PROSPECTS FOR TOURISM AS A CATALYST FOR DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The potential for tourism to contribute to development in South Africa has been enthusiastically embraced by the government and by many scholars. This article examines tourism from two perspectives 'Tourism First' and 'Development First' and tries to reconcile each of these modes with developmental dictates. A number of obstacles to the realisation of the developmental potential of tourism are identified. The inherent tensions between traditionalism and tourism, as an expression of modernity, are explored. It is concluded that, although the tourism industry is an excellent generator of positive economic multipliers, it does not readily lend itself to functioning as a 'lead sector' for development.

Keywords: tourism; development; modernity; traditionalism; pro-poor

1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism in South Africa has been invested with great expectations as a potential catalyst for development, most notably under the rubrics of 'pro-poor' and 'responsible' tourism (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Koch & Massyn, 2001; PPT, 2008; Rogerson & Visser, 2004). This article attempts to identify obstacles that might stand in the way of these hopes being fully realised.

The discussion begins with a clarification of terms, and then proceeds to outline two different 'modes' of tourism as vehicles for development. These modes approximate to the 'Tourism First' and the 'Development First' poles proposed by Burns and cited by Telfer (2002:130). It will be suggested that South Africa could be in danger of following Zambia, and much of the rest of Africa, into rent-seeking 'enclave tourism' (Hugon, 2004:24-47; Reed, 2001:68-95) but that this outcome, while not optimal, is not necessarily as negative as is sometimes intimated.

Next, a number of ostensibly unrelated hindrances to tourism (in the 'Tourism First' mould) are detailed. This section does not pretend to be exhaustive and it is acknowledged that others (Kotze, 2005; Visser & Kotze, 2004) have identified numerous other barriers. Although at first glance most of these barriers may seem to operate quite independently of one another, an attempt is made to isolate an underlying common denominator which informs all of them. This is then shown to impact on the 'Development First' approach to tourism by stimulating 'enclave tourism'.

It is concluded that unless the government fully commits itself to the development ethos, beyond the level of rhetoric, tourism in South Africa might fail to function as a vehicle for meaningful development.

2. SOME PRELIMINARIES

Although one may be able to speak intelligibly of something without being able to define it (for example 'courage' or 'justice'), for the purposes of the argument to be advanced here it will be necessary to clarify a few terms. As though definitions were not vexatious enough, Sharpley (2002:21-22) explores "technical" and "conceptual" definitions of tourism, while Hughes (1992:33-37) declares there to be three types of definition, namely, reportive, stipulative and essentialist. Hughes' approach will be the one followed here.

Reportive definition is whatever a dictionary says a word means. Stipulative definition is tellingly conveyed by Humpty Dumpty's dictum that: "When I use a word it means exactly what I want it to. Nothing more and nothing less!". These are the kinds of definitions that usually precede legislation where, for example, an Act may specify how a term such as 'property' is to be interpreted within the ambit of the law in question.

It is with essentialist definitions, however, that difficulties arise. This is the category of definition that sometimes causes students to give up in despair when trying to pin down phenomena such as 'sustainability' or 'development'. Franklin (2003:26-33) spends seven pages demonstrating the truth of this assertion *à propos* of 'tourism'.

Scholars should be relieved to learn, however, that essentialist definitions tend to be *inherently* intractable. This is because they are, in effect, "...compressed theories; they attempt to express in succinct form a theory about the nature of what is being defined...assessing an essentialist definition involves assessing a theory, and this goes far beyond questions about the meanings of words" (Hughes, 1992:36). This will be of particular importance when this paper comes to consider 'tourism'. The usages outlined below will have recourse to all three modes of definition as given by Hughes.

