Questioning Notions of Authenticity: Zulu Beadwork as Cultural Tourism

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This study is presented in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Social Sciences, in the Centre for Communication, Media and Society, School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa.
I, Luthando Ngazile Ngema declare that the research reported in this study, except where otherwise indicated, and is my original research.

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Signed

..................................................  DATE 1 August 2013

Luthando Ngazile Ngema
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Ngibonge zonke izihlobo zami, nginabo abangani baningi- kungaba yiphutha umangingabala abambalwa, ngoba khona abazoshiyeka, kanti bonke babululekile futhi bonke baqiniseka ukungixasa bengiseka ngesikhathi sokufunda kwami. Niyabonga kubo bonke.

Ngibonge nakulaba abangipha isikhathi sabo; nesineke, sixoxa kabanzi ngolwazi olwesintu samaZulu. Ukubona ulwazi ngamaZulu lubhalwe phansi encwandini kuyangithokosiza. Ngifisa ukubona ukuthuthuka ekuxoxeni, nasekubhalweni kwezi ndaba nomlando wesintu, sabantu abansundu kulelizwe laseSouth Africa.
ABSTRACT

Questioning notions of authenticity through the dynamics of Zulu culture as expressed by Zulu beadwork in the cultural tourism industry, allows this study to evaluate the historical perspectives of Zulu culture. It further provides a genealogical perspective of Zulu beadwork, and explains the nature of Zulu beadwork within the tourism industry of KwaZulu-Natal. The literature of this dissertation specifically evaluates the historical foundations of Zulu cultural history and heritage and further gives an evaluation of the literature related to issues of authenticity and cultural tourism. This dissertation is framed in the theories of identity and culture; borrowing from cultural anthropology studies; tourism studies and cultural communication studies. The dynamics of cultural tourism, which are created in the relationship between the bead makers and their prospective consumers (the tourist), are also to be the focus of this study as this will work to facilitate unpacking the reasons which add to tourism destinations offering cultural experiences and as well focus on development strategies that are in place for developing cultural tourism for economic gain. This study will employ a qualitative research methodology, which is concerned with non-statistical information about the notions of authenticity in cultural tourism; used as a medium to Zulu beadwork symbolism, as viewed by Zulu bead makers and the cultural tourists based in the Durban South and North beach regions. The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the notions of authenticity as applied through the tourism process that occurs in the KwaZulu-Natal, Durban’s beach front; through the stall keeping that occurs in the area, where Zulu beadwork is one of the key items sold to the tourist.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction: Authenticating

The process of questioning the notions of authenticity in the tourism sector forms the bases of this dissertation. Zulu beadwork plays a role as an observational tool to measure the level of authenticity or the lack of authenticity that can be experienced in the KwaZulu-Natal cultural tourism sector. This examines identity and culture; how heritage discourses plays a role in discussing tourism destinations and the relationships that occur between the tourists and host communities. These themes are further explored in the following chapters which evaluate the historical background of the Zulu culture, and the history of the Zulu bead culture before its ‘commodification’ for tourism consumption.

Chapter two specifically provides the historical foundations of Zulu cultural history and heritage and further give an evaluation of the literature related to issues of authenticity and cultural tourism. The concern of chapter two is to explore how a tourism industry can create and produce cultural products under the umbrella of authenticity. In its discussion, it provides a description of the province of the research site, and draws on the image that aims to describe the marketing process that is in involved in the promotion of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, as a place with a variety of cultural experiences.

The Zulu people of South Africa have been described to as having, “volatile circumstances… in the past two hundred years, the formulation and articulation of identity at the levels of both the individual and group have been important as well as complex” (Boram-Hays, 2005: 38).

The theoretical framework section, chapter three, explores issues of identity and culture, and as well provides an analysis of the notions of authenticity as a concept used to define and design promotional packages of tourist destination. The marketing process has allowed a construction of Zulu identity through selling tourism experience and the “assertions of a variety of identities have given the Zulu-speaking people a visible presence in the wider region and also served to represent the multiple voices that make up Zulu society” (Boram-Hays, 2005: 38).

This study employs qualitative research methodology, which is concerned with non-statistical information (Haviland et al, 2008) about the notions of authenticity in cultural tourism via the symbolism of Zulu beadwork, as viewed by the Zulu bead makers, cultural tourists based in the Durban South and North beach regions. Moreover, this study is located within an interpretive paradigm. The main concern of the interpretative tradition is not to establish relations of ‘cause’ and ‘effect’ but with “exploring the ways that people make sense of their social worlds and how they
express these understandings through language, sound, imagery, personal style and social rituals [such as cultural tourism]” (Deacon et al, 2007:5). In an attempt to unpack the notion of authenticity as a concept, qualitative research methods will be employed to understand behaviour, belief, opinion and emotions from the perspectives of the bead makers and the tourists that they provide a Zulu cultural bead service.

A semiotic analysis is employed to understand the website marketing of the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ brand, which allowed this study to evaluate the reference to naming of the KwaZulu-Natal province as a ‘Zulu Kingdom’ destination. The historical and heritage links that are vital for producing cultural products can therefore be explored and interrogated. The second form of analysis; is thematic analysis, where the data collected through interviews with the cultural producers (Zulu beadwork crafter and /or sellers) and the cultural tourists was analysed to produce answers to the meanings created in a cultural tourism setting, through talking about notions of authenticity that are vital to the tourism set up.

**Description of Durban**

Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, province of South Africa; is under the eThekwini municipality and is a city with diverse cultural experience. It is the country’s third largest city, after Johannesburg and Cape Town. The municipality, encompassing Durban and various towns and villages, has a population of over three million people.

The initial stages of this study were prompted by an internet search of KwaZulu-Natal tourism. The various websites surveyed all link to South African tourism and in particular to www.zulu.org.za. This site boasted a history of KwaZulu-Natal, based on the notion of a warrior nation. KwaZulu-Natal is a combined name linked to the provinces history, which is evaluated further in chapter two of this study. A brief explanation of the naming refers to ‘KwaZulu’ meaning, “a place of the Zulu”, which is also translated to mean, a “place of Heaven”, as ‘Zulu’ means heaven (Gleimius *et al*, 2003); while Natal was the name given to the area by Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, who sighted the coast on Christmas day in 1497 (Derwent, 1999: 147; Gleimius *et al*, 2003).

EThekwini’s (Durban’s) tourism sector as a municipal metro city is defined under the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Act of 1996, as most of its tourism is performed at municipal level. According to section thirty-three (s 33) of the Act, the municipality has to develop policies specifically for the region. Section thirty-eight (s 38) of the Act stipulates varies duties that municipalities have to provide. Section thirty-eight, part one (s 38 [1]) requires the municipality to be responsible for local tourism within its areas of jurisdiction. Section thirty-eight, part two (s 38 [2] (a-h) provides for various

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functions that include: monitoring local tourism operators and establishing compliance with provincial policies and legislation. Section thirty-eight further includes duties for the promotion, marketing and development initiatives with provincial tourism marketing strategies. The municipal tourism functions also emphasise that local tourism should be aligned with marketing initiatives with provincial tourism marketing strategies.

