

Crime and Tourism in South Africa

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ABSTRACT The trepidation over tourism and crime has emerged as a global issue, gaining prominence in the media and political debates. South Africa is often viewed as the crime capital of the world and while crime rates in specific types of crime are decreasing or stabilising, there continues to be an upward trend in many types of crimes. Examining issues pertaining to crime and tourism is important since effective crime prevention and changing negative perceptions can contribute significantly to economic growth by promoting investments and tourism. Furthermore, this can have a positive impact on residents' quality of life since low crime levels are one of the global indicators of social stability and integration. This article uses relevant literature as well as data from South African Tourism (SAT) on tourists' perceptions and attitudes toward crime and satisfaction with security in the country, the South African Police Services (SAPS) data on crime rates and resident perception findings on crime and tourism. The study underscores that tourists and locals perceive South Africa as having high levels of crime. Crime remains an important consideration in relation to tourism in South Africa and requires an interdisciplinary and critical theoretical and methodological approach to examine multi-faceted and complex economic, social, political and spatial aspects. 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. This needs to be part of broader strategies that incorporate risk and safety.

INTRODUCTION

The successful hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup has positioned South Africa as a key tourism and events destination in the developing world. However, a main feature of South African society and perceptions regarding the country relates to crime and widespread concerns about safety and security. The trepidation over crime has emerged as a central concern in relation to promoting South Africa as a safe tourist destination. The trepidation over tourism and crime has also emerged as a global issue, heightened by the focus on safety concerns relating to potential terrorist threats. The centrality of crime has gained prominence in the media and political debates. This is directly linked to South African society's outcry pertaining to widespread and persistent crime prevalent in the country. George (2003: 576) specifically states that despite the steady increase in popularity within the international community, South Africa has developed a reputation for being an unsafe place to visit and has been labelled the "crime capital of the world". Crime remains one of the key challenges facing South Africa in the post-apartheid era, impacting on a range of sectors including

tourism. Effective crime prevention and changing negative perceptions can contribute significantly to economic growth by promoting investments and tourism. Furthermore, this can have a positive impact on residents' quality of life since low crime levels are one of the global indicators of social stability and integration.

Recent years have witnessed an increased interest in safety and security studies from a range of academics and researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds, policy-makers and government sectors. Most of this research, including several victim and crime surveys, has concluded that real and perceived crime and violence impinge on the well-being of the vast majority of South Africa's populace and restrain investment (Stone 2006). The prevalence of crime and the widespread perception that South Africa is a crime-ridden society also impacts on major economic sectors such as tourism, especially given the media attention on this aspect. The impact of crime on tourism (and development more generally) is of concern in other major tourist destinations as well such as the Caribbean (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank 2007). The tourism and crime re-

search reveals that the climate of fear that pervades many of these regions (including Africa) has negative impacts on tourism growth.

Steyn et al. (2009) assert that there is limited research on tourism and crime with most reports and debates being concentrated in the local and international media. Thus, this article aims to contribute to a more intellectual and critical examination of key tourism and crime issues, drawing on relevant statistics and academic literature. The next section provides a brief overview of the methodological approach adopted. This is followed by a summary of key statistics in relation to crime in South Africa and then tourism in South Africa. The next section which forms the main focus of the article focuses on crime and tourism, specifically highlighting South African contexts and aspects in relation to specific themes. The key thematic issues under consideration are crime victimisation and tourism; safety of tourists, crime and its impact on destination marketing and profiling; visitor perceptions of South Africa in relation to crime and safety; locals' perceptions of crime and tourism; tourism and crime hotspots; and crime prevention strategies in relation to tourism. The next section focuses on promoting responsible tourism and enabling safety and security for all. Finally, concluding comments are forwarded.

METHODOLOGY

Information on crime and tourism generally and in the context of South Africa specifically, was derived primarily through a literature review of relevant journal articles, books, policy documents and selected newspaper articles. The examination of key themes and debates emanating in the literature is complemented by an assessment of survey results from three main sources. Statistical data is used from SAT exit surveys and research reports. Additionally, crime statistics from the South African Police Services (SAPS) are used. Furthermore, survey results from key articles that focus on resident perceptions and concerns in relation to crime and tourism are used.