2.1 What and who are tourists?

There seem to be almost as many varieties of tourism as one cares to conjure up (in the wake of the December 2004 Asian tsunami one registered 'disaster tourism' with interest) (Mowforth & Munt, 2003:255; Telfer, 2002:135; Visser & Kotze, 2004). In the present context however no unduly expansive understanding of 'tourist' is required beyond the (reportive) Concise Oxford Dictionary definition of a tourist as a "person who makes a tour, traveller, especially for recreation". If one knows how to use a word one can always point to what is meant by it.

It is perhaps not altogether without significance in this context that the dictionary should render 'tourist class' as "lowest class of passenger accommodation". Tourism, as a social phenomenon, has for some reason never really acquired anything redolent with 'chic'.

This leads to a point that needs to be made about the *quality* of tourists. Saayman and Saayman (2003:97) advance the "10:100 principle" whereby "10 tourists spending R100 each are better than 100 tourists spending R10 each". It is precisely for this reason that this discussion will tend to focus on the barriers facing tourism as 'consumed' by high net-worth individuals. This is as opposed to, say, the more domestic Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) cohort.

The VFR phenomenon, notwithstanding the commendations of Rule *et al*. (2003:99-107), strikes one as being rather 'much of a muchness' from the national perspective in that it is hard to see what net gain accrues to a country from the 'churn' that VFR represents. Does it matter to the Gross National Product (GNP) that instead of staying at home over a long weekend, one stays with one's extended family in a neighbouring province? Should national tourism bodies really concern themselves with whether or not people are paying a sufficient number of calls on their far-flung friends?

2.2   What is tourism?

Franklin is most emphatic that tourism cannot be understood in isolation from modernity. "It is a modern stance to the world..." (2003:11); "...tourism can be understood as an integral and important part of social and cultural life in modernity" (2003:16); and it "... is the quintessential expression and performance of modern life" (2003:24), are just a few of the repeated references he makes to tourism as epitomising modernity. Fully persuaded of the validity of Franklin's sentiments, this article will go along with his endorsement of De Botton's intriguing (essentialist) notion that "tourism is an attitude to the world or a way of seeing the world" (2003:33) and will insist, with Franklin, that it resonates with a *weltanschauung* that *can only* arise within the context of modernity. But what is "a modern stance to the world" all about? This will be addressed in due course.

It is important at this stage to note a number of defining characteristics of tourism as detailed by Kotze, Rogerson and Visser (2005) following McKercher and Du Cros (2002) and others. These are that tourism is:

- a commercial activity
- involved with the consumption of experience
- entertainment
- both positive and negative in its effects
- a demand-driven activity that is hard to control once unleashed.

Essentially what this adds up to is that tourism is a form of 'showbiz'. This will be of the essence in what is to follow. Special stress must be laid on the fact that the tourism industry is a profit-maximising one. International tourism is not therefore an exercise in philanthropy designed to uplift the poor.

2.3 What is development?

Development is here *stipulatively* defined as that which conduces to the realisation of modernity ("a modern stance towards the world") within the individual. This involves the cultivation of a personal autonomy that is altogether inimical to anything that smacks of feudalism (Capaldi, 2004:249-302). From this condition should flow the downstream panoply of desiderata usually associated with development-wealth, health, education, accountable government, sanitation, cellphones and so forth. Europe's miraculous and speedy recovery from the devastation of WWII (Judt, 2005) stands as testimony to this optimistic assertion.

How one progresses from pre-modernity to modernity in the developing world is another matter though, and no glib answers can be provided here. The 'trickle-down' inculcation of modernity, as implied by the 'modernisation paradigm' of development, is not *necessarily* what will be advocated here. Just as Seligman (1957) intimated that one can have 'urbanisation without urbanism' it is recognised that one can have 'modernisation without modernity'.

3. TOURISM AS A CATALYST FOR DEVELOPMENT

As stated in the introduction, this section will present ideas roughly in line with Burns's two 'poles' on the continuum from "developing to developed" (Telfer, 2002:130). At the 'Tourism First' end of the spectrum "developing the tourism industry is the focus of planning". At the 'Development First' end "planning is framed by national development needs". Ideally these modes should probably function in tandem in a developing country context.

