

SAFETY AND SECURITY CONCERNS IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM

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Dedication

In loving memory of my Mom, Mahlodi Hildah Senoamadi.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a horizontal stroke at the end.

Date: 20/01/2022

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Heavenly Father, I just want to take this opportunity to thank you for the strength you have given me to complete this Master's degree. We both know how tough it was but at the end of the day, you said 'be still and know that I am God'.

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iii) **List of Abbreviations**

ASU - Arizona State University

CAR - Central African Republic

CCTV - Closed Circuit Television

CID - City Improvement Districts

CIS - Criminal Justice System

CPF - Community Police Forums

CPI - Corruption Perceptions Index

CSF - Community Safety Forums

CSIR - Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

DCS - Department of Correctional Services

DEA - Drug Enforcement Administration

DEAT - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DFA - Department of Foreign Affairs

DOJ & CD Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

DPME - Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation

DRC - Democratic Republic of Congo

DSD - Department of Social Development

DSS - Department of Safety and Security

EU - European Union

FARDC - Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Forces

GBV – Gender-Based Violence

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

HRSC - Human Science Research Council

IDP - Integrated Development Plans

IJS - Integrated Justice System

ISS - Institute of Security Studies

JCPS - Justice, Crime Prevention and Security

MDG - Millennium Development Goals

MONUSCO - United Nations Organisation Stabilization Mission in the Congo

MPD - Metropolitan Police Departments

NCDC - National Capital District Commission

NCPS - National Crime Prevention Strategy

NDP - National Development Plan

NDT - National Department of Tourism

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisations

OJT - on-the-job Training

OSAC - Overseas Security Advisory Council

PNG - Papua New Guinea

PPP - Purchasing Power Parity

SA - South Africa

SALGA - South African Government; the South African Local Government Association

SDG - Sustainable Development Goals

SAPS - South African Police Service

SASSA - South African Social Attitudes Survey

SAT - South African Tourism

SATOUR - South African Tourism Board (after 1994)

SATOUR - South African Tourist Corporation (before 1994)
SCP - Social Crime Prevention
SGBV - Sexual and Gender Based Violence
STED - Situational Violence Prevention
TAC - Traders Against Crime
TBCSA - Tourism Business Council of South Africa
TGCSA - Tourism Grading Council of South Africa
TIJ - Thailand Institute of Justice
UK - United Kingdom
UNDESA - United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund
UNICRI - United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US - United States
USA - United States of America
UYEP - Urban Youth Employment Project
WTTC - World Travel and Tourism Council

ABSTRACT

South Africa is a tourist destination that offers international tourists unique cultural, natural and adventure experiences. The country is one of Africa's top destinations and features Big Five safari destinations, wine routes, natural experiences, cultural villages, spectacular coastlines among other must-see experiences that appeal to international tourists travelling to the continent. However, the country holds the reputation of one of the highest crime rates in the world and is therefore regarded as a high-risk destination. This negative reputation influences tourism demand and supply directly, as well as indirectly, as it impacts on both jobs and gross income in the industry. It is said that the three primary conditions for the successful development of tourism in a set location are "peace, safety and security".¹ Therefore, without those primary conditions, tourists are likely to be victimized, negatively affecting the image of the country and income derived from tourism. It is the prime responsibility of the tourism sector to safeguard tourists and tourism development in their respective regions. The research focus of this Master's dissertation in Heritage and Cultural Tourism is on the safety and security concerns in South Africa. In other words, it considers the interrelationship between tourism and crime in the country, by exploring the broader dimensions of tourism security and wellbeing.

¹ A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld, 'Toward a Theory of Tourism Security', in Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), 2006, *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*, pp. 1–27.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

a) Aim of the Study

The aim of this dissertation is to focus on a relatively under-researched dimension of the tourism domain, namely tourism safety. According to A. Pizam and Y. Mansfield there are three primary conditions for the successful development of tourism in a set location namely “peace, safety and security”.² Without these primary conditions, tourists are likely to be victimized resulting in the image of the country or destination being negatively affected. This is a worldwide phenomenon and has a direct impact on tourism and the income derived from it. It is therefore incumbent on the governments of the respective countries to ensure that safety and security are prioritized at every level in order for the tourism sector to thrive and contribute to the economy.

This study focuses specifically on analysing the safety and security dimension as it pertains to South Africa and its tourism environment. It considers South Africa as a global south destination with tourism as a key contributor to the economy and employment in general. It also considers South Africa as an example of a destination with a high crime profile. On the upside South Africa is regarded as one of Africa’s top tourism destinations, but on the downside as a crime capital of the world.

The study also considers a range of theoretical dimensions of tourism and crime in the broader context. It takes into account some of the key scholars perspectives on the topic. It also analyses crime in three international destinations of the global south considering the extent and nature of the phenomenon and how this impacted their respective tourism sectors. This provides critical context for the study of South Africa. In the final analysis South Africa forms the focal point and both its crime and measures to combat it within the tourism domain are assessed.

b) Background

Tourism is not a modern activity. For centuries people have travelled motivated by diverse reasons such as education pilgrimages, trade and adventure. The terms “tourism” and “tourist” used to denote this movement of people for pleasure dates only to the early 19th century.³ As

² A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld, ‘Toward a Theory of Tourism Security’, in Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), 2006, *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*, pp. 1–27.

³ K.L. Harris, ‘Taking history on tour – Lowering the disciplinary drawbridge’, *Journal of Tourism History* 9(2-3), 2017, pp. 232.

far back as the ancient empires the potential of travelling and its contribution to economies was realised. Travel comprised of the elite, royal and upper classes moving from their homes to far afield destinations.

It is however generally agreed that the origins of modern tourism as we know it today began in the seventeenth century in Europe. It was the Grand Tour that was labelled as the “golden age of travel” undertaken primarily by wealthy young men mainly for educational purposes focusing on the arts and culture.⁴ These tours already included the basic elements of tourism of the future: tourists, travel conditions, accommodation, dangers and costs.⁵ Eventually this early development would lead to the establishment of specialised accommodation, spas and seaside resorts, travel companies, agents and modes of transportation attracting as well as motivating more people to travel and become what we today know as tourists.⁶

As indicated, throughout this early period, elements of what would become critical to the modern tourism domain were already apparent, particularly elements of the Grand Tour.⁷ From the outset, aspects such as modes of travel, accommodation and tourist guides were integral to these tours.⁸ All those elements were in a sense all directly related to the safety of the tourist – the mode of travel needed to be reliable reputable and safe,⁹ accommodation in the form of “inns” had to be of such a nature to assure a safe resting place or stop-over,¹⁰ and the tourist guide or cicerone was there to educate but also to protect and see to the safety and wellbeing of his (only men toured and were tutored) charge.¹¹

However, in the early 1950s, the evolution of mass tourism led to the rise of safety and security issues into the domain of travel and tourism across the world. From the 1970s, the concept of safety and security in tourism became more prominent. During this period, more risks began to emerge, destinations and companies began to improve safety (technical and security measures implemented) and the WTO declared the Hague Declaration on Tourism (1989) to

⁴ J. Towner, ‘Tourism History: Past, Present and Future’, in A.V. Seaton et al. (eds), *Tourism – The state of the art*, 1994, pp. 721-728.

⁵ J. Towner and G. Wall, ‘History and Tourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 18(1), 1991, pp.71-84.

⁶ J. Towner, ‘What is tourism's history?’, *Tourism Management* 16(5), 1995, pp. 339-343.

⁷ J. Towner and G. Wall, ‘History and tourism’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 18(1), 1991, pp. 71-84.

⁸ K.L Harris, ‘The accessibility of the southern African region as tourist destination: Cross-border tourism and "tourism-scapes’, *Tourism Symposium*, 2016.

⁹ U. Gyr, 2010, <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/the-history-of-tourism>>, access: 29 November 2020.

¹⁰ U. Gyr, 2010, <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/the-history-of-tourism>>, access: 29 November 2020.

¹¹ K. Pond, 1993, *The Professional Guide: Dynamics of Tour Guiding*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold

draw attention to the safety and security of tourists.¹² The 1990s shifted to the age of global tourism where issues of safety and security became more complex and therefore paramount.¹³ It was also highlighted that “human mobility in Southern Africa is largely informed by a security perspective”.¹⁴

In the contemporary world, tourism is regarded as a crucial economic stimulator for developing “economically backward” regions and states, particularly in the global South and specifically across the African continent. It is generally argued that crime within tourism affects the economic and social spheres of a country. Crime has been widely discussed in the media and political debates as part of a sustainable development issue as well as a global issue.¹⁵ Sustainable tourism can be described as a form of tourism development, activity and management that can maintain the integrity and perpetuity of the social, economic and environmental spheres of tourism as well as cultural, natural and built resources.¹⁶ When discussed in this context, the issue fits as a sustainable development issue that needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency with other sustainable development issues. Moreover, tourism is a global market and issues affecting the market become global issues.

Crime can impact tourism on various levels. Research has identified the impact of crime in tourism on macro and micro levels where the impact on society and people is outlined. Crime that impacts tourism on a macro level affects the travel destination, the country and the overall society it occurs in. The noticeable and significant negative impacts are the negative impact on the image of the destination, a fall in revenue, the reduction in tourism demand and the decrease in tourist arrivals.¹⁷ In this situation the media also plays a vital role in making or breaking a tourist destination. According to Pizam and Mansfeld, “intensive mass media coverage of

¹² I. Kôvári and K. Zimányi, “Safety and Security in the Age of Global Tourism (The changing role and conception of Safety and Security in Tourism)”, *Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce (Scientific Papers)* – APSTRACT Agroiinform Publishing House, Budapest, p.60.

¹³ I. Kôvári and K. Zimányi, “Safety and Security in the Age of Global Tourism (The changing role and conception of Safety and Security in Tourism)”, *Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce (Scientific Papers)* – APSTRACT Agroiinform Publishing House, Budapest, p.60.

¹⁴ L.B. Landau et al, ‘Free and Safe Movement in Southern Africa Research to promote people’s safe and unencumbered movement across international borders’, *A report by the African Centre for Migration & Society, University of the Witwatersrand*, 2018.

¹⁵ E.C. Perry, and C. Potgieter, ‘Crime and Tourism in South Africa’, *Journal of Human Ecology* 43(1), 2013, pp. 101-111.

¹⁶ I. Niedziółka, ‘Sustainable Tourism Development’, *Regional Formation and Development Studies* 3(8), 2012, pp. 160.

¹⁷ J. Holcomb and A. Pizam, ‘Do Incidents of Theft at Tourist Destinations Have a Negative Effect on Tourists’ Decisions to Travel to Affected Destinations?’, in Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*, 2006, pp. 105–124.

security incidents contributes to the decline of tourist visits to affected destinations”.¹⁸ The impact of crime on a micro level on the other hand focuses on the person affected, it becomes evident in the response of the individual (their attitude and behaviour) such as: their perception of crime in the area, safety and risk attitudes; choosing the destination; revisiting the destination, and fear of crime where its offences occur.¹⁹ It has been argued that tourist push factors include “safety and fun, escape, knowledge and education, achievement” that leads to a “direct positive relationship with destination loyalty”.²⁰ The tourism industry can thus be seen to be in a precarious position, and visitors are thus very sensitive about security and safety concerns.²¹

c) Crime Theories

Researchers often establish theories and hypotheses to understand and investigate certain subjects and research areas. From the late 1960s, authors began to establish theories and hypotheses to understand the relationship between crime and tourism. Authors, D. Montolio and S. Planells-Struse state that when unpacking the relationship between crime and tourism, the argument is that “tourism development and an increase of tourists can stimulate economic activity, increase employment opportunities and wages for local people and also increase opportunities for criminal activities”.²² They indicate that victimizing tourists might lead to a loss of these benefits, a decrease in tourism demand and other negative consequences that can arise thereafter.²³ Furthermore, it may be discouraging for destinations to provide solutions or implement crime prevention strategies as tourism crimes are often underreported and make it difficult to know what one is dealing with.

The two main theories used are “routine activity theory” and “hotspot theory”, while the “economic theory” on crime is used to explain the relationship that exists between tourism and crime.²⁴

¹⁸ A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld, ‘Toward a Theory of Tourism Security’, in Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*, 2006, pp. 1–27.

¹⁹ H. Mataković and C.L. Mataković, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

²⁰ A. Sangpikul, ‘Travel motivations of Japanese senior travellers to Thailand’, *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10 (1), 2008, pp. 81-94.

²¹ M.A. Başaran and M.O. Demir, ‘The Role of Government and Demand Conditions in a Sector in Crisis: The Perceptions of Tourism Agencies’, Antalya Conference Paper (Turkey), 2016.

²² D. Montolio and S. Planells-Struse, ‘Does Tourism Boost Criminal Activity? Evidence from a Top Touristic Country’, *Crime and Delinquency* 62 (12), 2016, pp. 1597–1623.

²³ D. Montolio and S. Planells-Struse, ‘Does Tourism Boost Criminal Activity? Evidence from a Top Touristic Country’, *Crime and Delinquency* 62 (12), 2016, pp. 1597–1623.

²⁴ H. Mataković and C.L. Mataković, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

In 1968, G. Becker, contributed extensively by proposing the “economic theory” on crime. He emphasised that motivated offenders participate in criminal acts if the profit is worth it, rather than investing their time, money, and effort in other activities with little to no benefit.²⁵ (See Figure 1). This is apparent in the case studies to be discussed in Chapter 3. Criminals are rational thinkers who engage and conclude on rational decisions that will reap profits. The most critical element for criminals is analysing the consequences of their behaviour such as the potential to get arrested, punished or the stigma that will be attached to them by society.

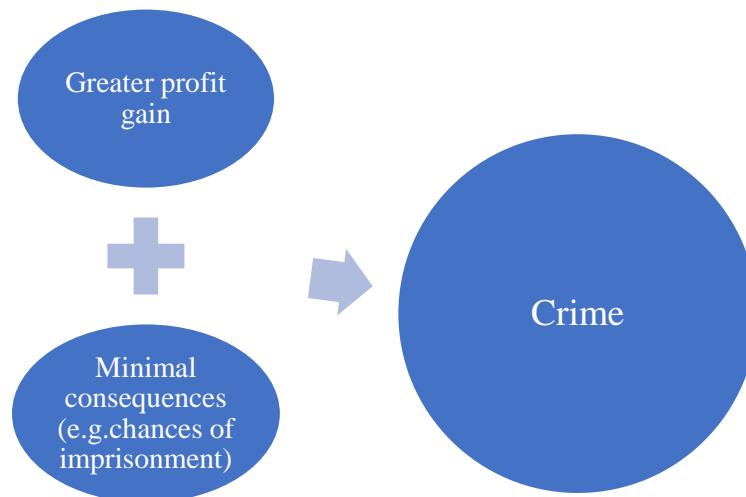


Figure 1: Motivation for crime (Adapted from G. Becker, 1968)

L.E Cohen and M. Felson as developers of the “routine activity theory” in 1979 defined the theory as routine activities circulating around everyday life and human ecology.²⁶ The authors argue that criminality and trends that exist in crime serve as the main structures in the routine activity’s theory. In this explanation as stated above, “criminal activity is treated as routine activity and this routine activity is associated with other routine behaviour, and the emphasis is placed on the interdependence between the structure of criminal activities and the organisation of everyday activities”.²⁷ This perspective is particularly apparent in the analysis of Cape Town in Chapter 5. According to Cohen and Felson, crime occurs when there are three elements involved: motivated offenders to engage in the act; the victims (tourists in this case);

²⁵ G. Becker, ‘Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach’, *Journal of Political Economy*, 76 (2), 1968, pp. 169-217.

²⁶ L.E. Cohen and M. Felson, ‘Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach’, *American Sociological Review* 44 (4), 1979, pp. 588–608.

²⁷ H. Mataković and C.L. Mataković, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

and the absence of a guardian or people of authority who can prevent tourists from being victimized²⁸ (See Figure 2). The focus is on crime characteristics rather than the criminal.



Figure 2: Three elements of Crime. (Adapted from L.E. Cohen and M. Felson, 1979)

In 1996, J. Crotts adopted the “hotspot theory”, widely based on understanding crime founded on environmental criminology.²⁹ This theory analyses criminal focal points in crime environments associated with high crime rates.³⁰ The hotspot theory aims to help tourists prevent victimization in the understanding of high crime rated environments and implementing preventative measures in such environments. We find that this hotspot theory is prevalent in tourism related crime. This will be shown in the case studies in Chapter 3. According to Crotts, “Places where tourists are at greatest risk of becoming victimised have been shown to cluster in a few specific types of places”³¹ (See Figure 3). This data can be very useful to authorities, tourists, and destinations for tourism safety.

²⁸ L.E. Cohen and M. Felson, ‘Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach’, *American Sociological Review* 44 (4), 1979, pp. 588–608.

²⁹ J.C. Crotts, ‘Theoretical Perspectives on Tourist Criminal Victimization’, *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 7 (1), 1996, pp.2-9.

³⁰ H. Mataković and C.L. Mataković, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

³¹ J.C. Crotts, ‘Theoretical Perspectives on Tourist Criminal Victimization’, *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 7 (1), 1996, pp.2-9.

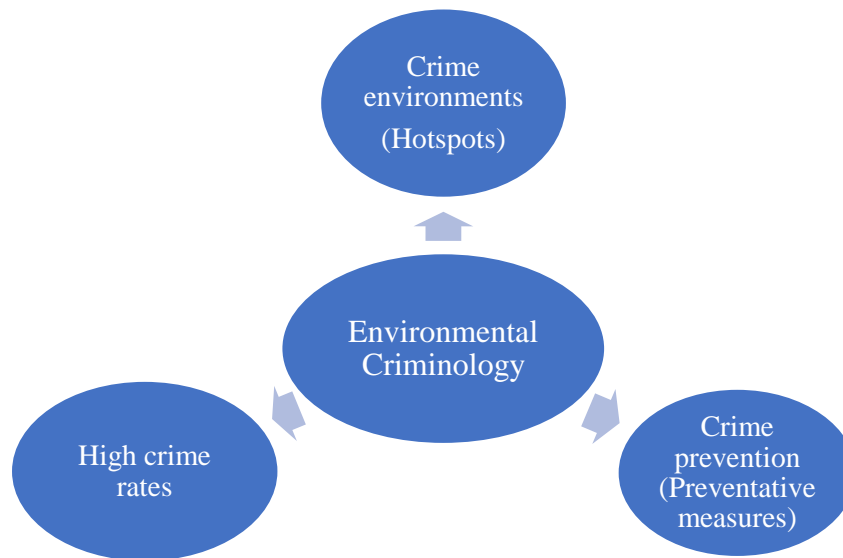


Figure 3: Hotspot theory environmental criminology elements (Adapted from J. Crotts, 1996)

These theories and hypothesis aim to not only understand the crime and tourism relationship through diverse perspectives, but also to assist in addressing the challenges and presenting preventative measures.

d) Methodology and Sources

Crime against tourists was and remains a difficult topic to study in academia due to challenges such as under-reporting and unreliable or unavailable statistics. In the light of this, this study is essentially a literature study with a qualitative research approach utilising comparative analysis where appropriate. It intends to adopt an exploratory approach where the emphasis will be on drawing out key trends rather than quantifying and confirming. The proposed study is thus qualitative in design as this approach would incorporate other authors' perceptions and observations. Furthermore, this research will include a comparative dimension to ascertain how other countries deal with this issue. It will therefore place the local study within an international context. In addition, a literature review was conducted including international studies on crime and tourism and then specifically on crime and tourism safety in South Africa. This was done by consulting secondary sources such as books, journal articles, as well as primary sources such as SA Media newspaper articles, international newspapers, travel advisories, South African Tourism (SAT) statistics, the South African Police Service (SAPS) statistics, safety guides and handbooks. All of the latter are in the public domain and did not require permission to access or use them. The information is integrated into the broader research theme to contribute to the research field.

e) Chapter Outline

The first Chapter has outlined the focus and aim of the study. It presented a brief outline of the origins of tourism, highlighting the prevalence of safety as an integral element in the sector from the outset. It also considered a selection of key crime theories, as well as the methodology and sources adopted for the study. The second Chapter presents a select literature review. It focuses on literature considering crime and tourism, then the issue of safety and security, and finally literature pertaining to South Africa and tourism safety. The focus of Chapter 3 is on international tourists and crime. It considers three countries as specific case studies namely the Democratic Republic of Congo, Venezuela and Papua New Guinea. This Chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of these three countries. The key concern of the study is presented in Chapter 4. It focuses on crime and South African tourism. The media, statistics, perceptions and the consequences of crime are its main concerns. The penultimate Chapter turns to both South Africa and the international efforts to remedy crime against tourists. The final Chapter concludes with recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: SELECT LITERATURE REVIEW

a) Introduction

In this Chapter an overview of some of the key studies on the issue of crime and tourism are considered. This literature review aims to explore the diverse range of research that, firstly takes a brief look at tourism research generally and then specifically at the interrelationship between crime and tourism, as well as tourist safety and security. This literature includes various geographical case studies ranging such as Mexico, Hawaii, United States of America (USA), Honolulu, Italy, the Caribbean, Ghana, Romani, New Zealand and China. It then turns to focus on the literature on South Africa, the topic of this study.

According to scholars C.M. Echtner and T. Jamal, tourism was not a focus of ‘study for researchers and scholars of different disciplines until the 1970s.³² The “debate on tourism’s status and standing as an independent discipline continues to rage on as a ‘disciplinary dilemma’”.³³ Since the latter quarter of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century academic journals on tourism emerged to offer scholars an opportunity to extensively study the field of tourism, travel, tourists, marketing and hospitality namely: *Journal of Travel Research* (established 1968); *Annals of Tourism Research* (established 1973); *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research* (established 1976); *International Journal of Hospitality Management* (established 1982); *Tourism Management* (established 1982); *Hospitality Review* (established 1983); *Turyzm/Tourism* (established 1985), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (established 1994); *Journal of Vacation Marketing* (established 1994); *Visitor Studies* (established 1998); *Tourist Studies* (established 2001); *International Journal of Tourism Sciences* (established 2001); *Tourism and Hospitality Research* (established 2004); and *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly* (established 2008).

Historical studies of tourism are typically regarded “at best, as peripheral” to more mainstream contemporary investigations.³⁴ Tourism history and development in South Africa (SA) in particular was and remains a relatively under explored if not unexplored field of study with

³² C.M. Echtner and T. Jamal, ‘The Disciplinary Dilemma of Tourism Studies’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(4), 1997, pp.868–883.

³³ K.L. Harris, ‘Taking history on tour – Lowering the disciplinary drawbridge’, *Journal of Tourism History* 9(2-3), 2017, pp. 232.

³⁴ J.K. Walton, ‘The tourism labour conundrum extended: Historical perspectives on hospitality workers’. *Hospitality and Society* 2(1), 2012, pp. 49.

limited scholarship. According to the Rogerson scholars, C.M. Rogerson and J.M. Rogerson, “In reviewing the body of works produced in tourism studies it must be observed that across the international experience there is only minor attention accorded to historically-informed research”.³⁵ Tourism geographers in South Africa are particularly involved in historical tourism research. This is due to their research production in areas such as the ‘emergence of the country’s cities as tourism destinations’, the ‘evolution of seaside resorts’, the ‘early participation by ‘non-White’ South Africans in the country’s tourism economy’, the ‘changing complexion of accommodation services’ and the ‘shifting character of South Africa’s hotel spaces’.³⁶ The creation of beach apartheid and the difficulties surrounding the desegregation of leisure places, the rise of business tourism, and the appearance of the uniquely peculiar South African phenomena of the “non-White” hotel were all investigated during the apartheid period.³⁷

In 2006, historian A. Grundlingh published an article entitled “Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948-1990”. In 2017, a decade after A. Grundlingh’s article, K.L. Harris also bemoaned the ‘meagre’ state of scholarship about tourism under apartheid. It is only recently that marginalised topics such as leisure and tourism are considered serious subjects worthy of investigation.³⁸ In Grundlingh’s article, he explains that the historians of the past who ventured into tourism studies were inclined to do so from an episodic approach to a more diachronic analysis through “moments” in tourists encounters without diving into its history.³⁹ International literature on tourism emphasized the country’s warm sun, beaches and wildlife with no reference to the Apartheid policy implemented in the country. The period 1948 to 1976 in South Africa after the Second World War, was when the country welcomed a large-scale of accidental tourists and migrants leading to an upgrade of the state’s tourist policy and the formation of South African Tourist Corporation (SATOUR) in 1947.⁴⁰ Until the 1950s, tourism was known to be an industry that

³⁵ C.M. Rogerson and J.M. Rogerson, ‘Racialized landscapes of tourism: from Jim Crow USA to apartheid South Africa’, *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-economic Series* 48, 2020, p. 8.

³⁶ C.M. Rogerson and J.M. Rogerson, ‘Racialized landscapes of tourism: from Jim Crow USA to apartheid South Africa’, *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-economic Series* 48, 2020, p. 8.

³⁷ C.M. Rogerson and J.M. Rogerson, ‘Racialized landscapes of tourism: from Jim Crow USA to apartheid South Africa’, *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-economic Series* 48, 2020, p. 8.

³⁸ K.L. Harris, ‘Taking history on tour – Lowering the disciplinary drawbridge’, *Journal of Tourism History* 9(2-3), 2017, pp. 231.

³⁹ A. Grundlingh, ‘Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990’, *South African Historical Journal* 56(1), 2006, pp. 104.

⁴⁰ A. Grundlingh, ‘Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990’, *South African Historical Journal* 56(1), 2006, pp. 105.

catered for tourists predominantly from Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Mozambique. South Africa as a long-haul destination attracted few overseas visitors and most of their overseas visitors were from Britain. The government of the time wanted to change this and therefore they established a department for tourism in 1963 aimed at promoting tourism and the country to international tourists as a region of luxury, sun, beaches and wildlife as well as “primitive” yet “modern”.⁴¹ Statistics show that from 1965 to 1970, the country’s tourist arrivals outstripped the world’s 7.2 per cent by 11.4 per cent in growth rate.⁴² According to Grundlingh during this period, the government’s concern was more based on increasing tourism demand and supply, rather than safety or security of these tourists.⁴³

As indicated, crime targeting the tourism industry and jeopardizing tourist safety is not a new phenomenon. Early authors conducting research on the topic of crime and tourism highlighted the strong connection that existed between the two dating back to pre-modern times. In a research review article entitled “Crime in Tourism destinations” published in 2017, A. Lisowska, highlighted the view that research on tourism was generally dominated by relatively positive impacts in the past. However, the more recent literature from the 1970s onwards showed that in the past fifty years, it appears that a focus on the more negative impacts began to emerge.⁴⁴ Since then, the issues of crime, safety and security are said to continue to plague the global tourism market and it is believed to impact particularly heavily on South Africa. This is evident in the select literature which will be discussed.

b) Crime and Tourism

As mentioned, the 1970s appear to mark the first emergence of research on crime and tourism as a specific domain. These first authors investigated countries with high crime rates, the relationship between crime and tourism, and the trend where increased tourism invited increased crime. One of the first authors to study crime in tourism was G.D. Jud who, in 1975, published an article entitled “Tourism and Crime in Mexico” that conducted a cross-sectional

⁴¹ A. Grundlingh, ‘Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990’, *South African Historical Journal* 56(1), 2006, pp. 107.

⁴² A. Grundlingh, ‘Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990’, *South African Historical Journal* 56(1), 2006, pp. 108.

⁴³ A. Grundlingh, ‘Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948–1990’, *South African Historical Journal* 56(1), 2006, pp. 108.

⁴⁴ A. Lisowska, ‘Crime in Tourism destinations: Research Review’, *Tourism* 27(1), 2017, pp. 31-39.

analysis on 32 Mexican states and territories.⁴⁵ This author explored the interrelationship between crime and tourism, connecting it with the degree of urbanisation. The study results showed a strong connection that existed between tourism and crimes against property through larceny, fraud, and robbery.⁴⁶

Thereafter, numerous authors began to draw conclusions linking crime to mass tourism, high density, increased visitor numbers, crowded tourism areas, large sporting events, larger tourism-dense cities, and tourism externalities. In 1980 the authors E.T. Fujii and J. Mak established a hypothesis in their article entitled “Tourism and crime: Implications for regional development policy”. Herein they stated that tourism created “environmental externalities” that existed in the form of increased crime against people and property.⁴⁷ The study utilized Hawaii as a case study and concluded that “tourism growth does indeed lead to increased crime in visitor destinations”.⁴⁸ In another article published in 1999, entitled “Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean” K. de Albuquerque and McKlroy conducted a study on mass tourism destinations. They claimed that these high-density destinations are targets of tourism crimes and tourists are often more vulnerable to experience serious crimes than the citizens of other destinations.⁴⁹ However, the study was proven flawed based on the lack of evidence to show a positive correlation between population numbers, victims, and mass tourism.⁵⁰

However, in the 2000 article by M. Barker et al, “Modelling Tourism Crime. The 2000 America’s Cup” they conducted a study on crime and tourism at large sports events to examine the relationship between the two.⁵¹ Their statistical models showed that a relationship existed between large sporting events with increased populations and thus opportunities that in turn motivated criminal acts. In 2011, E.L. Grinols et al conducted a study to examine visitor impact on crime rates. In this study, “How do visitors affect crime”, they questioned the perception that is held about crime resulting from increased visitor numbers.⁵² However, the results showed that motivations come from different reasons other than the tourists visiting the area

⁴⁵ G.D. Jud, ‘Tourism and crime in Mexico’, *Social Science Quarterly* 56 (2), 1975, pp. 324-330.

⁴⁶ G.D. Jud, ‘Tourism and crime in Mexico’, *Social Science Quarterly* 56 (2), 1975, pp. 324-330.