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

Crime in South Africa

Demombynes and Ozler (2005) indicate that crime is among the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa in the post-apar-

theid era. Furthermore, George (2010) indicates that high levels of crime in South Africa threaten the growth of tourism which is the country's main foreign exchange earner. Breetzke (2010) and the Department of Safety and Security (DSS, 1998) state that societies in transition especially those distinguished by high levels of inequality and discrepancy between the rich and the poor (as is the case in South Africa primarily as a result of colonial and apartheid processes), are often characterised by high crime levels. Bob et al. (2006) assert that violence is an integral part of South African history and society. Furthermore, Swart et al. (2010) indicate that there is almost a societal obsession with violence that in part emanates from the media and world of entertainment. Many sport tourism events, for example boxing and wrestling, celebrate and have as a key aspect of entertainment violence.

SAPS (2010a) presents statistics for the period 1 April 2009 to 30 March 2010 and compares is to previous financial years. More than two million (2,121,887) serious crimes were registered in South Africa. Of this, 31.9% were contact crimes (murder, attempted murder, assault, sexual offences, aggravated robbery, etc.), 26.1% were property-related crimes (theft, car hijackings, burglary, etc.), 25.5% were other serious crimes (commercial crime, shoplifting, etc.), 10% were crimes detected as a result of police action (illegal possession of firearms, drug-related crime, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, etc.) and 6.5% were contact-related crimes (arson, malicious damage to property, etc.). The results reveal that three key categories of serious crimes (murder, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances) decreased, specifically murder decreased from 26,977 in 1995/1996 to 16,834 in 2009/2010. Significant differences in the number and types of crimes were reported in different provinces illustrating that there is a spatial crime landscape. Furthermore, there is a stabilisation in the number of residential and business robberies reported. SAPS (2010b) indicates that most types of crimes are either decreasing or have stabilised. Additionally, there are a number of crimes that we do not have sufficient empirical data on. For example, de Wet et al. (2010) and Potgieter and de Wet (2010) highlight the importance of considering serial rape given that a large number of victims are girl children. However, a few are on an increase and these include burglary on non-resi-

dent premises, sexual crimes, drug-related crime, driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs, commercial crime, shoplifting, robbery at residential and non-residential premises and public violence. Many of these types of crimes are directly related to the tourism industry. It is also important to note that decreases in terms of specific types of crime are relatively low and while crime rates are stabilising, there are doing so at a high level. Thus, crime remains a key challenge in South African society.

Under-reporting of crime in South Africa is also a major concern. Moser (2004) specifically illustrates that crime statistics (as proxy levels for violence) are notoriously unreliable due to under-reporting, difficulties in interpretation and lack of reliability of data. Furthermore, Swart et al. (2010) indicate that a significant percentage of crime in South Africa goes unrecorded because they are not reported to the police, often because there is deep-seated animosity between the police and civil society as a result of historical processes.

Tourism in South Africa

George (2010), Ntuli and Potgieter (2001) and SAT (2011) illustrate that tourism is a fast growing industry globally and in South Africa with significant economic potential. The range of tourism products in South Africa (ecotourism, beach tourism, adventure tourism, cultural and heritage tourism, sport tourism, etc.) attracts both foreign and domestic tourists. South Africa generally also has a mild to hot climate, well developed tourism infrastructure and services, and unique or novel tourism products.

SAT (2011) presents the latest tourism trends derived from Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) data. SAT (2011) states that its main mandates are to promote sustainable growth (including job creation) as well as redistribution and transformation. These are accomplished primarily by increasing tourist arrivals and spend, increasing length of stay, improving geographic spread and seasonality patterns, and promoting transformation in the tourism sector. Some of the key statistics from the SAT (2011) report is briefly summarised below:

- ♦ South Africa continues to outperform global tourism growth which was 6.7% in 2010 while tourist arrivals to South Africa grew by 15.1%. Long-haul markets in particular

grew by 21%. The 2010 FIFA World Cup contributed to this growth but over the years South Africa has seen consistent tourism growth.