The relevance of referring to the Act is important as most of the discussion about the Durban tourism scenery focuses on how Zulu culture is represented, and therefore how this can be seen to be aligned with the notion of the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ a concept which dominates the description of KwaZulu-Natal tourism. Various images and signs can be found on the KwaZulu-Natal’s tourism website, for instance, to reflected emphasise of Zulu cultural relevance in KwaZulu-Natal’s tourism. For example, the headlines of the website all reflect *Zulu Kingdom, Exceptional*. The links that provide information ‘about’ the province is titled *About the Kingdom*: this has subheadings which relay information about the ‘weather’; ‘Fast facts’; and ‘History and Culture’. The link also highlights various issues that are for tourist’s interest. This research was more interested on the ‘History and Culture’ component which described what the Kingdom has to offer:

… a panorama of unforgettable experiences - a living buzz that permeates every quarter of this spectacularly beautiful terrain where the mighty Zulu nation was forged… leading to our unsurpassable collection of game parks and reserves, and where the proud Zulu people rose in unity following migration of clans from the Great Lakes. Relive the campaigns of Africa’s Black Napoleon- King Shake- and trace the lineage of monarchs from colonial subjugation through the apartheid years to present- day democracy.²

The website further gives a detailed account of the colonial history of the province, and therefore provides information on the political developments which was and is vital to the development of KwaZulu-Natal as a province.

The focus of this study is, however, particularly interested in Durban tourism, and set out to evaluate extensively how Zulu culture, through Zulu beadwork, has a contributed to the cultural tourism experienced in Durban. The website describes Durban as, “sophisticated cosmopolitan city of over three million people - a city where east meets west - a city beneath which the pulse of Africa- city known as the home of Africa’s best managed busiest port”.³ As mentioned above, Durban is officially called eThekwini (eThekwini municipality). The meaning of the word ‘eThekwini’ has a variety of meanings; the one that is favoured by the various tourism pamphlets is where the meaning is said to mean, “The place where the earth and the ocean meet” or, “the place of the bay” (Derwent, 1999: 147). Sue Derwent (1999), however, further elaborates on the meaning that is often a ‘hidden’ meaning, found in the Zulu meaning. This meaning is derived from the natural environment of Zulu

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peoples lifestyle (Derwent, 1999). She claims that Zulu people have a “strong identification with their prized Nguni cattle… [and] that the name is taken from the shape of Durban Bay which, according to Zulu people, resembles that shape of the hanging testicles of a bull” (Derwent, 1999: 147). When white traders arrived in 1824 the settlement was called Port Natal, a name now applied to the city’s harbour. Then in 1835 it was renamed Durban after the British governor of the cape (of which Natal was then a region). He was called Sir Benjamin D’Urban; in 1935 (only) did Durban achieve full city status (Jackson, 2003: 5-16).

The naming of the City of Durban or eThekwini, already reveals that it is a place with a combination of cultures, boasting European cultures, Eastern cultures and as well African cultures. Derwent (1999) states that: Durban as the largest and busiest city in KwaZulu-Natal… [With] hot, sweaty and ‘vibrantism’ is extraordinarily rich in African urban culture and perhaps more than any other city in the country, has the feel and pulse of Africa” (Derwent 1999: 148). Durban is also known to be home to the largest population of the Indian population who “arrived in South Africa as indentured labourers to work on sugar-cane plantations in 1860… they retained much of their rich cultural heritage, which includes beautiful mosques, colourful temples, vibrant festivals, exciting food and dance” (Derwent, 1999: 148). In fact, the Indian population began to arrive in 1860, mainly as indentured worker with some ‘free’ or ‘Arab’ Indians as well. This migration continued on to the early twentieth century with approximately 150,000 immigrants arriving from the Indian subcontinent. Today people of Indian origin or Indian-South Africans number about 1.3 million people (Brain, 1989: 249-75).

The Tourism Sector: Defining Touristic Entities

This section aims to elaborate on how Durban can be defined as a cultural tourism destination, using Zulu beadwork as a cultural reference. It further aims to define the cultural tourists that can be found visiting destinations like the city of Durban, and to evaluate whether the touristic activities can be labelled ‘cultural’.

South African culture has played a significant role in the tourism industry. The tourism industry in South Africa, specifically in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, has been used as an engine to create economic growth. KwaZulu-Natal Province department of Arts, Culture and Tourism developed a "Provincial strategy policy that is going to provide foundation and competitive strategies for KwaZulu Natal (KZN) linked to existing national provincial strategies" (Department of Art, Culture and Tourism, 2011). The targeted year for the development through tourism is projected to the year 2011. According to the White Paper, tourism in KwaZulu-Natal contributes R18 billion to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and about 10% of the provincial economy. Foreign visitors total 1.3 million and 13.9 million are made up of domestic tourists on an annual basis. The development strategy plans to increase its foreign tourism market to 2 million by 2011 and domestic tourism to 15.5 million, so
that tourism can contribute R 34 billion. The aim of this study is not to research the economic impact of tourism in KwaZulu-Natal (or Durban), but purely concerns cultural communications (tourists interacting with Zulu cultural messages) significance within tourism.

Tourism concerns a cultural communicative exchange, occurring between the tourists and the destination. The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism marketing strategies, via their website is an example of how Zulu culture in KwaZulu-Natal is sold as a culture to explore; to be learned about representing the other to the cultural tourist. The website promotes KwaZulu-Natal as a ‘Zulu Kingdom’ and further describes the province as "enticing, spectacular and fascinating multi-cultural showpiece destination, flanked by warm Indian Ocean and souring peaks". The city of Durban is referred to as the 'gateway' city. It is said to be "pulsating and inviting; fusing East, West and Zulu motifs, overlooking Africa's busiest picture- postcard Seaport".

Elements which are most attractive to tourist in terms of cultural tourism include, the 'authentic' and even more so, the 'exotic' elements of and aspects of a groups culture (Ivanovic, 2008: 25). This study aims to explore, the ‘authentic’ nature of Zulu beadwork, in turn examining the semiotic messaging of Zulu culture, which will allow this study to explore the scope of Zulu culture representation in the tourism sector in Durban. Zulu beadwork is an element of Zulu culture, which is extraordinary in its design, and the fascination is associated with how the Zulu culture used beadwork as a communication system. The cultural tourist is attracted to the cultural aspects which vividly expose a certain culture; however, culture should be observed in totality (Ivanovic, 2008). This is so, because "the totality of a group's culture together with the particular natural setting from which it evolved is termed cultural landscape" (Ivanovic, 2008: 25) and hence the entire environmental surroundings should cultivate the cultural tourist destination. Cultural tourists, however, does not consider all elements embedded in a culture, and hence, not all elements of a culture are attractive to a cultural tourist. Handcrafts (these are considered to be cultural only if they were made by locals in the country where sold); language; traditions; music and art; history of the region, are just a few of popular interest to the cultural tourist. KwaZulu is competitive in the cultural tourism market, because it offers these 'exciting' Zulu cultural experiences.

Categorising Durban Tourism: Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism

In explaining the types of tourism in the form of categories, Valene L. Smith (1989) explains “tourism as a form of leisure activity structures that personal life cycle to provide alternate periods of work[and that] as work gives way to leisured mobility, individuals find re-creation in a variety of new contexts” (Smith, 1989: 4). A description of the different forms of tourism, which she terms the “kinds of leisured mobility undertaken by the tourist” are identified under five types by Smith (1989: 4)

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4 www.kzn.org.za
5 www.kzn.org.za
The first of these types of touristic experiences is ‘Ethnic tourism’ which she explains is, “marketed to the public in terms of the “quaint” customs of indigenous and often exotic people” (Smith, 1989: 4). Cultural tourism is defined as including “the ‘picturesque’ or ‘local colour’ as vestige of a vanishing life-style that lies within human memory with its old style' houses, home spun fabrics, horse or ox-drawn carts and plows, and hand rather than machine made crafts” (Smith, 1989: 4-5). The third of these types of touristic experience is Historical tourism which is described to be the “museum-cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the past” (Smith, 1989: 5).

