

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 7 provides an overall review of the research aim, objectives, findings, conclusions, and recommendations of this study. The emphasis of this chapter, however, is on meeting the final objective of the study, namely 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. Chapter 7 begins by summarising the background to the research, and the research purpose, methodology and findings. The researcher goes on to make explicit the contribution of this study to the discipline of tourism management in South Africa and internationally. Suggestions are made for future research based on the theme of this study. The author then discusses the challenge of responsibly managing sustainable township tourism, using a community approach, in South Africa. The chapter concludes with key recommendations for township tourism development and planning in South Africa.

7.2 REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

In a concluding chapter it is important to review the aim and objectives set for the study to ensure that they have been achieved. The aim of this study was stated as being 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. It was envisaged that results from the study might provide the basis for formulating responsible principles or guidelines to shape appropriate policies and measures intended to prevent negative tourism impacts and reinforce positive ones. See table 7.1.

To give effect to the stated aim of the study, the following eight objectives were achieved in the seven chapters of this thesis:

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE	CHAPTER REFERENCE
To profile Soweto's background (history, its people, lifestyle, culture, religion and tourism potential).	Chapter 2
To provide a theoretical basis and framework for assessing host community's perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of township tourism according to social exchange theory.	Chapter 3
To review suitable tourism development strategies and approaches for tourism planners, managers and communities, to manage 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.	Chapter 5
To develop a multiple-item attitudinal scale for measuring resident perceptions toward township tourism, and to assess the effects of selected "independent" variables identified from the literature on resident perceptions toward township tourism development.	Chapter 5
To evaluate and interpret main trends or patterns of the perceived socio-cultural impacts (results) found in the literature and the study itself.	Chapter 3 and 6
To profile the intricate relationship of resident's 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.	Chapter 6 and 7
To formulate principle 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.	Chapter 7

Table 7.1 REVIEW OF RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

7.3 COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH AND MAIN FINDINGS

For tourism to thrive in an area it needs the support of the residents of the area (Ap, 1992; King *et al.*, 1993; Krippendorf, 2001). Over the past few decades, tourism has come to be viewed as the key to economic development. However, there is the possibility of negative impacts of tourism development outweighing the economic benefits. If a host community perceives the total effects to be negative, their level of support is likely to diminish. Residents' positive attitudes toward tourism development are thus critical to sustaining the growth of community tourism businesses.

In the past, tourism leaders have strongly denied the negative impacts that the industry can bring about in host communities (Hall, 2000; Ratz, 2003). This denial has been based on the belief that if such an admission were made, tourism would lose vital support from residents, employees, and politicians. The present study suggests that industry stakeholders are aware of the negative impacts of tourism, and that support for tourism is not based on the belief that it has only positive impacts on host communities. In light of these findings, it would be wise for private and public sector tourism managers, planners and developers to admit candidly that the industry can cause negative impacts. Such an admission should allow industry members to work side by side with other concerned citizens to minimise the negative impacts.

Little attention seems to have been paid to what local people in tourism communities in South Africa feel, think and want. How else can one explain the fact that there is so little information about how locals perceive tourism developments in their communities? Research documents and other publications focus almost exclusively on the interest of the industry itself (Mason, 2003). Tourists are the market, and the studies that have been conducted thus far are market research studies, commissioned and financed by the travel industry, and providing clear insight into why people travel. The aim of this study, by contrast, was to profile township tourism in Soweto and to examine the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism in Soweto as perceived by the host community. Results from the study provide the basis for formulating responsible principles and guidelines

that can be applied to appropriate policies and measures geared towards preventing negative impacts and reinforcing positive ones. To achieve this aim a research instrument was developed to determine the dimensions explaining Soweto residents' perceptions of township tourism development and whether there are any differences in perceptions of tourism development among Soweto residents with different demographic traits.

Understanding local reaction and the factors that influence residents' perceptions is essential to achieving the goal of support for tourism development (Allen *et al.*, 1993; King *et al.*, 1993; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). Support for tourism development is influenced by the perceptions of its costs and benefits and the state of the local economy. It has been suggested that these perceptions are influenced by the concern residents have for their community, their emotional attachment to their community, the degree to which they are culturally sensitive, and the extent to which they use the same resource base that tourists use (Dogan, 1989; McCool & Martin, 1994). As already noted, most studies on resident perceptions suggest that the majority of residents support tourism as an economic development strategy. A direct relationship exists between the perceived benefits of tourism and local residents' support for its development (Pizam & Milman, 1986; Ap, 1992; McCool & Martin, 1994).

In selecting a suitable methodology for this study, the benefits and shortcomings of various methodologies were considered and a decision taken to employ methodological triangulation, which combines elements of both qualitative and quantitative techniques, making a convergence of results possible. In-depth semi-structured personal interviews, participant observation and a Likert scale questionnaire were used to assess residents' perceptions of township tourism development in Soweto. A sample of 350 respondents represented the host community (residents) of Soweto. On the basis of the literature review 57 socio-cultural impact variables were selected and used to formulate item statements designed to determine respondents' perceptions of township tourism in Soweto. A five-point Likert scale was used to measure the levels of agreement and disagreement with each statement, with 1=strongly disagree and 5=strongly agree. This

scale was selected as reflecting a better conceptual framework with regard to perceived tourism impact. Content validity of the scale was first secured through a pre-test and evaluation by Unisa staff members and students resident in Soweto.