- ♦ Domestic tourism remains the major form of tourism (79% in 2010 with a decrease from 2009 – 81%). However, foreign tourism contributes the most to total tourism revenue.
- ♦ According to the Tourist Satellite account for South Africa, in 2009 tourism directly contributed to 2.8% of the GDP (most recent statistics available) and accounted for 4.1% of the total employment. Total foreign direct spend generated from tourist arrivals increased by 22.6% between 2009 and 2010. This was driven by an increase in volume, average spend per day and average length of stay.

The above statistics reveal that tourism is a growing sector and contributes significantly to South Africa's economy. This conclusion emanates from adopting an economic perspective. However, a political economy and critical theoretical framework will ask several other types of questions including how widespread are the benefits (that is, who benefits and who loses) and what are the range of impacts. One of the key issues that need to be addressed is that of crime and safety. The next section examines key thematic aspects in relation to crime and tourism in South Africa.

Crime and Tourism in South Africa

Brunt et al. (2000: 417) and George (2010: 807) identify several broad areas of interest/ themes in the literature focusing on tourism and crime:

- ♦ Tourist areas as areas of high crime;
- ♦ Tourists as victims;
- ♦ Tourists as offenders;
- ♦ Tourism generating higher levels of deviant or illegal activity/ tourism impacting on crime levels;
- ♦ Terrorism and tourism;
- ♦ Local and tourists' perceptions of crime; and
- ♦ Policy responses to tourism and crime/ tourism-crime prevention measures.

Nkosi (2010) states that tourism is a human activity that is sensitive and reacts rapidly to crime. Furthermore, Boakye (2011) argues that providing security has become an imperative and any destination which ignores this respon-

sibility stands to lose out on the keen competition for the tourist dollar. Linking crime to tourism is an emerging field in both criminology (Steyn et al. 2009) and tourism studies. Tourism studies itself has a well established interdisciplinary tradition and certainly crime research requires multifaceted and interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approaches given the complexity of issues as well as the range of stakeholders involved. In South Africa, few studies exist that examine the relationships between crime and tourism specifically (see, for example, Bloom 1996; Donaldson and Ferreira 2008; Ferreira and Harmse 2000; George 2003, 2010; Ntuli and Potgieter 2001). These studies indicate that the negative perceptions of personal safety and high levels of crime in South Africa is a threat to the tourism industry and economic development more generally. Furthermore, since personal experience and word-of-mouth remain key factors in influencing visitation (both first-time and repeat) in South Africa, it is imperative that tourists do not become victims of crime or feel threatened.

While earlier studies warn about the increases in crime levels and the decrease in tourism arrivals (for example, Ferreira and Harmse 2000), more recent studies show that crime rates have stabilised (albeit at a high level) and in some instances are decreasing (SAPS 2010a, 2010b) and both domestic and international tourism is increasing (SAT 2011). This trend is dissimilar to other patterns in the world and requires further research to examine why South Africa continues to be a key tourism destination despite being viewed as the crime capital of the world. In part, this apparent contradiction could be attributed to the trend that foreign tourists visit established tourist areas such as ecotourism sites and selected locations in a few cities such as Cape Town. These are often high-end attractions with good infrastructure and safety and security measures which include strict access control.

Crime Victimisation and Tourism

In relation to crime specifically, most studies focus on victim surveys focusing on resident experiences. To the best of the author's knowledge there are no studies that specifically focus on tourists who are victims. However, as indicated earlier, crime has significant impacts on

the tourism industry. Furthermore, as Jones (2008) states, people on holiday are not only more likely to be victimised but are also routinely let down by the criminal justice system. Furthermore, she illustrates that the tourist can often be an offender (a particularly neglected aspect on crime and tourism research in South Africa given the almost exclusive focus on tourists as potential victims). She makes particular reference to the impact of alcohol on visitors, football hooligans, drug 'mules', gamblers and sex tourists. Thus, crime often exists to serve the demands of specific types of tourists. Nkosi's (2010) study on the impact of crime on tourism in Umhlathuze, KwaZulu-Natal focuses on ensuring the safety and security of tourists. The study neglects to consider that the tourists themselves could be offenders. The focus on crimes committed against tourists fails to unpack the range of issues linked to crime and tourism.