Environmental tourism may be added to the list and is often aligned with ethnic tourism, however it is mainly to “[attract] a tourist elite to remote areas such as Antarctica to experience a truly alien scene… because environmental tourism is primarily geographic, many education-oriented travellers enjoy driving through mountains and country-side to observe man-land relationships” (Smith, 1989: 5). The fifth type is Recreational tourism, which is, “often sand, sea and sex-promoted by beautiful colour pictures that make you want to be “there”- on the ski slopes, the palm-fringed beaches, the championship golf courses, or sunning in a deck, and attracts tourists who want to relax or commune with nature” (Smith, 1989: 5).

This study aims to evaluate the nature of cultural tourism through the Zulu beadwork craft as provided by stall keepers based in the beachfront region, expanding from the South Beach region to the North Beach region. Regarding Smith’s (1989) categorisation of tourism experiences, the Durban beachfront experience can be defined beyond cultural tourism - and this is the focus of this study. Cultural tourism activities, which can include “meals in rustic inns, folklore performances, costumed wine festivals or rodeos reminiscent of the wild west” (Smith, 1989: 5), this kind of activity, cannot be entirely be experienced in the Durban region. This study will not explore the various activities that cultural tourism activities can include (or exclude), but will focus mainly on Zulu bead culture that plays prominence for Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism, as it vividly operational in the beach areas of Durban.

**Diagram 1.1: Zulu beadwork reflects cultural tourism, in a tourism destination that combines historical, ethnic and recreational tourism activities.** By Luthando Ngema, 2013.
The above diagram emphasizes the centrality of Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism as the focus of this study, it further illustrates an interrelation between Zulu beadwork as cultural tourisms, in the Durban tourism sphere that combines Historical, Ethnic and Recreational tourism. The concept of cultural tourism can, therefore, be understood as to have many definitions (Chhabra, 2010). It can have both a conceptual and technical definition, where conceptually cultural tourism is defined as the “movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural need” (Richards, 1996: 24). The technical definition of cultural tourism states that: “cultural tourism includes all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, art and drama outside their normal place of residence” (Richards, 1996: 24). Essentially, the definition highlights that cultural tourism requires the consumption of cultural experience, where the historical and contemporary cultural products are purchased in the tourism context (Richards, 2001). The Durban tourism context can, therefore, be viewed as promoting both the historical and contemporary cultural experience, through Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism, providing knowledge of the various ethnic groups that populate Durban, within a cosmopolitan environment.

The theoretical framework section of this study, will also examine the historical and ethnic influences for a destination like Durban to promote authenticity on cultural tourism products. The ‘authentic’ and even ‘exotic’ elements of Zulu beadwork can be argued to be an attractive contribution to cultural tourism of the Durban region. And for this reason can qualify this study to explore mainly the cultural tourism aspects of the diverse tourism setting as displayed in Durban. Durban is therefore a city that has a combination of touristic experiences, providing historical and cultural knowledge, environmental beauty and recreational experience.

Cultural Tourists of Durban

In exploring the cultural tourism market, Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros (2002), formulates a cultural tourism typology, through a study conducted in Hong Kong. According to the World Tourism Organization, “cultural tourism accounts for thirty seven percent of all tourist trips and that demand is growing by fifteen percent per annum” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002: 135), however, this calculation has no particular backing and the growth (or lack of growth) is based on research conducted mainly in America or with Americans travelling to Europe, and therefore only reveals that:

cultural tourists are older, better educated, and more affluent than the travelling public as a whole… women constitute an important part… cultural tourists are frequent travellers who tend to stay longer at a destination, spend more while there, and join in more activities than other tourists (McKercher & du Cros, 2002:136).

The view that cultural tourist as McKercher and du Cros (2002:136) argues, only constitutes a small “but growing number of voices and that the “cultural demographics and trip profile characteristics are unreliable indicators of cultural tourists” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002: 136). As a solution to the issue
of defining the cultural tourist, McKercher and du Cros develop a “typology of cultural tourist” through the research based on cultural tourism exploring Hong Kong as a case study. The research was conducted in 1999, and involved a survey of 2,066 departing visitors from six countries including: China, Taiwan, Singapore, the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. This research showed results that revealed that 33 percent of the visitors surveyed participated in some form of cultural tourism activity during their visit, a figure that is comparable to the World Tourism Organization’s estimates of global cultural tourism. Cultural tourism participation proved to vary widely, and according to country of origin, “with Westerners being one and one-half to two times more likely to participate in cultural tourism than Asian visitors” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002: 147). American and Australians were the largest consumers of cultural tourism products, with 41 percent and 39 percent participation rates, respectively (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Fifty eight of the participants, forming the majority, stated that “cultural tourism reasons played little or no role in their decision to visit Hong Kong” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002: 147-148). However, the same people said, they still participated in cultural tourism activities and even though having a “shallow experience” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Factors that contribute to a shallow experience can be described as “sightseeing, photography taking, or learning only a little about Hong Kong culture and heritage” (McKercher & du Cros, 2002: 148).

The methodology chapter of this study in investigating the notion of authenticity in Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism explains a qualitative research approach used to gathering data from the cultural tourists of Durban. The research participants who participated in this research were a group of travelling academics, from the Annenberg School of Communications, of the University of Pennsylvania. Their input, therefore, was relevant as they had participated in buying Zulu beadwork, and this was of importance in helping to answer the questions that this study asks. The centrality dimension of cultural tourism that is essential in evaluating the decision process that a ‘cultural’ tourist may take in an event to travel to a cultural destination, is an important factor, however this study will assume that the cultural tourist that participated, were cultural tourists, as they purchased the Zulu beadwork.

The view taken is that the participants in consuming a cultural product, they were therefore involved in the cultural experience, as the “consumption of culture and heritage of a people in destination areas are… central to cultural tourism” (Chhabra, 2010). If we view culture as what, people think (attitude, beliefs, ideas and values), what people do (normative behaviour patterns, or ways of life) and what people make (artworks, artefacts, cultural products)... culture is therefore composed of processes (the ideas and ways of life of people) and the products of those processes (buildings, artefacts, art customs and atmosphere) (Mbaiwa, 2011: 291).
The depth of experience which determines the level of cultural experience that a cultural tourist might encounter, will also not be a focus of this study, as this study is concerned with the questioning of authenticity in the cultural product, produced for touristic purposes and not at the evaluation of the levels of experience (determined by shallow or deep experience measures).

**South African tourism as a development strategy**

Developing countries like South Africa have given most of their developmental funding to the promotion of tourism development (Richards, 1996; 2001). The World Tourism Organisation has described South Africa as one of the most outstanding tourist destinations in Africa (Allen & Brennan, 2004) and as a development strategy South Africa has implemented policies to enhance the industry. South African tourism has, therefore, promoted the packaging of images, through media sources that represent the society and its past (Witz *et al*, 2001). Even though the past is clouded with apartheid history, the tourism industry has managed to reconstruct South African heritage and provide the tourist with historical information, moving away from promoting a traditional tourism industry focusing only on the South African wildlife, but investing in a wealth of cultural tourism (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2007). Therefore, it can be argued that the development of tourism, aligned with development of globalisation, coincides with “a number of fundamental cultural and social changes, as well as changes in the structure of tourism itself” (Richards, 2007: 1). The theoretical framework section of this study will also elaborate on globalisation and how tourism can benefit or not in this process, with specific evaluation of Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism.