Descriptive statistics enabled the researcher to describe trends and key socio-cultural impacts in the data and also to determine whether any relationships existed between variables. The scale was later purified and further refined into more distinct constructs using factor analysis and item analysis to provide a better interpretation of resident perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism. The three factors extrapolated through factor analysis are socio-economic, cultural and physical, and participation in benefits. The researcher ensured scale validity by means of an extensive review of previous research and used Chronbach's reliability and item analysis tests to stabilise the scale. For the alpha reliability coefficients, a factor with a value lower than 0,6 was not considered a valid dimension in explaining the socio-cultural impact of township tourism development. The study revealed the alpha values of the three attitude domains to be 0,933, 0,870 and 0,695 respectively. Items with a loading value below 0,3 were excluded from the analysis. The acceptable items correlating with more than one dimension were also deleted from the analysis. The factor analyses and item analysis confirmed the dimensional distinctiveness of the instrument and its dimensional stability. The instrument proved to have acceptable levels of internal consistency and relatively high convergent validity.

Finally a series of ANOVA procedures was performed to test for any significant differences in the underlying dimensions among respondents with different demographic characteristics. In the ANOVA procedure, the three factors emerging from the factor analysis were the dependent variables, and the demographic variables of income from tourism, gender and length of residence were the independent variables. It was possible to make assessments of community support by understanding residents' characteristics such as age, acquired educational levels, previous employment in the tourism industry, length of stay in Soweto and whether they derived income from tourism-related jobs, and by linking these to negative or positive perceptions of tourism.

Social exchange theory provided the theoretical background for this study. In the tourism context Ap (1992) incorporates social exchange theory into a conceptual framework using 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 they can acquire benefits without incurring unacceptable costs. This theory articulates further that those 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 — other words, if residents perceive themselves as receiving more benefits through the exchange process, they will tend to more loyally support their community tourism business.

It was found that the Soweto community's perceptions of township tourism and tourists fluctuate continuously between the negative and the positive. Findings revealed that the host community's support for township tourism was affected by three factors: socio-economic, cultural and physical, and participation in benefits. One of the most important theoretical contributions of this study is the confirmation by the findings of the usefulness of exchange theory principles in explaining residents' perceptions of tourism. The factors thought to directly influence support for tourism actually influence the perceptions of its costs and benefits. Perceptions and expectations of township tourism in Soweto can therefore be very different depending on which group of residents is being considered. Those respondents in continuous contact with tourists and who depend on tourism viewed tourism favourably, and those who have no contact with tourists or see them only in passing exhibited a range of attitudes.

Respondents demonstrated a predominantly positive attitude towards a number of socio-cultural impacts and agreed strongly that township tourism in Soweto is dismantling the stereotypical perceptions of townships as dangerous and a haven for criminals and hijackers; increases the development of recreational facilities and amenities for residents; has increased their awareness of tourism and hospitality and the need to maintain and

improve the appearance of the area; has fostered a renewed interest in local art, craft and traditions; has instilled a sense of pride in locals concerning their heritage and culture; broadens their knowledge about international tourism, foreign places and people due to the cross-cultural exchange of learning taking place, and leads to the conservation of cultural practices and political landmarks.

Appreciation was shown for the employment benefits generated by tourism, which has resulted in a greater demand for female labour and offered new career opportunities in tourism by creating opportunities for locals to enter the industry as tour guides, tour operators and entrepreneurs. Respondents further believed that the creation of employment through tourism holds a great promise for Soweto's economic future.

Whilst township residents demonstrated a predominantly positive attitude towards tourists and township tourism, they were also able to point out some specific socio-cultural costs. Not all residents were of the opinion that tourism had a positive influence on local culture. Older respondents in particular voiced the concern that traditional African culture was being commercialised and claimed that certain locals sell or trivialise their culture to make a profit.

Residents argued that certain tourists and tour operators do not show acceptable standards of behaviour, and cited intrusion as a significant problem. Some residents expressed concern about the escalation of crime in tourism hubs. Residents further cited inadequate consultation about township tourism development and planning as a negative aspect. Moreover, the benefits of township tourism appeared to accrue to only a small elite within the Soweto community. Respondents were in strong agreement that township tourism benefits only a small minority of Soweto residents, with those with the most power, education and language skills or those who happen to live in the right place being most likely to get new jobs, set up enterprises, make deals with outsiders, or control collective income earned by the community. Increasing disparities in income can exacerbate conflicts within a community and has led to resentment between local people who have started tourism businesses and those who have not, and antipathy between residents not benefiting from tourism and tourists.