Earlier studies show clear differences in crime victimisation for tourists and residents. Boakye (2011) illustrates that tourists are more vulnerable and are particularly prone to crime. Bernasco and Luykx (2003) illustrate that attractiveness; opportunity and accessibility are key factors influencing crimes against property. Tourists in particular are vulnerable since they tend to frequent specific locations, are conspicuous and easily noticeable, are unfamiliar with the environment, may not know the local language and customs, and usually carry valuables such as cameras and cash. Steyn et al. (2009) specifically argue that there is the widespread acceptance of the fact that tourists run a higher than average risk of being victimised and that there is an increase in terrorism directed specifically at tourists and resort areas. George (2003) indicates that three main types of crime are experienced by tourists: physical (such as property crimes, bodily harm and sexual abuse), economic (such as arbitrary price increases, swindling and fraud) or psychological (such as harassment and instilling fear).

This, Swart et al. (2010), state that crime restricts and limits people's movement, options, participation in activities and opportunities. In the South African context, George (2003: 583) states, "As research suggests, tourists have every reason to fear crime, as they are more susceptible to crime victimisation than local residents in areas that have high crime rates". SAT (2007) indicates that fear of crime as well as safe-

ty and security concerns was a repetitive negative feature of South Africa as a tourist destination in all international source markets (North America and Western Europe in particular). The fear of crime significantly informs images of destinations and influences decisions potential tourists make.

Safety of Tourists, Crime and its Impact on Destination Marketing and Profiling

The media and word of mouth play a key role in informing perceptions and framing debates about crime and tourism. The Institute for Security Studies (ISS 2001) states that public perceptions of crime which are rarely based on statistical information about crime levels or the risk of crime are influenced by a range of factors that include actual victimisation and first hand experiences of crime and violence; impressions and opinions of the city environment; the media; interaction with colleagues, friends and family; perceptions about government's ability to provide safety; and the extent to which people feel helpless against crime. Collins et al. (2006) identify four major influences the media have on audiences:

- ♦ *informing audiences (major sources of information);*
- ♦ *agenda setting (media's ability to raise the salience of novel or existing issues, and the corresponding level of importance the public assigns to these issues);*
- ♦ *framing (the subtle selection of certain aspects of an issue by the media to emphasise a particular aspect); and*
- ♦ *persuading (ability of the media to persuade the public regarding the issues they represent).*

These effects are complex and are clearly discernible in relation to the coverage and centrality that crime commands in the media worldwide. The media is highly selective focusing almost exclusively on exceptional and violent crimes, often sensationalising coverage. An example is a quote that reflects the media pessimism that overwhelmed coverage prior to South Africa's hosting of the World Cup: "The crime stories involving our streets, homes, shopping centres, all places public and private, are becoming so frequent and gruesome that only 'Braveheart' spectators will dare to venture into this country by 2010" (Saunders 2006 June 27).

The media plays one of the key roles in influencing attitudes and perceptions relating to crime and violence. In particular, newspapers, the television and the internet are key influencing mediums. Technological advancements, especially in relation to the internet, result in information being shared immediately worldwide. The way the internet functions and the popularity of social media networks (such as blogs, facebook, twitter, etc.) also mean that information about crime is easily shared, whether factual or opinionated. In relation to tourism, Nkosi (2010) asserts that unpleasant experiences of tourists at a particular destination are widely covered by the media or reported by tourists themselves to friends and families by word-of-mouth (including the use of the internet). It is often difficult to ascertain and demonstrate the extent to which the media influences attitudes and perceptions pertaining to crime and tourism, since as illustrated earlier, it is one of many sources. However, there is no doubt that in a world where the media is constantly present, it reinforces images and concerns. Furthermore, the fear of crime and images of danger at specific destinations are magnified. This influences tourists' decisions to visit a particular location as well as their experiences should they decide to do so. George (2003) illustrates that repeat visitation and 'word of mouth' sales can also be influenced negative impressions of a destination.