3.1 Tourism First - 'trickle down' better than nothing

Just as Franklin's constant refrain is 'modernity', just so one finds in Sharpley and Telfer (cf. 2002:55, 77, 124 & 151 for examples) repeated admonitions, in the core-periphery paradigm, regarding "exploitation". And when exploitation is mentioned, multinational corporations (MNCs) almost invariably seem to crop up, often in connection with imports and the repatriation of profits. There is another side to this coin however.

Although Franklin (2003) quotes extensively from Zygmunt Bauman's (1998:77-102) essay "Tourists and Vagabonds" he passes over the following revealing passage:

The inhabitants of the first world live in a perpetual present, going through a succession of episodes hygienically insulated from their past as well as their future. These people are constantly busy and perpetually 'short of time'... People marooned in the opposite world are crushed under the burden of abundant, redundant and useless time they have nothing to fill with. In their time 'nothing ever happens'. They do not 'control' time... They can only kill time, as they are slowly killed by it (1998:88).

The point Bauman is making is that for many millions of people their time has no opportunity cost attached to it. Oscar Wilde is reputed to have said, "The only thing worse than being talked about, is not being talked about". In similar vein, for Bauman's "marooned" multitudes, the only thing worse than being exploited is not being exploited.

The hospitality industry is intrinsically exploitative - it has to be in order to survive because, where barriers to entry are fairly low, competition tends to be cut-throat. This applies to entrepreneurial activity across the board. The real issue is not the *fact* of exploitation but its *degree* and *form* (are children being forced into prostitution and so forth). Are Western MNCs especially culpable when it comes to exploitation? Many argue that their effect is quite the opposite. It is precisely these MNCs who often, by example, check the exploitative excesses of the local elites (Moore, 2003:203-215). The developing world has much more to gain from MNCs than to lose, and is perfectly well aware of this (Taverne, 2005:219-249). In Cuba aspirant waiters are apparently paying good money in bribes for the privilege of being exploited by hotel chains (Taylor, 2005:14).

David Landes (1998:328) dismisses with some asperity the 'dependency discourse' that seems to inform anti-MNC standpoints: "...dependency doctrines have been Latin America's most successful export. Meanwhile they are bad for effort and morale. By fostering a morbid propensity to find fault with everyone but oneself, they promote economic impotence".

Indeed it is hard to see with what justification 'underdevelop' sometimes comes to assume the properties of a transitive verb in dependency discourse. What real gain can there be in a nation's wasting its efforts wantonly 'underdeveloping' some other country that poses no immediate threat to it? But if there is, what does this say about the victim's potential for development in the first place? Thus, if MNCs often import their supplies it is generally because locals have neglected to 'take the gap' and supply the MNCs themselves. And if MNCs repatriate some of their profits, host countries should be only too grateful that they *are* making profits. The alternative is usually no profits for anyone, period. Again, anyone who has ever invested in the 'leisure' sector on a stock exchange will know that the profits so blithely assumed in the tourism literature are very far from being a foregone conclusion.

The repatriation of profits cuts both ways. In the lean years, when the enterprise is operating at a loss, there is every chance it will see out the slump and thus prevent the domino-like collapse of downstream Small Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs) dependent upon backward linkages to (or the mere presence of) the corporate behemoth in their midst. Apart from anything else, profits are also usually taxed, levies are imposed on imports, and profits are typically only a very small percentage of total turnover (let alone 'churn' or the sum of all the multiplier effects) which is where the local SMMEs should continue to derive a living, even in MNCs' loss-making years. In these enclave-type scenarios however, given that it is showbiz that is being spoken of here, the locals typically do not get to direct the show, or to take centre-stage, but are consigned to function as 'extras', who might be rewarded with the odd walk-on bit-part here and there. Their labour is required but not their persons. They are interchangeable and modular units of labour.