A broad conclusion drawn from this study is that township residents who benefit economically from township tourism are supportive of it, and this support is associated with a belief that township tourism causes mostly positive benefits. As a corollary, those without a commercial interest in township tourism tend to regard its impacts in a negative light. In keeping with this argument, Soweto residents who expressed the view that township tourism attracts organised crime and causes traffic congestion, for example, would almost automatically be opposed to tourism.

The identification of Soweto as a tourism destination has undoubtedly affected the quality of life of local residents. Effects of township tourism include an increased number of people, increased use of roads, and various economic and employment-based effects. Because Soweto is in the early stages of its life cycle as a tourism destination, Soweto residents seem to do and accept everything that is demanded by outsiders, ranging from the tourist trade and tourism promoters to their own government and entrepreneurs. They believe the promises when they are told that tourism is their big chance, and that it is of vital importance for the region, and, indeed, for the whole country. Yet no-one has taken the trouble of asking Soweto residents whether township tourism clashes with their own values and ideas. No-one mentions the negative socio-cultural aspects. Tourism development in Soweto appears to take place over the heads of the majority of residents, and few Soweto residents participate in tourism development as equal partners with tourism developers. Sadly, once township tourism takes hold of Soweto completely the locals will begin to realise what they have let themselves in for. As the literature reveals, in such circumstances disillusionment and more realistic attitudes tend to replace the initial euphoria. By then it is usually too late and the locals soon lose control over their own destiny.

While success in this industry depends upon attractions and services, it requires the hospitality of local residents. If the tensions as mentioned by the respondents in this study are not adequately addressed, and the host community gradually reaches the stage of antagonism as identified in Doxey's Irridex model, tourists to Soweto will cease to be perceived by residents as individuals on holiday who may be talked to or who may be

interesting. Instead, tourists will be seen simply as unidentifiable components within the mass. In a sense they will then be dehumanised, and as such become fair game for anyone who wishes to cheat, ridicule or even rob them. The hosts' anger, antipathy or mistrust will ultimately be conveyed to the tourists, and is likely to make them reluctant to visit places where they feel unwelcome.

7.4 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY TO THE DISCIPLINE OF TOURISM MANAGEMENT

This study has contributed to the discipline of tourism management in generating a new body of knowledge by profiling the emergence and development of township tourism in South Africa as a form of special-interest tourism. The most important contribution of this study lies in the development of a research instrument that demonstrates the effect of various factors on resident perceptions of the impacts of township tourism in Soweto. This research instrument may now be used to monitor elements of socio-cultural tourism sustainability in township tourism research in any of the nine provinces in South Africa. The development of an assessment instrument to measure perceived impacts was intended to facilitate a monitoring process to assist communities in sustaining tourism at a level at which both visitors and residents perceive net benefits to accrue. The researcher believes that the impact assessment instrument developed for this study thus constitutes a useful measurement tool for use by South African tourism managers and planners, with the scale possibly becoming a standardised instrument for use in township tourism research. Further testing of resident perceptions in different townships using this instrument will provide a more comprehensive basis for the comparative study of the nature and changing dynamics of resident perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of township tourism in South Africa.

Local responses were found to be diverse and moulded largely by perceptions of how township tourism personally influenced the lives of respondents and their community. Those who felt economically dependent on it held a generally favourable view of tourism and its impacts, while those who were not tourism-dependent expressed generally antagonistic views. These findings lend credence to previous findings in the literature

that indicate that those who receive direct benefits from tourism are less likely to attribute negative social and environmental consequences to it and hold more positive attitudes towards its expanded development. Therefore, the extent to which Soweto residents accept or reject changes attributable to township tourism depends in large measure on their perceptions of how it affects their personal welfare and lifestyle.

This research is further of value to city planners and provincial authorities whose efforts are directed at developing and promoting township tourism. The results of the study have produced several warning indicators that can be used to identify those areas needing intervention as a result of the influences exerted by tourism. The more attentive tourism leaders are to the concerns of township residents, the more support they are likely to receive for community development efforts. Tourism promoters and public officials must recognise township impacts and introduce comprehensive measures to manage township tourism initiatives, preserve culture, and establish opportunities for public involvement.

An evaluation of the growing significance of township tourism in South Africa will increase the effectiveness with which cultural tourism and products are responsibly and sustainably managed and promoted. The responsible management guidelines derived from this and future studies will inform local decision-makers in government, the private sector, and the tourism industry 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 bring real benefits to local communities.

7.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Much of the literature accepts that tourism host communities are homogeneous; the findings of this study, however, demonstrate that township communities are in fact heterogeneous. The present study revealed the host community to be made up of elites and the rest of the population; those involved in tourism and those not involved; property owners and renters; young and old people; employers, employees, and the self-employed; those with private cars and those relying on public transport; affluent and less well-off residents. The heterogeneity of township communities must therefore be acknowledged

in tourism planning and management, and the importance of different interest groups and vested interests needs to be recognised. The acceptance of the notion of heterogeneity brings with it the realisation that the planning and management of township tourism is a more complex and even more necessary task than at first thought.