**Conclusion**

This chapter introduced various aspects and approaches which are carried out in the tourism industry in general. It also provides a description of the research site, Durban, and described how this research aims to investigate the notions of authenticity that the tourism destination of Durban offers; in viewing Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism. The cultural tourism market occupies itself with utilising ‘traditional’ ‘ethnic’ and ‘mythical’ information to promote destinations like KwaZulu-Natal, and this was briefly discussed and to be further discussed in the following chapters, as this forms the debate on the authentic or non-authentic issues that arise in cultural tourism destinations. This chapter also contributes in defining the South African development strategies that aim to promote the cultural aspects of the diverse South African population, through cultural tourism, and the socio-economic impacts are also briefly discussed as this will form part of the following chapters on issues of tourism and globalisation.
Chapter 2

Literature review and historical perspectives

Exploring ‘Kingdom’ of the Zulu elements

Introduction
Zulu culture has a colourful and mythical history and heritage, full of excitement, triumph and adversity, colourful regalia and strong personalities (Boram-Hays, 2005). It is little wonder that KwaZulu-Natal Tourism (KZNT) has in particular latched onto ‘authentic’ Zulu culture in the ‘Kingdom of the Zulu’ (Ngema, 2010) as a sales promotional tool with the pound and euro-earning tourist as a primary target. In investigating the notions of authenticity within the cultural tourism industry: this research aims at exploring how Zulu beadwork has come to be seen as a near-personification of Zulu culture. This study focuses on one aspect of that equation – Zulu beadwork as a signifier for ‘authentic’ ‘Zuluness’. This is both in its production by Zulu bead crafters and or sellers, as well as through its reception or consumption by cultural tourist. The existence of cultural tourism is connected to the obsession for searching for what has been described as 'authentic-ness' in the learning process found in the interacting and exchanging of cultures (Ivanovic, 2008). KwaZulu-Natal has embraced this obsession sometimes with the mass availability of Zulu beadwork items, ready to be sold to tourist consumers. Questioning the notions of authenticity with regard to Zulu beadwork in cultural tourism can elaborate and further define the element of authenticity, that in many ways persuade the cultural tourism industry.

The Aims of Authenticity: Zulu beadwork as Cultural Tourism
Dean MacCannell in his study of 'Staged authenticity' in a tourism setting (1973) describes the "concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences [which] parallels concerns for the sacred in primitive society" (MacCannell, 1973: 589). Zulu beadwork represents itself as one of Zulu cultural objects (‘primitive society’), famously celebrated through the legendary King Shaka kaSenzangakhona (c.1787-1828). The mythical ambiance created in the images of the Zulu and in particular by those drawn in the late 1840s by George French Angas (Knight, 1989: 6), has influenced the whole way tourists think about Zulu culture, and has shaped and influenced their particular aspirations for a Zulu experience. Zulu beadwork, as the focus of a proffered expression of the Zulu cultural brand, is central to developing notions of authenticity that KwaZulu-Natal Tourism celebrates and endorses as the core of their tourism development (see www.kzn.org.za)
The concept of authenticity is sometimes the foundations of creating a tourist destination. The bases of the process include the creation of an imagery to sell the tourism destination (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). The key to this is that the “landscapes and destinations are imaged... have significant implications for how those places and their peoples are perceived” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001:168). This situation implies that the tourism industry, “creates a myth about a country or particular areas...uses existing myths held in Western societies with the main purpose of generating income” (Mason, 1996: 123). However, the tourist also has to gain as they seek to confirm and explore to find a, “tangible reality of their image formed of the holiday area, to indulge the myths that are shaped by touristic mass- marketing, even if it is only a cliché” (Mason, 1996:123).

The mythical ambiance created in the images of the Zulu and in particular by those drawn in the late 1840s by George French Angas (McCracken,1995), has influenced the whole way tourists think about Zulu culture, and has shaped and influenced their particular aspirations for a Zulu experience. Zulu beadwork, as the focus of a proffered expression of the Zulu cultural brand, is central to developing notions of authenticity that KwaZulu-natal Tourism celebrates and endorses as the core of their tourism development.

Beadwork in Zululand dates back long before the reign of King Shaka in the 1820s (Mthetwa, 1988; Preston-Whyte, 1988; Twala, 1951). Reference to Zulu beadwork is found in literature (Preston-Whyte, 1988; Twala, 1951, Dhlomo,1961; Boram-Hays, 2005), in anthropological research, as well in the accounts and records of colonial encounters. These all point to a colossal use of beadwork within pre-colonial Zulu culture (Colenso, 1865; Tyrrel, 1996; Tyrrel, 1968; Twala, 1955).

Durban in the aim of promoting small scale business, has arranged for Zulu beadwork makers to have a space along the North and South beach areas - to display and also sell the beadwork that they make. Small scale cultural tourism, such as bead-making, can be considered an effective means of income generation as people or communities can rely on cultural heritage resources rather than expensive infrastructure and technology. Arts and crafts play a significant role in identifying difference and uniqueness of a culture (Preston-Whyte, n.d).

The ‘stall culture’ that presents crafts being sold to the tourist is one of the easiest and quickest links that connects the tourist and the local culture. The trend of the beadwork industry began from a number of tourist routes in Natal (Morris & Preston-Whyte, 1994). With the increase of traffic, along these routes, women and children began to sell local fruit and vegetables at the roadside and, stalls were set up… stalls sometimes combining goods from different households (Preston-Whyte, 1994). Beadwork was here formed as an informal industry, because the women selling their goods, would be wearing their beads and the travellers would more interested in their beads over the fruit and vegetables on sale. Eleanor Preston Whyte (n.d.) notes that tourists enjoy the “African flavour” (Preston-Whyte, n.d: 3) and the presence of the local community (people) gives the impression that
the goods sold “are the real thing”. Preston-Whyte (n.d.) conducts her research of the Zulu traditional markets at the Umgababa market situated along the South Coast of KwaZulu Natal. The reason for this is based on the fact that Zulu ethnicity “has been in the past displayed and promoted in a variety of settings… but the most familiar and accessible today are the open-air craft markets that line the main road of KwaZulu Natal” (Hamilton, 1992: 5-6). The accessibility has been observed as positive and promotes the notion of authenticity and “the presence of the market women sitting outside their stalls weaving or crocheting… proof that the goods sold are “the real thing” (Preston Whyte, n.d: 3).

Zulu bead culture

The bead trade-historical perspective

The use of beadwork has been evident over centuries and continents in various societies reflecting that "at a certain stage of their development many races… have used beads for one purpose or another" (Dhlomo, 1961). Bead culture in Africa as a whole, is an ancient culture (Twala, 1951; Dhlomo, 1961) and was closely linked to early commerce with Arab and European traders (Gleimius et al, 2003). That ancient beadwork is recorded to have been made with "varies seeds, stones, bones, metals and glass and from ostrich egg shells such as were made by Bushmen [the San] in South Africa" (Twala, 1951:113). Although there is no specific record on how far back Zulu glass beadwork dates, there is evidence of glass bead trade in Africa occurring as far back as some 3 000 years ago (Schoeman, 1996). The glass bead was a consequence of the Egyptian innovation of glass (Schoeman, 1996). In their hunger for gold, ivory and slaves, glass beads were an item of trade with the 'less sophisticated' Africa to the South (Schoeman, 1996). The beauty of the glass bead was easily mistaken for the precious gems for which the Egyptians were known (Schoeman, 1996). The European bead trade is said to date as far back as 1483 (Dhlomo, 1961). The Englishmen who were wrecked at Delagoa Bay (1943), sold beads to the Nguni people and later the sailors of the ship Good Hope were said to have paid their African porters by means of beads (Dhlomo, 1961, Schoeman, 1996).