3.2   Development First -'trickle down' plus

The previous section situated tourism product providers within the Local Economic Development (LED) sphere where something, no matter how modest, is almost invariably better than nothing at all. Is tourism *qua* business susceptible to any developmental 'value-add'? Can local individuals (or even ostensible 'communities') become players in their own show?

At the outset it must be stated that, just as all the 'capacity building', all the 'empowerment', and all the 'transformation' in the world will not necessarily make an opera singer out of an aspirant performer, just so it will not guarantee making entrepreneurs of people (and this must apply even more so to pre-modern people). Showbiz is nothing if not a high-risk, fickle business. Entrepreneurship is a talent not given to everyone - like a joke or jazz, you either get it or you don't. Entrepreneurs are animated by desire and fear. They are haunted by the fear of failure and this fear is fuelled by the fact that it is their own money they are staking their all on - not the State's. "The only true entrepreneurs are the ones who embark on a business venture knowing that they may end up poorer than when they started" (*Economist*, 2005:47).

In line with the definition of development advanced above, as inculcating a modern stance towards the world, it is contended that the best one can do in the typical 'enclave' environment is to capitalise on the possibilities inherent in the "host-guest interactions which potentially bring cultures face to face" (Shaw & Williams, 2000:28-29). As Shaw and Williams go on to say, "even if the effects are moderated by the existence of tourism enclaves... [tourism] implies transfers of consumption patterns, values, and lifestyles across international boundaries". This is a matter of stimulating individual human capital, and if the values transferred are those of modernity then so much the better.

What the foregoing amounts to is the tacit argument that tourism is not a suitable 'lead sector' for development, assuming such a panacea to exist in the first place. Tourism, if it is to be conducted effectively, *presupposes* fairly sophisticated first-world drivers.

The Development First approach entails a considerable amount of hand-holding with associated transaction costs. One pro-poor agency, under the banner of "Business Implementation of Pro-Poor Tourism" advocates the following for private tourist operators: "A company keen to form closer links with local suppliers might become involved in joint product development as part of its local procurement strategy, place greater emphasis on joint planning and decision making, and offer training programmes and initiatives for a variety of local stakeholders including residents, local SMMEs and staff" (PPT, 2008). Indeed they *might* but typically they either cannot afford to, or they do not have suitably qualified personnel to assign to such distractions, or their mandate from their shareholders is to focus exclusively on their core business.

It is submitted that practices such as these are likely to prove such a drain on resources that they rarely prove to be sustainable. There is a Catch-22 conundrum here. The modernity required to conduct tourism can only be acquired downstream of the more enclave-orientated Tourism First approach. But it is precisely this level of modernity that is needed to avoid the situation where 'developees' become "the objects of development but not the subjects" vis-à-vis tourism (Timothy, 2002:150).

4.   SOME BARRIERS TO TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Arguably the following list of obstacles should include an analysis of the effect of HIV/AIDS on the labour-intensive tourist system, but the workings of HIV are so complex, corrosive and insidious that mere 'barrier' hardly seems adequate to convey the impacts of this long-wave phenomenon on tourism. What the effect of the country's widely-publicised rate of HIV infection has been on its image as a tourist destination can only be guessed at.

4.1   Crime

It is axiomatic that endemic crime is going to have a dampening effect on tourism. The CEO of Lonely Planet was interviewed in late January 2005 on CNN television concerning the results of Lonely Planet's online survey of the most favoured tourist destinations for 2004. The survey apparently drew 20 000 responses from 167 countries. Australia came out on top followed by Brazil, Chile, New Zealand and India. The top picks for the upcoming year were Croatia, China, Argentina and the USA. No African country featured, and this in the face of 95 percent of respondents saying that encountering unfamiliar cultures was important to them.

When the CEO was asked what it was about Australia that so recommended itself his instant response was that above all else "it was safe". Granted that the construal of 'safe' might go beyond standard crime to include the possibility of terrorist attacks, this was nevertheless a significant rejoinder.

