus research, it also provides a framework to assist with the organisation of the researcher's time and resources. The research design for this study was developed so as to comply with the aim and objectives of the study, and was thus divided into distinct phases culminating in the achievement of specific goals. Table 1.1 illustrates the phases and associated goals (activities) of the research design, as well as an indication of how the content translates into the various chapters into which this report is divided.

PHASE	DESIGN GOALS	CHAPTER
Phase 1	Introduction and Orientation to the research theme, socio-cultural impacts Determine feasibility and value of the study Problem Analysis Formulation of research problem Aim of the study (Purpose of Study) Objectives of the study Research philosophy and approach	Chapter 1 General orientation of study
Phase 2	Construction of conceptual framework Definitions of Key Concepts Literature study on Soweto – the study Area Soweto Society Today Population Profile The township trail and Soweto's tourists	Chapter 1 Chapter 2 Background to Soweto
Phase 3	Literature study on perceptions of socio-cultural impacts Reflection on theories and models Review applicable research instruments used for socio-cultural impact analysis	Chapter 3 Literature Review on Perceptions of Socio-Cultural Impacts and Theoretical Framework
Phase 4	Review socio-cultural impact variables for use in research instrument Construction of theoretical framework	Chapter 3
Phase 5	Literature study on planning and management of tourism in destination communities The scope and dimension of sustainable development and sustainable tourism Towards a community tourism approach	Chapter 4 Appropriate Planning for Tourism Destination Communities
Phase 6	Development of Instrumentation – Five Point Likert Scale Pretest of Instrument	Chapter 5 Research Strategy and Methodology
Phase 7	Methodological triangulation, where both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection are used Quantitative Methods: Likerts Scale Household Questionnaire Qualitative Methods: In-depth personal Interviews, Participant Observation, Semi-structured interviews Respondents and Sampling Collect Data, process and store data	Chapter 5
Phase 8	Analyse and synthesize Data Descriptive Statistics to present findings	Chapter 6 Analysis and Findings
Phase 9	Synthesis, Formulate conclusions and recommendations	Chapter 7 Conclusions and Recommendations

Table 1.1 RESEARCH DESIGN: SOCIO-CULTURL IMPACT OF TOWNSHIP TOURISM

1.14 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Concepts provide the general representations of the phenomena to be studied and are the 'building blocks' that determine the whole course of the study (Veal, 1997). The researcher identified the key concepts in figure 1.2 as being pertinent to this study. For a complete list of definitions for these concepts refer to Appendix B.

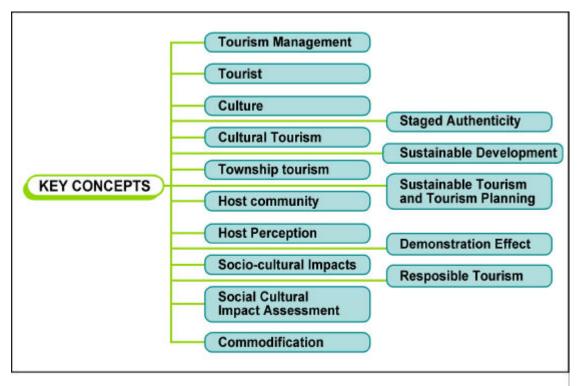


Figure 1.2 KEY CONCEPTS PERTINENT TO SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS

1.15 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

This study is organised into seven chapters, which are preceded by an introductory chapter (chapter 1), which provides an outline of the study and articulates the significance of the study, the research problem, the formulation of the aims and objectives, research design, the assumptions and delimitations of the study, the research design and key concepts that will determine the course of the study. Chapter 1 contextualises the study and states the overall aims and goals of the study as they crystallised during the researcher's preliminary reading and consideration of the problem.

Chapter 2 addresses objective 1 of the study, which is to profile the background and historical development of Soweto (its people, Ifestyle, culture, religion and township tourism potential and visitors).

Chapter 3 reviews the literature covered and shows how the researcher demarcated the scholarship to be included in the review of literature. It provides a theoretical basis and framework for assessing host communitys' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism. Important themes addressed include: host-guest interrelationship, socio-cultural impacts in the academic literature; the role of tourism in host communities; residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts; the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on community life; changing perceptions and uncertainty about tourism development in community settings. Chapter 3 assists in informing the type and design of methodological instruments to be adopted for data collection in this study.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the main conclusions that have been reached in the literature regarding tourism development planning strategies, viz. sustainable tourism development and community tourism approaches used in destination communities. A review is carried out of the suitability of these strategies for tourism planners, managers and communities in managing the effects of tourism on host communities. These conclusions are important, as they will inform and influence the empirical part of the study.

Chapter 5 outlines the research design and methodology procedures used to achieve the stated aim and objectives of the study. The combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods applied in the fieldwork is discussed. The development of the Likert scale instrument used to measure the key impact variables of the study is explained. Included are details of the sample design, data collection techniques and methods of analysis used.

In chapter 6, analysis, interpretation and a full description of the main results relating to the socio-cultural impacts perceived by Soweto residents are presented and discussed.

Chapter 6 provides a full discussion of the main trends and patterns in the data with reference to the stated aim and objectives of the research.

Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, addresses the final objective of the study, i.e. to formulate principles and guidelines and recommend approaches that can be applied to the development of sustainable township tourism in South Africa so as to create the basis necessary for good practice for any community cultural tourism project. The main findings that have been obtained in the study are discussed by drawing together the results from the previous chapters. The researcher indicates the larger relevance and value of the study, also specifying where there are still gaps and uncertainties that may require further scholarship and research. The chapter concludes by recommending planning approaches and principles for sustainable township tourism in destination communities such as townships, and by highlighting policy implications.

1.16 SUMMARY

The purpose of chapter one is to provide a broad orientation of the study, introducing township tourism as a form of special interest tourism within the field of cultural tourism in South Africa. The chapter contextualises the main research problem providing clear reasons for selecting Soweto as a study area, followed by discussing the main research aim and objectives of the study. The contribution of the research towards responsible township tourism development and planning within the tourism management field of South Africa, is emphasised. The research philosophy encompassing a tourism management research design, informed by interdisciplinary approaches of social and cultural phenomena is fully motivated for. Chapter one concludes with an outline of the forthcoming chapters in the study, presenting a brief discussion on the relevance and purpose of each chapter.