From 1824-1836 in Port Natal, from 1836 known as Durban, the controversial settler Henry Francis Fynn, who came to Natal from the Cape, used large quantities of glass beads as a primary article with which to trade with the Northern Nguni people (Schoeman, 1996).

By then the South African Nguni tribes were using beads for decorative and for other specific purposes (Schoeman, 1996, Twala, 1951). For example, the Zulu’s used beadwork as a means of communication. It was said that they, "have taken to beads more than any other Southern Bantu tribes…. Then came the Amandebele [Ndebele] or Mapoko [Maphoko] tribes… the Xhosa, Sotho and Swazi make little use of beads in comparison with the Zulu, who used it extensively with much
finery” (Twala, 1951:113). The origins of that Zulu beadwork had a similar background to the general African bead culture. Natural raw items, such as those mentioned above, can be said to have been used by the Zulu people, even before foreign imports of glass beads became freely available. It is known, for instance, that some early Zulu beadwork consists of items made from wood. These items qualify to be called beads because they are "shaped into round pegs and pierced across… perforated and are strung like beads" (Twala, 1951: 113).

Zulu people valued their beadwork culture and interlocked this culture to their everyday life (Mthethwa, 1988, Preston- Whyte, 1988). Beadwork was utilised to relay messages that the community embraced and captured within their culture (Mthethwa, 1988, Preston- Whyte, 1988). Over and above the beads for ornamental and sartorial use, Regina Twala (1951) illustrates that the Zulu uses beadwork as a way to communicate, societal obligations and sanctions. She elaborates this point in stating that, "every society has its sanctions, so that the individual will be guided in his behaviours by following certain prescribed obligations from childhood…the individual is trained to fit into the social scheme by means of a body of observances and traditions" (Twala, 1951: 113). The Zulu people, through the use of beadwork, created societal codes of conduct (Twala, 1951, Mthethwa, 1988). The use of beads, therefore, became a, "regulating agent in the social life" of the Zulu people in general (Twala, 1951). The making and the use of the beads among the Zulu went far beyond this, though, and were "an expression of the aesthetic, poetic and spiritual life of the people" (Dhlomo, 1961).

Studies which have been conducted to decode the meaning of Zulu beadwork have generally concluded that the main function of Zulu beadwork was to convey messages within Zulu society (Mthethwa, 1988, Preston-Whyte, 1994, Twala, 1951, Dhlomo, 1961, Fitzgerald, 2007). Bongani Mthethwa (1988) recorded an interview with Maqala Zulu, a relative of the Zulu royal family. Maqala Zulu was 130 years old at the time of her interview. Mthethwa found that Maqala Zulu was a significant contributor to his research as she had witnessed the British invasion in Zululand in 1879. More to the point of this study, she grew up at a time when beadwork was an integral part of the Zulu culture (Mthethwa, 1988). Referring to the bead messaging system as 'letters' is a modern usage which arrived with the colonial systems. (Mthethwa, 1988). Mthethwa explained that "Zulu traditionalists today refer to bead messages as 'letters', because this system of communication has been replaced by modern writing" (Mthethwa, 1988: 34). However, Zulu beadwork is rooted in Zulu cultural expression. Traditionally, beads were worn in 'abundance', and "the beadwork conveys gender, age, marital status and accomplishments" (Twala, 1951; Mthethwa, 1988: 34). The pattern of the beadwork is described by Diane Fitzgerald (2007) as to "exhibit vibrant geometric designs, such as zigzag bands, diamonds, or triangles, which often contain symbolic meaning" (Fitzgerald, 2007: 17).
Beadwork was one of the defining aspects of differences between North Nguni tribes. In the 1930s Natal and Zululand had "at least seven distinct regional beadwork styles", colour combinations and design motifs (Boram-Hays 2005:63). However and to a lesser degree, the ‘beadworking’ methods and types of ornaments that characterised these distinctive styles reflect the importance of local identities.

The rise of the Zulu kingdom in the early 1800s propelled minor Zulu chiefdoms into a unified dominant regional power under King Shaka. However the creation of the Zulu ‘nation’ out of a diverse collection of Northern Nguni peoples was not a bloodless exercise and the resulting disruption, the *mfacane*, resulted in the dispersal of many communities (Van Wyk, 2003). Zulu identity today is, in part, characterised by the history of the coalescing of these groups into a new kingdom. Van Wyk comments that, "subsequent administration further standardised the Zulu language and entrenched the label, which continues to overarch differences today” (Van Wyk, 2003:25).

**Zulu Beadwork Documenting Northern Nguni Chiefdoms**

At the Zulu beadwork exhibition, found at the KwaZulu-Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg lays evidence of these distinct differences in beadwork styles; which further emphasises the Nguni chiefdom system that occurred. The *Amalala* beadwork (collected in 1900, in the Table Mountain area in KwaZulu Natal) was beadwork designed by a tribe that was not fully incorporated into the old Zulu kingdom and ‘*Amalala*’ was a derogatory term, which referred to those Zulu speaking people. The *Amalala* lived in a large area south of the Tugela River. The term *Amalala* has since fallen off as the Amalala assumed a Zulu identity by the middle of the 20th century. *Amalala* beadwork is typified by vertical bands of pink, red, blue and white beads.

![Fig.2.1 Amalala beadwork displayed at Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2012](image)
A second example is the *Amabhaca* beadwork (collected between 1930-1970). The Amabhaca originated from an amalgamation of various chiefdoms, such as the *Wushe* and *Zondo*, who lived mostly in Pietermaritzburg in the 1820s. The expanding Zulu kingdom caused major turmoil and devastation in the Natal midlands and the survivors of these chiefdoms reunited in Southern KwaZulu-Natal as a new ethnic identity. Today, they are known to live in the Eastern Cape Province near Mount Frere and at Ixopo and Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal. *Bhaca* beadwork does not confirm to any stylistic code. However, vertical bands of beadwork in various colours especially (white, blue, red, yellow, and green) are characteristic of this period and region.

![Fig.2.2 Amabhaca beadwork as displayed at the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2012](image)

The *Msinga* beadwork (collected between 1940-1970) was from the *Msinga* area situated in the Tugela River Valley between Tugela Ferry and Pomeroy. This area was settled by various chiefdoms notably the *Mthembu* and the *Mchunu*. These chiefdoms were known to have opposed the Zulu kings in the past but today their members have adapted a Zulu identity. The beadwork style of this area is dynamic and frequently changing.
Fig. 2.3 Represents two styles of Msinga beadwork as displayed at Natal Museum in Pietermarizburg. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2012

Finally the Nongoma beadwork (collected from the late 1970s to 1980s) was from the Nongoma area in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, which represents one of the heartlands of the old Zulu kingdom. The beadwork collected in this area reflects a stylistic uniformity. With colours ranging from white, red, green and black beads arranged in hourglass and diamond patterns - characteristic of this style. Slightly more modern items also include blue and yellow beads. The Nongoma style is often seen today as worn on Heritage Day (formerly known as Shaka’s Day) as a celebration at the diverse Zulu (or national South African) heritage.