Nationally, the reporting of crime incidents has a negative impact on the overseas image of South Africa as a tourist destination (Ntuli and Potgieter 2001) impacting on tourist arrivals and spending. This can happen in a number of ways (George 2003: 577):

- ♦ *Prospective tourists may decide not to visit the destination because it has a reputation for having a high crime rate;*
- ♦ *If tourists feel unsafe at destinations, they are not likely to take part in activities outside their accommodation facilities; and*
- ♦ *Tourists who have felt threatened or unsafe are not likely to return to the destination, and they are not likely to recommend the destination to others.*

The above discussion illustrates that visitor experiences and the media play a major role in influencing visitation and profiling tourist destinations. In particular, negative impressions and attention can deter potential tourists from visit-

ing an area. Positive experiences and media coverage in relation to safety and security can change perceptions and promote tourism destinations.

Visitor Perceptions of South Africa in Relation to Crime and Safety

Statistics derived from SAT for specific quarters (April to June and July to September) in 2010 (SAT 2010a, 2010b) illustrate that tourists exiting South Africa exhibited high levels of satisfaction with their experiences generally in the country and in relation to safety and security specifically. SAT's departure surveys are conducted at ten land border posts and at the OR Tambo and Cape Town International Airports. The SAT data reveals that more than 85% (86% in April to June 2010 and 89% in July to September 2010) of the respondents during all the survey periods did not have any bad experiences while visiting South Africa. Among the bad experiences identified by the respondents, issues pertaining to crime and security were consistently the highest. Specifically, safety and security (3.7% in April to June 2010 and 3.3% in July to September 2010) and personal safety (2.9% in April to June 2010 and 2.2% in July to September 2010) were identified. These rates had decreased from 2009: 5.2% to 3.7% for safety and security in April to June and 5.3% to 3.3% in July and September as well as 3.9% to 2.5% for personal safety in April to June and 4.4% to 2.2% in July and September. This decrease could be largely attributed to the hosting of the World Cup which saw significant increases in safety and security measures. This aspect will be considered in greater detail later in the article.

While it may appear that safety and security is not a major negative concern in relation to tourism experience, it is worth unpacking this further. Firstly, other visitor survey studies indicate that when asked about what is a key negative feature of tourism in South Africa, crime and safety issues are identified by the majority of respondents. Bob et al.'s (2006) study illustrates that event attendees and residents living adjacent to major sport event venues in Kwazulu-Natal and the Western Cape did not associate the events with crime. Their study indicates that there is general satisfaction with security and safety at events in South Africa, results which are similar to the SAT exit surveys. However, by

far the main negative feature identified related to crime and security concerns. Therefore, while the majority of visitors to South Africa may not personally experience crime, perceptions of high levels of crime remain a pervasive characteristic of South African society. Perceptions play a major role in influencing tourists' decisions on where to go. Secondly, if SAT's figures of 1,970,025 visitors to South Africa in April to June 2010 and 2,057,999 in July to September 2010 are taken into account, this translates into 257,618 (130,022 in April to June 2010 and 127,596 in April to June 2010). This is a significant number (more than a quarter million for half of the year), especially when crime and safety measures as a result of the World Cup were of the highest level experienced. This indicates, as Swart et al. (2010) assert, that crime and issues of safety and security are important to consider in relation to South African tourism. Thirdly, the statistics do not include an examination of what the specific experiences were and how were these interpreted by the respondents in relation to South Africa as a tourist destination. Thus, the above discussion supports social theories that assert that numbers can be misleading and it is important to unpack deeper qualitative issues. In the case of crime and tourism, this is critically important to inform appropriate policies and programmes.