Further recommendations for future studies would include the introduction of hypothesis testing, perhaps to prove that age and education are a good determinant of Soweto residents' attitudes toward tourism. Would younger Soweto residents perhaps respond more favourably to township tourism activity than older residents? Soweto residents' educational levels could further be tested against their awareness of the negative aspects of township tourism. Do Soweto residents with higher educational levels have a stronger awareness of the negative aspects of tourism? The measurement of educational levels of township residents in a destination area could be used as an effective tool, as in this case there was a differentiation between groups.

The present study focused exclusively on the perspectives of the host community in Soweto. However, the impacts of tourism are also a factor of township tourist attitudes and expectations, and this, too, is an area that deserves further investigation. It is generally assumed that township tourists constitute homogeneous groupings, united by virtue of their being tourists and engaging in tourist behaviour. To the host community, they appear homogeneous by reason of their status as outsiders and strangers. However the collective term 'township tourists' conceals a number of social and cultural distinctions. Township tourists' perceptions and expectations represent an important part of the tourism product. The rapid development of township tourism and its internationalisation calls for more studies on tourist behaviour in a cross-cultural environment. Since the cultural background of the majority of international township tourists differs vastly from that of their hosts, the influence of culture on the interpersonal contact between tourists and hosts requires analysis. What do international township tourists perceive as most important in social contact with hosts? How do they relate to and perceive the Soweto community, which differs culturally from themselves? Do they want to interact with the Soweto hosts? Are there any obstacles to their interaction?

7.6 THE CHALLENGE OF MANAGING RESPONSIBLE TOWNSHIP TOURISM IN SOWETO: TOWARDS A COMMUNITY APPROACH

Mason (2003) points out that tourism management is concerned with ways of managing tourism resources, tourist interaction with physical resources and tourist interaction with residents of tourist areas. The focus of tourism management is thus primarily on tourism impacts in tourism destinations. It is in such areas that the supply side of tourism (physical resources, built environment and resident population) interacts with the demand side (often referred to as the market side, but made up of tourists, travel agents, tour operators, tourist boards and tourism developers). It is this aspect of tourism management, namely the management of tourism impacts, rather than the management of people in tourism businesses, with which the present study has been concerned.

To a great extent, it is possible to say that tourism management is what tourism planners are, or should be, engaged in. Many publications and much research in the last decade of the twentieth century focusing on tourism planning and management were concerned with issues relating to planning, management and sustainability (Weaver & Opperman, 2000; Weaver & Lawton, 2002; Mason, 2003). During that time, the concept of sustainable tourism changed (Bramwell *et al.*, 1996; Swarbrooke, 1999). Depending on the author, the target audience and the context in which statements have been made, emphasis has come to be placed on environmental factors, social factors or economic factors. There is therefore now a significant body of literature on sustainable tourism, but much of this is theoretical and there is often a large gap between theory and practice (Bramwell & Lane, 2000).

If we accept that township tourism in South Africa is going to increase, then we face the challenge of finding the balance between consumption and conservation; in other words, the challenge of achieving sustainable township tourism. The present study reveals that township tourism has become a complex phenomenon of unprecedented proportions, which can constitute either an opportunity or a threat with regard to culture, depending on how tourism is managed. Planning and managing township tourism requires that a number of issues be dealt with. For those involved in the preservation of culture, the

challenge lies in understanding and working effectively with the tourism industry. For those in the tourism sector, there is a need to understand the needs of host communities as well as the principles and concerns that are a part of cultural heritage preservation (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). Township tourism as a phenomenon is not about to disappear, and poorly managed township destinations will have a negative effect on both local communities and the tourism industry if cultural resources and values are degraded. The challenge is not to stop township tourism, but rather for stakeholders to work together in achieving sustainable planning and responsible management.

Responsible township tourism development presents many challenges, and policy-makers and communities will have to meet these challenges if they are to achieve comprehensive and sustainable township tourism development (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Bramwell & Lane, 2000). Tourism development is dependent on destination area resources and the goodwill of the communities involved. In utilising cultural and natural resources, the tourism industry has a responsibility towards the community in that these resources are being exposed and sold as by-products; these actions affect the lives of everyone involved in such activities (Mann, 2000; Smith, 2003). It is therefore important that at the local level, township tourism planning should be based on the development goals, priorities, participation and capacities as identified by, and to the mutual benefit of, its residents (Mann, 2000). Community-based planning is a local area planning approach that involves full participation by the local community, drawing on local skills and expertise, and providing for empowerment of the local community through the development and implementation of the resultant plan (Mann, 2000; Singh *et al.*, 2003). This is essentially a bottom-up approach to planning, the objective of which is to build effective communities where residents or neighbouring communities have a high quality of life, and contribute to community well-being and cultural development.

Community-based tourism is viewed as a more responsible approach to development than traditional mass tourism, as it allows host communities to free themselves from the hegemonic grasp of outside tour operators and powerful leaders at national level (Pearce *et al.*, 1996; Scheyvens, 2002). Scheyvens (2002) describes empowerment in community

tourism as being a blend of economic, psychological, social and political empowerment, and argues that economic empowerment allows residents and entire communities to benefit financially from tourism. Psychological empowerment is vital for developing self-esteem and pride in local cultures, traditional knowledge and natural resources. Social empowerment assists in maintaining a community's social equilibrium, and has the power to lead to co-operation in important areas such as education and health care. Finally, political empowerment is best manifested in representational democracy where people can make their opinions known and raise concerns about development initiatives.