Fig. 2.4 Nongoma beadwork as displayed at Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2012
The different beadwork styles implied the political power differentials that are associated with varied regional identities. For instance, the core of the Zulu kingdom that has the easiest access to the power of the royal court, lived closest to the 'Zulu capital' of Nongoma. The beadwork in the Nongoma regional, therefore, communicated the increased political power of the wearer (Boram-Hays, 2005). However the colour form was similar in all regions of the province and the use of sending love message was a widespread trait among young Zulu women (Mthethwa, 1988, Twala, 1951).

So, while there had been created a political and military unity, there were still regional and societal differences, many dating from the pre-Shakian era. Beadwork is a case in point. As a result of this diversity, about the time the glass bead was introduced, the power of Zulu society arose as well. Zulu leaders used glass beads trade with Europeans as a means to maintain their power (Preston-Whyte, 1994). Dingiswayo, uncle of King Shaka, "ordered that any of his subjects engaging privately in the barter of foreign goods should be put to death" (Preston-Whyte, 1994: 10). As a result, the distribution of glass beads "established a royal monopoly… [as did the] use of imported beads" (Preston-Whyte, 1994: 10). Politics therefore, adds to the use and meaning of Zulu beadwork, and served to strengthen Zulu identity to this very day. Adding to this complex formula, Mthethwa (1988) emphasises that "generalising about Zulu people has its problems, because of the size of the group and their geographic distribution… but the basic meaning of colours are fairly consistent, because they are dependent on the actual Zulu [common Northern Nguni] language, and use of idiomatic expression"(Mthethwa, 1988: 34-35).

In the passing of time and the process of global change, Zulu beadwork has remained as a distinguishing factor of the Zulu people (Boram-Hays 2005). As mentioned, we know Zulu beadwork showed basic changes from the initial use of wood, seeds and shells to the universal use of glass beads (Schoeman, 1996, Gleimius et al, 2003, Fitzgerald, 2007). The use of glass beads, introduced a variety of colour and beauty, enhanced the use of beads as means of communication in Zululand. This 'bead' communication was widely used and regarded as being very significant. This further identifies Zulu beads as being a unique trait in Zulu society (Twala, 1951, Gleimius et al, 2003, Preston-Whyte, 1994, Mthethwa, 1988).

It is believed "that the symbols used to decorate crafts carried secret or special information" (Gleimius, 2003: 341) that the bead-maker could decode having knowledge of the specialised ‘beadwork language’.

**Bead Colour that tells stories**

The history found in beadwork collections attributed to the KwaZulu-Natal region dates from the early nineteenth century shows a great variety of colour combinations and motifs (Boram-Hays, 2005:...
40). This carries historical significance. To best understand Zulu beadwork symbolism it is necessary to look at the background of Zulu spiritual concepts and the historical record of communication through bead symbolism (Van Wyk, 2003).

As is well known, in Zulu society women are the creators of the much sought after and famous beadwork craft. It is also known that the form of Zulu beadwork is the famous "Zulu love letter" (Preston-Whyte, 1988, Fitzgerald, ZIB, Mthethwa, 1988). But Zulu beadwork played a more significant part in Zulu culture. Preston-Whyte (1994:16) explained that:

Strings of beads were given in payment for goods and the services of smiths, doctors and diviners...beads preceded cattle as the original counters in marriage and brideswealth transaction... Beads also played an important part in the subsequent wedding ceremonies, for they adorned all who came to celebrate when the bride and her attendants danced for the first time in the midst of her new in-laws. Later they were used as the gifts that marked the symbolic integration of the bride into the family of her groom...they were used to cleanse mourners from the defilement of death, and when Shaka's mothers [Queen] Nandi died, the distraught king is said to have banned the wearing of beads for a year.

The banning of beads for the whole year can be associated with the modern mourning practice of most Zulu people. Where it is still practiced, to mourn with the family of the dead one is required to wear a patch of the same colour (usually black or navy) to symbolise death in the family. For instance, if the dead person is a man in the house (ubaba weKhaya), his wife will wear a black or navy dress for a year to communicate publicly that she is a widow. This phenomenon can easily be attributed to the Zulu beadwork communication tradition, with the lack of bright colours during the mourning period symbolising a dark period for that family. This is why at this time the family do not expose themselves or wear the vivid colours offered by the beads that the many Zulu people normally adorn. Although the banning of beads for a year was Shaka’s way of mourning his mother- it is relevant to emphasise the use of the bead as a source of communication. The banning was linked to his feeling of lose.

Colour that tells stories

The tourism curios industry has specialized in the selling of Zulu beadwork (Preston-Whyte, 1994, Fitzgerald, ZIB) and in particular the selling the widely known coloured symbolic "Zulu love letter" (Fitzgerald, ZIB, Preston-Whyte, 1994). However, as mentioned above, traditionally Zulu beadwork had greater purpose, than what it is commonly known for today. Mthethwa (1988) elaborates that factor further, stating: "during the heydays of the Zulu and earlier Kingdoms, important military messages would sometimes be coded in beads or grass-mats... sometimes even the messenger could not decipher the code which he would be sent to deliver" (Mthethwa, 1988: 34). But to Zulus beadwork is shaped by their ‘lived reality’ and the processes of change (White, 1999) even if modern western influences have commodified the meaning and influenced the style of beadwork produced for
the commercial market (Preston-Whyte, 1994, Mthethwa, 1988). In other words, it is not a static entity but an ever-developing process of creation and interpretation.

The fabled use of colour and technique of Zulu beadwork is something which interests many scholars. The bead language was a simple way to communicate secret messages that unfolded stories. The famed 'Zulu Love Letter' was an easy way to tap into the knowledge of the use of beadwork language. Indeed, Dhlomo goes so far as to refer to this bead language as an "indigenous language… [similar] to the western “flower language" of the early 1960s (Dhlomo, 1961). In fact, the colours utilised in beadwork are closely connected to isiZulu and to Zulu idioms and emphasise or represent colours of the Zulu people's surroundings. The bead colours were said to represent certain qualities and conditions (Dhlomo, 1961). Mthethwa (1988: 40) explains the general meaning of colour as depicted by his informant Maqala Zulu as such:

Black- the night, or opposition; Blue- yearning; Brown- useless; Gold- as beautiful as the sunrise; Green- peace of mind or spirits, a soft spot for someone; Pink- poor [poverty], Sky-Blue- pure [purity], clean as the sky; White- love; Yellow- house, household, relatives; a grand occasion- where everything is fine …

The beadwork language also allowed for the other items to be incorporated along with beading. Mthethwa (1988:40) explains that items in the shape of a loop (made of wood), would mean "I entreat you" (to beg or to plead), skin pieces of cattle, would symbolise a request for wedding date or showing desperation to be married- and having these skin pieces in a row (example 12 pieces) would be an indication as to how many cows, would be expected for 'lobolo' (Twala, 1951). Handmade beaded dolls, would represent a new born baby in the family, or the virginity (like a new born) of the young woman. A string of white beads would simply mean: love shared between two people "love for two people to pull" (Mthethwa, 1988: 40). The significance of copper, brass and gold in Zulu beadwork symbolises that "love is genuine (shine) and it cannot be rubbed off like a coating" (Mthethwa, 1988: 40).