It is not easy to establish the extent to which crime influences visitation. As George (2010: 809) states, "the literature on tourist risk perceptions suggests that to understand the perception of crime-safety and risk associated with tourism, individual factors such as past travel experience, personality, age, gender, culture, and nationality should be taken into account". He further states that purpose of visit is an important consideration and may explain why repeat visitation takes place despite past crime experiences or why individuals visit locations where someone they know experienced crime. For example, business tourists are less likely to be influenced by past experiences or word-of-mouth than leisure tourists. Additionally, George (2010) illustrates that crime is among other risk factors (such as terrorist threat, war and political instability, health concerns and natural disasters) that influence a tourist's decision to visit an area.

Locals' Perceptions of Crime and Tourism

Resident perceptions of crime and tourism remain a neglected aspect of research, primarily

because of the focus on tourists. However, this is a key concern emerging in the literature in relation to a concern that the focus on crime prevention is to keep tourists and the rich safe while the vast majority of the population are ignored. Resident perception studies (Bassa and Jaggernath 2010; Bob et al. 2006; Chain and Swart 2010) reveal that while locals generally support tourism development, they expressed concern about the increase in traffic congestion, anti-social behaviour and crime often associated with tourism activities, including major events. Of particular concern raised in South Africa were that planning tends to focus on securing the tourists and few locals benefit from these massive public investments. A significant proportion of residents also believe that tourism increases crime. This is not only evident in South Africa. Jones' (2008) study reveals that in many developed contexts residents support this position. It is imperative that future research examines this aspect further.

When local residents feel that their safety concerns are undermined because of the focus on keeping tourists and tourism areas safe, it is possible that they can become increasingly hostile towards tourists. This influences tourists' experiences and can lead to negative word-of-mouth marketing where tourists who visit a specific location perceive it as unfriendly, thereby dissuading others from visiting.

Tourism and Crime Hotspots

Specific locations and tourism activities tend to have higher levels of crime. Certain types of tourism activities may influence crime, perceptions of crime and personal safety. The recognition of crime hotspots is part of a theoretical approach of crime which advocates that patterns and movements of crimes can be identified and monitored (Ratcliffe 2004). In terms of the monitoring, technological advancements such as the widespread use of CCTVs have increased surveillance capability. The notion of crime hotspots have been used internationally to identify regions and/ or countries with high levels of safety and security concerns. South Africa has had a reputation for being a crime hotspot for decades, previously in relation to political unrest associated with the apartheid era and currently as a result of the high levels of crime in several categories highlighted earlier. Within South Af-

rica, certain forms of tourism (for example, township tourism and rural tourism) are deemed to be relatively unsafe compared to the more established and more expensive forms of tourism (for example, ecotourism and urban tourism). However, within urban tourism there are areas viewed as crime hotspots for tourists, usually the red light districts and low income areas. Some tourists frequent these areas since sex tourism is a major part of the industry in nearly all major tourism destinations. South Africa has generally adopted an 'ignorance is bliss' approach to addressing sex tourism (which includes the exploitation of men, women and children) rather than formulate effective policies that protect the sex workers and the clients. Sex workers are one of the most vulnerable groups in society because the criminalisation of their profession leaves them with very little recourse for legal protection.

Crime hotspots not only relate to specific locations and types of crimes, but also to time. Safety and security research has consistently demonstrated that night-time is of particular concern. It is for this reason that most Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) strategies focus on lighting to deter criminal activities. Furthermore, seasonality is important. In particular, during peak tourism seasons criminal activities increase. More tourists result in more potential victims. Tourists are particularly vulnerable because they are unfamiliar with the environment and how to seek assistance.

Within the tourist locations specific areas that tourists frequent are also considered as crime hotspots, for example, hotels (specifically entrance to hotels and hotel rooms), caravan parks, convention and conference centres, etc. Meeting and conferences are a major form of tourism and have been targets in relation to theft in particular. The most common form of criminal activity is petty property crime. Most of these criminal acts are opportunity crimes when valuables are left unattended or can be easily accessed (for example, carrying a camera in the open or leaving windows and doors open). However, rape and other forms of sexual abuse (especially violence against women and children) are of particular concern in South Africa. Other types of crime experienced by tourists are assault, murder, armed robbery and car hijacking. It is difficult to access statistics in relation to tourism-related crimes in particular and given trends

in South Africa, most victims (especially in terms of sex crimes) are unlikely to report the crime.