⁴⁷ E.T. Fujii & J. Mak, ‘Tourism and crime: Implications for regional development policy’, *Regional Studies* 14 (1), 1980, pp. 27-36.

⁴⁸ E.T. Fujii & J. Mak, ‘Tourism and crime: Implications for regional development policy’, *Regional Studies* 14 (1), 1980, pp. 27-36.

⁴⁹ K. De Albuquerque & J. McKlroy, ‘Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(4), 1999, pp. 968-994.

⁵⁰ A. Lisowska, ‘Crime in Tourism destinations: Research Review’, *Tourism* 27(1), 2017, pp. 31-39.

⁵¹ M. Barker, S.J. Page, & D. Meyer, ‘Modelling Tourism Crime. The 2000 America’s Cup’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(3), 2000, pp. 762-782.

⁵² E.L. Grinols, D.B. Mustard, & M. Staha, ‘How do visitors affect crime’, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 27, 2011, pp.363-378.

such as the type of visits, visitor behaviour and chosen attractions.⁵³ Crime and increased visitor numbers appear to be a consistently and predominantly contested issue in the literature.

A 2012 study conducted in Italy by B. Biagi et al, entitled “The effect of tourism on crime in Italy: A dynamic panel approach” produced a different conclusion that stated that higher crime rates are reflected in areas with long-term tourism as compared to the lesser visited areas. This study reflected a link that connected criminality to tourism in cases where cities are crowded, presenting the opportunities to commit crime, but not an increase in visitor numbers.⁵⁴ Authors, B. Biagi and C. Detotto also conducted a study entitled “Crime as tourism externality” in 2014, analysing the externalities that emerge as a result of a tourism presence in an area. They considered aspects such as overproduction to meet the needs of tourists in attractive destinations, competition between residents and tourists for the utilization of natural amenities and other private or public services, often resulting in unpleasant and unwelcoming residents.⁵⁵ The study concluded that tourism motivated and increased street crime significantly, including pick-pocketing offences, and that tourists had a greater effect leading to higher crime rates in larger cities than in rural mountain ranges.⁵⁶

As contributions to crime and tourism research expanded, researchers began to explore crime patterns and the likelihood of tourist victimization. In 1980, C.R. O'Donnell and T. Lydgate, published an article entitled “The Relationship to Crimes of Physical Resources” which explored the relationship that existed between crime and the surrounding social environment. The authors analysed “behaviour settings” in Honolulu through examining the roles of “tourist businesses” such as entertainment, sex-related activities, tourist accommodations, liquor consumption, retail, and dining places.⁵⁷ The study revealed that they created a setting for violent and property crimes in Honolulu. They also argued that tourists are vulnerable because they are in unknown environments as temporary visitors to these communities and they often engage in risky behaviour. Consequently, they may not be able to differentiate between “safe”

⁵³ E.L. Grinols, D.B. Mustard, & M. Staha, ‘How do visitors affect crime’, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 27, 2011, pp.363-378.

⁵⁴ B. Biagi, M. G. Brandano, & C. Detotto, ‘The effect of tourism on crime in Italy: A dynamic panel approach’, *Economics Discussion Papers* 4, 2012, pp. 1-26.

⁵⁵ B. Biagi & C. Detotto, ‘Crime as tourism externality’, *Regional Studies* 46(4), 2014, pp. 693-709.

⁵⁶ B. Biagi & C. Detotto, ‘Crime as tourism externality’, *Regional Studies* 46(4), 2014, pp. 693-709.

⁵⁷ C.R. O'Donnell & T. Lydgate, ‘The Relationship to Crimes of Physical Resources’, *Environment and Behavior* 12(2), 1980, pp. 207-230.

and “unsafe” areas or behaviours. They stated that criminals count on this lack of awareness and attack them.⁵⁸

In 2006 D.W. Harper wrote an article entitled “The Tourist and His Criminal: Patterns in Street Robbery” which aimed to investigate and understand the patterns of both the tourists and the offenders in robberies that occur on the streets. The study showed that 84% of the recorded attacks targeted males who walked alone at night; 47% of the victims were aged between 25 and 35; a weapon was commonly used (94%), in 58% of attacks a gun was used; and the study recorded 26% of attacks occurring between midnight and 2 a.m. are usually in alleyways.⁵⁹ Related to this analysis, but with a different result, is the work of L. Johnny and L.A. Jordan who conducted an investigative study entitled “Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean: A case study of St Lucia” in 2007 which focuses on the likelihood of becoming a crime victim in the area. The results showed that residents were more likely to be crime victims than tourists, but the study also revealed that the main types of crimes tourists also experienced are property-related crimes such as robbery, house breaking and theft than actual violent crimes.⁶⁰

Over time, victimisation, tourism safety, tourist vulnerability, fear and perceptions became topics that expanded the scope of the literature on crime and tourism. The focus was drawn to the “tourist” and the “criminal” to try and understand these role players in the crime and tourism setting. In an article published in 1986 entitled “Visitors as Victims: Crimes Against Tourists in Hawaii” M. Chesney-Lind and I.Y. Lind, utilized data from two Hawaii counties to derive independent crime rates for tourist and resident sub-populations. The analysis reveals that tourists in both counties experienced higher rates of larceny, robbery, and rape than residents.⁶¹ The authors argued that tourists in Hawaii are considered more “desirable” targets than residents which led to their victimisation. Criminological literature studying victimisation reveals that tourists clearly possess numerous characteristics that lead to their increased vulnerability.⁶² They are labelled as “obvious” and “tempting targets” who are less likely to

⁵⁸ M. Chesney-Lind & I.Y. Lind, ‘Visitors as Victims: Crimes Against Tourists in Hawaii’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, 1986, pp. 167-191.

⁵⁹ D.W. Harper, ‘The Tourist and His Criminal: Patterns in Street Robbery’, in Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), 2006, *Tourism, Security and Safety: From Theory to Practice*, New York: Butterworth – Heinemann, pp. 125-137.

⁶⁰ L. Johnny & L.A. Jordan, ‘Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean: A case study of St Lucia’, *Annals of Leisure Research* 10 (3-4), 2007, pp. 475-497.

⁶¹ M. Chesney-Lind & I.Y. Lind, ‘Visitors as Victims: Crimes Against Tourists in Hawaii’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, 1986, pp. 167-191.

⁶² R.F. Sparks, ‘Research on Victims of Crime: Accomplishments, Issues, and New Directions’, *Department of Health and Human Services Publication (ADM 82-1091)*, 1982, pp. 30.

press charges due to the transient nature of their presence, they are often found with money and valuable items known as “portable wealth”.⁶³

Travel authors often stated in their writings that travel away from home and the borders of "civilization" or urbanization, in other words into the “unknown”, always involved a level of risk and danger such as assault, robbery and persecution.⁶⁴ K. Moore and T. Berno make the point in their study of crime and tourism that tourists are vulnerable in foreign locations. Thus, criminals have adopted strategic behaviour to target their victims, analyse their patterns and attack them. In an article published in 2013 entitled “The impact of crime in security in tourism” by H. Matakovic and C.L. Matakovic, they noted that it has become a pattern for crime to often occur in hedonistic destinations with tourist groups that are young and fun-hungry who want to engage in casual sex, adventure, drugs, and alcohol.⁶⁵ Criminals consider such tourist groups as “easy targets”. The authors also note that in family-driven destinations crime has reflected lower rates.⁶⁶ Tourist perceptions can be affected tremendously based on such experiences.

In an article published in 2000 by B. Brunt, R. Mawby and Z. Hambly entitled “Tourist victimisation and the fear of crime on holiday”, the authors review research conducted on the relationship between tourism and crime. The nature of the study focuses on research aimed at assessing the victimization of tourists and utilizes British holidaymakers to examine fear of crime. Their analysis concluded that tourism does contribute to an increase in crime, and tourists may be particularly susceptible to crime, especially where they involve themselves in risky behaviour.⁶⁷ The respondents in this study viewed “victimisation at home to be more associated with the so-called problems of British society and crime on holiday as more of a matter of carelessness or bad luck”.⁶⁸ Victimization did not translate to a tourism problem for this group. Authors, Y. Reisinger and F. Mavondo conducted a similar study in 2006 entitled

⁶³ C. Ryan, ‘Crime, violence, terrorism, and tourism: An accident or intrinsic relationship’, *Tourism Management* 14(3), 1993, pp. 173-183.

⁶⁴ K. Moore & T. Berno, ‘Relationships Between Crime and Tourism’, *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14(3), 1995, pp. 4-12.

⁶⁵ H. Matakovic & C.L. Matakovic, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

⁶⁶ H. Matakovic & C.L. Matakovic, ‘The impact of crime in security in tourism’, *Security and Defence Quarterly* 27(5), 2013, pp. 1-20.

⁶⁷ P. Brunt, R. Mawby & Z. Hambly, ‘Tourist victimisation and the fear of crime on holiday’, *Tourism Management* 21, 2000, pp. 417-424.

⁶⁸ P. Brunt, R. Mawby & Z. Hambly, ‘Tourist victimisation and the fear of crime on holiday’, *Tourism Management* 21, 2000, pp. 417-424.

“Cultural Differences in Travel Risk Perception”.⁶⁹ They explored the differences that existed in perceptions of travel risk and safety, anxiety and intentions to travel from a group of international tourists who were from Australia, Canada, Greece, Hong Kong, the United Kingdom, and the United States.⁷⁰ Significant differences were identified in this study: United States, Hong Kong and Australian tourists perceived travel more risky, they felt less safe and were more anxious and reluctant to travel as opposed to tourists from the United Kingdom, Canada and Greece who did not regard crime as a tourism reality, but rather a reality that can happen to anyone.⁷¹

In 2012, K.A. Boakye in an article entitled “Tourists’ views on safety and vulnerability: A study of some selected towns in Ghana”, the author also considered the tourists’ perspective. It was a rather unique approach in that it focused on an African destination. The study incorporated the views of tourists to understand the level of vulnerability and safety they experienced while engaging in tourism activities in selected towns in Ghana.⁷²

The topic of crime and tourism has received increasing attention over the past few decades with a focus on specific geographic and regional features. As is evident in this brief overview, the literature on crime and tourism is diverse and interpretations are contested.

c) Safety and Security

Turning to the issue of safety and security, in a book published in 2011 by Y. Wang and A. Pizam entitled *Destination Marketing and Management: Theories and Applications*, authors G. Fuchs and A. Pizam contributed a Chapter entitled “The Importance of Safety and Security for Tourism Destinations” where they differentiated between safety and security issues. They defined “security incidents” as those incidents that lead to the “tourists suffering harm from the deliberate actions of others, such as wars, terrorist attacks, civil and/or political unrest, and crime”.⁷³ While safety incidents can be understood as occurrences where tourists are injured

⁶⁹ Y. Reisinger & F. Mavondo, ‘Cultural Differences in Travel Risk Perception’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 20(1), 2006, pp. 13.

⁷⁰ Y. Reisinger & F. Mavondo, ‘Cultural Differences in Travel Risk Perception’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 20(1), 2006, pp. 13.

⁷¹ Y. Reisinger & F. Mavondo, ‘Cultural Differences in Travel Risk Perception’, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 20(1), 2006, pp. 27.

⁷² K.A. Boakye, ‘Tourists’ views on safety and vulnerability. A study of some selected towns in Ghana’, *Tourism Management* 33(2), 2012, pp. 327-333.

⁷³ G. Fuchs & A. Pizam, ‘The Importance of Safety and Security for Tourism Destinations’, in Y. Wang and A. Pizam (eds) *Destination Marketing and Management: Theories and Applications*, United Kingdom: CABI International.

accidentally and without intent or malice.⁷⁴ Such events can include “floods, fires, infectious diseases, food poisoning, traffic accidents, accidents related to activities such as skiing, accidental slips, falls, cuts and burns, and damage to property”.⁷⁵ They emphasize that safety and security affects demand and supply chains of tourism. Therefore, it is crucial that safety and security concerns are thoroughly understood to adopt mitigation strategies. Destinations need to anticipate and prevent major security and safety incidents and their consequences, as well as maintain a peaceful and secure environment necessary for their survival in an increasingly insecure and threatened world.⁷⁶ In 2010, M. Brás and V. Rodrigues conducted a study entitled “Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística” which translates to “Tourism and crime: effects of criminality on the tourist demand”.⁷⁷ This study unpacked the relationship between tourist demand and criminality as well as recommended safety measures to prevent criminality in tourist destinations. The authors argued that criminality can adversely affect the image of a destination, lead to a loss of tourist numbers and this can have social and economic consequences.⁷⁸ Therefore, they conclude that measures need to be put in place to prevent crime as well as recommended preventative measures that could potentially promote safety and security in tourist destinations. These are highlighted in Chapter 5.⁷⁹

In his 2017 book *Tourism Crisis – Causes, Consequences and Management*, J. Henderson makes the point that it is of paramount concern that the tourism sector focuses its efforts on increasing awareness of the hazards that travellers may encounter when embarking on their travels.⁸⁰ Related to this is the point made by A. Garg in a 2013 article that media influences perceptions of risk that can affect tourism visitation and restrict behaviour based on the nature and level of reporting crime.⁸¹ International media has played a critical role in making or

⁷⁴ G. Fuchs & A. Pizam, ‘The Importance of Safety and Security for Tourism Destinations’, in Y. Wang and A. Pizam (eds) *Destination Marketing and Management: Theories and Applications*, United Kingdom: CABI International.

⁷⁵ S. Peattie, P. Clarke, & K. Peattie, ‘Risk and responsibility in tourism: promoting sun-safety’, *Tourism Management* 26, 2005, pp. 399-408.

⁷⁶ G. Fuchs & A. Pizam, ‘The Importance of Safety and Security for Tourism Destinations,’ in Y. Wang and A. Pizam (eds) *Destination Marketing and Management: Theories and Applications*, United Kingdom: CABI International.

⁷⁷ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

⁷⁸ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

⁷⁹ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

⁸⁰ J. Henderson, *Tourism Crisis - Causes, Consequences & Management*, 2007.

⁸¹ M. Baker & S.J. Page, ‘Visitor safety in urban tourism environments: the case of Auckland, New Zealand’, *Cities* 19(4), 2002, pp. 274.

breaking a destination's reputation. Once a destination is perceived to be risky by the tourist, it will have serious implications on the growth and development of the tourism industry of the specific destination.⁸² This, the UNWTO indicates, can be very detrimental as many countries' economies are heavily dependent on tourism.⁸³

In a related study published in 2011 by L. Popescu entitled "Safety and Security in Tourism. Case Study: Romania", the author analyses safety issues in Romania, based on the travel and tourism competitiveness index. The author acknowledges tourism's great economic importance, but also notes the frequent dangers and threats to safety.⁸⁴ He concludes that safety and security gives a country or destination a competitive advantage. Tourists are knowledgeable about touristic safety, and when choosing a particular destination, this aspect is of utmost importance.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Garg supports this view in his 2012 article entitled "A study of tourist perception towards travel risk factors in tourist decision making" that tourists mostly travel to enjoy serenity and peace, they want to feel safe and secure.⁸⁶ In this case, they will not select a destination with political instability and threats to safety such as terrorism. The results of this study suggested that issues relating to safety and security, peace and stability highly influence visitor decision-making when choosing a destination.⁸⁷

In an article on "Crime and International Tourism" published in 2014 by D.T. Altindag, the author conducted a study using data received from European countries from the period 1995 to 2003 investigating crime's influence on international tourism. The results again suggested that crimes of violence such as homicide, rape, robbery, and assault affected international tourism influx negatively, as well as the tourism revenue of an average European country.

In 2002, M. Baker and S.J Page wrote an article entitled "Visitor safety in urban tourism environments: the case of Auckland, New Zealand". In this article, they analyse the scope and dimensions regarding aspects of visitor safety during New Zealand's 2000-2001 America's

⁸² A. Garg, 'A study of tourist perception towards travel risk factors in tourist decision making', *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 5(2), 2013, pp. 56.

⁸³ United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 2013, <<https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284414666>>, access: 29 January 2021.

⁸⁴ L. Popescu, 'Safety and Security in Tourism. Case Study: Romania', *Forum Geografic. Studii Şi Cercetări De Geografie Şi Protecția Mediului* 10(2), 2011, pp. 322-328.

⁸⁵ L. Popescu, 'Safety and Security in Tourism. Case Study: Romania', *Forum Geografic. Studii Şi Cercetări De Geografie Şi Protecția Mediului* 10(2), 2011, pp. 322-328.

⁸⁶ A. Garg, 'A study of tourist perception towards travel risk factors in tourist decision making', *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 5(2), 2013, pp. 47.

⁸⁷ A. Garg, 'A study of tourist perception towards travel risk factors in tourist decision making', *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 5(2), 2013, pp. 56.

Cup.⁸⁸ Their argument is similar to some of the studies referred to in the above section in that they also state that such events attract large numbers of visitors and this creates an environment that epitomises the concentration of tourism and tourist opportunities for crime.⁸⁹ The article also addresses visitor perceptions of safety in urban environments as this directly influences visitor behaviour. Safety and security issues are significant because tourists and tourist areas possess a range of characteristics that make them vulnerable to crime.⁹⁰ These crime conducive tourism areas are consistent with what C. Ryan and R. Kinder (1996) termed a “crimogenic place”.⁹¹

In an article by Z. Breda and C. Costa entitled “Safety and Security Issues Affecting Inbound Tourism in the People’s Republic of China” published in 2005, they show how safety and security is regarded as one of the factors driving change in the new millennium tourism industry.⁹² They argue that safety and security has become the most important element influencing travel decisions. The authors state that the success of the tourism industry is now (more than ever) dependent on safety and security.⁹³ The People’s Republic of China maintains a good image, but there are concerns regarding its public health, political instability and certain safety and security issues. They conclude that epidemic diseases such as SARS, HIV and AIDS; crime; and natural disasters have deterred China’s international and domestic tourism sector.⁹⁴

A similar view is held by C.H Tan, X.W. Chong and S.B. Ho in a 2017 article entitled “Significance of Safety and Security Issues on Tourism Industry in Malaysia”. The study analysed the tourism industry in terms of safety, and security issues as well as the significance to the sector. The study indicated that safety issues that have greatly affected the Malaysian

⁸⁸ M. Baker & S.J. Page, ‘Visitor safety in urban tourism environments: the case of Auckland, New Zealand’, *Cities* 19(4), 2002, pp. 273.

⁸⁹ M. Baker & S.J. Page, ‘Visitor safety in urban tourism environments: the case of Auckland, New Zealand’, *Cities* 19(4), 2002, pp. 273–282.

⁹⁰ M. Chesney- & I.Y. Lind, ‘Visitors as Victims: Crimes Against Tourists in Hawaii’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, 1986, pp. 167-191.

⁹¹ C. Ryan & R. Kinder, ‘Sex, Tourism and Sex Tourism: Fulfilling Similar Needs?’, *Tourism Management* 17(7), 1996, pp. 507-518.

⁹² Z. Breda & C. Costa, ‘Safety and Security Issues Affecting Inbound Tourism in the People’s Republic of China’ in Y. Mansfeld & A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, Safety and Security: From Theory to Practice*.

⁹³ Z. Breda & C. Costa, ‘Safety and Security Issues Affecting Inbound Tourism in the People’s Republic of China’ in Y. Mansfeld & A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, Safety and Security: From Theory to Practice*.

⁹⁴ Z. Breda & C. Costa, ‘Safety and Security Issues Affecting Inbound Tourism in the People’s Republic of China’ in Y. Mansfeld & A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, Safety and Security: From Theory to Practice*.

tourism industry are related to crime, health, and security.⁹⁵ The country also experienced various SARS virus outbreaks, kidnapping and other serious crimes. These key issues not only affected the tourism industry, but also the country's destination image, economy and finance industry. The authors also supported the view that both safety and security are vital in facilitating a successful tourism sector.

In 2011, I. Kôvári and K. Zimányi published an article entitled "Safety and Security in the Age of Global Tourism (The changing role and conception of Safety and Security in Tourism)". Here, the authors assert that the issues of safety and security have made tourism vulnerable globally and regionally. The major occurrences such as terrorist acts, pandemics, local wars, epidemics, natural disasters, and other unforeseen events cause this susceptibility.⁹⁶ They emphasise the centrality of security and safety in the tourism industry, research, and academia. In another article by S.M Brondoni published in 2016 entitled "Global Tourism and Terrorism. Safety and Security Management" he highlighted the fact that tourism is a global and competitive industry which made it highly sensitive to the perceptions of danger and lack of safety and security.⁹⁷ He states that safety and security are complex issues that have made tourism vulnerable due to its negative impacts, especially tourism terrorism. The author alludes to the fact that tourists and investors put their money in safer destinations rather than destinations under attack.⁹⁸ He believes it is the responsibility of tourism and the respective states to provide safe and secure travel destinations for tourists. Therefore, it is critical to understand how potential travellers perceive the concept of risk and safety related to tourism.⁹⁹

In an article by authors C.M Hall, D.J Timothy, and D.T Duval entitled "Security and Tourism: Towards a New Understanding?" their focus is on notions of security in tourism shifting away from the broader concept of safety. The article reviews the expansion of the concept of security and the relationship of security to tourism. The authors note that tourism and supranational tourism organizations have little influence on peace and security agendas, although such

⁹⁵ C.H Tan, X.W. Chong, & S.B. Ho, 'Significance of Safety and Security Issues on Tourism Industry in Malaysia', *Science International (Lahore)* 29(2),2017, pp.471-475.

⁹⁶ I. Kôvári & K. Zimányi, 'Safety and Security in the Age of Global Tourism (The changing role and conception of Safety and Security in Tourism)', *Applied Studies in Agribusiness and Commerce (Scientific Papers)* – APSTRACT Agroiinform Publishing House, Budapest, p.60.

⁹⁷ S.M. Brondoni, 'Global Tourism and Terrorism. Safety and Security Management', *Symphonya Emerging Issues in Management* 2, 2016, pp. 7-16.

⁹⁸ S.M. Brondoni, 'Global Tourism and Terrorism. Safety and Security Management', *Symphonya Emerging Issues in Management* 2, 2016, pp. 7-16.

⁹⁹ Y. Reisinger & F. Mavondo, 'Cultural Differences in Travel Risk Perception', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 20(1), 2006, pp. 13.

agendas are important for tourism.¹⁰⁰ They also state that security concerns not only affect individual tourism decision-making, but also have a broader influence on economic and political confidence, which in turn affects the wider environment within which the tourism industry operates and in which individual destinations are perceived.¹⁰¹ Security in the new millennium incorporates global crises such as global climate change, international crime, health issues, biosecurity, food scarcity among other sustainable development challenges in its realm, and not only military actions.¹⁰² As explained above, the concept of security is not only the safety of tourists but more diverse impacting on social, political and economic spheres.

d) South Africa

Turning to South Africa, the focus of this study, it is a well-known phenomenon that a high crime rate predominates. Many authors maintain that this has much to do with its racially divided past. In their article on “Security and Tourism” M. Schönteich and A. Louw hold that the high crime rates in post-apartheid South Africa can be blamed on the transitioning political and socio-economic spheres of the country, the violent past, contemporary criminal behaviour, the propagation of firearms, the development of organised crime, changes in the demographic composition, and the poor justice system of the country.¹⁰³ In another article published in 2004 entitled “A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa”. C. Lemanski argues that “fear of crime” is a trend that disseminates the social divisions that were inherited during the apartheid era into the post-apartheid milieu as well as the “fear of crime being used as a justification for a predominantly racist fear of difference”.¹⁰⁴ The citizen responses to insecurity in Cape Town, for example, reconstructed a city of separation that shows remarkable resemblance to the apartheid city.¹⁰⁵ She indicates that crime statistics recorded during the dawn of democracy showed alarming crime rates in the country and indicates that apartheid can be positively blamed.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ C.M. Hall, D.J. Timothy, & D.T. Duval, ‘Security and Tourism: Towards a new understanding?’, *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 15(2-3), 2004, pp. 1-18.

¹⁰¹ C.M. Hall, D.J. Timothy, & D.T. Duval, ‘Security and Tourism: Towards a new understanding?’, *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 15(2-3), 2004, pp. 1-18.

¹⁰² A. Butfoy, *Common Security and Strategic Reform: A Critical Analysis*.

¹⁰³ M. Schönteich & A. Louw, ‘Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile’, *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper* 49, 2001, pp. 1-22.

¹⁰⁴ A. Lemanski, ‘A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa’, *Environment and Urbanization* 16(2), 2004, pp. 101-112.

¹⁰⁵ C. Lemanski, ‘A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa’, *Environment and Urbanization* 16(2), 2004, pp. 101-112.

¹⁰⁶ C. Lemanski, ‘A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa’, *Environment and Urbanization* 16(2), 2004, pp. 101-112.

However, when it comes to perceptions, some tourists appear to find South Africa unsafe while there are those that regard it as safe. In an article by S.L.A Ferreira entitled “Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa” published in 1999, the author analysed the spatial pattern of crime perpetrated against tourists in the country from 1993 to 1996. This study identified that crime poses a significant threat to tourism. Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal were regarded as the most unsafe provinces in the country and tourists from Australia, the Pacific, Asia and Scandinavia expressed the greatest concern for their safety in South Africa.¹⁰⁷ In an article published by R. George in 2003 titled “Tourist’s perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town”, the author evaluated perceptions from tourists who visited Cape Town in August and September 2001, as to whether they felt safe during their stay and tours of the ‘Mother City’, and how they perceived the safety and security of the city. The study revealed that 220 (50%) respondents out of 438 respondents “felt safe touring Cape Town during daytime” while 108 (25%) of the respondents “felt somewhat unsafe”, and 48 (11%) “felt very unsafe walking after dark in the city” and using public transport.¹⁰⁸ On the bright side, the majority of respondents, 301 (69%), were extremely likely to suggest Cape Town as a tourist destination to their friends.¹⁰⁹ However, it must be noted that Cape Town has built its own reputation separate from the rest of the country’s reputation and continuously competes internationally under the category of “beautiful cities” in the world attracting more tourists annually.

In a similar study entitled “International tourists’ perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa” published in 2012 by R. George and K. Swart, the authors revealed that most respondents had positive perceptions of South Africa as a holiday destination. The research shared that two-thirds of those interviewed agreed that South Africa was a safe place to visit and over half of respondents were not concerned about their safety while in South Africa.¹¹⁰ Crime-safety issues did not appear to affect respondents’ future travel intentions, as a majority of study respondents said crime-safety concerns would not deter them from returning to South Africa.¹¹¹ Some argue that crime can

¹⁰⁷ S.L.A Ferreira, ‘Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa’, *Tourism Geographies* 1(3), 1999, pp. 313-324.

¹⁰⁸ R. George, ‘Tourist’s perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town’, *Tourism Management* 24, 2003, pp. 575-585.

¹⁰⁹ R. George, ‘Tourist’s perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town’, *Tourism Management* 24, 2003, pp. 575-585.

¹¹⁰ R. George & K. Swart. ‘International tourists’ perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa’, *Journal of Sport and Tourism* 17(3), 2012, pp. 201-223.

¹¹¹ R. George & K. Swart. ‘International tourists’ perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa’, *Journal of Sport and Tourism* 17(3), 2012, pp. 201-223.

be considered a detrimental issue, but it is not all doom and gloom “the country hosted the 2010 World Cup “incident free” and “crime-free”.¹¹²

A different conclusion is drawn in an article by E.C Perry and C. Potgieter published in 2013 entitled “Crime and Tourism in South Africa”, where the study underlines that tourists and citizens observe South Africa as having high levels of crime and this deters tourists from visiting the country.¹¹³ Crime remains a vital consideration in relation to tourism in South Africa and it is critical that “actual as well as perceptions of crime and security are addressed in relation to different stakeholders such as locals, tourists and the tourism industry”.¹¹⁴ In an article by G.S. Nkosi entitled “The Impact of Crime on Tourism in the City of uMhlathuze, KwaZulu-Natal” published in 2010, the author aimed to examine local communities’ awareness of crime-related occurrences in the specific study area, their degree of participation in tourism activities and “to determine whether local communities are conversant with the benefits of tourism in the context of crime”.¹¹⁵ The study revealed that there is an awareness of the crime that exists resulting in them not visiting tourism facilities. She also highlighted that they were generally not familiar with the benefits of tourism in the context of crime.¹¹⁶ Moreover, she highlighted that crime seriously affects tourism in the area and refers to organisations that collaborate with the NDT to combat crime including: Traders Against Crime (TAC), South African Police Services (SAPS), Community Police Forums (CPF’s), Criminal Justice System (CIS). These and other stakeholders contribute to promoting safety and security in South Africa.¹¹⁷ Nkosi concludes that crime is continuously crippling the tourism industry and needs to be effectively dealt with according to broader strategies that integrate elements of risk and safety.¹¹⁸

In a monograph by A. Louw and M. Shaw entitled *Stolen Opportunities: The Impact of Crime on South Africa's Poor* published in 1997, the authors assert that crime is an increasing concern on the South African landscape. The study measures the unequal impact of crime that mostly

¹¹² A. Maqutu, ‘SA tourism man quizzed on Pistorius and crime’, *Business Day*, 29 April 2014.

¹¹³ E.C. Perry, & C. Potgieter, ‘Crime and Tourism in South Africa’, *Journal of Human Ecology* 43(1), 2013, pp. 101-111

¹¹⁴ E.C. Perry, & C. Potgieter, ‘Crime and Tourism in South Africa’, *Journal of Human Ecology* 43(1), 2013, pp. 101-111

¹¹⁵ G.S. Nkosi, ‘The Impact of Crime on Tourism in the City of uMhlathuze, KwaZulu-Natal’, *South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage* 3(2), 2010, pp. 76-81.