With the incorporation of these ingredients of empowerment into community-based tourism, Soweto will be able to progress towards status as a community with public participation in decision-making and local involvement in the benefits of tourism. Participation in decision-making means that residents will have opportunities to voice their own hopes, desires and fears for development and contribute to the planning process from their own expertise and experiences, thereby making a meaningful contribution to the organisation and administration of tourism (Krippendorf, 2001; Mann, 2000). While relatively few residents of developing countries have experience as tourists, their familiarity with local socio-cultural and environmental conditions is a most valuable resource.

The development of a community-based plan provides the opportunity to include strategies that empower local communities, making them better able to provide for their own needs. This can contribute to a more effective community, by strengthening local capacity for action. Based on a review of the work of Haywood (1988), Murphy (1988), Inskeep (1991), Prentice (1993), Bramwell *et al.* (1996), Pearce *et al.* (1996), Timothy (1998), Mann (2000), Richards and Hall (2000), Tosun (2000), Scheyvens (2002), Boyd and Singh (2003), the findings of this study, the characteristics of an empowerment model and tools for applying planning processes to Soweto tourism set out below are put forward.

An empowerment model for Soweto township tourism planning:

- ? recognises that local Sowetans are well placed to know what they need
- ? recognises that values and priorities vary from place to place
- ? strategically places resources to maximise access by local people
- ? gives local people resources to meet their own needs
- ? gives local communities control over resources
- ? develops the management skills of the local community

The Soweto township tourism planning model should not be pursued in isolation from other levels of planning. It is desirable that provincial and national planning initiatives be integrated and interpreted at the local level to ensure that the planning framework is consistent with committed government directions.

Steps in the application of tourism planning processes for Soweto

- ? Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA), Johannesburg Tourism, Soweto Tourism Association and community leaders should identify a programme for township tourism planning that reflects strategic planning priorities at the regional level.
- ? Various stakeholder groups within the local community should be identified and asked to nominate representatives to serve on a steering committee.
- ? The appropriate external agencies should be engaged in the planning process.
- ? Agencies should be informed about local planning initiatives and invited to participate; they should receive relevant information that will assist with the development of the plan.
- ? Appropriate use should be made of the expertise of individuals and groups in the township and consensus achieved on the criteria for assessing local township needs and aspirations.
- ? Residents should be employed for data collection, and local expertise and familiarity should be drawn on as a resource, at the same time ensuring that confidentiality of information will be respected.
- ? Opportunities must be provided for the community to receive feedback and to contribute to the interpretation of results.

- ? The appropriate catchments for township-based tourism planning need to be identified. Design of the local service catchments needs to relate to social identity, patterns of social interaction, and community interest.
- ? Clear options for decision-making should be canvassed through community consultation, and local residents should be involved in the consultation process.
- ? Client groups should be involved in decisions about resources and locations as a way of maximising local access by different sections of the community.
- ? Once the plan has been put in place, it must be regularly reviewed; it is essential that plans remain living documents, not fixed in time.
- ? Agencies prepared to support a local area planning process by contributing to the development of strategies and providing resources for implementation must be identified.
- ? These key agencies should be invited to serve on the steering committee.
- ? The way in which the roles and responsibilities of agencies should be integrated so as best to achieve local objectives must be defined. Agencies should be debriefed when the strategies are in draft form, and asked to assist in developing integrated implementation proposals.

Measures to control tourism impacts in Soweto

In the impact process, the use of indicators is essential if communities are to be in a position to assess how well plans are meeting their objectives (Inskeep, 1991; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). If the Soweto community is to develop plans and policies that will meet their needs and respect their tangible and intangible heritage, they must begin to measure the potential impacts of township tourism.

From the results of the present study and literature on community-based tourism, the researcher suggests the following measures to control tourism impacts in Soweto (Pearce *et al.*, 1986; Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1988; Inskeep, 1991; Prentice, 1993; Bramwell *et al.*, 1996; Timothy, 1998; Mann, 2000; Richards & Hall, 2000; Tosun, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002; Boyd & Singh, 2003):

- ? Township residents should be involved in the planning and development process of township tourism so that they are able to influence decision-making and feel that they are part of tourism.
- ? Suitable forms of township tourism must be selected that are compatible with the local societies. Moreover, selective marketing will make it possible to attract the type of township tourists who will respect the local social customs and cultural traditions.
- ? The introduction of a policy that is specific to township tourism as a means of achieving cultural conservation will contribute significantly to reducing negative impacts on the local culture.
- ? The authenticity of local dance, drama, dress, art and crafts in townships should be maintained, even though these may be to some extent adapted for presentation to tourists. However, certain traditional ceremonies and rituals should not be modified for tourism, and tourists viewing them should be controlled.
- ? Township tourists should be informed about local society and customs, dress codes and acceptable behaviour in religious and other places, courtesies to observe in taking photographs, tipping policies, and any local problem such as crime. If township tourists understand these matters, they are likely to demonstrate increased sensitivity.
- ? Employees should be trained to work with township tourists effectively; training should include language and socio-cultural sensitivity training where needed. In addition to providing better services, this will reduce any possible misunderstanding between tourists and employees.