Since the Zulu’s were not always literate, beadwork worked as a form of communication. At this level the communication is said to be ‘one-sided’ (Twala, 1951). The young Zulu women, would beadwork in the courting process (Twala, 1951), the use was for her to express her "desires, aspirations, conflicts- in brief her joys and sorrows"(Twala, 1951: 115) regarding the relationship with her lover (Isoka). The young men would be seen wearing the beads that young women made for them "as a symbol of his conquest". A young man with abundance and a variety of bead styles would symbolise his popularity with young women (Isoka lama soka) (Twala, 1951). At this stage in a relationship beadwork was highly valuable to young Zulus. Twala (1951) explains that "it would be as if you went up to a European lady wearing a ring and asked her to sell it to you. Such things are not bought and

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6 Common Zulu custom for brideswealth transaction.
sold because they are part of the culture of the people; they help in the formation of the general set up of society" (1951: 115). The extent of communication through beads also extended to "documentary evidence" (Twala, 1951) regarding a relationship, between lovers. For instance, if a girl were to fall pregnant, after her relationship with the lover she claims impregnated her, the young man could easily refuse paternity by producing a "rejection bead letter" to contradict the accusation (Twala, 1951: 115).

The love letter bead language is sophisticated and indigenous to the Zulu people. Twala (1951) gives further details about what the love letter entails. She explains that "sometimes beads stand for letters, threads of beads for words, and then the patterns would stand for a sentence, a complete thought. The sentence may have a double meaning. The article itself usually stands for a complete message (Twala, 1951: 116). She also finds that new shades of colour have been introduced in the Zulu beadwork language and this has slightly changed meaning that had been known since the 1800s. Twala recognises white, red, blue, green, yellow, pink and black as the principal colours of the bead language; but also points to that "meaning also depends on whether the colour is transparent of opaque" (Twala, 1951: 116). For instance, opaque white (not glass) "Ubuhlalu obumhlophe" represents, "all that is good, have cleansing, purifying powers, called 'inkanyiso', appease ancestors, bring luck, representing the heart, love itself and all light coloured objects; it is also linked to the purity of sea sand- Isihlabathi solwandle" (Twala, 1951: 116). She further elaborates the colour scheme, stating (1951: 116):

Blue- Azure, represents the sky as well as the sea, Navy- represented gossip "ufefefe" as well as darkness and the forest pigeon "ijuba lehlathi". The grayish bead represented testicles of a monkey- "Isende lenkawu". A light blue represented a mountain pigeon. Opaque red represented blood and tears and glass red represented transparency, fire, anger, a red heart [passion]. Green "uhlaza" represented grass, which therefore implied cattle and the 'veld'. Black symbolised the Kaross [Isidwaba] which was a symbol for marriage; it also represented evil; disappointment and misfortune. Yellow "iphuzi" represented pumpkins which signified a garden. Shell-pink signifies poverty, however "long ago, courtiers to King Mpande used to swear by this type of bead saying 'Ngiyihulule imfibin ga' meaning that… they would rather enter the palaces death

The skills and knowledge of the Zulu beadwork can also be reflected on Durban’s beach front. The tourism industry in Durban has cultivated beadwork making and selling in order to tap into the past of the Zulu culture, and avail that past to tourists. But the reality is that today the primary usage of Zulu beadwork is ceremonial and as a strong yet poignant symbol of a traditional past (Preston- Whyte, 1994).

The modern day Zulu person lives a modern sophisticated existence, complete with modern challenges. Inevitably, with secondary and tertiary education, the order of the day for many isiZulu speakers means that things such as beadwork fades gradually from being a central theme of everyday
life. And yet, ironically, cultural tourism in capturing this indigenous beauty, allowing for crafters to sell and indulge the tourist to a piece of the Zulu heritage, embraces and sustains Zulu bead culture. And by so doing, it further allows traditional skills to survive and be enriched as they are adapting to modern times and manipulated by new 'personalities' (Van Den Berg, 1984).

The cultural tourist in Kingdom of Zululand

The ‘Kingdom of the Zulus’ brand is built on the notions of tourism development in KwaZulu-Natal; making Zulu culture a commodity be sold to potential tourists, local or international. Melina Ivanovic (2008: 10) defines culture to broadly refer to a general phenomenon characteristic of all human groups as their way of living. In essence, a culture encompasses "a groups shared idea" (Ivanovic, 2008: 10), which is conveyed through symbols, representing and defining what it something means. Culture, which is learnt or acquired, is ultimately a product of human beings living together (Baldwin et al, 1999: 6). Cultural tourism in KwaZulu-Natal uses the most dominant and influential cultures in the province. Zulu culture is used as a product when viewing it as the intellectual and artistic works and practices of the Zulu people to which certain specific meanings are attached (Ivanovic, 2008). Tourist destinations prepare themselves by developing "new cultural products particularly for tourist consumption" (Ivanovic, 2008: 24). Zulu beadwork has elaborately done just that. Although Zulu beadwork might seem to play a small portion in the cultural tourism stake, the complex history associated with this beadwork, defines the Zulu beadwork culture as a communication system that attracts the tourist and as a result the notion of authenticity which is associated with Zulu beadwork history, is embedded in the cultural tourism design, with the consequence of further preserving Zuluness. Besides, it should not be forgotten that beadwork is a fundamental element in the imagery utilised by the product promoters of tourism in the province.

The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism, in their development of tourism took a close look at the "unique identity" that is found in the province (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000). Ironically, South Africa’s apartheid history of ethnic separation actively propelled "Zuluness" and this enabled Zulu culture to remain at the forefront of the public image, nationally and internationally (Mare, 2009). The film Shaka Zulu reinforced this image of the warrior race. The unread text read that the Zulus supported capitalism against the 'threat of terrorism and communist ANC'. This was propaganda, but it did contribute to the preservation of a powerful Zulu image in the public sphere.

Gary Mason (1996) in his study titled “Manufactured Myths: Packaging the Exotic for visitor consumption”; interrogates the “mass-scale tourism in the US State of Hawai‘i and focuses on the commodification and prostitution of what was once a unique culture” (Mason, 1996: 121). As it has been suggested above, the tourism trade is a ‘money-spinning’ industry (Ivanovic, 2008) which is now becoming a highly competitive industry. Many corners of the world have their own unique
culture to express; subsequent to this the tourist, basically turned out to be part of a “process that usually endorses the image prepared for them by the tour operators’ publicity machine, and these images play a significant role in orienting to tourists awareness and structuring his [her] experiences” (Rossel, 1988: 5). In his paper, Mason (1996) examines the nature of promotional material used to market Hawaii which attests to the successful Hawaiian tourism industry, but also to indicate that the nature of publicity has the potential to shape and direct the cultural expression of that society. Subsequently, there is a potential ‘red- alert’ concern of cultures being reshaped for the purposes of tourism and the authenticity therefore is seen as a fabrication of the past with a twist of modern elements, to speed the process of the tourism industry.