¹¹⁶ G.S. Nkosi, ‘The Impact of Crime on Tourism in the City of uMhlathuze, KwaZulu-Natal’. *South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage* 3(2), 2010, pp. 76-81

¹¹⁷ G.S. Nkosi, ‘The Impact of Crime on Tourism in the City of uMhlathuze, KwaZulu-Natal’, *South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage* 3(2), 2010, pp. 76-81.

¹¹⁸ E.C. Perry, & C. Potgieter, ‘Crime and Tourism in South Africa’, *Journal of Human Ecology* 43(1), 2013, pp. 101-111

affects the vulnerable citizens of South Africa, “the poor”, and calls for more research as well as policies that focus on crime control and prevention.¹¹⁹ This has implications for the tourism sector.

According to B. Lubbe in a book published in 2003 entitled *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*, security is one of the issues that tourists consider before visiting a destination.¹²⁰ She claims that “safety is one of the non-negotiable issues in the tourist industry with tourists wanting a guarantee that, when they visit a destination, they will be safe from criminal activities”.¹²¹ This is very evident in the South African situation. Tourists mostly create perceptions from social media sources and news platforms, as travel agencies and destination marketing never portray negative images of the destination.

In an article entitled “Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa” published in 2017 by T.E. Mudzanani, the author analysed media publications and focused on the issue of tourism and crime in South Africa to understand the threat posed by crime on tourism growth. The analysis concluded that crime remains a threat to tourism and that tourists in South Africa are most likely to be victims of robbery.¹²² The article also provides guidelines for the government that can help deal with the issue and recommended for the “empowerment of local communities to enable them to act as capable guardians in deterring crime where it raises its ugly head”.¹²³ Mudzanani concludes that governments and the private sector must collaborate to include tourist safety in the tourism product through industry-specific strategies, inspire good tourism news about South Africa, ensure police visibility and enforce prosecution against offenders.¹²⁴

A rare study by Q.G. Ndlela published in 2020 entitled “Crime in South Africa”, the author ventures into crime analysis and education. The article aims to educate the society on crime,

¹¹⁹ A. Louw & M. Shaw, ‘Stolen Opportunities: The Impact of Crime on South Africa's Poor’, *Monograph 14*, 1997, pp. 1-47.

¹²⁰ B. Lubbe (ed.), *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*, Cape Town: Pearson Education South Africa.

¹²¹ T.E. Mudzanani, ‘Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa’, *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6(2), 2017, pp. 1-8.

¹²² T.E. Mudzanani, ‘Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa’, *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6(2), 2017, pp. 1-8.

¹²³ T.E. Mudzanani, ‘Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa’, *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6(2), 2017, pp. 1-8.

¹²⁴ T.E. Mudzanani, ‘Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa’, *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6(2), 2017, pp. 1-8.

its causes, measures that can be implemented to avoid being victimized and efforts that can effectively reduce crime.¹²⁵

Research trends identified in this select literature review showed that there has been a fair amount of research which investigated the characteristics and the interrelationship that exists between crime and tourism. The research focused on a range of destinations including South Africa and explored tourist behaviour, crime patterns, fear of crime, tourist victimisation, safety and security perceptions from media as well as experiences. This research contributes significantly to the body of tourism research over decades. However, research on tourism safety and security broadly in South Africa appears to be relatively limited and therefore this gap will be addressed by this study.

¹²⁵ Q.G. Ndlela, 'Crime in South Africa', *Crime Law and Social Change* 1(1), 2020, pp. 1-19.

CHAPTER 3: INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS AS VICTIMS OF CRIME

a) Introduction

This Chapter outlines the phenomena of crime against international tourists. It considers the crime-tourism matrix as a means to understand tourist's victimization as well as extrinsic and intrinsic determinants of crime. It then discusses a selection of international destinations from the global South where crime against tourists is apparent. They relate to South Africa due to their geographical location (global south countries), with a great potential for tourism and high crime rate. These three specific case studies are geographically spread namely: Democratic Republic of Congo (Africa), Venezuela (Latin America) and Papua New Guinea (Asia and Pacific). They struggle with high crime rates consequently threatening their tourism sectors and overall development. Crime impacts their economies, which results in the discouragement of tourism, foreign investors, and emigration. Safety and security remain major concerns for global South countries that need to be addressed for growth and quality in tourism. However, tourism remains one of the most thriving industries that holds the potential to reinvigorate failing economies of many countries in the world, such as these three. This then provides a contextual background and benchmarking for the subsequent analysis of South Africa.

International tourism is an all-year-round major contributor to promoting economic growth in many countries as compared to domestic tourism that depends on seasons.¹²⁶ International tourists visiting foreign countries are however also susceptible to become victims of crime and must therefore consider the risks involved. Destinations that appear to be safer are more likely to be chosen and their average international tourist arrival influx becomes higher than places considered to be unsafe. Unsafe destinations with high crime rates often face low economic development. Tourism as a potential booster to economic development cannot be effective in such destinations and this affects the overall destination seriously.¹²⁷ In spite of this, safety of a destination is often an overlooked priority in many countries, while it is a major decision influencer for tourists when choosing a destination.

¹²⁶ Commission of the European Communities, 'All-Season Tourism: Analysis of Experience, Suitable Products and Clientele', *Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities*, 1993, pp. 1-95.

¹²⁷ G. Peri, 'Socio-Cultural Variables and Economic Success: Evidence from Italian Provinces', *B.E. Journals in Macroeconomics: Topics* 4(1), 2004, Article 12.

In his study, D.T. Altindag investigated the influence of crime on international tourism and concluded that crime negatively affects international tourism influx and tourism revenue of an average European country.¹²⁸ A correlation therefore exists between crime, victimization, and international tourism activity. E.F Fama and J.D. Macbeth's article written in 1973 does however indicate that there is a trade-off that exists between risk and return explaining that "if international tourists are highly attracted to a country's touristic prospects, the crime rate in that country may not be a significant deterrent for international tourists".¹²⁹ Using their statement, it can be argued that the attractiveness that a country possesses can possibly partly compensate for the crime probability. This mentality often leads to international tourists choosing a destination regardless of its high crime rate.¹³⁰

As shown in the opening Chapters, tourists are vulnerable targets for crime due to the image portrayed that they are in an unfamiliar environment carrying valuable items and money with them that criminals can benefit from. The mentality of criminals engaging in these types of criminal offences are that they regard tourists as a "fair game" to justify their actions. Tourists become victims to local criminals especially in poorer countries as they are perceived of as a relatively wealthy group of people.¹³¹ In addition, tourists can be spotted within a crowd as they often engage in risky behaviour, exposing careless attitudes and this increases their vulnerability as they are in a foreign environment.

The relationship between tourist victimization and crime is not simple and linear, but rather a diverse relationship. Chris Ryan examines this relationship using the "crime-tourism matrix" (See figure 4). This first analyses whether tourists becoming victims of crime is incidental (e.g. tourists being mugged at or near tourist facilities) or deliberate (e.g. tourists' engagement in "self-destructive" behaviour generating a demand for crime) and (ii) whether there are intrinsic (e.g. terrorist attacks on tourists) or extrinsic determinants (e.g. vulnerability of the tourists).¹³² In addition, the "crime-tourism matrix" analyses the roles played by tourists as "victims", "participants" and "catalysts" in the occurrence of a crime and highlights the connection that

¹²⁸ D.T. Altindag, 'Crime and International Tourism', *Auburn University Department of Economics Working Paper Series 1*, 2014, pp. 1-22.

¹²⁹ D.T. Altindag, 'Crime and International Tourism', *Auburn University Department of Economics Working Paper Series 1*, 2014, pp. 1-22 refers to E.F. Fama & J.D. Macbeth, 'Risk, Return, and Equilibrium: Empirical Tests', *Journal of Political Economy* 81(3), 1973, pp. 607- 636.

¹³⁰ R. George, 'International tourists' perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa', *South African Journal of Business Management* 44, 2013, pp. 47-60.

¹³¹ P. Brunt., R. Mawby & Z. Hambly, 'Tourist victimisation and the fear of crime on holiday', *Tourism Management* 21 (4), 2000, pp. 417-424.

¹³² C. Ryan, 'Crime, Violence, Terrorism and Tourism: An Accidental or Intrinsic Relationship?', *Tourism Management* 14, 1993, pp. 173-183.

exists between them.¹³³ As stated above, the behaviour of tourists plays a critical role in their victimization. For example, some tourists seek pleasure in alcohol and prostitution (deliberate behaviour) increasing their victimization and actively participating or aiding the process. However, tourists can also be victimized (incidentally) for just being “tourists” and how they are perceived. The data acquired from using the matrix can assist with a thorough understanding of the multi-faceted crime-tourism relationship. This relationship may ultimately be influenced by the social dynamics that source both of them.¹³⁴ The conclusion drawn by Ryan when developing this matrix was that the concept of a relationship between crime and tourism must recognize that both are derived patterns of action formulated by the social norms, cultures and economic systems that generate demands for escape from a current reality.¹³⁵



Figure 4: Crime-Tourism Matrix (Adapted from C. Ryan, 1993)

Investigating and dealing with crime and tourism is often a challenging task due to several obstacles. These include “lack of finances, manpower shortages, lack of cooperation within the media, need for greater community cooperation and poor record keeping of crime statistics”.¹³⁶

¹³³ K. Moore & T. Berno, ‘Relationships Between Crime and Tourism’, *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14(3), 1995, pp. 4-12.

¹³⁴ K. Moore & T. Berno, ‘Relationships Between Crime and Tourism’, *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14(3), 1995, pp. 4-12.

¹³⁵ C. Ryan, ‘Crime, Violence, Terrorism and Tourism: An Accidental or Intrinsic Relationship?’, *Tourism Management* 14, 1993, pp. 173-183.

¹³⁶ F. Dimanche & A. Lepetic, ‘New Orleans Tourism and Crime: A case study’, *Journal of Travel Research* 38(19), 1999, pp. 19-23.

This can be limiting to the research produced. Thus, Ryan's crime tourism matrix also makes allowances for the different determinants involved in the process.

b) Case Studies: Democratic Republic of Congo, Venezuela, and Papua New Guinea

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

The DRC is a very alluring country to visit with mountainous rainforests, green tranquil environments, smoking volcanoes, rivers, and lakes.¹³⁷ The area is particularly popular for primate and nature tourism. Tourists visit areas such as the Virunga National Park with hopes of seeing the endangered and unique mountain gorillas and to experience the beautiful natural scenery on offer.¹³⁸

The harsh reality of the country is that it is violent and poverty stricken. The country is among the poorest countries in the world and did not achieve any of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were set to be achieved by 2015.¹³⁹ These social, political and economic aspects can be regarded as elements that impact on what Ryan regards as "intrinsic or extrinsic determinants" that contribute to "tourists" becoming "victims" of "crime" deliberately or incidentally. Poverty is a major motivation for criminals in the DRC as poverty remains inescapable in the country and reports show that it is greater than the Sub-Saharan African average as two-thirds of the population live under the poverty line.¹⁴⁰ The ongoing DRC civil war also played a critical role in worsening poverty and creating a humanitarian crisis as it led to the exploitation of natural resources by private companies and conflict between foreign and local military groups.¹⁴¹ Additionally, the war recruited boy soldiers into the civil war as part of rebel groups or military groups. They were exposed to "child soldiering and sexual exploitation" at a young age.¹⁴² Furthermore, when the boy soldiers were apparently

¹³⁷ Lonely Planet, 2020, <<https://www.lonelyplanet.com/democratic-republic-of-congo>>, access: 11 November 2020.

¹³⁸ S. Calder, 2018, <<https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/congo-travel-risk-advice-democratic-republic-foreign-office-warning-abroad-a8347541.html>>, access: 11 November 2020

¹³⁹ The World Bank- Africa Region, 'Policy Priorities for Poverty Reduction and Shared Prosperity in a Post-Conflict Country and Fragile State', *Democratic Republic of Congo Systematic Country Diagnostic: Africa Region Report* 112733-ZR, 2018, pp. 1-114.

¹⁴⁰ The World Bank- Africa Region, 'Policy Priorities for Poverty Reduction and Shared Prosperity in a Post-Conflict Country and Fragile State', *Democratic Republic of Congo Systematic Country Diagnostic: Africa Region Report* 112733-ZR, 2018, pp. 1-114.

¹⁴¹ LL.M. Jessica, 'Boy Child-Soldiers in the DRC: A Problem and Policy-Oriented Analysis', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2010.

¹⁴² LL.M. Jessica, 'Boy Child-Soldiers in the DRC: A Problem and Policy-Oriented Analysis', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2010.

reintegrated back into society after the war, all they knew was violence, and they end up being street criminals and inflicting their trauma on others.¹⁴³

The safety and security concerns in the DRC, especially the eastern parts of the country and three Kasai Provinces, are very high. Foreign nationals including tourists, emigrants, and officials of Non-Governmental Organisations are often kidnapped and held for ransom in the DRC. However, political violence, robberies, murder, rape, armed groups, civil unrests and military operations are also a major concern for tourist safety in the country.¹⁴⁴ Violent crime in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi occur in populated areas such as supermarkets and hotels usually carried out by aggressive street children.¹⁴⁵ This reflects Crotts's hotspot theory as these populated areas can be categorised as crime environments associated with high crime rates and tourists must be advised to take preventative measures in such crime hotspot areas in the DRC. According to the Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC) 2020 Report on Crime and Safety in the DRC, the crimes that dominate in the DRC are crimes with opportunities for financial gain committed against foreign nationals such as pickpocketing, burglary and robbery.¹⁴⁶ Offenders also engage in petty crime in public and crowded places where there are minimal chances of being caught.¹⁴⁷ This aligns with Becker's economic theory where he stresses that offenders are motivated by greater profit gain with minimal consequences.

Tourists travelling within the eastern DRC are vulnerable especially when travelling independently and may experience violent crimes against them. In 2018, two British tourists were kidnapped, and a ranger killed during such a confrontation.¹⁴⁸ Organisations such as the Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Forces (FARDC) and the United Nations Organisation Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO) aim to conduct humanitarian efforts, fight

¹⁴³ LL.M. Jessica, 'Boy Child-Soldiers in the DRC: A Problem and Policy-Oriented Analysis', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2010.

¹⁴⁴ Travel State Government, 2020, <[¹⁴⁵ S. Calder, 2018, <<https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/congo-travel-risk-advice-democratic-republic-foreign-office-warning-abroad-a8347541.html>>, access: 11 November 2020.](https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/traveladvisories/traveladvisories/democratic-republic-of-the-congo-travel-advisory.html#:~:text=Violent%20crime%2C%20such%20as%20murder,%2C%20armed%20robbery%2C%20and%20kidnapping.>, access: 11 November 2020.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

¹⁴⁶ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Content/Report/7d678bd1-9632-4141-8161-182e68c43a74>>, access: 11 November 2020.

¹⁴⁷ LL.M. Jessica, 'Boy Child-Soldiers in the DRC: A Problem and Policy-Oriented Analysis', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2010.

¹⁴⁸ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Content/Report/7d678bd1-9632-4141-8161-182e68c43a74>>, access: 11 November 2020.

against armed groups, and respond to such security emergencies and incidents.¹⁴⁹ Tourists to the DRC are advised to practice caution and safety measures. Police and military presence implement stop-and-search checkpoints in an effort to restore peace, safety and reduce crime in the country.¹⁵⁰ From the period 2009 to 2018, the country launched “Police Programme Africa” as an initiative to support police reform processes in the DRC through equipping and making them more effective in the fight against crime.¹⁵¹

In travel media, the DRC is listed among the “most dangerous” countries to visit.¹⁵² This external perception complies with Ryan’s extrinsic determinants that impact on the tourist. This has caused a fluctuating tourism economy. For example, the country’s tourism sector declined by 23% in 2013, increased by 9% in 2014, declined again in 2015 by 18% and continued to decline with a further 9% in 2016.¹⁵³ This is all due to the continuous existence of conflict, crime and violence in the DRC reported as being the direct result of persistent lawlessness, the weak justice and state systems instability (intrinsic determinants) endangering tourists.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, state institutions and the justice system have shown an inability to effectively respond to cases of conflict, murder, human trafficking and rape in the country.¹⁵⁵

However, research has also identified war-time sexual violence as a common historical phenomenon and a weapon of war in the DRC landscape. Sexual violence is used as a “combat tactic” and to “intimidate the local population”.¹⁵⁶ Tourists, women, and children often fall victim to such violence. Meger argues that the rape culture that is utilized as a weapon of war must be understood relative to “both social constructs of masculinity and the politics of exploitation that have shaped much of the country’s history”.¹⁵⁷ Baaz and Stern state that it is crucial to halt such violence for the benefit of reducing poverty and ensuring human security.¹⁵⁸

¹⁴⁹ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Content/Report/7d678bd1-9632-4141-8161-182e68c43a74>>, access: 11 November 2020.

¹⁵⁰ UK Government, 2020, <<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/democratic-republic-of-the-congo/safety-and-security>>, access: 11 November 2020.

¹⁵¹ GIZ, n.d., <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19919.html>> access: 18 August 2021.

¹⁵² Forbes, 2020, <<https://www.forbes.com/sites/laurabegleybloom/2019/11/18/travel-2020-most-dangerous-places-greatest-safety-risks/?sh=551913a21963>>2019.>, access: 11 November 2020.

¹⁵³ Macrotrends, 2021, <<https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/COG/congo-rep/tourism-statistics>>, access: 06 May 2021.

¹⁵⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), ‘Organized Crime and Instability in Central Africa: A Threat Assessment’, 2011.

¹⁵⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), ‘Organized Crime and Instability in Central Africa: A Threat Assessment’, 2011.

¹⁵⁶ M.E. Baaz & M. Stern, ‘The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)’, *SIDA Working Paper on Gender Based Violence*, 2010, pp. 1-76.

¹⁵⁷ S. Meger, ‘Rape of the Congo: Understanding sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo’, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28(2), 2010, pp. 119-135.

¹⁵⁸ M.E. Baaz & M. Stern, ‘The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the

Sexual and gender-based violence in the DRC has resulted in numerous tourists, organisations, activists and journalists going to the country to meet, document and aid survivors. According to Baaz and Stern, this type of travel and tourism to the DRC can be labelled as “Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) tourism” and made a sub-niche for “war zone tourism” in the DRC.¹⁵⁹ Sexual violence in the DRC can also be understood as “a very wide repertoire of human rights abuses by state security forces” where they are commanded to inflict SGBV on their victims.¹⁶⁰ The soldiers, angry street children and other perpetrators engage in sexual violence to reap some form of “reward” from it such as an income or portable wealth or even feeling powerful over their victims. Women and girls face various forms of gender inequalities, violence, and discrimination (such as physical, emotional, socio-economic, and sexual abuse) across wider social structures.¹⁶¹ The country also experiences poor health care, social services, corrupt governance, and poverty. This has led to women utilizing rape as a “survival strategy” by exposing themselves to such violence so that they are given immediate attention in healthcare facilities or aided with their basic needs such as food. Utilizing historical analysis, one can assume that crime and violence is originally and deeply embedded in this state.

As mentioned, “Gorilla Tourism” is prominent in the DRC and annually tourists flock to the region primarily for this reason. However, this country bares historical and continuous war-conflict, violence and crimes committed against humanity. In an effort to curb this, three regions (DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda) have established a transborder protected area called the Virunga Transboundary Protected Areas. This has been used as a tool for safety and security and to promote tourism protected areas. This is seen as a “triple win” as it combines sustainable economic development, nature conservation and peacebuilding for low-income earning countries.¹⁶² The city of Goma located on the Congo-Rwanda border has implemented peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction strategies to restore peace and economic prosperity in the Congolese North Kivu Province.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the strategies of this administrative

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), *SIDA Working Paper on Gender Based Violence*, 2010, pp. 1-76.

¹⁵⁹ M.E. Baaz & M. Stern, ‘The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)’, *SIDA Working Paper on Gender Based Violence*, 2010, pp. 1-76.

¹⁶⁰ M.E. Baaz & M. Stern, ‘The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)’, *SIDA Working Paper on Gender Based Violence*, 2010, pp. 1-76.

¹⁶¹ P. Vizcaino-Suárez *et al.*, *Tourism and Gender-based Violence: Challenging Inequalities*, pp.

¹⁶² L. Trogisch & R. Fletcher, ‘Fortress tourism: exploring dynamics of tourism, security and peace around the Virunga transboundary conservation area’. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 2020, pp. 1-21.

¹⁶³ K. Büscher, ‘Reading Urban Landscapes of War and Peace: The Case of Goma, DRC’, 2016.

capital have appeared effective as Goma has transitioned into “a booming economic and humanitarian hub with a strong political and military position in the Great Lakes Region”.¹⁶⁴

Crime, illegal trade, drugs, and violence pose threats to political stability and economic development. According to the 2007 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, the DRC ranked the poorest in the “20 poorest countries in the world in 2007” with a GDP per capita (PPP) of US\$298.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, in the 2008 World Bank Governance Indicators report for rule of law, political stability, and government effectiveness, the DRC ranked the worst lawless, instable and ungovernable country, succeeded by the Central African Republic (CAR) and Burundi.¹⁶⁶ This is evidence of how a country’s history, political, economic, and social standings are vital when examining crime rates in the country. This aligns with Ryan’s assessment of how intrinsic determinants have an impact on the tourism flows. They significantly contribute and motivate people to engage in criminal acts for financial gain and to reduce their poverty status.

Venezuela

Situated in Latin America, Venezuela features breath-taking natural settings for tourists to explore. The country boasts rain forests, parts of the Amazon Jungle, the Andes Mountains, Gran Sabana plateau, the Caribbean (north and eastern coast) and the Angel Falls which is the world’s highest waterfall with a 2,647-foot drop located within Venezuela’s national park.¹⁶⁷ The Venezuelan coastal shores are also rich in history and historical significance to nations across the world. Christopher Columbus is said to have “discovered” these American shores during his third voyage to the “New World” in 1498 and his Italian geographer and navigator named it “Little Venice or Venezuela”.¹⁶⁸ In 2008, Venezuela attracted thousands of tourists to the destination resulting in a one-billion-rand turnover from the tourism industry.¹⁶⁹ However, the political and socio-economic instability such as mismanagement and poor governance, high-inflation, lack of foreign investment, lack of international airlines and other

¹⁶⁴ K. Büscher, ‘Reading Urban Landscapes of War and Peace: The Case of Goma, DRC’, 2016.

¹⁶⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), ‘Organized Crime and Instability in Central Africa: A Threat Assessment’, 2011.

¹⁶⁶ D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay, & M. Massimo, ‘Governance Matters VIII: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators, 1996-2008’, *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* 4978, 2009.

¹⁶⁷ C. Duarte, L.P. Etkin, M.M. Helms, & M.S. Anderson, ‘The Challenge of Venezuela: A SWOT Analysis’, *Competitiveness Review* 16(3&4), 2006, pp. 233-247.

¹⁶⁸ C. Duarte, L.P. Etkin, M.M. Helms, & M.S. Anderson, ‘The Challenge of Venezuela: A SWOT Analysis’, *Competitiveness Review* 16(3&4), 2006, pp. 233-247.

¹⁶⁹ B. Ballard, 2020, <<https://www.businessdestinations.com/destinations/venezuelas-tourism-industry-tanks-as-violence-proliferates/>>, access: 09 November 2020.

logistical issues in the tourism sector as well as poverty, drug wars and violent crimes all led to many tourists avoiding Venezuela as a tourism destination.¹⁷⁰

Not unlike the DRC, Venezuela also has seen a pattern of rising crime since the 1970s and this has led to significant changes in major state institutions (such as political, social, justice and law enforcement systems) experiencing a gradual loss of legitimacy.¹⁷¹ The 1990s coupled with the campaign and governance of Hugo Chávez in the presidential office contributed to a considerable increase in crime and violence.¹⁷² History shows that Bolivian leaders including Chávez were clouded by the Marxist perspective that the reduction in poverty and inequality would curb the high violent crime rates that existed in the country. However, instead, the “paradox of violence in Venezuela” manifested itself.¹⁷³ The common violent crimes include, but were not limited to, kidnapping, carjacking, murder, armed robbery, mugging, and burglary often in touristic places and populated areas such as on the beach, streets, supermarkets, and tourist accommodation.¹⁷⁴ Currently, the country is regarded as one of the most dangerous countries in the world with its capital city Caracas in the top 10 most dangerous cities.¹⁷⁵ Crotts’s hotspot theory is of relevance here as Caracas is considered a crime “hotspot” with high rates of crime and a need for crime prevention measures. Again, as Ryan points out, this is an extrinsic determinant in the context of tourism and tourist motivation. This reputation has led to the country attracting less tourists as tourists prioritize their safety when travelling to foreign countries.

According to the *Ministerio de Fomento* (1958-1980), *Ministerio de Justicia* (1980-1999) and *Ministerio del Interior y Justicia* (2000-2004) reports showed that crime dramatically increased from the period 1958-2004. These reports showed that in 1960, the homicide rate was 11% rising slowly to 13% in 1990 dramatically to 21% in 1995 and 42% in 2003.¹⁷⁶ According to Hanson et al, the rate of homicides in the country rose dramatically after Chávez became president from 25 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 1999 to 70 per 100,000 inhabitants in

¹⁷⁰ F. Crespo, ‘Institutional Legitimacy and Crime in Venezuela’, *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 22(4), 2006, pp. 347-367

¹⁷¹ F. Crespo, ‘Institutional Legitimacy and Crime in Venezuela’, *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 22(4), 2006, pp. 347-367.

¹⁷² D. Smilde, ‘Crime and Revolution in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), 2017, pp. 303-308.

¹⁷³ D. Smilde, ‘Crime and Revolution in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), 2017, pp. 303-308.

¹⁷⁴ UK Government, 2020, <<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/venezuela/safety-and-security>>, access: 10 November 2020.

¹⁷⁵ A. Glover, 2019, <<https://7news.com.au/travel/here-are-the-top-10-most-dangerous-cities-in-the-world-c-624230>>, access: 18 January 2022.

¹⁷⁶ F. Crespo, ‘Institutional Legitimacy and Crime in Venezuela’, *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 22(4), 2006, pp. 347-367.

2016.¹⁷⁷ Theft and murder crimes also showed increases. In 1997, the theft rate was “336.01 percent per 100 per annum” which reflected to be six times more than the reported crime rate in 1966 which was “63.1 percent. Moreover, the murder rate in Caracas was “154 percent per 100 per annum”, while in one of the communities in the capital it was “as high as 194 percent”.¹⁷⁸ In 2017, the violent crime statistics of the country showed an average of 53 people were killed a day in Venezuela.¹⁷⁹

The term of Nicolas Maduro (2013 – present) led to the militarisation of the state to combat insecurity of civilians, maintain law and order as well as to consolidate his position in office. However, his militarized policies failed to protect the most basic right of his people which is the “right to life” when considering the homicide statistics during his rule.¹⁸⁰ Rather, his operations to promote civilian security backfired creating more extensive security problems in the country. It is also argued that the security forces, whether police or military forces, raiding poor neighbourhoods were equally accountable for a significant percentage of violent deaths in the country.¹⁸¹ It is argued that a state that implements violence to curb violence paradoxically leads to the legitimisation of criminal violence.¹⁸² This theory may be the explanation for the increase in crime and violence, even with the militarisation of the state. Statistics also showed that Venezuela’s homicide rates are the second highest in the world and killings by state officials are the highest in the Latin American region.¹⁸³ In 2016, state officials were accountable for 4,467 deaths which totalled to 22 percent of the death rate for the year.¹⁸⁴ In addition, the 2018 and 2019 reports show 6,856 killings during official state security

¹⁷⁷ R. Hanson, A. Antillano, K. Ávila & V. Zubillaga, ‘Protecting the Right to Life in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), pp. 309-314.

¹⁷⁸ Programa Venezolano de Educación Acción en Derechos Humanos, 2004, <http://www.derechos.org/ve/publicaciones/infanual/2003_04/16seguridadCIUDADAN.pdf>. access: 25 March 2021.

¹⁷⁹ B. Ballard, 2020, <<https://www.businessdestinations.com/destinations/venezuelas-tourism-industry-tanks-as-violence-proliferates/>>, access: 09 November 2020.

¹⁸⁰ R. Hanson, A. Antillano, K. Ávila & V. Zubillaga, ‘Protecting the Right to Life in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), pp. 309-314.

¹⁸¹ R. Hanson, A. Antillano, K. Ávila & V. Zubillaga, ‘Protecting the Right to Life in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), pp. 309-314.

¹⁸² R. Hanson, A. Antillano, K. Ávila & V. Zubillaga, ‘Protecting the Right to Life in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), pp. 309-314.

¹⁸³ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

¹⁸⁴ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

operations classified as death caused by “resistance to authority” contributing significantly to the total countrywide death rates.¹⁸⁵

The police force of Venezuela has proven to be dysfunctional and ineffective in reducing the staggering crime rates. Offenders find it easy to engage in criminal acts as they are often left unpunished. The 2017 crime statistics also showed that only 14% of Venezuelans have faith in their local police force, while 86% regard them as useless.¹⁸⁶ During Chávez term in office, the police’s role in this society was completely disregarded. The country’s government and justice system also hold the reputation of rooted corruption ranking 100th place out of 133 nations from least to most corrupt in the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) of 2003.¹⁸⁷ State officials were also found most guilty of corruption including acts of extortion.