The focus on 'crime hotspots' (especially in tourist locations) can also have problematic consequences since resources are invested in these locations leaving others more vulnerable, especially where locals reside. Criminal activities move to where criminals perceive more vulnerable communities and potential victims to exist. Thus, it is possible that delineating specific crime hotspots for attention creates new ones in different localities. It is therefore imperative that a more comprehensive approach to addressing the problem of crime in society be adopted as will be discussed later. It is also worth noting that the categorisation of a crime hotspot in one area assists in creating tourism opportunities in other locations. For example, while terrorist attacks in New York, Bali and Egypt saw a decrease in tourist arrivals other locations, South Africa included, saw an increase in tourist numbers.

Crime Prevention Strategies in Relation to Tourism

A major feature of crime prevention and securing tourists in South Africa is similar to those identified by Jones (2008). The focus is on situational crime prevention measures which build on Newman's theory of defensible space and (CPTED). These approaches contend that locations can be 'defended' and risks reduced by physical infrastructure as well as surveillance technology and measures (including visible policing). To a large extent this has been a successful approach in keeping tourists and major tourist destinations safe. The most successful illustrative example is the safety levels experienced during South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the largest sport event to take place in the country and on the African continent. While crime and safety issues were the key concerns in relation to South Africa's ability to host the World Cup and in terms of influencing tourist arrivals, these fears did not materialise. During the World Cup security measures were increased significantly (especially police presence) and major event locations (stadium precincts, public viewing areas such as fan parks, transport hubs and key tourist destinations) were physically secured with controlled access. The success of the safety and security strategies implemented during the World Cup played a

major role in influencing the widespread positive media coverage that South Africa received during the World Cup. This is possibly the main international post-event legacy of the event. Measures to promote responsible tourism and increase safety and security for all are discussed next.

Promoting Responsible Tourism and Enabling Safety and Security for All

Effective policing is of paramount importance when dealing with crime and tourism. In some countries such as Egypt there is dedicated tourist police who are also trained to interact with the tourists, assist with directions and are knowledgeable about the tourism products in a specific location to advise tourists. It is important that in South Africa police are trained to interact with tourists in a positive manner. Boakye's (2011) study in Ghana reveals that a significant proportion of the tourists interviewed felt that the presence of uniformed security made them feel uncomfortable and more fearful. Thus, it is important that police presence does not constantly remind tourists of crime. Furthermore, police departments should be trained on how to handle crimes against and crimes committed by tourists who may not be in a specific location for a sufficient period of time for the case to be handled properly. Police services, infrastructure and judicial processes need to be developed to deal with transient populations. Furthermore, social services should be in place to support traumatised victims and all forms of crime need to be systematically addressed. Stone (2006: 1) specifically advocates "a cyclical process of iterative innovation in which government seeks to solve narrowly circumscribed crime problems, and then leverages each success to generate wider hope and confidence in the criminal justice system". As Donaldson and Ferreira (2008) state, the merging of secure and safe environments with sports, leisure and tourism spaces will provide a foundation where both hard infrastructure (tourism support facilities) and softer issues (safety, security and perceptions of crime) are important parts of the planning and developments in South Africa.

In terms of tourism specifically, certification such as the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa can be used to encourage higher levels of safety standards at tourist destinations and within

the accommodation sector. A key criterion in terms of rating destinations and establishments is the level of safety. Spenceley (2004) states that tourism certification is attracting significant interest within the industry because it has emerged as a mechanism for marketing and profiling, especially to the rapidly growing clientele base who are interested in supporting responsible tourism. Therefore, it provides potentially an effective mechanism for higher safety standards from the tourism industry.