Visitors to South Africa may report that they are not deterred by the country's fearsome reputation for lawlessness (well illustrated in Altbeker, 2007) but the fact is that they constitute a self-selecting sample. Had they been put off they would not have been present to be polled in the first place. Just as it is that many people exposed to bad service tend not to complain, but never return for more of the same, so it is that it is well-nigh impossible to gauge how many visitors are lost through bad publicity. Although one cannot too accurately measure what has never manifested itself one could look at the performance of rival countries (such as Brazil) and come up with reasonable estimates.

4.2   Poor marketing

It is also axiomatic that amateurish marketing will inhibit tourism development and this has been recognised since tourism first began to be theorised in the early 1930s (Norval, 1936:190). Allegations of poorly targeted marketing (assuming any marketing at all) are prominent in Kotze's 2005 survey of tourism in the Free State. Insofar as tourism is a business then, professional marketing is obviously of the essence.

4.3   The research/policy gap

Visser and Kotze (2004) note "with irritation" the nonchalance with which expensive research, commissioned by organs of State, is routinely completely ignored by those very same institutions. This 'disconnect' between research and policy making is a phenomenon that in itself might be fruitfully researched (cf. Ingle, 2006).

4.4   Unreliable data

South Africa is not renowned for the quality of its officially generated statistics (Allen & Brennan, 2004:19). Given that the country apparently no longer has the capacity to conduct a census, or even to monitor emigration figures, researchers might do well to 'suspend belief' when confronted with any data purporting to reflect the fortunes of the tourism industry in South Africa (Ingle, 2006:85). One empathises with Koch and Massyn (2001:157), who, in their quest for hard tourism-related employment data, found themselves reduced to "estimates based on SATOUR estimates...and LAPC [Land and Agricultural Policy Centre] estimates...". The fact of the matter is that corrupt data cannot but lead to defective planning and analysis (this is the GIGO - Garbage In Garbage Out   phenomenon well known to computer programmers).

4.5 Dysfunctional local governments and parastatals

Local governments' performance is often a source of great vexation to tourism operators. The tourism industry could probably survive without many of local government's developmental ministrations. But tourism operators do need *basic* municipal services like water supply, stormwater management, functioning sewerage treatment works, solid waste management, and the appearance of their town being maintained. The phenomenon of involuntary 'load shedding' to conserve electricity led to widespread dismay on the part of the tourism industry. The chief of the SA Tourism Services Association (SATSA) went on record as saying that "power cuts could destroy the country's tourism industry completely", and expressed some doubt about the prospect of South Africa's actually being allowed to host the 2010 World Cup (IOL, 23 Jan 2008).

4.6 The common denominator

With all of the barriers outlined above there seems little prospect of improvement in the near future. This is especially serious in the case of crime. When a respected analyst can write of the South African state that, "...it is becoming harder and harder to delude ourselves that this government will ever fulfil its role and prevent South Africa from descending into a feral [wild and untamed] state" (Tomlinson, 2007) then the future that beckons for South Africa is enclave tourism with a vengeance.

The advent of a "feral state" bespeaks a national government that is impotent, and that is bankrupt of political will and developmental initiative. If this is indeed the case then in time the government itself may retreat into an enclave of physical and psychological defensiveness. There are precedents for this all over Africa (Hugon, 2004). From the insularity of this fortress the state will finally abandon all pretence of protecting its citizens or policing its borders.

It is this state of institutional decay that points to the aforementioned barriers' common denominator - in every instance cited above government is failing to provide a universal 'public good' - goods that the private sector can only provide for itself in piecemeal, particularistic fashion. Even when it comes to marketing, private operators cannot be expected to take on responsibility for marketing a country or a province.