There was also growth in populism in Venezuela condemning urban poverty and criticizing the government led by Chávez for causing security issues in the country.¹⁸⁸ Chávez’s death ensued the rise of a corrective paradigm on the state’s crime and violence status quo. The populist movements played a critical role in demanding security for the people in Venezuela. Experts on crime and security argue that the government of Chávez and Maduro failed to efficiently intervene in the gun market (second highest with most gun-related deaths in the world) that has profoundly impacted on the quality of life and expectancy in the country.¹⁸⁹ Statistics show that 90 percent of homicides in Venezuela result from guns and this is due to no policies to effectively control the gun market.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, prisons no longer enforce punishment, but are rather establishments for thriving illicit economies. Again, this aligns with Becker’s economic theory (greater profit gain with minimal punishment).

The debate is that the country struggles from “anomie” which can be understood as the absence of clear morals, legitimacy, social order or consistent rules and devoid effectiveness (intrinsic

¹⁸⁵ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), ‘2018 - Human rights violations in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela: a downward spiral with no end in sight. 2019 - Human rights in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela’, *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of Human rights in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela*, 2019.

¹⁸⁶ B. Ballard, 2020, <<https://www.businessdestinations.com/destinations/venezuelas-tourism-industry-tanks-as-violence-proliferates/>>, access: 09 November 2020.

¹⁸⁷ Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2003, <http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2003>, access: 10 November 2020.

¹⁸⁸ C. Moscoso, ‘Populism, the Press and the Politics of Crime in Venezuela: A Review of Robert Samet’s *Deadline: Populism and the Press in Venezuela* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)’, *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 2020, pp.1-6.

¹⁸⁹ R. Hanson, A. Antillano, K. Ávila & V. Zubillaga, ‘Protecting the Right to Life in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), pp. 309-314.

¹⁹⁰ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

determinants).¹⁹¹ According to the Cambridge Dictionary, anomie is defined as “a state of no moral or social principles in a person or society”.¹⁹² Significant research on Venezuela has showed that the country evidently shows a lack of effective and adequate state action.¹⁹³ The country lacks the capacity of their justice system to effectively apply prosecution and punishment for crime and violence. Other authors argue that the Venezuelan state faces the “rule of law crisis” where state intervention through militarisation rather infringed on human rights, than promote security and resulted in higher rates of violence (intrinsic determinants).¹⁹⁴ According to Galavís the “rule of law demands the restraint of people under the state’s jurisdiction, but also requires officials to abide by laws that are compatible with the guarantee and protection of rights”.¹⁹⁵ However, Venezuela failed to promote social order and security as well as protect basic human rights. The anti-order norms in the “anomie” state competed with the “rule of law”, thus leading to the collapse of the justice system.¹⁹⁶ The weakness of the state’s rule of law created an impunity environment that resulted in increasing crime and violence.

In 2000, when the neighbouring Colombian government implemented the six-year “Plan Colombia” project to diminish the drug trafficking route on their Caribbean coast, this resulted in drug traffickers moving their route to Venezuela and the country had no help from the United States (US) Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to mitigate this as Colombia did.¹⁹⁷ Crime and violence dramatically increased with the drug markets and routes through Venezuela. The governments fight against this, but this only causes interruptions to these markets and routes leading to more intense drug wars, crime, and violence. On the American continent, Venezuela has the largest hydrocarbon reserves amounting to 78 billion barrels which positions it as fifth in world proven reserves.¹⁹⁸ The oil revenues for the state are positive for the country’s economy, reduces poverty and inequality, but also the oil weakens

¹⁹¹ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

¹⁹² Cambridge Dictionary, 2021, <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/anomie>>, access: 22 March 2021.

¹⁹³ D. Smilde, ‘Crime and Revolution in Venezuela’. *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), 2017, pp. 303-308.

¹⁹⁴ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

¹⁹⁵ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

¹⁹⁶ N.G. Galavís, ‘Rule of law crisis, militarization of citizen security, and effects on human rights in Venezuela’, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 109, 2020, pp. 67-86.

¹⁹⁷ D. Smilde, ‘Crime and Revolution in Venezuela’, *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49(3), 2017, pp. 303-308.

¹⁹⁸ C. Duarte, L.P. Etkin, M.M. Helms, & M.S. Anderson, ‘The Challenge of Venezuela: A SWOT Analysis’, *Competitiveness Review* 16(3&4), 2006, pp. 233-247.

institutional capacity for social control leading to more crime and violence. Authors P.B. Streteskyhe et al, explain the term “boomtown” which was used historically to describe “natural resource development” and its connection to “crime”.¹⁹⁹ The rapid population growth and money led to social disorganisation. Streteskyhe et al, state that “when communities change with the introduction of development, mechanical solidarity declines and leads to greater variation in community norms that facilitate higher rates of community problems such as suicide and crime”.²⁰⁰ The crime and violence in Venezuela has caused social, political, and institutional crisis in the country rather than economic issues as their economy is doing well.

Tourism in Venezuela is embarked on by curious tourists who are often not aware of the crime situation in the country. These tourists help boost the country’s tourism sector. Therefore, tourism in Venezuela is present and contributes to the country’s GDP. In 2017, the tourism sector supported over 303,599 jobs and contributed 2.3 percent to the country’s GDP.²⁰¹ However, their tourism sector is declining, and this can be blamed on the high crime rates (Ryan’s intrinsic determinants) and bad publicity leaving a bad reputation on the country (Ryan’s extrinsic determinants). Statistics showed a 2.81 percent decline in 2013 to a 16.51 percent decline in 2015 within the international tourism sector in Venezuela.²⁰² In 2020, the Venezuela travel advisory discouraged travel to the country due to “crime, civil unrest, poor health infrastructure, kidnapping, arbitrary arrest and detention of U.S. citizens, and COVID-19”.²⁰³ It is a well-known fact that the Covid-19 pandemic has also led to a decline in tourism in the world over, with travel bans and travel regulations. In Venezuela, further travel bans are implemented due to shortages of basic needs and services such as electricity, water food, medicine, and medical supplies.²⁰⁴ The country is struggling to sustain its own citizens, and therefore tourists would further the strain on the government to increase the provision of basic

¹⁹⁹ P.B. Streteskyhe, M.A. Long, R.E. McKie & F.A. Arye, ‘Does oil and gas development increase crime within UK local authorities?’, *The Extractive Industries and Society* 5(3), 2018, pp.1-10.

²⁰⁰ P.B. Streteskyhe, M.A. Long, R.E. McKie and F.A. Arye, ‘Does oil and gas development increase crime within UK local authorities?’, *The Extractive Industries and Society* 5(3), 2018, pp.1-10.

²⁰¹ World Travel and Tourism Council, 2017, <<https://wtcc.org/Research/Economic-Impact>>, access: 10 November 2020.

²⁰² Macrotrends, 2021, <<https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/VEN/venezuela/tourism-statistics>>, access: 06 May 2021.

²⁰³ US Travel State Government, 2020, <<https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/traveladvisories/traveladvisories/venezuela-travel-advisory.html>>, access: 10 November 2020.

²⁰⁴ US Travel State Government, 2020, <<https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/traveladvisories/traveladvisories/venezuela-travel-advisory.html>>, access: 10 November 2020.

needs and services. This is a further contribution to the decline of tourism in Venezuela and the concomitant loss of revenue.

Papua New Guinea (PNG)

Papua New Guinea holds enormous tourism potential due to its natural beauty and cultural diversity, but is shunned as a destination for tourist pleasure.²⁰⁵ Tourism in the country is practically non-existent to the world. Generally, international tourists rather fly over Papua New Guinea to Australia as a result of safety considerations being critical to their travel decisions.²⁰⁶ The country has witnessed a 24% decline in 2014 to a 39% decline in 2015 and a 6% decline in 2016. But surprisingly, in 2017, tourism witnessed an increase to 853.75% with holiday and business visitors flocking to Papua New Guinea.²⁰⁷ Most of the visitors to Papua New Guinea are there on business or are unaware of the crime situation in the country. Papua New Guinea tourism suffers from constraints such as lack of investments, infrastructure, negative publicity, safety, and security concerns.²⁰⁸

Most of the cities in the country are infamous for high crime rates which is an intrinsic concern. In 2002 and 2005, the *Economist* magazine regarded Port Moresby (the capital city of PNG) as being “the worst city to live in the world”.²⁰⁹ This paralysed the tourism sector for international and domestic tourism as the safety of travellers appeared to be threatened and thus deters the tourists from exploring its rich culture, history, and beautiful coastline. The country is known for being among the highest in the world as regards opportunistic and organised violent crimes against persons and property; car hijacking, house breakings, armed robberies, rape, and murder cases as well as ethnic clashes, violent gender relations, civil unrests, and tribal fights.²¹⁰ Tourists are targeted victims as they are foreigners in a foreign land. Generally, they are advised to practice “cautious behaviour”.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ T. Levantis, ‘Tourism in Papua New Guinea: a comparative perspective’, *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 13(1), 1998, pp. 98-105.

²⁰⁶ T. Levantis, ‘Tourism in Papua New Guinea: a comparative perspective’, *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 13(1), 1998, pp. 98-105.

²⁰⁷ Macrotrends, 2021, < <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/PNG/papua-new-guinea/tourism-statistics>>, access: 06 May 2021.

²⁰⁸ A. Sumb, ‘New Zealand Travellers’ Perceptions of Safety and Security in Papua New Guinea’, *Contemporary PNG Studies: DWU Research Journal* 27, 2017, pp. 42-50.

²⁰⁹ S. Boamah & J. Stanley, ‘Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea’, *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007, 2007*, pp. 1-13.

²¹⁰ A. Sumb, ‘New Zealand Travellers’ Perceptions of Safety and Security in Papua New Guinea’, *Contemporary PNG Studies: DWU Research Journal* 27, 2017, pp. 42-50.

²¹¹ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Country/PapuaNewGuinea/Content/Detail/Report/a60b5cea-2768-4872-8981-15f4aeaad1db>>, access: 12 November 2020.

Besides Port Moresby, Lae, Madang, Mount Hagen and Goroka are rated among the most dangerous cities in the country with high crime rates.²¹² Again, Crotts's hotspot theory is relevant here as these cities can be labelled as crime environments with high crime rates and cautious behaviour needs to be enacted when visiting them. The country suffers from "rascalism" from "unruly" citizens (which aligns to Ryan's intrinsic determinants) challenging the country's security forces to implement law and order.²¹³ High crime rates cause social and cultural stresses that align with Ryan's extrinsic determinants leading to tourist vulnerability (gender inequality, changing social norms, large youth populations, distrust and lack of cultural relevancy in modern state institutions, drug and alcohol abuse); economic stresses (migration from rural to urban areas, poverty, cash flow economy, income inequality, high cost of living, high inflation, unemployment and lack of opportunities); political stresses (corrupt politicians, weak accountability, strong economic incentives and opportunities for elected politicians); security stresses (lack of police presence, ineffective law enforcement, thriving gun markets, porous borders aiding illicit trade and unregulated private sector) and justice stresses (weak justice system, lack of confidence in it, under-resourced sector and ineffective traditional solutions to modern issues).²¹⁴ The economic, political, security and justice stresses are encompassed by Ryan's intrinsic determinants.

According to the 2005 *Australian Financial Review*, the statistics for the PNG murder rate was six times that of Australia and in Port Moresby, 42 times that of Sydney.²¹⁵ In 1997, Levantis estimated that property crime in urban PNG stood at 33,000 per 100,000 population which was double that of Australia.²¹⁶

Thus, it is apparent that crime and violence dominate the country and has been identified as an integral part of PNG society. Punishment and imprisonment are often challenged by criminals. Conviction for crimes of larceny lies at 3 percent, probability of arrest at 55 percent, but criminals already hold a 50 percent chance of "jumping jail".²¹⁷ In recent years, there have

²¹² T. Levantis, 'Tourism in Papua New Guinea: a comparative perspective', *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 13(1), 1998, pp. 98-105.

²¹³ S. Boamah & J. Stanley, 'Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea', *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, 2007, pp. 1-13.

²¹⁴ S. Lakhani & A.M. Willman, 'Drivers of Crime and Violence in Papua New Guinea', *World Bank Research and Dialogue Series* 2, 2014, pp. 1-28.

²¹⁵ S. Boamah & J. Stanley, 'Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea', *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, 2007, pp. 1-13.

²¹⁶ T. Levantis & Chand, S, 'Crime and Optimal Expenditure on Deterrence: The Case of Papua New Guinea', *National Centre for Development Studies*, Productivity Conference, The Australian National University, Canberra. 1997.

²¹⁷ NCDS Briefing Paper, 'A 'big push' to curb crime in Papua New Guinea', *National Centre for Development Studies* 1, 1997, pp. 1-4.

been suggestions to implement the “death penalty” for the punishment of wilful murder, rape, and other violent crimes in PNG. However, international societies such as Amnesty International argue that the death penalty is not a solution to the law and order problem in the country, but a violation of the most basic human right, “right to life” no matter the crime committed.²¹⁸ It has been argued that the high crime rates can be blamed on a lack of economic opportunities for all; the race for acquiring material wealth; persistent criminal behaviour due to weak justice systems and law enforcing institutions; traditional cultural practices declining within the state; exploitation of the Wantok system (which is defined as the social glue that binds the nation together); and the impact of urbanisation.²¹⁹ These aligns with Ryan’s intrinsic determinants. Becker’s economic theory is also reflected in the analysis of the PNG state.

There have been efforts to try and mitigate the high crime rates in PNG from various stakeholders. The government, private sector, international sponsors and organisations have extended efforts to reduce the high crime rates through increasing economic opportunities; strengthening law enforcing institutions and the justice system; providing resources to prevent crime; promoting social harmony; investing in education and supporting social programmes.²²⁰ Furthermore, labour market reforms have been made to deregulate the market and restore jobs.²²¹ This is to encourage citizens to re-enter the job market, find employment within it instead of engaging in criminal activities to secure a living. Increased unemployment encourages criminal behaviour and therefore to prevent crime, the fight must first be on the social problem of unemployment. Crime also affects the viability of business and their contraction will still contribute to unemployment and crime.²²² Long term development is a priority for many countries, but crime and violence challenges this and impacts the tourism opportunities negatively.

c) Case Studies: Similarities and Differences

²¹⁸ Amnesty International, ‘PAPUA NEW GUINEA The death penalty: Not the solution’, *AI Index: ASA 34(01)*, 1996, pp. 1-15.

²¹⁹ S. Boamah & J. Stanley, ‘Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea’, *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, 2007, pp. 1-13.

²²⁰ S. Boamah & J. Stanley, ‘Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea’, *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, 2007, pp. 1-13.

²²¹ NCDS Briefing Paper, ‘A ‘big push’ to curb crime in Papua New Guinea’, *National Centre for Development Studies 1*, 1997, pp. 1-4.

²²² NCDS Briefing Paper, ‘A ‘big push’ to curb crime in Papua New Guinea’, *National Centre for Development Studies 1*, 1997, pp. 1-4.

In 2018, according to the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), the DRC ranked 161 out of 180 with a score of 20 out of 100 while Venezuela 168 out of 180 with a score of 18 out of 100 and PNG ranked 138 out of 180 countries scoring 28 out of 100. This classifies all three countries as “highly corrupt” countries.²²³ According to the CPI, 13 surveys and expert assessments are conducted for the measurement of corruption in the public service sector within 180 countries and territories.²²⁴ The scores begin from zero which is considered as highly corrupt countries to 100 that are very clean countries. (See Table 1)

Table 1: Transparency International CPI Scores (2018)

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX	RANKING /180	SCORE /100
DRC	161	20
Venezuela	168	18
PNG	138	28

Table 2 refers to the similarities and differences between these three countries by identifying the types of crimes, stresses (political, social, cultural, economic and justice) and efforts implemented within these specific case studies to curb crime and violence. High crime rates are generally apparent in states that experience political and socio-economic instability. These countries are generally labelled as “anomie” states with little to no social order, lawlessness, and poor governance. Police and military operations within these states terrorize civilians promoting civil unrests and violating human rights. These actions influence and sabotage foreign investments and impact heavily on the tourism industry. The justice system in these states is weak lacking the implementation of prosecution and punishment. The citizens suffer the consequences of a poor performing economy through poor social services such as health, infrastructure, unemployment, skills development and lack of opportunities. All three societies also suffer from poverty and inequality and have lost faith in their government and police or law enforcement. These three states have failed tremendously to promote peace and protect

²²³ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Country/PapuaNewGuinea/Content/Detail/Report/a60b5cea-2768-4872-8981-15f4aeaad1db>>, access: 12 November 2020.

²²⁴ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Country/PapuaNewGuinea/Content/Detail/Report/a60b5cea-2768-4872-8981-15f4aeaad1db>>, access: 12 November 2020.

basic human rights in their respective countries. Crime and violence come at a cost and these countries are “paying the price” and so is their tourism sector.

Table 2: Similarities and Differences

CASE STUDIES			
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC)	VENEZUELA (V)	PAPUA NEW GUINEA (PNG)	
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES			
TYPES OF CRIMES	DRC	V	PNG
Murder	✓	✓	✓
Rape	✓	✓	✓
Political Violence	✓		
Kidnapping	✓	✓	✓
Gender-related Violence			✓
Carjacking		✓	✓
Corruption	✓	✓	✓
Gun Violence	✓	✓	✓
Armed Robberies/House Breakings	✓	✓	✓
Armed Groups	✓		
Mugging	✓	✓	✓
Child Soldiering	✓		
Ethnic Clashes and Tribal Wars			✓

Drugs	✓	✓	
War/Military/Law Enforcement Operations against Civilians	✓	✓	✓
Civil Unrests	✓	✓	✓
Illicit Trade	✓	✓	
Pickpocketing	✓		
STRESSES (ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, POLITICAL, SECURITY AND JUSTICE)	DRC	V	PNG
Political and Socio-economic instability	✓	✓	✓
Lawlessness- “anomie” states	✓	✓	✓
Lack of Police Efforts	✓	✓	✓
Lack of Investments	✓	✓	✓
Lack of Confidence in the Police	✓	✓	✓
Lack of International Airlines/Logistics to Support to Tourism		✓	
Gun Markets		✓	✓
Negative Publicity			✓
Weak Justice System (lack of prosecution/punishment)	✓	✓	✓
Poor Social Services (health care and infrastructure)	✓	✓	✓
Unemployment and Lack of Opportunities			✓

Poor Governance, Weak Accountability and Mismanagement of Funds	✓	✓	✓
“Rascalism”			✓
Heavy Military Action	✓	✓	
“Populism”		✓	
Tendencies of “Jumping Jail”			✓
Drug Wars		✓	
War-time Sexual Violence and SGBV	✓		
“Rule of Law Crisis”		✓	
Oil Weakening Institutional Capacity for Social Control		✓	
Inequality	✓	✓	✓
Poverty	✓	✓	✓
Weak/Declining Tourism Sector	✓	✓	✓
Poor Performing economy/GDP	✓		✓
Failure to Promote Peace and Protect Basic Human Rights- “Right to Life”	✓	✓	✓
Economic Development	✓	✓	✓
MONUSCO	✓		
Strengthen and Modify Law Enforcement Institutions (justice system)	✓	✓	✓
Provide Resources to Curb Crime	✓	✓	✓

In assessing the crises in these countries, the work of G. LaFree and the USA is of relevance. He argues that the sharp rise of crime in post-WWII United States was due to a dramatic decline in social institutional legitimacy.²²⁵ The 1960s American society faced increases in distrust in political institutions, economic stresses and disintegration within family institutions.²²⁶ The government's response was to invest more in the establishment of institutions that would stabilize and prioritize welfare, criminal justice and education which accounted for the modest crime declines of the 1990s in America.²²⁷

This argument and conclusion by LaFree can be used to explain and understand the crime and violence situation in DRC, PNG, and Venezuela. Criminality is often associated with sex, race, and age which only focuses on the individual than the social institutions and circumstances that influence the individual. However, the economic, social, cultural, political and justice variables play a critical role in creating an atmosphere for crime and violence. Institutions that draft policies that deal with criminal justice, education, and social welfare highly contribute to influencing citizen response and engagement in criminal behaviour. According to LaFree, the social institution merges all institutions together as social mechanisms produce conformity.²²⁸ The effective application of the law and social order depends on the citizens and if they view them as legitimate and this also allows institutions to enforce it. If institutions lose that legitimacy, LaFree argues that crime rates are also likely to increase.²²⁹

High crime rates leave a bad image and a tainted reputation for the host destinations as is evident in DRC, Venezuela and PNG. The impact is not only on a local and national scale, but also expands internationally. The consequences of the interrelationship between crime and international tourism activity are that it is costly to the host country through a loss of tourist arrivals, tourism revenue and development in the country. As highlighted above, Ryan uses the crime-tourism matrix to identify issues and challenges that exists within these societies (e.g.,

²²⁵ F. Crespo, 'Institutional Legitimacy and Crime in Venezuela', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 22(4), 2006, pp. 347-367.

²²⁶ G. LaFree, '*Losing Legitimacy: Street Crime and the Decline of Social Institutions in America*', 2018, Routledge.

²²⁷ G. LaFree, '*Losing Legitimacy: Street Crime and the Decline of Social Institutions in America*', 2018, Routledge.

²²⁸ F. Crespo, 'Institutional Legitimacy and Crime in Venezuela', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 22(4), 2006, pp. 347-367.

²²⁹ G. LaFree, '*Losing Legitimacy: Street Crime and the Decline of Social Institutions in America*', 2018, Routledge.

political, social and economic stresses) and categorise them as intrinsic and/or extrinsic determinants of crime to understand their impact on tourism and tourists.

CHAPTER 4: CRIME AND SA TOURISM

a) Introduction

This Chapter outlines the crime-tourism situation in South Africa using media coverage from South African and international newspapers that reported on the “wave of crime” the country endured from the 1990s. It also considers the use of crime statistics to measure the prevailing situation and outlines the consequences of crime on tourism in the 21st century.

As emphasised, South Africa is regarded as a high-risk destination and often labelled the crime capital of the world. Since the late 1990s, the fear of crime has developed as a central concern in relation to those trying to promote South Africa as a “safe” tourist destination.²³⁰ In 2017, L.J. Fry stated that “South Africa is rated the 8th highest country in the world in terms of its fear of crime”.²³¹ The Apartheid system in the country left a post-Apartheid atmosphere where crime and the fear of crime dominate. According to R. Baghel, in the South African context, fear of crime is more akin to hysteria, paranoia, or obsession than mere fear which bears consequences for crime response.²³² The country is one with a legacy of marginalization, inequality, poverty, diminished lives, and a racial imbalance in terms of employment and ownership (e.g., land).²³³ During the Apartheid era, most South Africans had little to no reason to respect the law of the country or its rule as laws were unfair, discriminatory and entrenched with white domination.²³⁴ Many thought that the high crime rates would decrease after 1994 with the new democracy. During the first three years after the country’s political transition, crime levels stabilised.²³⁵ However, this stability did not last as statistics showed that crime increased dramatically between 1998 and 1999 and more especially, violent crime.²³⁶

²³⁰ E.C. Perry, & C. Potgieter, ‘Crime and Tourism in South Africa’, *Journal of Human Ecology* 43(1), 2013, pp. 101-111

²³¹ L.J. Fry, ‘Revisiting Fear of Crime in South Africa’, *Journal of Social Welfare and Human Rights* 5(1), 2017, pp. 15-30.

²³² R. Baghel, ‘Fear of crime in South Africa: Obsession, Compulsion, Disorder’, *Transscience Journal* 1(2), 2016, pp. 71-84.

²³³ G. Lamb & G. Warton, ‘Why is Crime in South Africa so Violent? Updated Rapid Evidence Assessment on Violent Crime in South Africa’, University of Cape Town, 2016, pp. 1-59.

²³⁴ Institute for Security Studies, ‘Why is crime and violence so high in South Africa?’, <
<https://issafrica.org/amp/iss-today/why-is-crime-and-violence-so-high-in-south-africa>>. Access: 05 February 2021.

²³⁵ M. Schönteich & A. Louw, ‘Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile’, *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper* 49, 2001, pp. 1-22.

²³⁶ M. Schönteich & A. Louw, ‘Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile’, *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper* 49, 2001, pp. 1-22.

South Africa is one of the global South countries most seriously affected by crime, which is reflected in the economy, political instability and specifically in sectors such as tourism. This is despite the fact that tourism in South Africa is ranked as one of the major contributors to the GDP, contributing roughly 6.9% in 2019 (pre-Covid).²³⁷ South Africa has been facing socio-economic challenges for decades and tourism has shown the potential to possibly address the country's socio-economic ills. However, crime in South Africa is an ever-present dilemma that is faced by both citizens and tourists. The National Department of Tourism (NDT) stated in the state tourism report in 2015/16 that “although there are other issues that have happened in the past, such as internal and social political turmoil (such as xenophobic attacks as well as demonstrations against political parties) and health issues (such as HIV/AIDS), crime is a major area of concern”.²³⁸ More recently, the country is dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, but crime remains a social ill that should and cannot be neglected. Violent crimes against tourists are opportunistic in their nature. It is generally advised that foreign tourists travelling to high-risk destinations, such as South Africa, need to practice safety measures to ensure that they are not targets of these criminals. Organisations such as the OSAC of South Africa publishes reports annually on the crime situation of South Africa to advise travellers, especially those from the USA, on the safety conditions of South Africa.²³⁹ The 2020 OSAC report strongly recommends certain precautions that could be adopted to remain safe in the country.²⁴⁰

The 2020 statistics on international tourists visiting South Africa show that the country receives tourists from the following top five countries namely: United Kingdom (UK), Germany, USA, China, and the Netherlands.²⁴¹ These countries prioritize advising their tourists about the crime situation of South Africa before their travel. The UK government actually has a website and brochures accessible to British tourists visiting South Africa. The safety and security information provides visitors with the relevant advice on crime and violent crime in South

²³⁷ C. Smith, 2021, <<https://www.news24.com/fin24/economy/global-report-reveals-the-extent-of-the-drop-in-travel-and-tourisms-contribution-to-sa-economy-20210512>>, access: 22 June 2021.

²³⁸ The National Department of Tourism, 2017, <<https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/State%2520of%2520Tourism%2520Report%25202015-16.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwjovPXujYrsAhVfQRUIHZ3-DY4QFjAAegQICRAC&usq=AOvVaw1Mdd9qkbWVrqSU7zOUEmh>>, access: 26 September 2020.

²³⁹ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Country/SouthAfrica/Content/Detail/Report/63e37d80-c040-462d-a868-181c51cf7188>>, access: 03 July 2020

²⁴⁰ Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2020, <<https://www.osac.gov/Country/SouthAfrica/Content/Detail/Report/63e37d80-c040-462d-a868-181c51cf7188>>, access: 03 July 2020

²⁴¹ Integrate Immigration, 2020, <<https://www.integrate-immigration.com/blog/tourists-visiting-south-africa/>>, access: 18 September 2020.

Africa, as well as safety precautions to implement such as avoiding hiking, fraud, scams, criminal kidnaps, and airport victimization.²⁴² There are also emergency contact details of police authorities if tourists become victims of crime while touring the country.²⁴³ This then indicates at a glance how South Africa is perceived within the broader travel world.

b) Media Coverage on South Africa’s Crime Situation

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the media covers issues of crime against tourists, mitigation measures, safety and security concerns extensively which can make or break a tourist destination. In South Africa, this has a huge impact on the tourism industry as it directly influences tourist motivation and selection of destinations. The serious crime situation in South Africa has been evident from as far back as the early 1990s in journalistic reporting. Some of the analysis in the literature study in Chapter 2 provides ample evidence that there is a definite correlation between increased visitor numbers resulting in increased criminal activities. Figure 5 shows the number of international tourist arrivals in South Africa from 1995 to 2019. The year 1995 brought 4 684 000 international tourists in the country and 14 797 000 in 2019.²⁴⁴

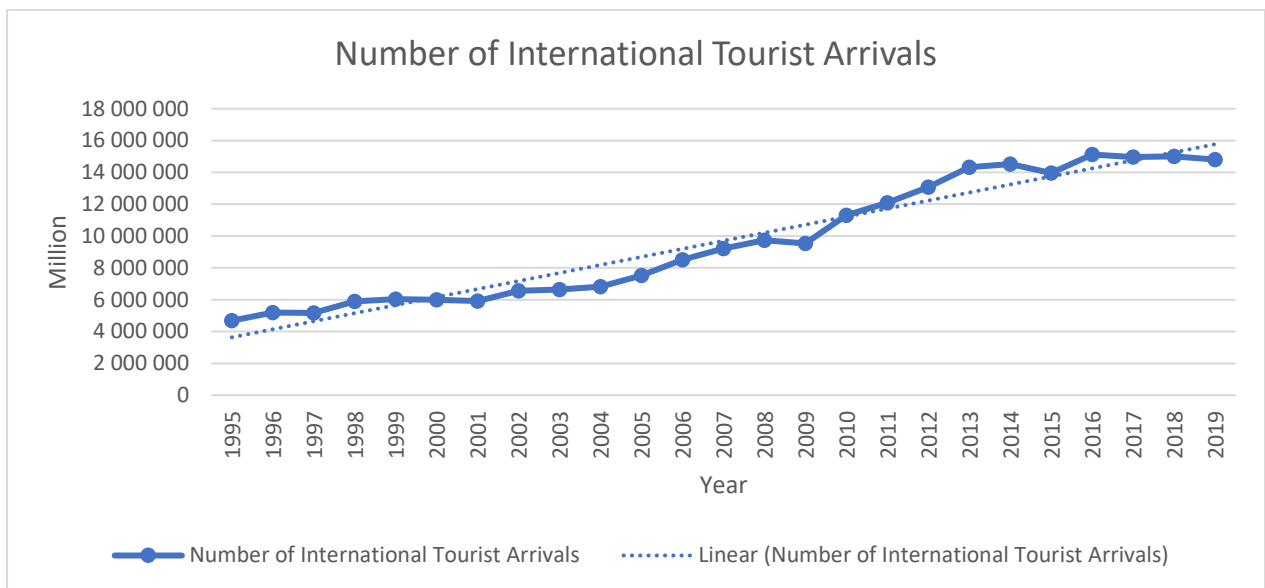


Figure 5: The number of international tourist arrivals in South Africa from 1995 to 2019. (World Bank, n.d.)