7.7 GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESPONSIBLE TOWNSHIP TOURISM MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The tourism industry in post-apartheid South Africa has placed the responsibility for constructing, packaging and transmitting images and representations of the 'new' South African society and its past in the hands of a limited number of stakeholders within the public and private sector. The alienation and exclusion of black people from mainstream

tourism both in the past and currently has meant that most township residents have lacked control over the way in which their diverse cultures are portrayed. While the tourism industry has been recognised both locally and internationally as a substantial and attractive source of economic benefits, problems such as those relating to the representation of and participation by the township community experienced by Soweto residents have been identified.

If township tourism is to be encouraged as a new basis for cultural tourism development, the active collaboration of local cultures is required. The literature is clear on the fact that collaboration should address issues such as the redistribution of tourism revenue and the need to involve host cultures in ownership and management roles in the community. Unfortunately the reality for most communities is that outside forces usually determine the speed and direction of tourism development, and local people are seldom consulted. False expectations are often raised among the people when they are promised that the arrival of tourists will bring new wealth to the community. They soon discover that the real economic gain from tourism goes to the organisers and entrepreneurs.

Non-governmental organisations, governments and private initiatives therefore need to work more closely with the townships to develop sustainable cultural tourism that will benefit the community as a whole, and not just the handful of residents who live around tourism hubs or political landmarks. Empowering the locals and giving them the means to develop their culture in their own way must be seen as the key to solving the township tourism problem. It should be up to the local people to decide the limits of tourism. In general it can be said that the more the local community is able to participate in the decisions affecting their own tourist development, the less they will be socially affected by the rapid changes.

While the challenge of transformation in South Africa is being recognised, there are a number of key recommendations that should form the foundation of any socially responsible approach to township tourism development. These include the following:

- ? Emphasis should be placed on societal marketing that takes into account the acceptance of the township images used in tourism promotion by township residents. The voice of Soweto residents, for instance, can only be heard in tourism marketing by involving selected community representatives in vetting the images of their township that are being circulated externally. From a marketing perspective, exploiting township stereotypes may boost township tourism growth, but one should question the long-term implications of such campaigns, which may reinforce misunderstandings and work against the interests of the township residents (Smith, 2003). In addition, township residents may find such stereotyping of their culture offensive. The avoidance of images that may have a negative influence on the host community's way of life, such as overtly romanticised, sanitised and static images, may contribute to the creation of sustainable township tourism ventures.
- ? The research skills of locals in the townships should be developed so as to make possible the evaluation and monitoring of the effectiveness and use of facilities and services, the determination of market reactions, and the assessment of community responses and attitudes (Mason, 2003). This recommendation is based on the view that efforts aimed at making township tourism more sustainable are more likely to be successful if they are based on sound research.
- ? For Soweto residents and most township communities in the rest of South Africa, the tourism public sector will need to lead the way in host community education and participation in township tourism. Education, awareness and capacity building are key to achieving sustainable township tourism (Harris *et al.*, 2002). The incentive to conduct such training programmes or broad community education initiatives resides in the need to maintain community support for township tourism and to minimise the negative impacts of social contact associated with tourism on the township residents.
- ? The establishment of effective township tourism awareness and education programmes and the implementation of capacity building programmes amongst the

historically disadvantaged will empower Soweto residents to take ownership of tourism activities in their townships for their own benefit.

- ? To ensure both economic and cultural benefits for community members, planners and township tourism providers should create an atmosphere in which township residents can actively participate in caring for and protecting their cultural heritage, as well as an arena in which to share their accomplishments with others (Krippendorf, 2001). In this way Soweto residents will be able to uphold and care for their culture, and benefit more than in purely economic terms.
- ? The qualitative research component of this study has shown that current entrepreneurial activities in the township are limited. For the most part, township residents are working in isolation, with limited outside guidance, and in an impoverished environment in which access to new ideas, information, knowledge, training, technology and even the printed word is severely limited. One should look at empowering township communities on a larger scale through establishing linkages with other businesses (Scheyvens, 2002). Examples of these can include, catering companies, banks, bookshops, linen and upholstery outlets catering for guesthouses and travel agencies where tours can also be booked. The potential entrepreneurs will gain skills in running a business and thus become more self-sufficient (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Capacity building within township communities is therefore a key issue.
- ? Ownership of township tourist facilities should be encouraged in order to ensure that more profits are retained locally. Township tourism projects should as far as possible be locally owned. Partnerships with small businesses in the region should be developed. The benefits derived from township tourism should be shared with the local community, and the local community should have access to resources for township tourism development (Tosun, 2000).
- ? Strengthening the linkages between township tourism and other economic sectors provides more local employment and income from tourism (Reed, 1997). Township

tourism projects should be integrated with other economic activities in the region and the projects should contribute to the development of new local businesses.