However, to the degree that private operators must begin to assume responsibility for visitors' security around the clock, for uninterrupted energy supply, for basic municipal services, for the upkeep of transport infrastructure, and so forth, it is to just that degree that (a much-reduced flow of) international tourists will come to be shepherded from one sanitised, cocooned enclave to another.

What then are the prospects for tourism in South Africa in the 'Development First' mode? The following sections will hazard an answer.

5.   A FUNDAMENTAL BARRIER

It is common knowledge that South Africa's erstwhile President, Thabo Mbeki, professed to see in South Africa a 'dual economy' split along the lines of a largely white, affluent minority and a largely black, poor majority. As Telfer (2002:118) has it: "Dualism is the co-existence in one place of two situations (one desirable and the other not) that are mutually exclusive to different groups. Examples include extreme poverty and affluence, modern and traditional sectors, and growth and stagnation". Telfer's examples are suggestive in the present context.

If it is the case that within a developing country, and as per the definition of 'development' advanced earlier, the main cleavage is along the developed/undeveloped (i.e. modern/pre-modern) axis (and this is surely what 'developing' implies) then perhaps we might reasonably construe Mbeki's representation of the dualism in South Africa as one that is becoming increasingly untenable in the light of the 'trickle-down' and patronage emanating from the elites benefiting from Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and affirmative action. One might also aver that it was intended to divert attention from the government's record of failure to *govern*, alluded to above.

5.1   The modern alongside the traditional

Many commentators envisage a hybridised sort of development that builds on local cultural practices. But are the modern and the traditional compatible with one another when it comes to tourism, or is the latter half of the duality no more than an ultimately expendable, complementary adjunct to the former? Is there an asymmetric dependency relationship between the developed and the undeveloped?

The following account of the traditional outlook would seem to indicate that pre-moderns cannot participate in tourism as subjects rather than objects:

> The traditional's lack of national consciousness (nationalism, identification with secondary symbols) would appear to be best explained by the concept of *empathy*... By drawing on their broad information and by introspection ("How have I felt in similar situations?") individuals with a high empathy rating can easily envisage themselves in a wide variety of situations. As highly empathetic individuals they are extremely mobile and move freely from one situation to another... Traditional individuals lack the ability to project or place themselves vicariously in situations not identical to their own... For traditional individuals, innovative behaviour has been minimized. Moreover, socialization has been along ethnocentric lines, and there is a general

lack of experience in widely divergent situations... Introspection is useless because they have no personal experience with divergent situations, nor have they thought much about them. Traditional individuals are characterized by low empathy ratings... Their village is their world (Palmer, 1985:53).

But for tourists the world is their village. How should these categories connect if not through the accelerated socialisation of the traditional? It is crucial for any business that it know its product and its customers intimately. Entrepreneurs must be able to 'psyche' themselves into their clientele's shoes. This requires no small amount of urbanity and skill although the less so when one is selling something as straightforward as popcorn, say. Once one gets to the service industry though ('showbiz' time again), success demands the ability to assume an objective standpoint to an extreme degree. Here mastery is demonstrated by psyching oneself *under the skin* of one's public. Following Palmer, these contortions in the realm of the reflexive are not open to pre-moderns ('the Other' as 'consumed' by the international tourist). The tables cannot be turned. The Other is always the object of the scrutinising 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002), attempting to 'consume' its 'difference', to get behind it. According to this reading, and for its part, the Other *has no interrogative gaze*, cannot gaze, because this ability is not given in pre-modernity.

These claims are an attempt to unpack the quintessentially modern quality of *empathy* the possession of which is a pre-condition for the provision of the 'touristic experience'. The question arises as to what signals the South African government (in the guise of the African National Congress) is giving out about its true intentions for the country. Does it want to move forward or does it want to give effect to a nostalgic yearning for traditional ways? In the light of the so-called 'Polokwane revolution' in early 2008 the answer to this question is not as clear as it might once have seemed (Bryson, 2009).