²⁴²GOV UK, 2020, <<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/south-africa/safety-and-security#:~:text=South%20Africa%20has%20a%20high,in%20several%20towns%20and%20cities.>>, access: 18 September 2020.

²⁴³ GOV UK, 2020, <<https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/south-africa/safety-and-security#:~:text=South%20Africa%20has%20a%20high,in%20several%20towns%20and%20cities.>>, access: 18 September 2020.

²⁴⁴ World Bank Data, N.d., <<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL?end=2019&locations=ZA&start=1995&view=chart>>, access: 22 June 2021.

Both the local South African media as well as the international journalists report on the crime, and in particular crime against tourism. The following section considers both of these.

In September 1996, *The Citizen* reported that according to the South African Tourism Board (SATOUB) even though crime may be high in the country, it was only a few tourists who were caught up in the crime wave. It indicated that less than two percent of foreign tourists were victims of crime.²⁴⁵ The government and the relevant departments received a budget to implement ways that would reduce crime against tourists and promote safety in South African tourist destinations. In fact, in that year of 1996, a R47m budget was allocated for that very objective.

In November 1996, the *Weekend Argus* (Saturday Edition) published an article that highlighted that the government was planning a project to ensure tourist safety. The article outlined that it was a “Tourism Ambassadors Project” utilising young people, stationing them at key tourism points where they would work with police to help tourists, monitor situations, spot criminals and combat crime.²⁴⁶ The then Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) saw it as a proactive strategy to address the impact of crime on the tourism sector. This project incorporated collective efforts from the DEAT, the police, SATOUB, Business Against Crime, the Tourism Business Council, and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA).²⁴⁷ The 1996 report by the DEAT outlines that the government was dedicated to safeguarding domestic or international tourists’ safety and security.²⁴⁸ The later established NDT is responsible for strategizing and implementing policies to ensure reduced crime and violence perpetrated against tourists.²⁴⁹

The Star also shared a positive article in February 1999, reporting on a statement by the then Minister of Tourism Pallo Jordan who said that “despite South Africa’s high crime rate and a spate of bombings at prime leisure sites, the number of tourist arrivals has risen sharply over the past four years”.²⁵⁰ This was believed to be mainly due to the country’s new democratic status after 1994 with South Africa ranking 25th out of 40 top tourism destinations from 55th place in 1990. The Minister did however highlight that “criminality might hamper the success

²⁴⁵ Anon., ‘Satur says few tourists victims of crime wave’, *The Citizen*, 28 September 1996, p. 4.

²⁴⁶ Anon., ‘Government Planning project to ensure tourist safety’, *Weekend Argus*, 24 November 1996, p. 17.

²⁴⁷ Anon., ‘Government Planning project to ensure tourist safety’, *Weekend Argus*, 24 November 1996, p. 17.

²⁴⁸ G.S. Nkosi, ‘The Impact of Crime on Tourism in the City of uMhlatuze, KwaZulu-Natal’, *South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage* 3(2), 2010, pp. 76-81.

²⁴⁹ Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, ‘White Paper the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa’, 1996.

²⁵⁰ E. Sithole, ‘Tourists like SA, despite the crime’, *The Star*, 15 February 1999, p. 7.

of South African tourism if it were left unchecked”.²⁵¹ He added that crime cripples the country’s image and tourism opportunities such as economic growth and job opportunities.²⁵²

In 2005, *The Citizen* published an article entitled “Tourist safety plan to aid crime victims”. This article reported on Cape Town’s tourism safety plan to implement proactive and reactive measures to protect its “new gold”. In the 2005 financial year, tourism contributed about R21bn to Cape Town's economy and so the MEC for finance and tourism advocated for the protection of this “new gold”.²⁵³ During the 2004 festive season, 40 tourism-related incidents were reported, and this called for immediate remedy.²⁵⁴ A marketing campaign was established to publish all contact details for the use of tourists and the “Tourism Victim Support Unit” was established to assist them in such incidents. The then Chief Executive of “Cape Town Routes Unlimited” was also featured in this article and stated that “One attack on a tourist is one too many”²⁵⁵, indicating that one attack has the potential to ruin a whole country’s image as it reflects on a country’s safety status for tourists.

In 2006, the *Cape Argus* reported attacks on seven tourists in Langa who were at a restaurant in the township. Ebrahim Rasool, who was premier at that time, stated that “it would also be tragic were the growing interest in ‘township tourism’ to be dampened”.²⁵⁶ He suggested that anti-crime volunteers should accompany tourists to townships and also called for a greater police presence to increase tourist safety.²⁵⁷ It was also reported that the Tourism Business Council had been trying to come up with innovative ways to promote the safety of tourists with assistance from an organisation called “Business Against Crime”. *The Citizen* reported that the Council suggested a central helpline for tourists, the modification of police stations to make them more “tourist-friendly”, as well as improved signage, lighting and security at key tourist destinations.²⁵⁸

In 2007, the *Cape Times* reported on the Tourism Minister's fears of the impact of crime on tourism numbers. A South African Tourism brand-tracking survey revealed foreign visitors’ perceptions on visiting the country and the statistics showed that in the past five years, the country lost over 22 million potential tourists due to the fear of crime. As a result, the Minister

²⁵¹ E. Sithole, ‘Tourists like SA, despite the crime’, *The Star*, 15 February 1999, p. 7.

²⁵² E. Sithole, ‘Tourists like SA, despite the crime’, *The Star*, 15 February 1999, p. 7.

²⁵³ Anon., ‘Tourist safety plan to aid crime victims’, *The Citizen*, 13 December 2005, p. 13.

²⁵⁴ Anon., ‘Tourist safety plan to aid crime victims’, *The Citizen*, 13 December 2005, p. 13.

²⁵⁵ Anon., ‘Tourist safety plan to aid crime victims’, *The Citizen*, 13 December 2005, p. 13.

²⁵⁶ Anon., ‘Attacks on tourists’, *Cape Argus*, 30 November 2006, p. 24.

²⁵⁷ Anon., ‘Attacks on tourists’, *Cape Argus*, 30 November 2006, p. 24.

²⁵⁸ Anon., ‘Council mulls ways to keep tourists safe’, *The Citizen*, 08 May 2007, p. 10.

indicated that authorities and the Department are implementing collective measures to mitigate the situation.²⁵⁹ The *Cape Argus* also reported that the then DEAT Minister, Marthinus Van Schalkwyk, announced the establishment of a Department of Environment and Tourism National Task Team, in collaboration with the provincial government and the police, to ensure there was an officer assigned to tourism-related crime in each key station. In addition, participation of police in safety forums and meetings as well as tracking tourism-related cases in existing crime databases was introduced.²⁶⁰ They assumed these efforts might help in reassuring tourists that they can choose South Africa as their tourist destination.

In 2011, the *Cape Argus* optimistically reported the good news to the public that “crime leaves tourists alone”.²⁶¹ The Finance, Economic Development, and Tourism MEC, Alan Winde, stated that there were no reports of violent crimes against tourists that holiday season and very few muggings.²⁶² He claimed that tourists were more concerned about Cape Town's wind than crime. This shed a positive light on the province and showed that the Department's Tourism Safety and Support Team's groundwork was having a positive impact. Their next objective was motivating tourists to report their incidents to authorities.

A more recent article published in 2019 by the *Cape Argus* reported that attacks on tourists were again hitting the sector. The murder of a Ukrainian tourist, Ivan Ivanov, on Chapman's Peak made international headlines tainting the country's image and apparently led to a tangible “material loss of tourism bookings”.²⁶³ Research also revealed that 10 tourists were hijacked between June and July in 2019 and the Minister of Tourism, Mmamoloko Khubayi-Ngubane, emphasized the need for technological infrastructure (cameras and a monitoring centre) to deal with such crime.²⁶⁴

As is evident from the above discussion of media coverage, crime relating to tourism in South Africa is deemed a worthy topic to report on in local newspapers. This can be ascribed to the importance of tourism in the overall South African landscape and reflects on the country's crime wave in tourism, safety and security concerns of citizens and tourists, government's failures and some successes in the fight against crime relating to tourism. The above articles

²⁵⁹ A. Powell, ‘Tourism minister voices fears about impact of crime on visitor numbers’, *Cape Times*, 24 July 2007, p. 1.

²⁶⁰ Anon., ‘Crime rate scaring away tourists’, *Cape Argus*, 24 July 2007, p. 5.

²⁶¹ Anon., ‘Crime leaves tourists alone’, *Cape Argus*, 17 January 2011, p. 7

²⁶² Anon., ‘Crime leaves tourists alone’, *Cape Argus*, 17 January 2011, p. 7.

²⁶³ Anon., ‘Attacks on tourists hitting sector’, *Cape Argus*, 28 August 2019, p. 2.

²⁶⁴ Anon., ‘Attacks on tourists hitting sector’, *Cape Argus*, 28 August 2019, p. 2.

not only warn about the damage crime causes for tourism, but also try to make people (potential tourists) aware of the measures put in place to mitigate the situation.

The high levels of crime in South Africa have also grabbed considerable attention in international media newspapers from around the world. For example, in the week of the 19th November 2010, the global news media ran with the story of the hijacking and murder of 28-year-old Swedish honeymooner Anni Dewani in Cape Town. Big media houses from across the world reported on South Africa as a “no-go area” for tourists. The *UK Daily Mail* reported that the country holds the reputation of having “one of the worst crime rates in the world” but they also highlighted that “most problems occur in the poorest areas where tourists are unlikely to stray”.²⁶⁵ In the *Independent* feature, the headline was “How dangerous is South Africa?”. This article stated that “there were 18 000 murders a year in South Africa, ‘about 17 500 more than in the UK’”.²⁶⁶ It did however add, that statistics on the murder rates in South Africa showed a significant decline. The Australian media *Brisbane Times Online* gave the story more prominence by stating that “South Africa is notorious for its high crime rate” and reported that Shrien Dewani complained “that the police took 25 minutes to reach the scene after being alerted” and drove to the scene slowly.²⁶⁷ All of these newspapers that reported on the Dewani story, also added and reminded readers of South Africa’s high “carjacking” and murder rates.

In September 2017, *BBC News* reported on the 36 Dutch tourists who were attacked while visiting South Africa. They were robbed of all their possessions by men posing as police. The article stated that the group decided to return to the Netherlands as all their belongings had been taken.²⁶⁸ In 2019, *BBC News* also reported on the city of Cape Town’s crime situation by stating that it is a ‘tourist hotspot where eight people are murdered a day’.²⁶⁹ The *BBC News* also labelled Cape Town as one of the most divided and dangerous cities in the world considering that in one weekend of July 2019, 43 people were killed.²⁷⁰ *Africa News Online* covered a similar topic in 2019 with a headline ‘Cape Town ranked the most dangerous city in Africa’. They reported that over 46 people were murdered on July’s payday weekend, 21 from

²⁶⁵ I. Evans, 2010, <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1329361/Newlywed-Britons-wife-shot-dead-robbers-hijack-South-Africa.html>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁶⁶ G. Underhill, 2010, <<https://mg.co.za/article/2010-11-19-how-dangerous-is-sa-for-tourists/>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁶⁷ G. Underhill, 2010, <<https://mg.co.za/article/2010-11-19-how-dangerous-is-sa-for-tourists/>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁶⁸ BBC News, 2017, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41413307>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁶⁹ BBC News, 2019, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-49130395>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁷⁰ BBC News, 2019, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-49130395>>, access: 02 June 2021.

shootings, 20 stabbings, and 5 from other cases.²⁷¹ Among those dead was a Russian tourist who was stabbed to death on Table Mountain.²⁷² According to South Africa Visa crime statistics of 2019, only two foreign tourists were murdered in the past 10 years and thus they guarantee that “the number of tourists killed in South Africa is close to 0 per year”. This is a questionable statistic and warrants further investigation as it does not align with the media coverage. This points to the earlier mentioned challenges of researching crime as statistics are either hard to come by or do not align.

Global news media companies such as the *BBC News*, *UK Daily Mail* and *The Independent* have tainted the country’s reputation through their coverage and in most cases, appear to have exaggerated the country’s crime situation. They have an extensive readership who are potential tourists for the country from around the world. Such publications not only affect the country’s image but the overall tourism sector especially tourism numbers and profits.

c) Crime Statistics and Perceptions in South Africa

In 2020, Stats SA published the “Victims of Crime report” that focused on people’s perceptions and experiences of crime, as well as their views regarding their access to, and effectiveness of the police service and the criminal justice system. According to A. Faull, South Africans have shown a great concern about the nature and prevalence of crime in their communities and believe that their government has failed them in curbing crime which is South Africa’s second problem after unemployment.²⁷³ The Human Science Research Council (HRSC) conducted a review from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) using data from 2003 to 2015 which revealed that “on average only 21% of respondents were satisfied with government's efforts to reduce crime over the twelve years”.²⁷⁴ It was argued that fellow South Africans have lost faith in their police and the country’s justice system. However, scholars M. Schönteich and A. Louw argue that “the poor performance of a criminal justice system should not be interpreted as a cause of crime”.²⁷⁵ They argued that the fundamental goal of the criminal justice system

²⁷¹ F. Mlemwa, 2019, < <https://www.africanews.com/2019/07/30/capetown-ranked-the-most-dangerous-city-in-africa/>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁷² F. Mlemwa, 2019, < <https://www.africanews.com/2019/07/30/capetown-ranked-the-most-dangerous-city-in-africa/>>, access: 02 June 2021.

²⁷³ A. Faull, N.d., <http://sascenarios2030.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Andrew_Faull1.pdf>, access: 31 May 2021.

²⁷⁴ A. Faull, N.d., <http://sascenarios2030.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Andrew_Faull1.pdf>, access: 31 May 2021.

²⁷⁵ M. Schönteich & A. Louw, ‘Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile’, *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper* 49, 2001, pp. 1-22.

was to speedily and properly handle cases and offenders, as well as to provide appropriate sentences (punishment) to individuals convicted of crimes.²⁷⁶ However, they also argued that due to the loss of faith in the SAPS, crimes go unreported hindering the justice system to effectively perform its duties.²⁷⁷

Despite the general lack of reporting crimes, there are statistics on individual crime levels and the nature thereof. According to Stats SA, there was an estimate of 1,1 million incidences of theft of personal property that occurred in 2019/20, affecting 902 000 individuals aged 16 years and older. These individuals represent 2% of the overall population. Only 38% of individuals who experienced theft of personal property reported the crime to the police. This statistic increased by 6% compared to the previous year. There was a total of 451 000 (1% of adults aged 16 and older) individuals who experienced street robbery from a total of 561 000 incidences. From that total, only 42% of the victims reported the crime to the police. In 2019/20, 294 000 incidences of assault were experienced by 225 000 individuals (0,6% of adults aged 16 and older). About 42% of these victims reported the crime to the police. This was a 9% decrease compared to the previous year. For customer fraud, there was a total of 1,4 million incidences experienced by a total of 384 000 (1% of adults aged 16 and older) individuals. Advance-fee fraud (e.g., the R99 credit/debit card scam, 419 scams) is responsible for a greater percentage of these incidents and only 26% of the victims reported the crime to the police. This was a 21% decrease compared to the previous year. Hijackings were about 99 000 in 2019/20, affecting 85 000 (0,2%) persons aged 18 years and older with 78% of the victims reporting the crime to the police. This was a 7% decrease compared to the previous year.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ M. Schönreich & A. Louw, 'Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile', *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper 49*, 2001, pp. 1-22.

²⁷⁷ M. Schönreich & A. Louw, 'Crime in South Africa: A country and cities profile', *Crime and Justice Programme, Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper 49*, 2001, pp. 1-22.

²⁷⁸ Stats SA, 'Victims of Crime Survey', Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report P0341, 2019/20.

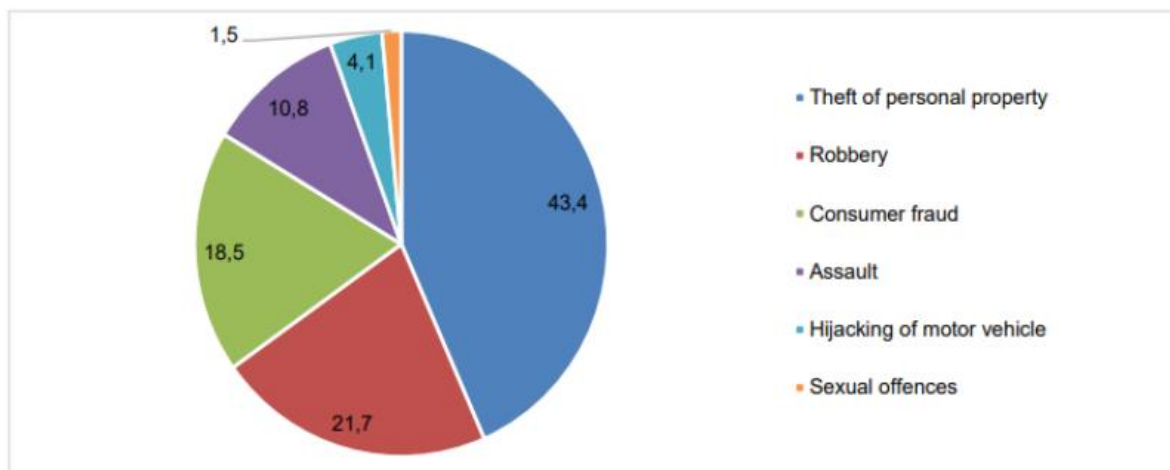


Figure 6: Percentage distribution of type of crimes experienced by individuals in the 12 months preceding the survey, 2018/19–2019/20 (Stats SA, *Victims of Crime Survey: Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report*, 2019/20, P0341)

The Public Safety and Justice survey report includes statistics on the types of crimes and percentage distribution. Figure 6 indicates that theft of personal property is the most common type of crime experienced by individuals in South Africa. Theft of personal property (43,4%) accounts for about four out of every ten crimes committed against individuals. The second most common type of crime experienced by individuals is street or common robbery (21,7%) with two in every ten of the crimes against individuals being street robbery. Sexual offences (1,5%) is the least common crime experienced by individuals.²⁷⁹ Although these crimes are not necessarily targeted at tourists, they contribute to the image of an unsafe and dangerous country.

As part of the National Development Plan (NDP), the safety and security of South Africans is rated as of critical importance. Therefore, the victim crime survey incorporated questions of safety as part of its study to unpack and understand feelings of safety among the citizens of the country.

²⁷⁹ Stats SA, *Victims of Crime Survey*, Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report P0341, 2019/20.

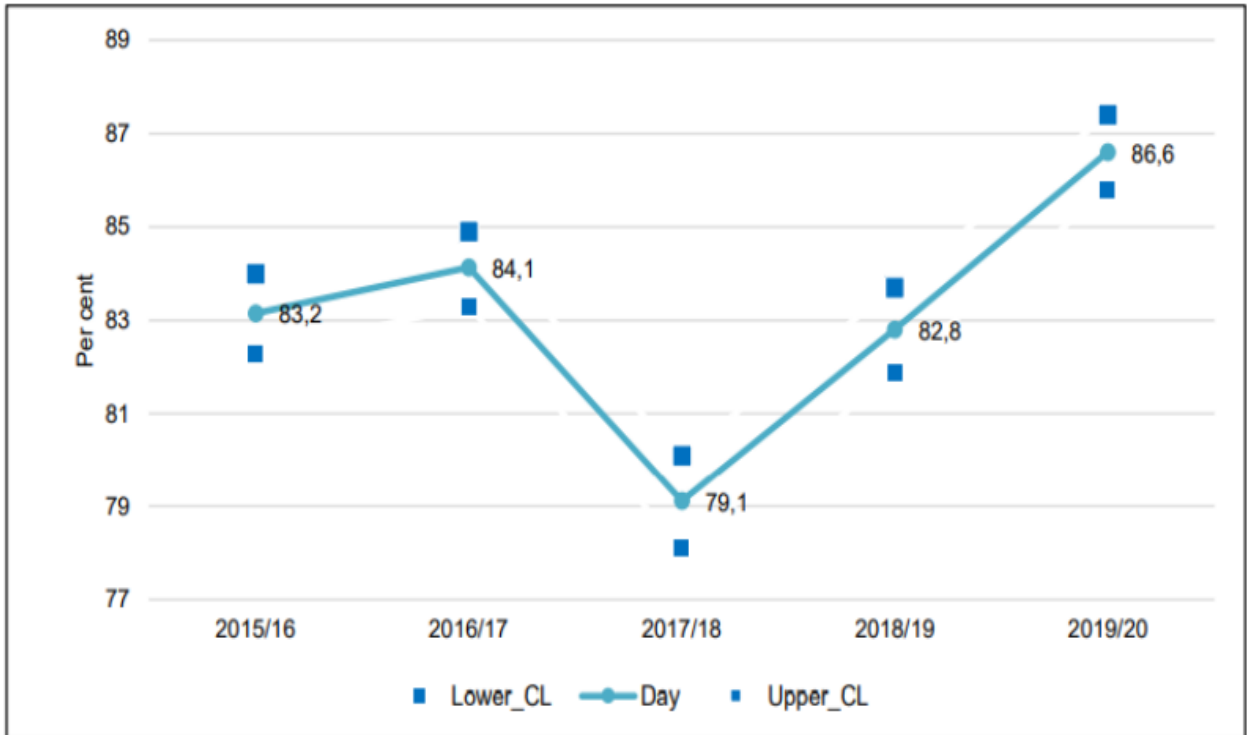


Figure 7: Percentage distribution of individuals who felt safe walking alone in their areas during the day, 2015/16–2019/20 (Stats SA, ‘Victims of Crime Survey: Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report’, 2019/20, P0341)

Figure 7 shows the percentage of adults aged 16 years and older who felt safe walking alone in their neighbourhoods during the day. This statistic slightly increased from 83% to 84% between 2015/16 and 2016/17. Between 2016/17 and 2017/18, there was a significant decreased from 84% to 79%. In addition, between 2017/18 (79%) and 2018/19 (83%), there was a statistically significant increase. Moreover, there was a further statistically significant increase between 2018/19 (83%) and 2019/20 (87%).²⁸⁰ These statistics show that the fear among South African citizens was slightly decreasing, and this could be due to the mitigation strategies implemented by the country to curb crime. This positive reflection might contribute to a decrease in the fears of potential tourists.

²⁸⁰ Stats SA, ‘Victims of Crime Survey’, Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report P0341, 2019/20.

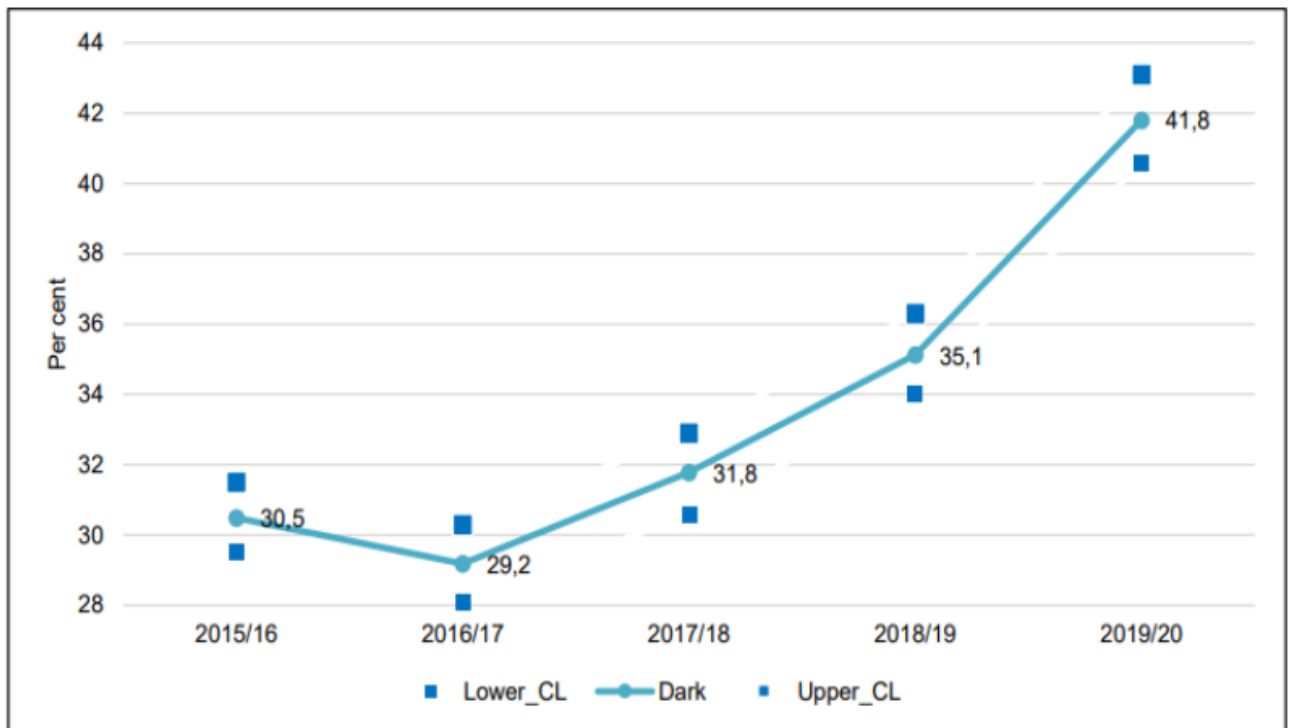


Figure 8: Percentage distribution of individuals who felt safe walking alone in their areas when it was dark, 2015/16–2019/20 (Stats SA, 'Victims of Crime Survey: Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report', 2019/20, P0341)

Figure 8 reflects on a similar assessment of safety, but focuses rather on night-time safety. It shows that between 2015/16 and 2016/17, the percentage of adults aged 16 and older who felt safe walking alone in their neighbourhoods when it was dark decreased slightly from 31% to 29%, but that number increased significantly from 29% in 2016/17 to 42% in 2019/20.²⁸¹

According to these statistics, in 2019/20, about 87% of the population felt safe walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day and 42% felt safe walking alone in their neighbourhood at night. Both these figures increased from 2018/19. Males felt safer walking alone in their neighbourhood than females in general. Similarly, residents in rural areas felt safer walking alone in their neighbourhoods after dark than residents in urban areas.²⁸²

Crime is a matter that is constantly on the minds of most South Africans.²⁸³ According to victimization surveys, all South Africans display a level of fear of victimization. The percentages are still low, less than half of the population feel safe walking at night, however, they apparently did start feeling safer after 2017. The response to this fear varies from different communities and across different provinces in the country. Some communities have become

²⁸¹ Stats SA, 'Victims of Crime Survey', Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report P0341, 2019/20.

²⁸² Stats SA, 'Victims of Crime Survey', Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey Report P0341, 2019/20.

²⁸³ T. Kruger & K. Landman, 'Crime and the Physical Environment in South Africa: Contextualizing International Crime Prevention Experiences', *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, pp. 75–87.

involved in Community Policing Forums and citizens are increasingly feeling the need to implement additional measures to protect themselves (build high walls and electric fences, purchase guns to protect their families, hire armed responses, and put surveillance in their homes).²⁸⁴ Poorer areas frequently have few or no means of defence, however some homeowners install simple burglar bars on their windows and doors.²⁸⁵ There is also an alarming rise in community mob justice against offenders. The *Independent Online (IOL)* reported in May 2021 on the gruesome murder of five young men by angry community members of Plot 52 in Zandspruit informal settlement. The residents of this informal settlement stripped naked nine young men, poured petrol on them, necklaced them with tyres, and set them alight.²⁸⁶ Mob justice is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The Institute of Security Studies (ISS) research shows that at least two people die a day from mob violence or vigilantism in South African communities.²⁸⁷ Mob justice murder cases are difficult cases for the SAPS as there are mostly no specific motives for such cases. The SAPS crime statistics for 2019/2020 show that mob justice accounted for an estimate of 1 202 among the 21 325 murders in the country for that period.²⁸⁸ From the analysis of South Africa, crime appears to be a routine activity prevalent in everyday life. This aligns with Cohen and Felson's routine activity theory.

According to scholars T. Kruger and K. Landman, numerous challenges could limit these departments to effectively implement certain crime prevention strategies and policies. They argue that the crime reduction measures are likely to be hindered by socio-economic factors such as "extreme levels of poverty and unemployment, a propensity for violence, drug and alcohol abuse and the so-called 'moral decay' within many communities".²⁸⁹ In addition, they argue that inequality, the urban form and spatial characteristics of the South African landscape, police ineffectiveness, dysfunctional local governments, lack of community participation, and

²⁸⁴ T. Kruger & K. Landman, 'Crime and the Physical Environment in South Africa: Contextualizing International Crime Prevention Experiences', *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, pp. 75–87.

²⁸⁵ T. Kruger & K. Landman, 'Crime and the Physical Environment in South Africa: Contextualizing International Crime Prevention Experiences', *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, pp. 75–87.

²⁸⁶ A. Moyo-Kupeta, 2021, <<https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/mob-justice-is-a-language-in-south-africa-e251a427-2eb5-4106-ad9b-028e6e29dc26>> access: 03 June 2021.

²⁸⁷ L. Lancaster, 2019, <<https://issafrica.org/iss-today/is-mob-violence-out-of-control-in-south-africa>>, access: 03 June 2021.

²⁸⁸ SAPS, 2020,

<https://www.saps.gov.za/about/stratframework/annual_report/2019_2020/annual_crime_report_2019_2020.pdf>, access: 03 June 2021.