- ? While the cultural nuances are to be respected, township tourism developments and activities should be planned so as to provide equal opportunities to both men and women (Robinson & Boniface, 1998).
- ? All options for township tourism development must serve effectively to improve the quality of life of township residents, and must entail a positive effect and interrelation with regard to socio-cultural identity (Richards & Hall, 2000).
- ? Stakeholders in township tourism development must consider its effects on cultural heritage and traditional elements, activities and dynamics of each local community (Rojek & Urry, 1997; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). Respect for social and cultural traditions, practices, laws and customs of indigenous and local township communities and support for their identity and interest must at all times remain central to the formulation of tourism strategies and plans.
- ? The following should be monitored (World Tourism Organization, 2000):
 - Implementation of approved township developments and compliance with conditions
 - Township visitor satisfaction levels and the socio-cultural and environmental impacts on the attractions
 - Attitudes toward township tourism and perceptions of its impact on community life
 - The maintenance of quality and authenticity of handicrafts and products made in townships; this could be achieved through the setting of minimum standards
- ? A suitable environment for township and cultural attractions must be created, including facilities and amenities to accommodate tourists and facilities for use by the local community, which will enable them to revive cultural components. In addition,

special events could be sponsored by the government to focus attention on cultural attributes, thereby reviving interest in such attractions amongst local township communities (Harris *et al.*, 2002).

- ? Effective responsible management of cultural and heritage attractions depends on the existence of a close working relationship between government and township communities (Mann, 2000; Weaver & Lawton, 2002). This requires trust, sharing and mutual respect at the level of the township community. This kind of effective working relationship requires a great deal of time and effort at the level of the township community concerned.
- ? Since domestic and international tourism is one of the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, conservation should provide opportunities for members of the host community and township visitors to experience and understand the community's culture and heritage at first hand. Individual aspects of the cultural heritage have differing levels of significance, some having universal value, and others having national, regional or local importance (Smith, 2003). Interpretation programmes should present the significance of the cultural heritage in a relevant and accessible manner to the host community and the visitor, drawing on appropriate, stimulating and contemporary forms of education, media, technology and personal explanation of historical, environmental and cultural information (Keyser, 2002; Mason, 2003; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).
- ? The retention of the authenticity of certain places is important. It is an essential element of their cultural significance, as expressed in the physical material, collected memory and intangible traditions that remain from the past (Cohen, 1988). Programmes should present and interpret the authenticity of places and cultural experiences so as to enhance the appreciation and understanding of that cultural heritage.

- ? Before further township tourism is heavily promoted or developed for increased tourism, management plans should establish appropriate limits of acceptable change, particularly in relation to the impact of township visitor numbers on the integrity, ecology and biodiversity of the site, access and transportation systems and the social, economic and cultural well-being of the host community (Inskeep, 1991; Swarbrooke, 1999).
- ? Comprehensive township tourism programmes and high-quality information should optimise township visitors' understanding of the significant characteristics of the cultural heritage and enable them to enjoy the visit in an appropriate manner (Ratz, 2003; Smith, 2003).
- ? Respect for the sanctity of spiritual places, practices and traditions is an important consideration for township site managers, visitors, policy-makers, planners and tourism operators (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Robinson & Boniface, 1998). Township visitors should be encouraged to behave as welcome guests, respecting the values and lifestyles of the host community, rejecting possible theft of or illicit trade in cultural property and conducting themselves in a manner which would generate a renewed welcome, should they return.
- ? Host communities in townships and indigenous people should be involved in planning for conservation and tourism. Representatives of the township, property owners and relevant indigenous peoples who may exercise traditional rights or responsibilities over their own significant sites should be involved in the process of establishing strategies, policies and protocols for the identification, conservation, management, presentation and interpretation of their cultural heritage resources, living traditions and contemporary cultural expressions in the township tourism context (Stebbins, 1997; Timothy, 1998; Smith, 2003).
- ? The needs and wishes of some township communities or indigenous peoples to restrict or manage physical, spiritual or intellectual access to certain traditions,

beliefs, activities, artefacts or sites should be respected. All relevant stakeholders in the township should be identified and included in the process.

- ? Township tourism programmes should encourage the training of site interpreters from the host community as a way of enhancing the skills of local people in the presentation and interpretation of their cultural values.
- ? Cultural interpretation and education programmes among the residents of the townships should engender a knowledge of and respect for their cultural heritage, encouraging them to take a direct interest in safeguarding their heritage assets.
- ? Township tourism promotion programmes should provide a wider distribution of benefits and relieve the pressures on more popular places by encouraging township visitors to experience the wider cultural, heritage and natural characteristics of the region or locality (Swarbrooke, 1999).
- ? It is apparent that successful and responsible township tourism planning requires the involvement and participation of the residents of the destination areas. If township residents are to participate in a meaningful way in the early stages of the planning process, they require certain types of information. More information should be provided on the expected impact of the project on community projects (Mason, 2003; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). This information can be provided in the form of a newsletter or brochure to be distributed to all township residents.
- ? The host population should be informed about township tourists and the problems associated with township tourism. If the host population receives comprehensive information about township tourists and township tourism, many misunderstandings could be eliminated, feelings of aggression averted, more sympathetic attitudes developed and a better basis for hospitality and contact with township tourists created (Prentice, 1993; Richards & Hall, 2000; Harris *et al.*, 2002). Information should aim at introducing the host population to the tourists' background, their country, their

daily life (such as working and housing conditions), their reasons for travelling and their behaviour patterns.