5.2   Is South Africa regressing?

Koch and Massyn (2001:164) see the following as a manifestation of 'National Reconciliation':

> There is now evidence of a recent renaissance in Zulu cultural pride... During the 1980s, culture and tradition was the site of political struggle and conflict...Said one informant: "The chiefs were perceived by some of the youth as being reactionary and uncivilized. Now the youth are beginning to meet with them and to talk about their common past. And the chiefs are including them in their councils where they discuss development. A new culture of respect is emerging with this new alignment to tradition".

But others are less sanguine about this trend:

> [The] democratization process risks serious compromise. After years of ambivalence and prevarication, the ANC-led government passed two bills through Parliament the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act and the Communal Land Rights Bill which make concessions to traditional authorities, effectively resuscitating the powers they enjoyed under the notorious Bantu Authorities Act of 1951…this raises critical questions about citizenship and the nature of democracy in South Africa (Ntsebeza, 2004:59).

Indeed it does raise questions (cf. Philp, 2009) - not least because modern government (democracy) and its traditional counterpart (feudalist autocracy) are antithetical to one another. To the legislation, cited by Ntsebeza above, one might arguably add the Traditional Health Practitioners Act of 2004 and the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998 (Ajam, 2009).

5.3 Implications of re-traditionalising for tourism as developmental catalyst

According to Franklin (2003:16,24 & 45): "The role of the state as an ordering vehicle for modernity and the cultural processes of nation formation are critical to understanding how modern tourism came about…it was the love and thrill of modernity and the modern city that created tourism…Tourism is a product of modernism and nationalism".

Franklin seems to imply that no state can modernise in the absence of a commitment to that effect on the part of its government. With its weak states, Africa has yet to know true nationalism (Chabal, 2002:452; Hugon, 2004:27; Palmer, 1985:53). The pre-modern/tribal state's tourism industry will never (indeed *cannot*) transcend the enclave/elites nexus, and what development this occasions will tend to be rudimentary and confined to the purely economic sphere. A few promising individuals might acquire a modern outlook, through a process of osmosis with foreigners as per Shaw and Williams (2000:20) who claim that: "Tourism is a particularly potent agent of cultural change, especially of internationalization". Such people are, however, likely to migrate to more congenial pastures at the first opportunity that presents itself unless co-opted by the traditional elite.

6. CONCLUSION

This discussion has presented three different kinds of barrier to the development of tourism and its functioning as a catalyst for development in South Africa. The first of these is the nature of tourism itself. Although it is a good generator of potential economic multipliers and linkages, it is usually only the modern elite who have the wherewithal and worldliness to see these opportunities for what they are, and take advantage of them.

Tourism presupposes a fairly high pre-existing level of development amongst the citizenry before they can realistically 'own' its processes. It is not therefore an ideal agent for spearheading broad development although its trickle-down potential should not be underestimated.

Secondly, an array of diverse, ostensibly discrete, factors which act as constraints on the development of tourism itself were presented. On further examination these were found to be symptomatic of a systemic inability on the part of the State to provide a reliable flow of 'public goods'. This institutional failure will serve as an incentive for the development of 'enclave' tourism.

The final barrier, to the Development First mode of tourism, was identified as being a government that seems poised to revert to quasi-feudalism and traditionalism. This ought not to impact on the development of tourism *per se* (in the Tourism First mode) - indeed it might well enhance it - but it will profoundly circumscribe the quality of the benefits that filter through to the local people.

This article has intimated that the opportunistic amorality of the tourism industry (*qua* business) will ensure its survival for as long as there are lucrative rents and dividends to be derived by elites. In order to assess the efficacy of tourism as a vehicle for development, however, it may be useful to distinguish between two modes of tourist planning namely 'Tourism First' and 'Development First' and to remain alive to the tensions, and opportunities, posited by the duality. Ideally the developmental state should seek to accommodate both modes without allowing either one to undermine the other.

7.   REFERENCES

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