²⁸⁹ T. Kruger & K. Landman, 'Crime and the Physical Environment in South Africa: Contextualizing International Crime Prevention Experiences', *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, p. 79.

the country's poor justice system greatly influences the successful implementation of crime preventative measures.²⁹⁰

The data captured from crime victim surveys produce rich information (statistics) that can be utilized to assist in the planning and implementation of crime prevention measures. These statistics have painted a holistic albeit negative picture of the crime situation in the country.

d) Consequences of Crime on Tourism

According to scholars B. Moyo and O.A. Akanbi, tourism strategically creates and/or strengthens international relations for a country to “build beneficial socio-economic and political networks”.²⁹¹ Therefore, they argue that it is crucial to invest in tourism development as it directly contributes to national growth and sustainable development.²⁹² However, crime can jeopardize this investment derailing tourism growth for the country.²⁹³ It is therefore imperative that crime is dealt with to protect national growth and sustainable development.

As highlighted by the September 2017 BBC newspaper article discussed earlier in this Chapter, the group of 36 Dutch tourists that were robbed while visiting South Africa for three weeks by fake police made international headlines.²⁹⁴ The group returned to the Netherlands without exploring the country. As a result, the country's image became tainted by international media such as BBC News and word-of-mouth by the victims leading to apparent declining tourist arrivals and a loss in tourism profits. In 2018, a study was conducted by crime experts from the Institute of Security Studies who analysed crime in Cape Town and Johannesburg (tourism dominant cities of South Africa) and it concluded that crime does indeed affect the country's image and it also directly affects tourism profits.²⁹⁵ In this research, J. Burger highlighted that crime in the country has also led to increasing emigration to other countries such as Australia

²⁹⁰ T. Kruger & K. Landman, ‘Crime and the Physical Environment in South Africa: Contextualizing International Crime Prevention Experiences’, *Built Environment* 34(1), 2008, pp. 75–87.

²⁹¹ B. Moyo & O.A. Akanbi, ‘Crime and the Regional Disparities in Tourist Inflows: A Case Study of South Africa’, *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies* 5(6), 2013, pp. 356-375.

²⁹² B. Moyo & O.A. Akanbi, ‘Crime and the Regional Disparities in Tourist Inflows: A Case Study of South Africa’, *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies* 5(6), 2013, pp. 356-375.

²⁹³ B. Moyo & O.A. Akanbi, ‘Crime and the Regional Disparities in Tourist Inflows: A Case Study of South Africa’, *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies* 5(6), 2013, pp. 356-375.

²⁹⁴ BBC News, 2017, <[²⁹⁵ J. Felix, 2018, <\[62\]\(https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/crime-affecting-sa-tourism-profits-14467088#:~:text=Cape%20Town%20%2D%20Crime%20experts%20have,global%20growth%20rate%20of%207%25.&text=We%20have%20so%20many%20attacks%20on%20tourists%20in%20Cape%20Town%20and%20Johannesburg.>, access: 20 November 2020.</p></div><div data-bbox=\)](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41413307#:~:text=A%20group%20of%20elderly%20Dutch,for%20a%20three%2Dweek%20holiday.>, access: 20 November 2020.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

and New Zealand.²⁹⁶ It therefore follows that if citizens from South Africa are fleeing the country due to the high crime rates, it becomes equally discouraging for tourists to visit the country and increase tourism growth. Perceptions about a particular scenic tourist destination play a very critical role in tourist decision-making, but high crime rates discourage both international and domestic tourists from visiting these destinations.²⁹⁷ According to A. Lew “image is the most important aspect of a tourist attraction”²⁹⁸, and this includes elements of safety.

The image crime has created for South Africa has proven to have serious negative effects on the country’s tourism domain and it is reflected in the dramatic decrease in the number of inbound international tourists. In 2007, the then Tourism Minister, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, stated that crime is a major deterrent to potential visitors and the Department was working on efforts to deal with the issue of safety and security. However, currently there is not a single piece of tourism legislation that references or prioritizes international tourist safety and security in the sector. Over a decade later, the country is still facing the same problem of attacks on foreign tourists and this in the words of journalist B. Phakathi, “hurts SA tourism”.²⁹⁹ Efforts towards reducing tourism crime are seen to be at a minimum and this can be due to the NDT highlighting in their 2015/16 state tourism report that crime is “not their core business”.³⁰⁰ However, vigilance regarding the issue of crime is critical for the sector and thus annually, funds are allocated for “Tourism Ambassador Units” in police stations and the Department of Safety and Security to assist with efforts to tackle crime committed against tourism.³⁰¹

Criminal activities tourists encounter in South Africa include (but are not limited to) targeted pickpocketing, mugging and robbery. As mentioned above, the mentality of criminals is that tourists carry portable wealth and due to their temporary nature, they are less likely to report the incident. This aligns with Becker’s economic theory where portable wealth results in greater profit gain and the temporary nature of tourists yields minimal consequences. This leads

²⁹⁶ J. Felix, 2018, <[²⁹⁷ B. Moyo & O.A. Akanbi, ‘Crime and the Regional Disparities in Tourist Inflows: A Case Study of South Africa’, *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies* 5\(6\), 2013, pp. 356-375.](https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/crime-affecting-sa-tourism-profits-14467088#:~:text=Cape%20Town%20%2D%20Crime%20experts%20have,global%20growth%20rate%20of%207%25.&text=We%20have%20so%20many%20attacks%20on%20tourists%20in%20Cape%20Town%20and%20Johannesburg.>, access: 20 November 2020.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

²⁹⁸ A. Lew, ‘A Framework for Tourist attraction Research’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 14, 1987, pp. 553-575.

²⁹⁹ B. Phakathi, ‘Attacks on foreign tourists hurt SA tourism’, *Business Day*, 08 August 2019, p. 3.

³⁰⁰ The National Department of Tourism, 2017, <[³⁰¹ SAPS Strategic Management, ‘South African Police Service Annual Report’, 2018/2019.](https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/State%2520of%2520Tourism%2520Report%25202015-16.pdf&ved=2ahUKewjovPXujYrsAhVfQRUIHZ3-DY4QFjAAegQICRAC&usq=AOvVaw1Mdd9qkbWVrqSU7zOUEmh>, access: 26 September 2020.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

to international tourists being hesitant to travel to the country as they prioritize their safety and security. According to, Lisowska “the sense of threat and security is based primarily on perception or having been a victim, but also on stories presented by the media based on economic and criminal statistics”.³⁰² It is equally crucial to examine these issues to change negative perceptions that affect the growth of the economy and implement effective crime prevention which will later promote growth in investments and tourism in countries.

In recent years, the country has been facing a rise in Gender-Based Violence (GBV). Along with this, social issues such as Xenophobia and high crime rates affect international tourist arrivals.³⁰³ Many travel decisions may be affected as some tourists are activists or find it unsafe to travel to that specific country at that time. With all these social issues occurring in the country, tourism has witnessed a decline in arrivals.

Furthermore, the Covid-19 pandemic also took a toll on the world's leading tourism markets in 2020 due to travel regulations, travel bans as well as health and safety restrictions. Borders and countries were locked down to reduce the spread of the virus across the globe. Tourism was seriously affected at numerous levels and South Africa was also not spared the impact. The government introduced restrictions to combat the virus and travel was prohibited both internationally and locally. After a period of prohibition, under level 1 lockdown regulations, South Africa began to reintroduce travel and tourism as well as encourage domestic travel within the country. However, this status has reverted to level 2 later level 3 and will continue to fluctuate in the face of a third and fourth possible wave. This along with the crime issue has endorsed South Africa as a “red list” country on the travel rankings damaging its tourism sector seriously.³⁰⁴ From a COVID-19 standpoint, South Africa is considered “unsafe”³⁰⁵ ironically, because of its ability to discover “new” variants of the Corona Virus. It has been argued that South Africa has been “punished” for its advanced genomic sequencing and the ability to detect new variants quicker than other countries. During their Global PR communications Tourism Advocacy Program, South African Tourism highlighted that it was banned from traveling to global destinations, governments were advising their citizens not to travel to South Africa, and the global media was intensifying adverse reporting around the 1.351 variant which has been

³⁰² A. Lisowska, ‘Crime in Tourism destinations: Research Review’, *Tourism* 27(1), 2017, pp. 31-39.

³⁰³ Human Rights Watch, 2020, <<https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/09/17/they-have-robbed-me-my-life/xenophobic-violence-against-non-nationals-south#>>, access: 26 September 2020.

³⁰⁴ South African Tourism, 2021, <<https://www.southafrica.net/gl/en/corporate/press/south-african-tourism-on-the-offensive-initiates-a-global-pr-communications-tourism-advocacy-program>> Access: 18 January 2022.

³⁰⁵ South African Tourism, 2021, <<https://www.southafrica.net/gl/en/corporate/press/south-african-tourism-on-the-offensive-initiates-a-global-pr-communications-tourism-advocacy-program>> Access: 18 January 2022.

inaccurately dubbed as the “South African COVID-19 variant”.³⁰⁶ This was an international misunderstanding that affected the South African tourism industry seriously as tourists became reluctant to visit the country due to the tarnished image portrayed.

³⁰⁶ South African Tourism, 2021, <<https://www.southafrica.net/gl/en/corporate/press/south-african-tourism-on-the-offensive-initiates-a-global-pr-communications-tourism-advocacy-program>> Access: 18 January 2022.

CHAPTER 5: REMEDYING CRIME AGAINST TOURISTS

a) Introduction

This Chapter will be discussing South Africa's timeline on crime prevention. It will focus specifically on local and global mitigation strategies that have been applied to curb crime against tourists. It will also analyse guidelines by local and international agencies such as: the South African Institute for Safety and Security (ISS); Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR); the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service; South African Government; the South African Local Government Association (SALGA); and the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME); as well as international agencies including the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Arizona State University (ASU) Center for Problem-Oriented Policing. The Chapter will also incorporate implementable mitigation strategies from the DRC, Venezuela and PNG. It will be argued that these can serve as guidelines for other countries, in terms of their own departments, police, crime prevention units, community forums and other agencies aiding in the fight to reduce crime and improvement of the overall response to tourist-related incidents.

b) South Africa's Timeline on Crime Prevention

Crime prevention can be understood as “strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime, by intervening to influence their multiple causes”.³⁰⁷ Crime prevention has been labelled as largely social and situational in its nature.³⁰⁸ Before planning and implementing mitigation strategies to curb crime, governments must understand the problem at hand, its severity, review the factors that contribute to it, and draft solutions that could be effective in solving the problem.³⁰⁹ It is equally important to identify stakeholders, partners and agencies from both the public and private sector that could help curb crime.³¹⁰ In order to combat crime in South Africa, private firms and government agencies can pool their resources and expertise in a collaborative effort.³¹¹ As stated in Chapter 4, tourists (but it is not limited to them) are

³⁰⁷ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁰⁸ S. Agarwal, ‘Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention’. *University of Plymouth PEARL*, 2016, pp. 1-36.

³⁰⁹ R.W. Glensor and K.J. Peak, ‘Crimes Against Tourists’. *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Problem-Specific Guides Series* 26, 2004, pp. 1-54.

³¹⁰ R.W. Glensor and K.J. Peak, ‘Crimes Against Tourists’. *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Problem-Specific Guides Series* 26, 2004, pp. 1-54.

³¹¹ S. Mangxamba, S. ‘We must work to make SA Safer’. *Cape Argus*, 31 July 2007.

targeted by pickpocketing, mugging and robbery in South Africa. As is evident in the previous Chapter, in unfortunate cases, tourists are injured and even sometimes murdered in South Africa. Government is therefore compelled to respond to this dire situation and needs to take the initiative to deter criminals from attacking tourists and protect them from all dangers.³¹²

As explained in Chapter 4, crime in South Africa can be traced back and linked to the political transition in 1994 from the Apartheid government to a democratic state. Scholars S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio argue that this led to unintended consequences such as the collapse of “existing (and legitimate) mechanisms of social control without immediately replacing them with legitimate and credible alternatives”.³¹³ A large percentage of the citizens of the country were faced with poverty, underdevelopment, unemployment, historical marginalization, trauma among other social issues. The state was faced with insufficient and ill-equipped personnel, outdated systems, fragmented departments, and inability to provide for the needs of the people in a democratic state.³¹⁴ This created a society filled with frustration and uncertainty which birthed a “culture of violence” and justification of crime as a means to solve the country’s social ills.³¹⁵

South Africa does however have a considerable track record of efforts to curb crime to make it a safer and secure tourist destination. In 1996, the country implemented the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) which was a developmental approach to safety designed with four pillars: to re-engineer the criminal justice system; reduce crime through environmental design; instil community values and promote education; and preserve regional cooperation and stability, as well as combat cross-border crime.³¹⁶ In 1997, “the justice system was running out of capacity and was subject to excessive churn resulting in major inefficiencies; management of cases through the justice system as a particular area of weakness; courts are faced with huge backlogs and prisons were overcrowded with the number of awaiting trial prisoners increasing

³¹² T.E. Mudzunani, “Examining newspaper articles on tourism and crime in South Africa”. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 6(2), 2017, pp. 1-8.

³¹³ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, p.175.

³¹⁴ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 175.

³¹⁵ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 175.

³¹⁶ G. Newham, ‘A Decade of Crime Prevention in South Africa: From a national strategy to a local challenge’. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Report*, 2005.

at an alarming rate”.³¹⁷ Thus, the justice system of the country was crippled and required immediate intervention to effectively mitigate the rising crime levels in the country. The Integrated Justice System (IJS) was implemented as a solution to “increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire criminal justice process by increasing the probability of successful investigation, prosecution, punishment for priority crimes and, ultimately, rehabilitation of offenders” and reduce the extent of crime in South Africa.³¹⁸ P. du Rand highlighted that this was executed through: the modernisation of the justice network systems (financial, administrative, and management systems); budget reform as a tool for assessment and commitment to divert spending away from administrative structures and toward service and operational points; finding the most cost-effective manner to implement major new legislative frameworks and developing a strategic approach to costing legislation; speeding up the implementation of legislation; and reprioritization and re-alignment.³¹⁹

In 1998, a White Paper on safety and security (a policy position for the police on safety) was released with a mission to reduce crime through effective and efficient policing as part of an effective justice system and through a greater ability to prevent crime.³²⁰ On a national level, the White Paper recommended the creation of a National Crime Prevention Centre to serve as a focal point for research and learning related to crime prevention initiatives.³²¹ This framework was intended to provide assistance at the provincial and local levels of government as they pursued crime-prevention initiatives.³²² These policies and strategies were working in line with the Constitution to promote the “right to freedom and security” for any human being.

By 2000, the SAPS drove the government’s approach to crime reduction and adopted their high-profile National Crime Combating Strategy. In addition, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 stipulated that “local governments must promote a safe and healthy environment in the municipality”.³²³ During a review in 2002 of the NCPS in South Africa’s major cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Tshwane) local governments had achieved the most progress in crime prevention through environmental design. They implemented closed circuit

³¹⁷ P du Rand, 2005, <<http://www.csvr.org.za>> access: 12 July 2021.

³¹⁸ South African Government, 2019, <<https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-system-justice-system/integrated-justice-system-ijis>> access: 14 August 2021.

³¹⁹ P du Rand, 2005. <<http://www.csvr.org.za>> Access: 12 July 2021.

³²⁰ Department of Safety and Security, ‘White Paper on Safety and Security’. 1998.

³²¹ G. Newham, ‘A Decade of Crime Prevention in South Africa: From a national strategy to a local challenge’. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Report*, 2005.

³²² G. Newham, ‘A Decade of Crime Prevention in South Africa: From a national strategy to a local challenge’. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Report*, 2005.

³²³ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

television (CCTVs), visible policing through the employment of MPDs and private security, urban regeneration and City Improvement Districts (CIDs) as well as an increase in hawking and informal regulations.³²⁴ Chapter 4 also highlighted that, in 2005, the City of Cape Town’s MEC for Finance, Economic Development and Tourism implemented the “Tourism Victim Support Unit” to protect tourism threatened by crime in their area.³²⁵ During that same year, the White Paper on Corrections replaced the White Paper on Correctional Services which sought “to gear all its activities to serve a rehabilitation mission that ensures successful reintegration into society” for offenders returning to their communities after serving their sentence.³²⁶ The Millennium 10-point Plan was adopted between the period 2000-2005. It also assisted to “establish specialised courts, to introduce the Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanism (ADRM), to improve court management and productivity, to transform the legal profession and the judiciary, and to consolidate and improve prosecutorial services” while the Seven-point Plan focused on creating a more efficient and effective criminal justice system.³²⁷

By 2010, the police were embarking on nationwide operations, and this included initiatives to increase police visibility especially in crowded areas and tourist hotspots.³²⁸ In the same year, the Department of Social Development was tasked with developing an Integrated Social Crime Prevention (SCP) strategy in consultation and collaboration with the SAPS Social Crime Prevention unit and the provincial departments of Community Safety.³²⁹ This strategy would be implemented on national, provincial, and local level. The concepts of the SCP are promoted by the NCPS and the White Paper. The SCP focuses on crime prevention through three strategies: offender-based strategies; victim-based strategies; and environment-based strategies. Firstly, offender-based strategies focus on criminals or people who are suspected of committing crimes, with the goal of achieving positive behavioural change; victim-based strategies focused on assisting crime victims by providing information targeted at reducing the likelihood of becoming a victim; and environment-based strategies aimed at

³²⁴ G. Newham, ‘A Decade of Crime Prevention in South Africa: From a national strategy to a local challenge’. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Report*, 2005.

³²⁵ Anon., ‘Tourist safety plan to aid crime victims’. *The Citizen*, 13 December 2005, p. 13.

³²⁶ White Paper on Corrections, 2005.

³²⁷ Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, ‘Twenty Year Review South Africa 1994 – 2014’ *Background Paper: Safety and Security*, 2015, pp. 3-4.

³²⁸ Y. Stander. ‘Safety and security role players come up with contingency plans for holidays’. *Weekend Post*, 11 December 2010.

³²⁹ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

changing the social, economic, and other elements that contribute to crime.³³⁰ A vision of a safe South Africa, safe communities, safe families, and responsible individuals was included in this approach. The plan created a solid foundation for social crime prevention in South Africa by prioritising the “poorest of the poor” and marginalised and disadvantaged populations.³³¹

In 2011, Cape Town’s Table Mountain introduced 50 armed rangers to fight crime in this internationally renowned tourism destination.³³² In this same year, the Western Cape Department of Finance, Economic Development and Tourism also introduced the Tourism Safety and Support Team to curb crime, but also to assist tourists who were victimised in the province. In a sense, the actions taken by Cape Town align with what Cohen and Felson say in their routine activity theory about crime being an everyday activity and this is what we see Cape Town authorities reacting to. This team was very effective and contributed to a significant decline of crime against tourists in that year. In that same year, the National Development plan (NDP) was released, but was adopted in 2012. The NDP contains an entire Chapter on safe communities in South Africa (Chapter 12). This Chapter explains that safety is a prerequisite for human development, bettering one’s quality of life, and increasing productivity. Communities that do not feel safe and are living in fear have a negative impact on their well-being and impair their ability to achieve and contribute successfully to the country’s economic development.³³³

By 2012, the government introduced “tourism specific interventions which included the Department of Justice’s fast tracking of prosecutorial processes of cases involving tourists”.³³⁴ This initiative was to prevent attacks on tourists, deal with crime against tourists, and designate a police officer in every police station to deal with tourism crime-related issues.³³⁵ This strategy appeared to be effective in theory, but the challenges to government are implementing

³³⁰ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

³³¹ Safer Spaces, 2015, <<https://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/discussing-safety-and-security-in-south-africa-the-importance-of-dialogues>> access: 14 August 2021.

³³² N. Prince. ‘Armed rangers to patrol Table Mountain’. *Cape Argus*, 07 April 2011.

³³³ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³³⁴ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 173 - 180.

³³⁵ B. Cole. ‘Crime fears addressed: safety strategy for SA tourism’. *Daily News*, 24 July 2007.

strategies in practice due to a variety of factors, including resource restrictions and corruption.³³⁶

In 2015, the Community Safety Forums Policy was adopted and a new draft White Paper on Safety and Security was also released for public consultation by the Civilian Secretariat of the Police, which set a new standard for a holistic and developmental approach to crime and violence prevention.³³⁷ In 2017, the then tourism Minister Tokozile Xasa launched the National Tourism Safety Monitors Programme in Gauteng, with the goal of improving visitor experience and tourist safety.³³⁸ In 2019, the National Department of Tourism continued their mission of implementing safety measures to prevent crime against tourists in South Africa. The Department stated that to effectively combat crime against tourists, it would: identify tourism hotspots and analyse them; establish a database for tourism crimes; enhance initiatives for crime prevention; and ensure that the implementation of an optimised policing and security strategy was introduced in the tourism environment.³³⁹ They also stressed that this strategy requires a joint effort from other ministerial divisions as well as the private and public sector. The Department also highlighted that the importance of gathering comprehensive statistics and research to produce reliable information and data to assist risk assessments that decision makers and policy makers use.³⁴⁰ They further emphasised the importance of training and educating travel employees, private and public sector service personnel as guardians to safeguard tourists; developing and facilitating partnerships in public and private sector for the safety of travel and growth of the economy as well as implementing programmes of emergency services for tourists, assisting in crime events and prosecuting offenders.³⁴¹ Lastly, they committed to allocating funds to law authorities to ensure the general well-being of tourists and travellers.³⁴²

³³⁶ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, 'Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa'. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 173 - 180.

³³⁷ Safer Spaces, 2015, <<https://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/discussing-safety-and-security-in-south-africa-the-importance-of-dialogues>> access: 14 August 2021.

³³⁸ South African Government, 2017, <<https://www.gov.za/speeches/minister-tokozile-xasa-launches-gauteng-tourism-monitors-17-oct-10-oct-2017-0000>>, access: 18 January 2022.

³³⁹ Business Tech, 2020, <<https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/333321/new-projects-to-help-keep-tourists-safe-from-crime-in-south-africa/amp/>>, access: 18 September 2020.

³⁴⁰ Business Tech, 2020, <<https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/333321/new-projects-to-help-keep-tourists-safe-from-crime-in-south-africa/amp/>>, access: 18 September 2020.

³⁴¹ Business Tech, 2020, <<https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/333321/new-projects-to-help-keep-tourists-safe-from-crime-in-south-africa/amp/>>, access: 18 September 2020.

³⁴² Business Tech, 2020, <<https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/333321/new-projects-to-help-keep-tourists-safe-from-crime-in-south-africa/amp/>>, access: 18 September 2020.

These endeavours at various levels reflect on the seriousness of the crime against tourists' problem. Figure 9 shows a timeline with mitigation strategies that the DEAT and later NDT implemented in collaboration with the SAPS, Department of Social Development (DSD), Department of Safety and Security (DSS), Department of Correctional Services (DCS) Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ & CD) other collaborating crime prevention agencies for the period from 1996 to 2019.

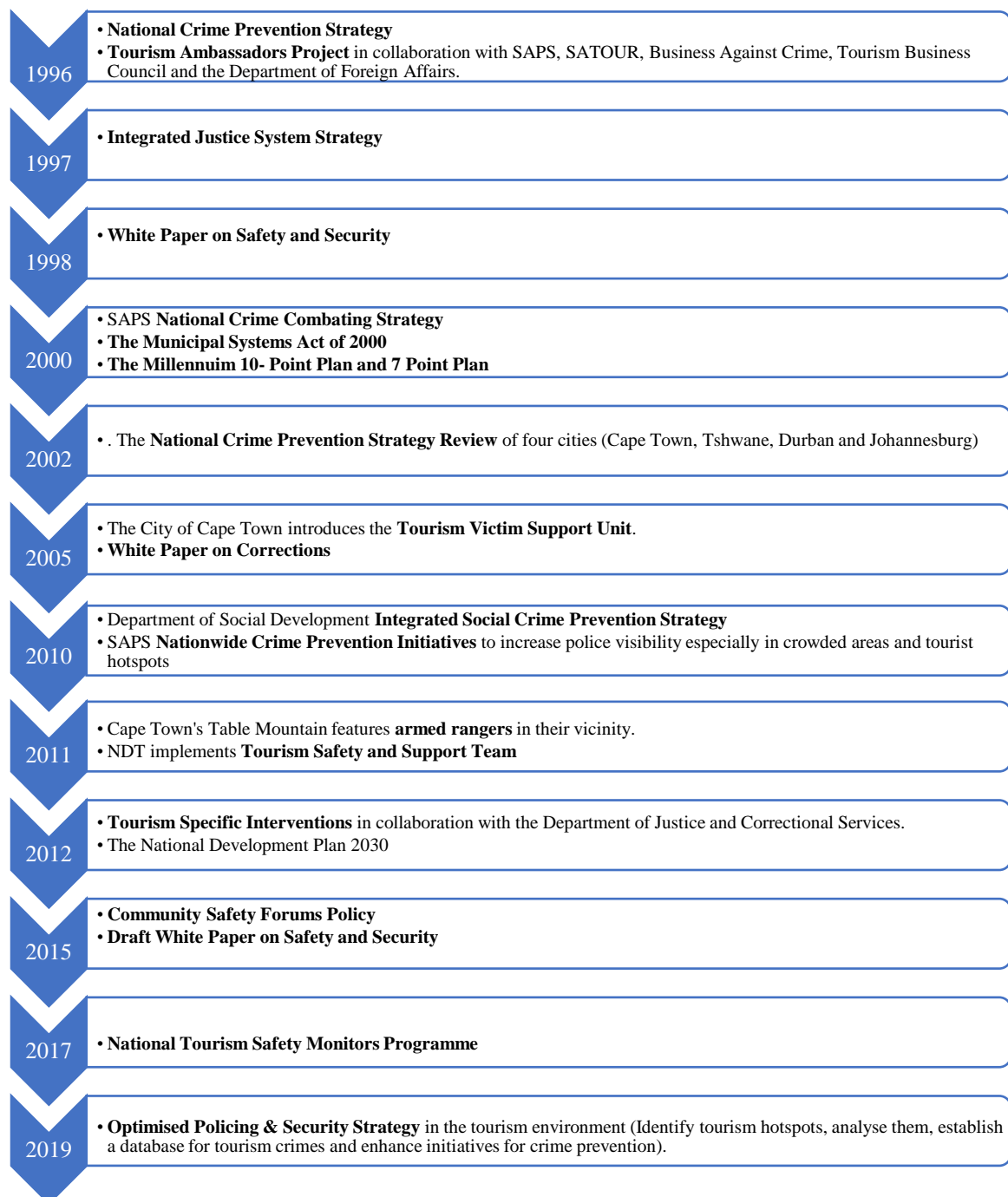


Figure 9: South Africa's crime mitigation strategies relating to tourism (1996-2019).

According to G. Newham, challenges that South Africa faces in terms of effectively implementing crime mitigation strategies is research and planning of new initiatives; rigorous evaluation of crime prevention initiatives; and establishing effective multi-agency partnerships.³⁴³ Scholars Vyas-Doorgapersad and Ababio highlight other identified challenges “such as a lack of financial capacity and human skills to deal with crime, inadequate information regarding statistics of crime, backlog of cases, lack of institutional approaches, and strategies for planning and monitoring”.³⁴⁴ These challenges all affect the successful implementation of crime mitigation strategies in the country. However, to address these issues, the government has established an integrated judicial system approach emphasising collaboration and coordination to assist in coping with the pressures of serious crime impacts.³⁴⁵ Through interconnected relationships and procedures with relevant departments, a shared aim of crime prevention can be reached.

From the above discussion, it is evident that crime prevention is a collaborative project that requires a variety of role players with more emphasis on the communities being the most important role player. The SCP strategy is an integrated strategy that is community focused. This is explained visually in Figure 10 which shows that effective crime prevention requires the reversal of the pyramid that defines the roles of national, provincial and local government. The national government are at the bottom of the pyramid to balance it through the planning, development of strategies, policies (legislative framework) and political leadership (guidance) enabled by national treasury.³⁴⁶ The provincial government are the supportive stream tasked with providing capacity, resources, networking and good practice for the implementation of crime prevention strategies. While the local government and the communities are tasked with the most important task which is the implementation of crime prevention strategies.³⁴⁷ The provincial government empowers the local government and communities to effectively

³⁴³ G. Newham, ‘A Decade of Crime Prevention in South Africa: From a national strategy to a local challenge’. *Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Report*, 2005.

³⁴⁴ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 173 - 180.

³⁴⁵ S. Vyas-Doorgapersad and E.P. Ababio, ‘Analysis of Crime Prevention Strategies for Sustainable Governance in South Africa’. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 3(3), 2008, pp. 173 - 180.