- ? Using the national education system to develop a stronger, more overt sense of pride in township culture and heritage, a training scheme for national guides should be introduced as a way of reducing youth unemployment and enhancing the township tourism experience. There is currently a great deal of scope for guides at key cultural sites. Although interviews conducted during the course of this study indicated that residents do have pride in their culture and would like tourists or to be more interested, tourism managers need to ensure that residents do not see culture as 'belonging' only to the international tourist sector. The question of 'ownership' of culture is critical.

The recommendations and principles for a way forward need to be debated thoroughly and resolved by interested and affected communities, each considering their local situation, before anything can be implemented at national level. Best practice frameworks, norms, standards and guidelines are essential if South Africa is to manage the impacts of township tourism on our cultural environment responsibly.

Even though South Africa is currently celebrating a decade of democracy, South African society continues to face enormous social, cultural and economic challenges in its attempts to confront the legacies of previous generations. For cultural tourism, this challenge lies not only in product development, but also in the issues relating to the impact of culture that are central to development, education, training, marketing and management. Cultural tourism presents a very good opportunity to generate economic growth and development that can be sustainable in the long term. For the previously marginalised groups this constitutes a much yearned for injection of development infrastructure and brings the hope of real economic development, job creation, education and training.

7.8 SUMMARY

Tourism that focuses predominantly on the cultural features of a country is more likely to involve a greater degree of tourist-resident interaction, and resident satisfaction with tourism development policy is critical to the success of new developments. In the past few decades, tourism has been seen as the key to economic development. However, tourism development cannot be said to be successful if the negative impacts outweigh the economic benefits. If a host community perceives the total effects to be negative, the level of support from the host community is likely to diminish. Therefore residents' positive attitudes toward tourism development are critical to sustaining the growth of community tourism businesses.

As a consumer of resources, township tourism has the ability to over-consume cultural and social resources, leading to negative impacts on societies and culture. Numbers alone, however, do not determine socio-cultural impact; other factors to consider include type of contact, visitor and destination characteristics, and local perceptions about the importance of township tourism. It must be realised that township tourism per se does not necessarily lead to negative impacts and conflict between tourists and host communities; negative effects are caused by inadequate management of township tourism. Impacts are related to the management of township tourists and their behaviour, and the level of integration with local communities.

Township tourism gives rise to a range of both positive and negative socio-cultural impacts, and the process of assessing and measuring them is not a straightforward one. As local communities are not homogeneous, socio-cultural impacts are perceived differently by different individuals. The present study revealed that the host community of Soweto, like many others, is made up of groups and individuals with mixed views regarding the perceived impacts of tourism.

This chapter focused on ways in which destination planners and managers can reduce the harmful effects of township tourism on host communities. Many of these strategies have at their core the central principle of communication and information provision.

Township tourists need information to enable them to behave in a responsible and sensitive way, both before they depart for their destination and at the destination itself. The tourism industry has the responsibility to provide township tourists with accurate information about local cultures and appropriate behaviour. Host communities need to understand why township tourism is important, how tourism works, its benefits and costs, and how they can participate. Important questions to be asked regarding township tourism in South Africa are: “Who should control township tourism?” and “What should be controlled?”

Resident perceptions are undoubtedly a key component in the identification, measurement and analysis of township tourism impacts. However, investigation of community perceptions of township tourism is not just an academic exercise. These perceptions are also important in terms of the determination of local policy, planning and responsible management responses to township tourism development and in establishing the extent to which public support exists for township tourism.

Cultural diversity and authenticity are central aspects to the township tourism experience. Township tourism requires a higher level of community involvement than most other forms of tourism and offers greater opportunities for local communities. Supporting services and products can be equally rewarding and add local flavour to the experience through the showcasing of local goods and customs. Support for the revival and maintenance of traditional cultural skills and practices, as well as new cultural products, is an integral part of the development of cultural tourism. At the same time, awareness of the various economic, social and cultural opportunities associated with township tourism should be created amongst locals.

Forming the conclusion to the present study, this chapter argued that township tourism ventures that involve local communities through the community tourism approach should be developed through a process of consultation and negotiation, ensuring opportunities for locals to participate in and determine decisions about the nature of their involvement. Prior to any township tourism development, assessment of both future as well as present

needs and expectations of the community should be undertaken. Proper development for township tourism should be informed by both market requirements and societal needs and development objectives. Socially, environmentally and economically beneficial responsible township tourism development requires achieving a balance between commercial success, the maintenance of cultural integrity and social cohesion, and the maintenance of the physical environment.