The research on crime and tourism reveal that crime and violence are a developmental issue, linked often to high levels of poverty and distrust within society (Nkosi 2010; Pillay 2008; Stone 2006). This implies that a long-term strategy cannot focus on tourism per se but must tackle the development challenges that countries face. This needs to be supported by effective policing and a criminal justice system that works. In particular, this is required to address the increasing problem of organised crime and corruption which requires a different approach to that of poverty-related crimes. It is also important to have an international strategy since a significant number of key tourism-related criminal activities such as drug trafficking have cross-border partners. These types of crime require international collaboration and resources.

It is also important to provide the necessary information for both tourists and residents to make informed decisions. This implies collecting and providing statistics on crime. This requires more detailed research and a critical examination of existing data. Relevant safety and security information (including what to avoid, what to do if attacked, contact numbers and information services, etc.) should be well publicised.

Safety and security preparations and implementation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (the hosting of the World's largest mega sport tourism event for the first time on the African continent) demonstrates that South Africa has the capability of creating a significantly safer environment. The political will to ensure a safe World Cup was expressed by the government and reiterated throughout. During the World Cup very few criminal incidents were recorded and particularly in the stadium precincts, fan parks and major tourist accommodation areas; crime was almost non-existent. Some of the key reasons forwarded for this effective crime strategy were visible

and continuous policing, controlled access of specific areas, allocating substantial resources that permitted a significant increase in security personnel, the assertion and seriousness of a 'zero-tolerance' (that is, not being lenient on criminals) doctrine, and designing of physical space to limit criminal activities (for example, ample lighting and CCTVs). The focus on keeping tourists safe in specific locations is part of a broader trend in South Africa for those who can afford it to live in gated or 'secure' communities with exceptionally high levels of safety and security measures. However, it is important to caution that this approach restricts movement and interactions between locals and tourists, promotes and reinforces existing inequalities, and the creation of these 'safe' zones can create resentment. Furthermore, this strategy tends to ignore underlying causal factors (such as poverty).

Concern has been expressed whether this sense of urgency to make South Africa safer will be sustained after the World Cup. This is a valid concern that needs to be monitored. However, the security measures implemented during the World Cup provide the signposts for what needs to be done to keep tourists and citizens safer. South Africa has gained a reputation for being able to handle crime internationally. The question remains whether this can be sustained and will non-host areas and South African citizens also benefit from improved safety and security measures.

CONCLUSION

The study underscores that crime remains an important consideration in relation to tourism in South Africa. Tourists and locals perceive South Africa as having high levels of crime. Furthermore, it is critical that perceptions of crime and security as well as dealing with actual crime from the perspectives of tourists, the tourism industry and locals are addressed. Since tourism (inclusive of hosting major events) is emerging as a key job creation and development strategy in South Africa, the threat that crime poses to further tourism development needs to be dealt with. Crime in relation to tourism processes should be considered as part of broader strategies that incorporate risk and safety. This requires strategising and planning adequately for crime prevention. This article cautions against tourists being perceived as victims only and ar-

gues for policies and strategies to include aspects pertaining to tourists as offenders. This implies that crime does not only deter tourists but tourism can contribute to the presence of crime. This article also shows that certain types of tourism activities may influence crime, perceptions of crime and personal safety. Additionally, it is critical that the concerns and interests of both tourists and residents are considered.

Furthermore, the role of the media is also central. Clearly, South Africa's image as a tourist and investment destination is greatly impacted on by crime and safety and security concerns. South Africa needs to leverage the opportunities created as a result of the positive media coverage pertaining to safety and security linked to the World Cup.

A major challenge for the tourism industry, the safety and security sectors, and the government of South Africa is to tackle crime and safety issues in a manner that does not dissuade tourists from visiting the country, ensures that when they visit they are safe and secure, and when they leave positive experiences can be shared with others. At the same time, it is imperative that residents' fear of crime and insecurity are addressed as well. The most effective strategy is therefore to ensure that South Africa is safe for all and that incidents of crime are dealt with decisively and effectively. This will require that underlying causes of crime are dealt with, including developmental and transformational issues relating to economic opportunities and quality of life considerations.

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