³⁴⁶ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

³⁴⁷ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

perform their task. The other important element in this figure is feedback. Communities can provide feedback to national government through “democratic elections that will assist in providing political stability, while the learning that is achieved at local level will also feed back into national policies and treasury allocations”.³⁴⁸ National government can determine the safety needs of local communities and respond with better ways to serve these communities. This can only be made possible through effective feedback flow. This in turn will lead to “policies, budgets and resources that will respond to the functions that must be performed at local level; and they will be more effectively and appropriately managed”.³⁴⁹

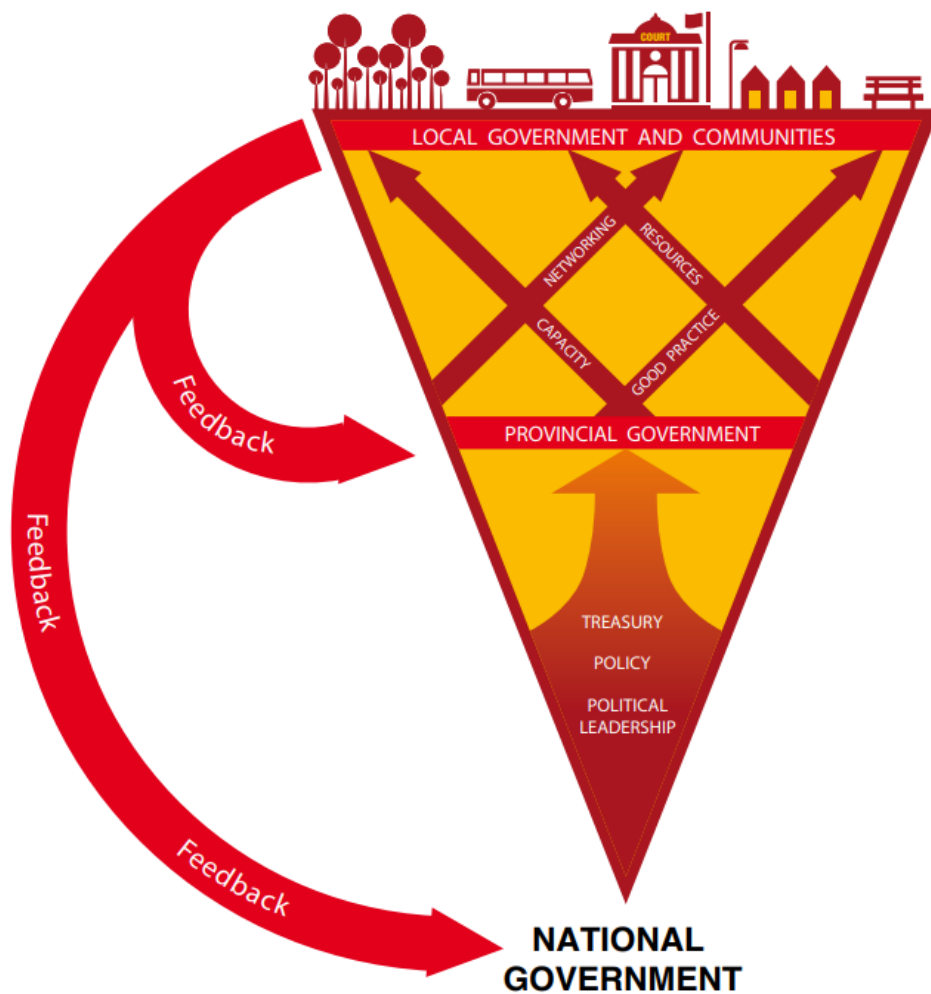


Figure 10: The Pyramid reversal (Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. 2011)

³⁴⁸ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

³⁴⁹ Department of Social Development, ‘Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy’. *DSD Report*, 2011, pp. 1-62.

c) Local Guidelines for Effective Crime Prevention

In 2016 the ISS, in collaboration with CSIR, developed a community-based crime prevention manual to help make South Africa safer. The goal of this guidebook is to assist individuals, communities, safety and security authorities and local governments in charge of combating crime for safer communities. Figure 11 shows possible interventions that could be applied to curb crime which involves the use of law enforcement, applying situational crime prevention and utilising social crime prevention approaches that in combination provide a chance of delivering effective results. However, every community, local and provincial government is a unique case study. The aim of the manual is not to provide a standard blueprint for them to follow, but rather a step-by-step procedure for developing and implementing a “concise, user-friendly and practical” community-based crime prevention strategy for themselves.³⁵⁰

³⁵⁰ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.



Figure 11: Three approaches to reduce crime with examples of possible interventions (CSIR, *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016)

The process of developing and implementing a crime prevention strategy requires planning. According to the CSIR manual, there are essentially four stages of the development and implementation of a crime prevention strategy.³⁵¹ The first stage is to conduct a community safety audit that will detect crime and crime related issues, gain an understanding of the community's characteristics, physical and social surroundings, and the organizations or people already participating in crime prevention activities in the local community or municipality.³⁵² The second stage involves developing a strategy to combat crime and violence based on the findings of the safety audit. The third stage entails putting the strategy into action and managing it according to strong project management standards. The fourth stage involves monitoring and

³⁵¹ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

³⁵² The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

evaluating the plan using a defined framework to determine what works, what does not, and what might work.³⁵³

Figure 12 shows the stages and the step-by-step process that the local governments and communities can follow to develop and implement their own crime prevention strategies for a safer South Africa. It is critical to plan for this process, establish partnerships, create communication channels, source funding, encourage community participation, manage projects and have a fully functioning monitoring and evaluation tool.³⁵⁴ According to the CSIR manual, crime and violence is “complex” and requires a systematic approach, comprehensive responses, integrated and sustained interventions. It is argued that the lack of these may pose challenges to the developed crime prevention strategy.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

³⁵⁴ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

³⁵⁵ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

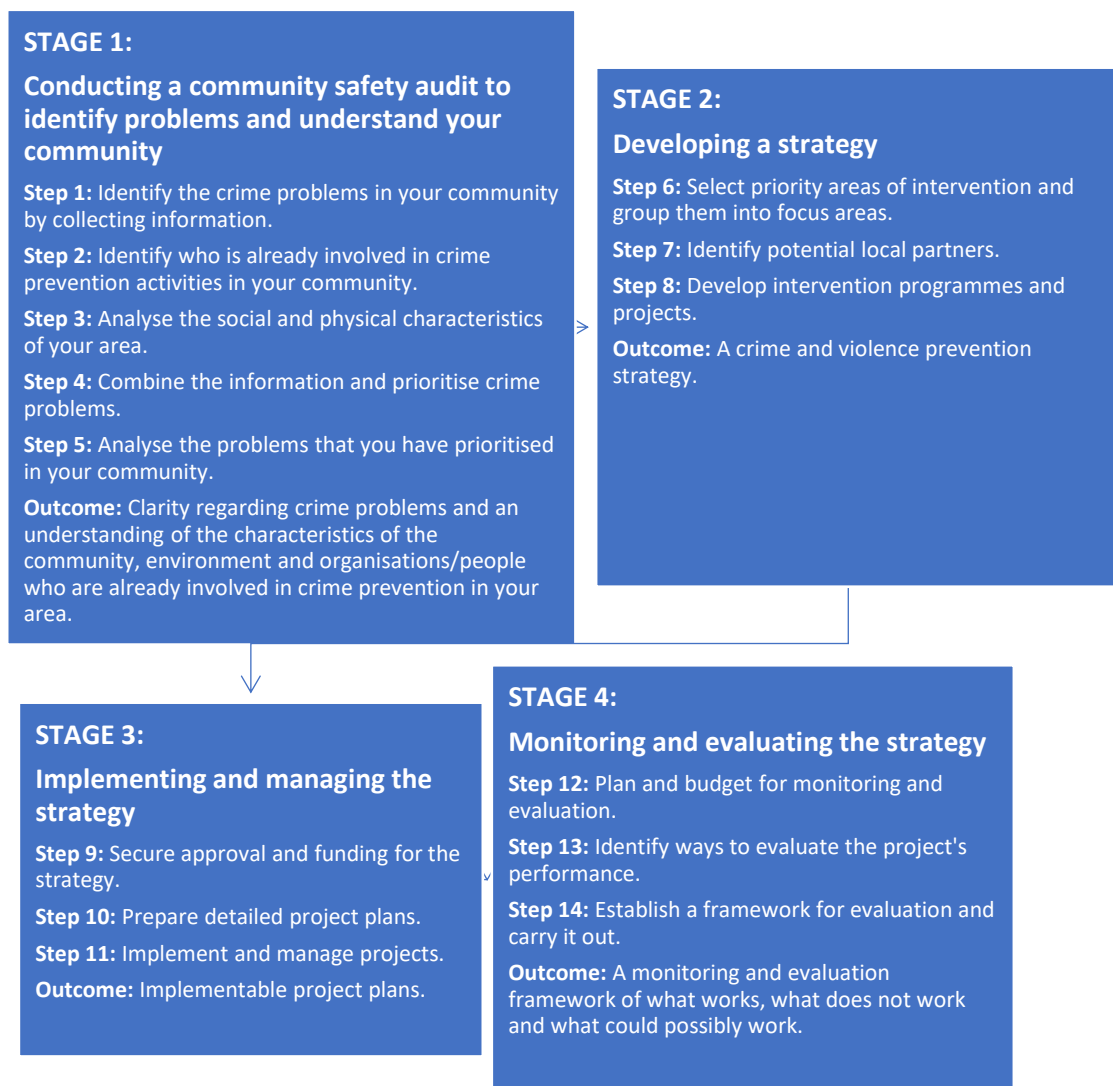


Figure 12: The stages and steps in developing and implementing a community-based crime prevention strategy (CSIR, *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016).

It is also vital to have continued support and commitment from all role players to solve the problem at hand. The active contribution to the reduction of crime is also in support of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that includes the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and making a tangible difference in the country.³⁵⁶ Some of these goals deal specifically with safety and security, for example SDG 11 focuses on making “cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” and SDG 16 promotes “peaceful and

³⁵⁶ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d. < <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>> access: 14 August 2021.

inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels”.³⁵⁷

Similar to the handbook discussed above, the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) developed a guidebook to assist provincial and local municipal officials in the development of community safety plans for their respective municipalities. This is a quick and easy-to-use guidebook that facilitates engagement in social safety activities or events such as community safety audits, community dialogues, or the incorporation of safety principles into Integrated Development Plans (IDP) to create safer communities and strengthen capacity within these two spheres of government.³⁵⁸ This guidebook outlines promising practices for crime and violence prevention. According to research evidence, violence can be prevented by adopting strategies and initiatives at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels that reduce risk factors and improve protective factors.³⁵⁹ This guidebook concurs with the CSIR’s stages and step-by-step process to developing and implementing crime prevention strategies in a community. It also highlights that the stages (similar to those of the CSIR) to developing a community safety plan are as follows: stage 1 conducts a community safety audit; stage 2 develops a community safety plan; stage 3 creates an implementation strategy; and stage 4 drafts a monitoring and evaluation framework.

In addition, this guidebook states that for strategies and initiatives to be effective, they need to be structured at primary, secondary and tertiary stages incorporating situational, social and institutional crime prevention. The primary stage of violence prevention addresses “the underlying drivers of violence by reducing the risk factors and strengthening the protective factors present in a particular community, before violence actually occurs”.³⁶⁰ Situational violence prevention (STED) operates at this stage to ensure that there are less opportunities to commit crime (altering the physical environment) such as installing streetlights in the

³⁵⁷ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d. < <https://sdgs.un.org/goals> > access: 14 August 2021.

³⁵⁸ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 2.

³⁵⁹ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

³⁶⁰ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

community.³⁶¹ It focuses on the creating of a safe community and protecting its people from crime. This is also known as crime prevention through environmental design.³⁶²

The secondary stage of crime prevention “focuses on stopping the continuation or escalation of violence by addressing people who have already been exposed to risk factors, and/or who have already demonstrated violent behaviour”.³⁶³ Social violence prevention can effectively assist in this stage through strengthening social cohesion. Not unlike the CSIR manual, this guideline also targets individuals, families, and communities that can be encouraged and empowered to participate in their own development and decision-making by reducing their inclination or motivation to engage in violent behaviour.³⁶⁴ The local government and community safety stakeholders can engage in capacity building for communities by providing skills development for the youth, family support for parenting and service provision to limit motivations to commit crime.³⁶⁵

Lastly, the tertiary stage “aims to provide long-term support to people after an act of violence has occurred, by addressing both people who have experienced violence and people who have committed violence”.³⁶⁶ Through institutional violence prevention, crime can be reduced by amending policies, legislation and the overall functioning of institutions.³⁶⁷ It is crucial to educate and train municipal officials in the development of safety plans, strengthen their participation in community issues such as crime and create awareness as well as implement these safety plans to ensure safer communities. Figure 13 is a graphic illustration of the different stages and violence prevention strategies as well as their interrelationship propounded by this guidebook.

³⁶¹ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

³⁶² Menlo Park, n.d. < [³⁶³ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.](https://www.menlopark.org/947/Crime-Prevention-Through-Environmental-D#:~:text=Crime%20Prevention%20Through%20Environmental%20Design%20or%20CPTED%20(pronounced%20sep%20ted,either%20encourage%20or%20discourage%20crime.&text=The%20three%20elements%20of%20CPTED%20are%20Territoriality%2C%20Surveillance%20and%20Access%20Control>”, access: 11 November 2021.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

³⁶⁴ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

³⁶⁵ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113

³⁶⁶ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

³⁶⁷ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, ‘Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials, *Community Safety Plans Guidebook*, n.d., p. 8.

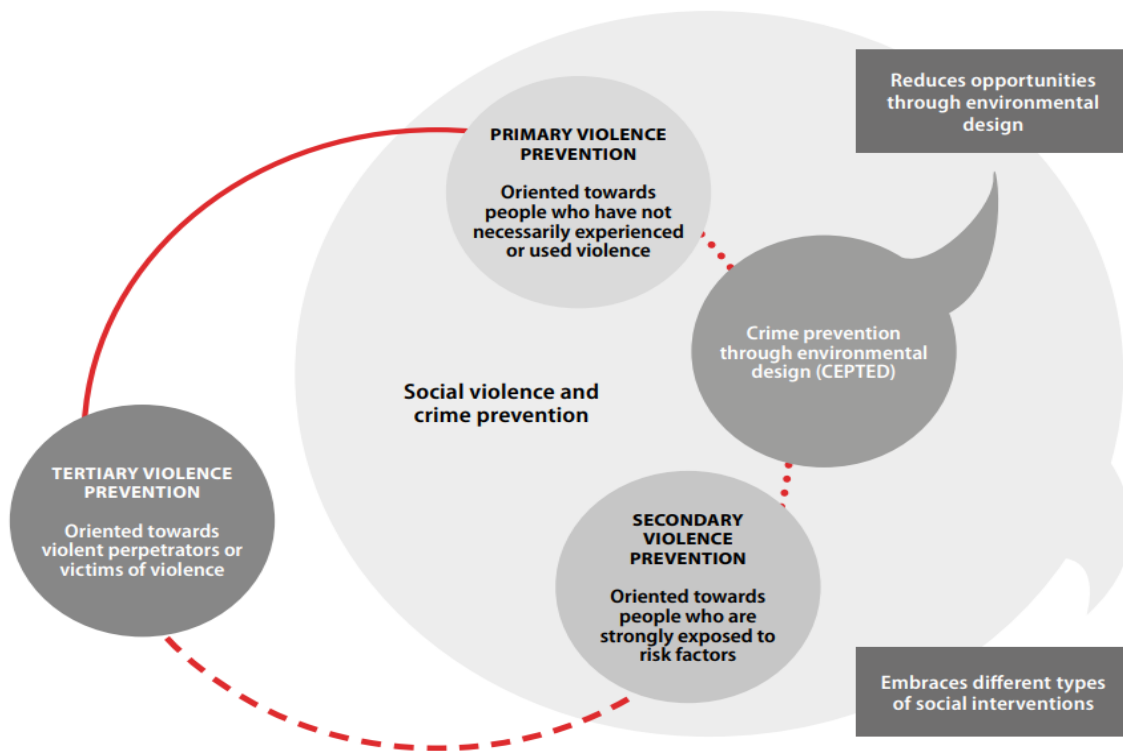


Figure 13: Stages and violence prevention strategies (Civilian Secretariat for Police Service & SALGA, *Developing Community Safety Plans: A Guidebook for Provincial and Local Municipal Officials*, n.d.)

As outlined in earlier discussions of this Chapter, the NDP Chapter 12 significantly strives to act as a guide to building safer communities by 2030. Security and safety are a core human right inextricably linked to socio-economic development and equality, affecting development goals such as growth and transformation, job creation, improved education and health results, and social cohesion.³⁶⁸ Thus, communities in South African cannot continue to not feel safe and live in fear. The 2030 vision aims to build safer communities through five focus points to achieve a crime-free South Africa.

Firstly, this focuses on the importance of the need to “strengthen the criminal justice system”, because through a strong criminal justice system crime can be effectively prevented. However there needs to be cooperation between all the departments in the justice crime prevention and security cluster.³⁶⁹ Secondly, it sets out to “make the police service professional”. This can be achieved through merging the police code of conduct with the code of professionalism to

³⁶⁸ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³⁶⁹ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

promotion and disciplinary regulations.³⁷⁰ The recruited police force should display competence and professionalism as this is essential for a strong criminal justice system. Thirdly, it strives to “demilitarise the police service” as this is key to correct the history of brutality by the police service during the Apartheid era.³⁷¹ It is evident from the past that police militarisation often leads to police murders and damage to their reputation, rather than greater respect for the police or high conviction rates.³⁷² In addition, it endorses the need to “build safety using an integrated approach”, which focuses on tackling the fundamental causes of crime which can assist in achieving long term and sustainable safety.³⁷³ Lastly, “build community participation in community safety” because communities play a crucial role in promoting a safe and secure society.³⁷⁴ While communities are an important stakeholder, local governments are also a vital stakeholder that can assist in establishing community safety centres, programmes and policing forums to enable safe and healthy communities. These guidelines can be implemented alongside well considered and effective law enforcement interventions driven by the criminal justice system as part of an overall safety strategy.

In 2014, South Africa celebrated 20 years of freedom in the democratic Republic however, pertinent issues such as crime were far from being solved. The DPME conducted a safety and security 20-year review to analyse the crime situation of the country at that time and recommended realistic mitigation strategies to assist in reducing crime in the country. In this review report, it was highlighted that the NCPS effectively enhanced visible policing and improved crime combating initiatives of the criminal justice system.³⁷⁵ Statistics show that crime was not completely eliminated, but its prevalence decreased significantly between 2003/4 and 2012 but citizens are still not feeling any safer.³⁷⁶

The efforts of the government to reduce crime in the country was evident through various strategies such as the NCPS, Integrated SCP strategy, SAPS and stakeholder efforts as well as

³⁷⁰ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³⁷¹ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³⁷² J. Mummolo, 2018, <<https://www.pnas.org/content/115/37/9181>>, access: 15 August 2021.

³⁷³ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³⁷⁴ South African Government, n.d., <<https://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030>> access: 15 August 2021.

³⁷⁵ Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, ‘Twenty Year Review South Africa 1994 – 2014’ *Background Paper: Safety and Security*, 2015, p. 4.

³⁷⁶ Africa Check, 2013, <<https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/factsheets/factsheet-south-africa-official-crime-statistics-201213>>, access: 15 August 2021.

amendments of law and legislation.³⁷⁷ Gender-based violence and sexual offences against vulnerable groups (women and children) were reduced through “Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act of 2007 and the Children's Amendment Act of 2007³⁷⁸; reintroducing the specialised units (Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences units) in the SAPS; resourcing and establishing more victim-friendly rooms at SAPS service points; and empowering prosecutors, police, magistrates and doctors with specialised skills, as well as keeping dangerous sexual offenders under long-term supervision on release from prison”.³⁷⁹

In addition, it is evident in most crime prevention guidelines that a more effective criminal justice system is vital to reduce crime. Thus, in the interests of a safer and more secure South Africa, the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster (within this 20-year period) prioritised improving court performance to provide accessible, fair, quick, and cost-effective administration of justice.³⁸⁰ This report also elaborated on the necessity of partnerships between government and communities. The Community Policing Policy and the Community Safety Forum Policy Framework were put in place to assist Community Policing Forums (CPFs) and Community Safety Forums (CSFs) which are “meant to facilitate the delivery of a multi-sectoral governmental approach to safety in local communities” with the help of the police force.³⁸¹ These are some of the most effective and practical tactics that the SAPS advocates to help reduce crime into the future. However, there are still challenges of capacity “in areas of forensic, detective, investigation and prosecution services, which hamper the JCPS Cluster’s efforts to reduce the overall levels of crime, particularly trio and contact crimes”.³⁸² This review recommended the implementation of the Seven-point Plan for an efficient and effective criminal justice system as well as crime-fighting strategies in policing initiatives, policies of safety and security, police intelligence and overall crime prevention.

³⁷⁷ Ditto

³⁷⁸ Civilian Secretariat for Police Service, ‘Policy on Reducing Barriers to the Reporting of Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence’, *Policies*, n.d, pp. 1-28.

³⁷⁹ Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, ‘Twenty Year Review South Africa 1994 – 2014’ *Background Paper: Safety and Security*, 2015, pp. 3-4.

³⁸⁰ Department of Government Communications and Information System, ‘Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster briefing’, *Media Briefings*, 2014.

³⁸¹ Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, ‘Twenty Year Review South Africa 1994 – 2014’ *Background Paper: Safety and Security*, 2015, pp. 3-4.

³⁸² Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, ‘Twenty Year Review South Africa 1994 – 2014’ *Background Paper: Safety and Security*, 2015, pp. 3-4.

d) International Guidelines to Effective Crime Prevention

At an international level, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) established crime prevention guidelines to assist countries in creating safer communities using practical and concrete ways that are far less costly, rather than the utilisation of oppressive and discouraging responses.³⁸³ These guidelines consist of standards and norms that “support the rule of law, human rights and a culture of lawfulness through the development of crime prevention and criminal justice reform”.³⁸⁴

According to the UNODC handbook, various issues such as inadequate infrastructure, fiscal and administrative powers, poor housing and neighbourhood conditions, a lack of facilities such as good education and health services, high unemployment, and easy access to drugs or small arms can all increase risks and motivate crime at the local level.³⁸⁵ It also highlights biological and personal variables, which may contribute to early aggressive behaviour or serious substance abuse, are risk factors for offending and victimisation at the individual level.³⁸⁶ Family features such as harsh or irregular parenting, family conflict and violence and abuse, family situations such as poverty and isolation, and relationships with friends or peers that might lead to risk-taking and law breaking are according to the guidelines all risk factors associated with relationships.³⁸⁷ In general, it appears that knowing what factors put communities and people at risk of criminality or victimisation allows preventative programmes to be more effective and particular in their targeting of these issues.

The UNODC handbook identified the types of crime prevention strategies that countries could adopt to mitigate against crime. Figure 14 shows the four different approaches to crime prevention.

³⁸³ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113

³⁸⁴ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁸⁵ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁸⁶ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁸⁷ R. K. Mwangangi, ‘The Role of Family in Dealing with Juvenile Delinquency’, *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 7(3), 2019, pp. 52-63.

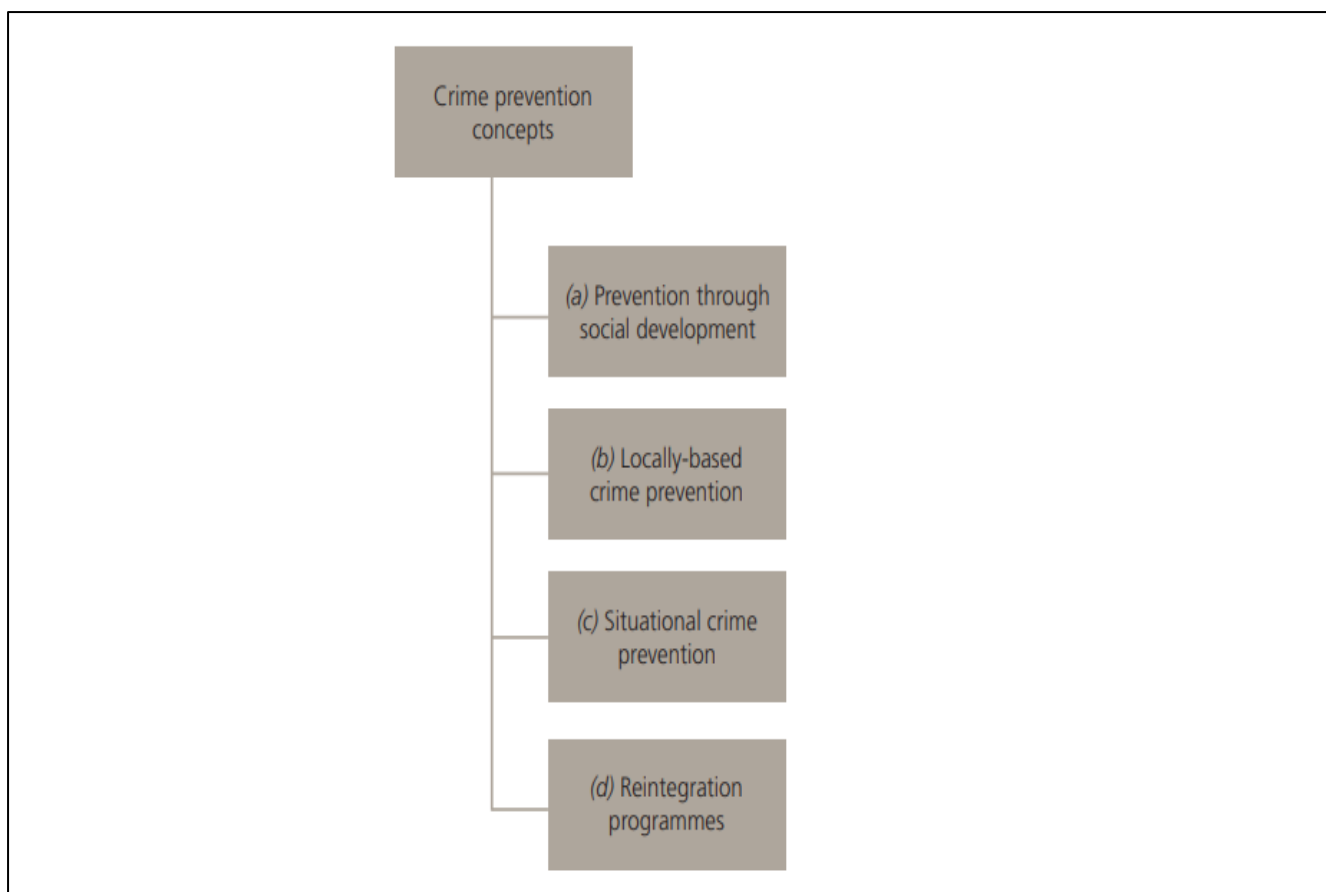


Figure 14: Different approaches to crime prevention (UNODC, 'Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work', 2010)

Firstly, “crime prevention through social development”. This encompasses a variety of social, educational, health, and training programs, such as those that provide assistance and child-rearing skills to at-risk children or families when the children are young.³⁸⁸ Secondly, “community or locally based crime prevention”. This approach claims that instead of targeting people, community, or locally based crime prevention, the focus must rather be on locations where there is a high danger of becoming involved in crime or becoming a victim.³⁸⁹ This comprises places with a high level of deprivation in infrastructure, services, and wealth, as well as a lack of community cohesion. Thirdly, “situational crime prevention” sets out to limit opportunities that raise the likelihood of being apprehended, and lowering the benefits of committing crime, through environmental design, as well as by offering support and

³⁸⁸ UNODC, 'Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work'. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁸⁹ UNODC, 'Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work'. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

information to potential and current victims.³⁹⁰ The last approach is the “reintegration programmes” for children, young people, and adults that have already been involved in the criminal justice system, including those in custody and returning to the community. This is also regarded as one way to reduce crime.³⁹¹ These efforts do not only aim to minimize crime and dissuade criminals, but also offer residents and tourists with safety tips so that they are less likely to become victims. Furthermore, they also try to solve the social and psychological issues that exist within these societies at a local and individual level.³⁹²

As highlighted in Chapter 2, Brás and Rodrigues suggested measures that countries can implement to mitigate crime on tourism in their respective states and promote tourism safety.³⁹³ They highlighted the importance of utilizing security forces in both the public and private sectors who are always ready to intervene and deal with tourism-related crimes. Information on tourism-related crimes must be provided in an understandable and clear manner to identify as well as control risks.³⁹⁴ Compliance and adoption by local communities of safety standards and safety measures, as well as by destinations must be ensured. Moreover, these scholars stressed the need for educating the tourists and ensuring they are aware of the crime conditions in the country. They consider the implementation of such measures as essential to assist the reduction of crime rates and maintain tourist safety.³⁹⁵

The work by S. Agarwal provides an example of the above. The Algarve situated in the southernmost area of Portugal introduced a campaign in 2014 for “Safe Summers” in their communities. This initiative was a joint effort in collaboration with the Police, Safe Communities Algarve and Turismo do Algarve. It distributes safety information to tourists in the form of pamphlets to help them avoid beach crime and fraudulent rental property scams.³⁹⁶ The rationale is that enhancing community safety can be achieved through the provision of knowledge to visitors to encourage change in their behaviour while on holiday and decrease

³⁹⁰ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁹¹ UNODC, ‘Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work’. *Criminal Justice Handbook Series*, 2010, pp. 1-113.

³⁹² S. Agarwal, ‘Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention’. *University of Plymouth PEARL*, 2016, pp. 1-36.

³⁹³ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

³⁹⁴ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

³⁹⁵ M. Brás and V. Rodrigues, ‘Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos’, *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

³⁹⁶ S. Agarwal, ‘Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention’. *University of Plymouth PEARL*, 2016, pp. 1-36.

the likelihood of victimisation.³⁹⁷ The Algarve are building safer communities for tourists through “social advertising” and “public service announcements” on their crime situation to assist potential targets.³⁹⁸ However, it is argued that such crime prevention initiatives disseminate information rather than focusing on the complex behavioural or social issues that need to be understood to reduce and prevent crime.³⁹⁹

The Arizona State University (ASU) Center for Problem-Oriented Policing developed a list of general considerations and responses to the problem of crimes against tourists. The drafted response strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and police problem-solving efforts that can serve as guidelines for communities to tailor their own crime prevention strategies. According to this list, the general considerations for an effective strategy should include, firstly, collaboration with the tourism industry to identify and address crime-related concerns in and around tourism destinations.⁴⁰⁰ The second consideration is for the relevant departments, organisations, agencies and local stakeholders to train police and private security staff to recognize and address tourist-related safety concerns.⁴⁰¹ For example, in New Orleans and Orlando, Florida, police departments have special units with personnel trained specifically in tourism issues, who are visible to protect tourists, who work closely with tourism-related local organisations and advise rental property employees (e.g., security guards) regarding crime prevention techniques.⁴⁰²

Thirdly, law enforcement can assist in facilitating tourist victims' testimony in criminal cases via teleconferencing such as they do in Hawaii or the “Victim Fly-Back Program” in the Dade County (Florida) for the victim’s return to testify which can assist in prosecuting tourism-related cases.⁴⁰³ Tourist destinations can also levy additional taxes to fund special security measures that can help reduce crime.⁴⁰⁴ They can encourage hotels and motels to implement practices that prevent guest victimisation, such as hiring full-time security guards, providing

³⁹⁷ S. Agarwal, ‘Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention’. *University of Plymouth PEARL*, 2016, pp. 1-36.

³⁹⁸ K. Bowers and S. Johnson, ‘Using Publicity for Preventative Purposes’. In N. Tilley (Ed.), *Handbook of Crime Prevention: Theory, Policy and Practice*, 2005, pp 329-354. London: Willan.

³⁹⁹ S. Agarwal, ‘Tourist Persuasion and Crime prevention’. *University of Plymouth PEARL*, 2016, pp. 1-36.

⁴⁰⁰ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

⁴⁰¹ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

⁴⁰² A. Pizam, P.E. Tarlow and J. Bloom, ‘Making Tourists Feel Safe: Whose Responsibility is it?’. *Journal of Travel Research* 36(1), 1997, pp. 23-28.

⁴⁰³ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

⁴⁰⁴ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

safety deposit boxes, and installing surveillance cameras.⁴⁰⁵ It is also proposed that information that leads to the arrest and conviction of people who commit significant crimes against visitors should be rewarded as this can also be effective.⁴⁰⁶ To lessen the danger of being a victim, it is also critical to educate tourists and provide them with information on crime hazards in the area.⁴⁰⁷ In addition, tourist destinations can increase uniform patrols in their areas and use citizen patrols to support police patrols.⁴⁰⁸ Lastly, the ASU recommends that they can conduct surveillance in high-risk areas and alter the physical environment to decrease the potential for tourist crimes, such as using signage to assist tourists.⁴⁰⁹ (See Table 3)

Table 3: ASU General Considerations and Responses to Crime

NUMBER	GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RESPONSES TO CRIME
1.	Collaboration with the tourism industry.
2.	Training of police and private security staff.
3.	Law enforcement assisting in facilitating tourist victims' testimony in criminal cases.
4.	Special security measures (e.g., hire full-time security guards, providing safety deposit boxes, and installing surveillance cameras).
5.	Rewards for information that might lead to the arrest and conviction of the criminals.
6.	Informing and educating tourist of crime hazards and safety measures.
7.	Uniform Patrols (e.g., police or private security).
8.	Environmental Design (e.g., altering the physical environment, signage and monitored surveillance)

Chapter 3 discussed three case studies from the DRC, Venezuela and PNG highlighting the respective country's crime situation. The DRC suffers from various crime related issues such

⁴⁰⁵ K. De Albuquerque and J. McKlroy, "Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean." *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(4), 1999, pp. 968-994.

⁴⁰⁶ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

⁴⁰⁷ J.C. Crotts, 'Theoretical Perspectives on Tourist Criminal Victimization', *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 7 (1), 1996, pp. 2-9.

⁴⁰⁸ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

⁴⁰⁹ ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, n.d. < <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/crimes-against-tourists-page-3>> access: 20 July 2021.

as rape, murder, kidnappings, corruption, police inefficiency, political instability and human rights violations. The DRC government, police force and the UN peace mission MONUSCO have been struggling to curb crime in the country for decades. The DRC is renowned for having a violent and war ridden history. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the “Police Programme Africa” was introduced to support police reform in the DRC. However, in order to combat transnational organised crime, strengthen border security, eradicate sexual violence and professionalise the DRC police force, the programme assisted in increasing expert and technical knowledge in certain areas like forensics and improving regional police service cooperation as well as countering and preventing sexual and gender-based violence as part of an EU-funded programme.⁴¹⁰ The programme is actively working on improving these special units, ensuring that incidents of sexual abuse are handled properly across the country and that perpetrators are handed over to state authorities.⁴¹¹ A police force that is efficient, transparent, and service-oriented is supposed to be capable of protecting public safety, which is a vital condition for attaining long-term growth.⁴¹² This programme continues to work satisfactorily in the DRC to strengthen the Congolese police force, professionalise them, instil civilian trust in the police, extend police service through modern technology “even to remote areas” and mitigate against crime in the region.⁴¹³ Partnership and collaborations from stakeholders such as the government, GIZ, the European Union (EU), criminal investigations departments, public prosecutor’s office and the community were vital to build capacity and effectively roll out the programme.

In the 2011 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report on organized crime and instability in Central Africa, they stated that the approach to mitigate crime and violence in the eastern parts of the DRC was focused on heavy military actions for the sole purpose of public protection. It was not a case of war or inflicting violence on citizens, but rather capacity building in terms of law enforcement and creating a functioning justice system (encouraging the modification and restructuring of police, courts, and prisons).⁴¹⁴

As was also made apparent in Chapter 3, in Venezuela, crime has been a challenging issue for decades. The country adopted the police model from the late 1940s and 1950s with methods of

⁴¹⁰ GIZ, n.d., <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19919.html>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹¹ GIZ, n.d., <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19919.html>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹² GIZ, n.d., <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19919.html>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹³ GIZ, n.d., <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/19919.html>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹⁴ UNODC, ‘Organised Crime and Instability in Central Africa: A Threat Assessment’, *UNODC Studies and Threat Analysis Section, Division for Policy Analysis and Public Affairs*, 2011.

brutality, torture, forced disappearances and inflicting fear of the police among the public.⁴¹⁵ Criminal behaviour was low and severely punished under the dictatorship's reign. During the democratic era (late 1980s and 1990s), the police force concentrated on being the best investigative police force in the region, solving murders and complex crime, developing innovative and cutting-edge technology and investigative techniques as well as developing effective administrative and preventive activities.⁴¹⁶ Chapter 3 highlighted that the rule of Chávez and Maduro in decentralised governments tried to eradicate this social ill often in quite contradictory ways. According to a survey done in 2013 on methods to reduce crime in Venezuela, respondents (citizen security and citizens) highlighted that to effectively reduce crime in the country, the following methods can be applied: “improving the values taught to children by the family; decreasing poverty and social inequality; professionalising police officers; reforming the judicial and penal systems; a permanent deployment of military in sectors with high rates of crime; improving access to sports and cultural activities; and improving access to public space”.⁴¹⁷ Data from this survey showed that family values ranked as the first choice to reduce crime as it is believed that family values effectively privatises and depoliticises crime.⁴¹⁸ Addressing social and cultural causes such as poverty and inequality ranked second and police professionalising as well as military deployment ranked third. These methods were the top three methods voted for by the public and citizen security that could possibly reduce crime in Venezuela.

In 2019, the opposition leader and president of Venezuela’s National Assembly J. Guaidó launched a new security plan for a potential transition government proposing to restore citizen security and neutralize the armed groups that were crippling the country.⁴¹⁹ The goal of this strategy was to reduce crime by prioritising four areas of intervention in order to restore national stability, police and social measures to minimise violence, as well as criminal justice and prison reforms.⁴²⁰ It also includes ideas for arms control, which is critical in combatting

⁴¹⁵ L. Cedeño, ‘El Surgimiento de las Megabandas en Venezuela’, *Observatorio de Delito Organizado*, 2016, p. 116.

⁴¹⁶ L. Cedeño, ‘El Surgimiento de las Megabandas en Venezuela’, *Observatorio de Delito Organizado*, 2016, p. 116.

⁴¹⁷ R. Hanson & D. Smilde, 2013, <<https://www.venezuelablog.org/what-should-be-done-to-reduce-crime-in-venezuela/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹⁸ R. Hanson & D. Smilde, 2013, <<https://www.venezuelablog.org/what-should-be-done-to-reduce-crime-in-venezuela/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴¹⁹ Venezuela Investigative Unit, 2019, <<https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/guaido-venezuela-security-plan/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²⁰ Venezuela Investigative Unit, 2019, <<https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/guaido-venezuela-security-plan/>> access: 18 August 2021.

the country's criminality. Guaidó's security plan also focuses on the professionalisation of the police force, which includes providing them with better training, working conditions, and promotion procedures.⁴²¹ In addition, he believed transferring security tasks to a police force that is accountable is critical to lowering killings and crimes. Moreover, there is a necessity for tighter restrictions within the prison system to diminish the influence of “pranes” or prison bosses and prison gangs as they currently govern Venezuela's jail system and vast crime networks from behind bars.⁴²² To tackle the crime problem in Venezuela, all social, economic, and political powers must combine in a national effort.

In 1978, PNG planned to prevent crime in the country through what can be termed a “comprehensive approach”. It entailed the creation of a society in which job possibilities grow and are met by a high-quality educational programmes that prepares the youth for rewarding careers.⁴²³ The creation of influential informal social controls that shape constructive social behaviour was given top priority.⁴²⁴ Law enforcement, the courts, corrections, crime prevention planning and research, increased crime reporting, community participation in crime prevention, were all used to maintain social control that is effective without being oppressive.⁴²⁵ In addition, the training of criminal justice personnel was highlighted as crucial for an appropriately functioning justice system.

In 2002, a “Safer Port Moresby Initiative” was conducted to identify what the main causes of crime were in Port Moresby in PNG. It intended to build partnerships through a “Coalition Against Crime” with stakeholders such as governments, private sector, traditional organisations, the criminal justice system, NGOs, communities and churches to establish and implement a “Plan of Action” to address these crime causes.⁴²⁶ The key causes of crime found in this study pertained to weak law enforcement and the justice system, lack of community development, culture and family values and inadequate urban planning and management.

⁴²¹ Venezuela Investigative Unit, 2019, <<https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/guaido-venezuela-security-plan/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²² Venezuela Investigative Unit, 2019, <<https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/guaido-venezuela-security-plan/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²³ C.R. Bevan, 1978, <<https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/progress-crime-prevention-papua-new-guinea>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²⁴ C.R. Bevan, 1978, <<https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/progress-crime-prevention-papua-new-guinea>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²⁵ C.R. Bevan, 1978, <<https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/progress-crime-prevention-papua-new-guinea>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴²⁶ UN-HABITAT, ‘The Port Moresby Insecurity Diagnosis Report: Towards an Urban Crime Prevention Strategy, Safer Cities Series 4, 2004, p. 7.

In order to address these issues, attention and resources were directed towards strengthening the capacities of existing institutions and community groups. Law enforcement and the justice system was strengthened through: “professionalism, transparency, effectiveness, efficiency and accountability in the government, police and criminal justice system; police training and equipment provision; introduction of alternative forms of punishments to imprisonment; improved public confidence in the police and the criminal justice system; and strengthened coordination amongst the law enforcement agencies”.⁴²⁷ Community empowerment, building institutional capacity and collaboration was rated as a key necessity in Port Moresby to reduce crime and manage urban safety and security issues. This was conducted through: improved access to basic urban services; involvement of the youth and marginalized groups in decision making and providing them with support services; strengthened family/community/church partnership to engage the youth at risk; and promotion of social cohesion, education, crime awareness and conflict resolution.⁴²⁸ Urban planning and management is a critical spatial component of promoting safety and reducing crime risk factors. This initiative aimed at creating a functional urban environment that is safe, convenient and sustainable; improve urban governance through broad based partnerships; include squatter settlements in planning and management; and strengthen the participatory and coordination capacity of urban managers and planners, and promote an integrated, cross-cutting approach to safety within the institutions or municipality.⁴²⁹

The challenges that the youth of PNG are facing relate to “lack of education, unemployment or informal employment, rapid increase in rural-urban migration, and high rates of poverty and inequality”.⁴³⁰ In this country, it is said that you either become a criminal or a victim of crime and this contributes significantly to high crime and violence. However, the PNG government redirected their efforts to investing in the youth and promoting their social inclusion. This is achieved through collaboration with the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) and technical support from the World Bank. They have implemented the Urban Youth Employment Project (UYEP) in Port Moresby to empower the youth and simultaneously reduce crime

⁴²⁷ UN-HABITAT, ‘The Port Moresby Insecurity Diagnosis Report: Towards an Urban Crime Prevention Strategy, Safer Cities Series 4, 2004, p. 10.

⁴²⁸ UN-HABITAT, ‘The Port Moresby Insecurity Diagnosis Report: Towards an Urban Crime Prevention Strategy, Safer Cities Series 4, 2004, pp. 10-11.

⁴²⁹ UN-HABITAT, ‘The Port Moresby Insecurity Diagnosis Report: Towards an Urban Crime Prevention Strategy, Safer Cities Series 4, 2004, p. 11.

⁴³⁰ O. Ivaschenko, 2019, < <https://www.urbanet.info/reducing-youth-crime-through-employment-in-papua-new-guinea/>> access: 18 August 2021.

motivators.⁴³¹ The project seeks to: “improve employment opportunities, earnings potential, and living standards of urban youth by providing skills trainings and short-term placement into employment, through either public works, or on-the-job (OJT) training”.⁴³² Moreover, this project is a successful example of public intervention and youth inclusion with statistics showing that since 2012 “over 8,000 unemployed young people in Port Moresby have been supported by the project, 40 per cent of them young women”.⁴³³

From these three case studies, along with South Africa as the main case study, the most popular remedies that were identified are: professionalisation of the police force; incorporating expert and technical knowledge through training of the criminal justice system personnel; creating a police force that is accountable, efficient, transparent and service-oriented; building partnerships and collaborations; and reforming law enforcement and the criminal justice system. In addition, these countries highlighted the importance of having safety standards and measures that will govern and guide all role players in the fight against crime. The necessity of creating crime awareness through the provision of information was also widened, this includes having a website with information on the country’s crime situation, pamphlets, signages in crime hotspots and safety assurances. Moreover, education of the youth and creating open job markets were other strategies these countries were implementing to curb crime. Table 4 reflects on this comparative analysis.

⁴³¹ O. Ivaschenko, 2019, < <https://www.urbanet.info/reducing-youth-crime-through-employment-in-papua-new-guinea/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴³² O. Ivaschenko, 2019, < <https://www.urbanet.info/reducing-youth-crime-through-employment-in-papua-new-guinea/>> access: 18 August 2021.

⁴³³ O. Ivaschenko, 2019, < <https://www.urbanet.info/reducing-youth-crime-through-employment-in-papua-new-guinea/>> access: 18 August 2021.

Table 4: Crime Prevention Remedies from South Africa, DRC, Venezuela and PNG.

Crime Prevention Remedies	Implemented by different Countries			
	South Africa	DRC	Venezuela	PNG
1. Collaborative efforts and Partnerships (e.g., identifying and working with stakeholders, partners and agencies from the public and private sector)	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Strengthen criminal justice system (e.g., reforming prisons, courts, correctional services administration, loopholes in laws and legislation, prison control as well as eradicate prison gangs and businesses)	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Environmental design (e.g., CCTVs, visible policing and streetlights)	✓	✓		✓
4. Social Crime Prevention (e.g., encouraging behavioural change, instilling community values and culture as well as community participation, empowerment and development)	✓		✓	✓
5. Community Safety Police Forums for safer communities (e.g., establishing, implementing and monitoring community safety plans)	✓			✓
6. Crime prevention through adopting policies and legislation	✓			

7. Crime Prevention through political leadership (Guiding National Treasury & Implementation of Legislation)	✓	✓	✓	
8. Professionalise the police force (training and creating efficient, transparent and service-oriented police force)	✓	✓	✓	✓
9. Create special units within the police force (e.g., for tourism related cases, SGBV, Drugs, etc)	✓	✓		✓
10. Equip the police force with technical and expert knowledge (e.g., forensics, investigative techniques and modern technology)	✓	✓	✓	✓
11. Crime awareness and information provision (e.g., pamphlets, websites, signage at crime hotpot areas, etc.)	✓	✓	✓	✓
12. Safety Standards and Safety Measures for communities, municipalities, provinces and the overall country.	✓	✓	✓	✓
13. Instilling civilian trust on police force		✓		
14. Crime Prevention through providing more job opportunities, high-quality education programmes and social upliftment programmes for the youth.				✓
15. Offering Rewards for exposing criminals or criminal activities.	✓			

16. Crime prevention planning and research (e.g., providing guidelines to developing safety plans and producing research using case studies)	✓			✓
17. Peace, social harmony and stability Efforts	✓	✓	✓	✓
18. FARDC		✓		
19. Open job markets	✓	✓	✓	✓

The effectiveness of crime mitigation strategies varies from community to community. Local governments can invest in crime prevention, but must be aware that the success can only be measured after an extended/ period of time. Crime prevention is an ongoing initiative that requires long-term sustainability to remain effective.⁴³⁴ Countries must be willing to learn from one another, but also tailor these strategies for their geographical location and specific situation. This Chapter stressed the importance of partnerships, research, community participation, feedback, legislation, resources, capacity building and good practice to develop and implement effective crime mitigation strategies.

⁴³⁴ The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention*, 2016.

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Internationally tourism is regarded as a magnet for crime with widespread long-term social and economic consequence. In view of this, tourism safety needs to be prioritized as it plays a vital role in determining the influx of tourism revenue and contributes significantly to the overall GDP. This study has reflected on the tourism crime situation in South Africa. It has the potential to inform, advise and guide policymakers, government departments, law enforcement agencies and other tourism related organisations about the issue of crime and tourist safety. The comparative dimension of the study provides greater context, but also makes it of relevance to other global South destinations.

As indicated in Chapter 1, modern travel is an ancient phenomenon with its history embedded in the Grand Tours of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is evident that safety and security was an issue from the outset as travellers were mostly wealthy individuals who were often targeted during these expeditions. The cicerone, or guide, was part educator and part protector, a situation which resonates with professional tourist guides today. In South Africa, which is the focus of this study, travel and tourism evolved from the late nineteenth century focusing more on promoting the country as a region of “sun, safaris and beaches”. Initially, safety and security were not major concerns as the crime rate was controlled and not as alarming as it was to become. In contemporary South Africa, tourism is a major and crucial economic stimulator, but it is continuously threatened by the ever-increasing high crime rates scaring tourists away from choosing the country as their travel destination. The consequences of crime have affected South Africa on both macro and micro levels impacting people and society as a whole.

This study utilised various crime related theories including: Becker’s economic theory, Cohen and Felson’s routine activity theory and Crotts’s hotspot theory, and to investigate and explain the victimisation of tourists. It also considered the relationship that exists between crime and tourism.

The literature review in Chapter 2 presented a select overview of the theories and models on the topic of crime and tourism; the interrelationship that exists between the two; as well as the issue of safety and security. It also presented a selection of research published on specific geographic case studies. These pointed to concerns that appear to be of a generic nature.

Chapter 3 narrowed the focus down to international tourists as victims of crime highlighting that crime against international tourists is rife and this is negatively affecting the tourism industry as tourists prioritize safety and security of a country before travelling. Criminals have identified that tourists are vulnerable in foreign locations, they are less likely to behave cautiously and are targets carrying portable wealth and are also less likely to report crimes committed against them to the police due to their temporary nature. This leads to tourists being more subject to crime than residents of a particular destination.

Chris Ryan's "Crime-Tourism Matrix", unpacked in Chapter 3, examined the relationship between crime and tourism highlighting that tourists become victims of crime incidentally or deliberately and are influenced by intrinsic and extrinsic determinants.⁴³⁵ This scenario is apparent when considering the three case studies, DRC, Venezuela and PNG as they reveal both intrinsic and extrinsic determinants in their respective crime and tourism situation. Therefore, it is critical to warn tourists of the crime situation of the destination they are travelling to, issue travel advice and precautionary measures they can adopt to be safe.

Chapter 3 also considered the crime situations found in these three countries. It highlighted that the DRC has a high rate of violence and poverty. The world over, poverty is regarded as a major motivator for criminals as it is believed that they want to level the playing field for their families.⁴³⁶ Safety and security concerns are apparent when travelling to the eastern parts of the country and in particular the three Kasai Provinces. In these areas, tourists are vulnerable to political violence, robberies, armed groups, civil unrests and military operations, pickpocketing and burglary for financial gain or political attention. The research also indicated that cases of rape, murder and kidnapping prevail.

In the case of Venezuela, it was shown that the country faces staggering crime rates as a result of a clear absence of morals, legitimacy and social order. The study identified that the country is suffering from a "rule of law" crisis where militarisation of the state infringed on people's human rights rather than promoting security and social order. The citizens of the country responded to militarisation through violence making this country very unsafe for tourists. It

⁴³⁵ C. Ryan, 'Crime, Violence, Terrorism and Tourism: An Accidental or Intrinsic Relationship?', *Tourism Management* 14, 1993, pp. 173-183.

⁴³⁶ The World Bank- Africa Region, 'Policy Priorities for Poverty Reduction and Shared Prosperity in a Post-Conflict Country and Fragile State', *Democratic Republic of Congo Systematic Country Diagnostic: Africa Region Report* 112733-ZR, 2018, pp. 1-114

was found that people who travel to Venezuela are either unaware of the crime situation in the country or they are travelling for business purposes rather than leisure.

In the case of PNG, it was shown that it is rated among those countries with the highest crime rates in the world prone to organised and opportunistic crimes against property and people. In this country it is clear tourists are targeted victims and criminals have shown the tendency to be able to “jump jail” due to the weak justice system. Thus, the analysis of these countries situated in the global South have shown similar effects of lawlessness, weak criminal justice system, lack of prosecution and punishment, poor governance and military or police or rebel group interventions. As a result, it was shown that the people and the economy are suffering the consequences in these countries with tourism declared as almost being “dead”. All three of these countries offered context and comparative scenarios for the focus of this study, South Africa.

Chapter 4 then focused on South Africa and argued that one of the reasons for crime in the country could be a direct result of the legacy of Apartheid. The white minority domination of over half a century led to a legacy of marginalisation, inequality, poverty and diminished lives with a racial imbalance in terms of employment and ownership. It is a racially divided and skewed society that adopted no respect of the police force from the Apartheid period. It was shown that crime continues to cause political, social and economic instability even in the democratic state of post-1994 and its various other societal problems.

Chapter 4 also explored how media coverage can make or break a tourism destination. Media portrayals (good or bad) directly influence tourist motivation, demotivation and selection of a travel destination. This Chapter utilised local and international media coverage of South African crime to highlight the wave of crime that is directly related to tourism in the country. It analysed publications for the period 1995 to 2019, reporting on the horrors of crime, threats to tourism and mitigation strategies in place to attempt to curb crime. Furthermore, the international media coverage depicted SA from an external perspective which also impacted heavily on the image of the country. The crime statistics featured in this Chapter depicted the crime situation in the country on an individual level and how this impacted on feelings of safety. The relevant government departments, more specifically the NDT, need to use such data for the development of policies and strategies, crime prevention, and public education programmes. Tourism is a crucial sector in our country that needs to be protected at all costs, understanding the crime status of the country through statistics, is the first step to curbing

crime. However, it was found that the lack of accurate reporting influences the accuracy of the crime statistics. Currently, many South Africans have also lost their faith in the ability of the police force to protect them against criminals and have implemented their own crime mitigation strategies such as private security or at the other extreme mob justice. The negative impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the tourism sector of the country was also highlighted in this Chapter. New strategies are currently needed to rejuvenate the industry and make it more resilient to such occurrences in the future.

The penultimate Chapter presented a discussion of both local and global mitigation strategies that can assist to curb crime against tourists. It was shown how South Africa has been continuously implementing crime prevention strategies including: the NCPS; Tourism Ambassadors Project; IJS; White Paper of Safety and Security; Tourism Victims Support Units; Crime Prevention Reviews; NDT's Tourism Safety and Support Team; DSD's Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy; SAPS nationwide initiatives; Table Mountain's armed rangers; Tourism specific interventions with DOJ&CD, Tourism Safety Monitors Programme and the Optimised Policing and Security Strategy. The Tourism Department (NDT) realises the importance of collaboration in crime prevention and has been in partnership with a number of departments and organizations, including: the SAPS; DSD; DFA; DSS; DOJ&CD; SATOUR; Business Against Crime; Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA) with research and guidelines assistance from the ISS; CSIR; Civilian Secretariat for Police Service; SALGA; the National Development Plan and DPME. However, it was shown that effective crime prevention strategies are hindered by socio-economic factors including poverty, unemployment, propensity for violence, abuse of substances and morally decayed communities. In addition, police ineffectiveness, dysfunctional local governments, lack of community participation and a country's poor justice system was shown to play a huge role in strategies failing, rather than successfully, curbing crime.

It was also shown in Chapter 5 that some of the international mitigation strategies suggested by UNODC, ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing and scholars such as Brás and Rodrigues, have already been implemented by South Africa. UNODC suggested four approaches to curb crime: crime prevention through social development; community or locally based crime prevention; situational crime prevention; and reintegration programmes. South Africa has already implemented situational crime prevention through environmental design in the NCPS strategy. They have also partnered with key stakeholders such as DSD and SAPS among others to implement crime prevention through social development in their SCP strategy.

Moreover, the ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing and scholars Brás and Rodrigues, also concur that safety and security can be intensified in tourist destinations through the education of tourists. This includes providing them with accurate and helpful information, and the use of and access to police and security forces. The South Africa Visa, Cape Town Magazine, Wild Wings Safaris, SAPS and the NDT websites are regarded as trusted sources to educate and advise tourists on South Africa's safety and security concerns. Thus, the SAPS is already in collaboration with NDT to curb crime against tourists. The ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing recommends collaboration with industry role players and authorities.

The Chapter also pointed out that the NDT is already in partnership with major role players in keeping South Africa safe for tourists namely, DSD, DFA, DSS, DOJ&CD, SATOUR, Business Against Crime and TBCSA. It also recommended the involvement of local service providers in the tourism industry to implement crime preventative measures such as security guards, surveillance, safety deposit boxes in accommodations and tracking services for tourist car rentals, as well as alerting tourists when they are in high-risk areas. It is apparent that most of these suggestions have already been implemented by hotels, restaurants and tourist attraction sites. However, one additional recommendation is the possibility of the development and implementation of a safety app in South Africa that tourists can download on their phones with all the relevant information, contact details, tracking of their travel within the country and emergency buttons connected to authorities when they are exposed to danger.

The ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing also recommends the involvement of local communities through community patrols helping police patrols and rewarding whistle blowers. The SCP strategy as a community focused integrated strategy can assist the NDT to achieve this and incorporate communities in their safety and security strategies. Therefore, it is recommended to modify the SCP strategy and equip communities with resources to achieve safety and security which will directly contribute to curbing crime against tourists.

In addition, scholars also emphasise the adoption and compliance of safety and security practices.⁴³⁷ Safety and security has been implemented in South Africa and is part of the grading criteria for the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (TGCSA) which grades accommodation, dining and refreshment facilities, venues and service providers. However, not all the industry players and service providers are graded. It is recommended that the NDT

⁴³⁷ M. Brás & V. Rodrigues, 'Turismo e Crime: Efeitos da Criminalidade na Procura Turística. Revista Encontros Científicos', *Tourism and Management Studies* 6, 2010, pp. 59-68.

partners up with the TGCSA to run an awareness initiative for service providers and key role players in the tourism industry to get graded, comply with the requirements of their stars and improve their safety and security so as to join the NDT in the fight to curb crime against tourists. The TGCSA as a quality assurance body for tourism products in South Africa can enable and empower service providers and travellers to provide and receive the best and quality tourism experience in the country.⁴³⁸ This could provide South Africa with a competitive advantage internationally, draw tourists to the country and stimulate the country's economy. Safety and security is indeed an indispensable component for boosting tourism threatened by crime.

Furthermore, Chapter 5 also identified several best practices that countries can adopt to reduce crime in their region. However, it needs to be noted that mitigation strategies of a country might be good on paper, but it all depends on the implementation of the strategies in practice to determine success or failure. South Africa is one of those countries that draft exceptional policies, legislation and strategies but when it comes to implementation, they often fail. Table 5 shows a list of the best practices and key role players that could collaborate to make crime prevention efforts successful.

Table 5: Table of Best Practices and key role players

Best Practices on Safety and Security Initiatives	Key Role Players
1. Partnerships	Government entities, public and private tourism-related companies
2. Community participation	Communities and regional tourism partners
3. Social Welfare	National Government
4. Resources and capacity building	Local Governments
5. Legislation	National Government (Policy Makers)
6. Training and Professionalism of the Police	Government entities such as DSS and SAPS
7. Strengthening of the Justice System	Government entities such as DOJ&CD, SAPS and DCS.

⁴³⁸ Tourism Grading Council of South Africa, n.d., < <https://www.tourismgrading.co.za/about-the-tgcsa/what-is-the-tgcsa/>>, access: 28 July 2021.

8. High-Quality Education, Job Opportunities and Skills Development for the Youth	National Government
9. Feedback	Communities and Tourists
10. Research	Researchers from various organisations
11. Good Practice	Government entities, public and private tourism-related companies

In conclusion, it is imperative for host countries to ensure that they protect their tourists. In essence, the term “hospitality” incorporates the duty to protect guests in unfamiliar environments and in particular from crime and criminal activities.⁴³⁹ Governments and destination hosts need to instil a level of safety and confidence among tourists when visiting their destinations. Countries need to adopt urgent and adequate strategies that prioritise the reality as well as the perceptions around tourist safety and security.⁴⁴⁰ The question of safety and security remains concerning within South African tourism.

⁴³⁹ K. Moore & T. Berno, ‘Relationships Between Crime and Tourism’, *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14(3), 1995, pp. 4-12.

⁴⁴⁰ S.L.A. Ferreira, ‘Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa’, *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment* 1(3), 1999, pp.313-324.

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