This process has been criticized as it has created a situation where the ‘authentification’ process of a culture for tourism purposes re-defines the authenticity, resulting in further debate as to what is authentic and what is not authentic. This raises concerns for the effects of products sold in cultural tourism. When they shed their cultural function for an economic one, the question is how does their cultural products remain authentic. Does the mass production of the products create homogeneity in the results of the crafts sold? Dean MacCannell in his study of 'Staged authenticity' in tourism setting (1973), describe this obsession as the "concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences [which] parallels concerns for the sacred in primitive society" (MacCannell, 1973: 589). Zulu beadwork represents itself as one of Zulu cultural objects (primitive society); famously celebrated through the legendary King Shake Zulu. In considering the legendary mythical tone created in the images of the Zulu, we have to consider whether this has influenced the way tourists think about Zulu culture, and whether it has shaped and influenced their particular aspirations for a Zulu experience. The Zulu beadwork as the focus of the authentic phenomenon that is as well branded as a Zulu cultural expression is central to developing notions of authenticity that the KwaZulu-Natal tourism celebrates and endorses in their tourism development. The emphasise of its existence is found in literature (Presto- Whyte, 1988; Twala, 1951, Dhlomo (n.d.) Boram -Hays, 2005) as well as from colonial encounters, who have in the process recorded events, which vividly described the colossal use of beadwork within the Zulu people (Preston- Whyte, 1988; Mthetwa, 1988).

**Beadwork defining Zulu Identity**

In the 1920s the South African government implemented various new racially-based laws (Boram-Hays, 2005). The Native Affairs Act of 1920 had its origins in the Native Affairs Commission report of 1905. This law paved the way for a country wide system of tribally- based, but government appointed, district councils modelled on the lines of the old Cape Colony’s Glen Grey Act of 1894, though the concept of separate locations for African was being promoted and introduced in Natal from as far back as the 1840s. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 regulated the presence of Africans in
urban areas. It gave local authorities the power to demarcate and establish African locations on the outskirts of white urban and industrial areas, and to determine access to and the funding of the areas. Another racially-based piece of legislation implemented in the 1920s was the Class Areas Bill of 1923, which was designed purely for implementing segregation laws, and specifically directed towards the Indian community; proposing compulsory residential and trading segregation. The principal of separation and communally-based political representation for Africans was extended by the 1936 Representation of Native Act (www.sahistory.org.za accessed 11 August 2012).

In the face of this barrage of racist legislation it is hardly surprising that there was an extraordinary disruption of and in Zulu communities. To try and assert some control over the way in which Zulu culture and history was presented in order to solidify and reassert a unified identity, King Solomon kaDinuZulu (1893-1933) became closely associated with a new Zulu political and cultural movement called Inkatha. This organisation attempted to unite Zulu speakers both culturally and socially, as well as to empower the Zulu royal house politically (Boram-Hays, 2005). And again, ironically, this also fitted the aims of the White government.

Zulu intellectuals further promoted a unified Zulu identity through cultural organisations, by “publishing newspapers and books that dealt with Zulu culture, history and the contemporary concerns of the Zulu-speaking people, as well by staging historical dramas” (Boram-Hays, 2005: 40). Zulu history and culture was being promoted by a limited number of politicians and intellectuals. As a result Zulu identity became more narrowly defined and standardised than it had been before. This was aimed at Zulu society being able to adapt and meet the economic and political conditions of the modern world (Appiah 1995: 108). The Inkatha movement versions of Zulu cultural unity and history were to a certain extent mythologized (Boram-Hays, 2005). The Zulu speaking rural and urban segments, but in particular the former, tended, however, “to identify with the Inkatha line of thinking on culture and society, though this can be exaggerated and, divisions between groups of people of different genders and ages, regions and class, remained” (Boram-Hays, 2005:40).

Both its historical origins and the cultural work of Inkatha served to establish in the popular mind the concept of beadwork and Zuluness. In the heritage sphere, and to an extent the political sphere this continues to today with Zulu beadwork featuring and being displayed at large national festivals, such as the Day of Reconciliation or at the ever-popular Reed Dance Ceremony. The variety of beadwork is portrayed as defining the vastness of Zulu territory, as well as the widespread and continuing support enjoyed by the king (Boram-Hays, 2005:42). And Eleanor Preston-Whyte (1994) contends that, "contemporary beadwork' speaks' not only of personal adornment and money-making [scheme], but also, on the appropriate occasion, of nationalism and ethnic identity" (Morris & Preston-Whyte 1994: 89).
Zulu Beadwork and Representation through cultural tourism
The tourism industry has developed through the creation of stories, propelled by tourist impulse to see and live a different experience. Therefore, as Nigel Evans and Mike Robinson (1996) emphasise, that tourism depends on the creation of visions in the mind of the tourist. The perception of the tourist of that particular destination defines the success of the tourism initiatives of that particular place.

The beadwork industry in Durban can be recognised as a form of storing the culture and heritage of the Zulu community. The vast availability of the Zulu beadwork items can be aligned with a way that encourages communities to be self aware of their heritage and promote their histories in an economic manner. The growing global trends also influence how heritage is represented to the tourist (Smith, 2003). In a tourism context, the representation of culture is not only dependent on the past, but also of the present and the future.

In perceiving culture as a whole way of life; indigenous cultures allow the cultural tourist to engage in their culture, by exposing certain ethnic or indigenous activities, so that the tourist can "experience the artistic and intellectual activities" of that community (Smith, 2009: 17) and, therefore, opening opportunities to create specific heritage attractions and 'cultural artefacts'. Furthermore tourism destinations have been known to cultivate a space for “power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and renegotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics” (Aitcheson & Reeves, 1998: 51). Mason (1996) applies Boorstin’s theory which suggests that “tourist seldom like the authentic product of foreign culture” as the tourist usually “prefers his own ‘caricatured’ expectations, and usually the image, a well contrived myth, surpasses the reality” (Mason, 1996: 123; Boorstin 1964: 114). The tourist who relied on their own ‘caricature’ of events are described by Erik Cohen (1972 ) as being “institutionalised” tourists, who are likely to be shielded from the realities of local life “within an (designed) environmental ‘bubble’, finding instead familiar standards of comfort and associating mainly with other tourists” (Mason, 1996: 124). The tourism industry has non-the-less ensured that destinations are sold through powerful images that represent that particular destination in a way that is attractive to the tourist. Mason (1996) elaborates this point by stating that “the powerful images and intangibility of this particular brand of tourism along with the associated notions of power, services, self indulgence, exploitation, escapism, the abdication of responsibilities for a week or two, tourism as ‘play’... the tourist as ‘infant’ role reverse all combine to form a heady cocktail of the ultimate dream- vacation” (Mason, 1996: 126).

Zulu beadwork is an element of Zulu culture, which is a striking or extravagant in its design, and the fascination is associated with how the Zulu culture used beadwork as a communication system. The cultural tourist is attracted to the cultural aspects which vividly expose a certain culture; however, culture should be observed in totality (Ivanovic, 2008). This is so, because "the totality of a group's culture together with the particular natural setting from which it evolved is termed cultural landscape"
(Ivanovic, 2008: 25) and hence the entire environmental surroundings should cultivate the cultural tourist destination. Cultural tourists however do not consider all elements embedded in a culture, and hence, not all elements of a culture are attractive to a cultural tourist. As a result the “notion of traditional, as well as the air of authenticity which pervades the market, are actively fostered by the traders and their suppliers who together orchestrate a vision of ‘tribal Zulu’ which is given concrete form in the curious which the tourists take home” (Hamilton, 1992: 7). Handcrafts (these are considered to be cultural only if they were made by locals in the country where sold); language; traditions; music and art; history of the region, are just a few of popular interest to the cultural tourist. KwaZulu Natal is competitive in the cultural tourism market, because it offers these ‘exciting’ cultural Zulu experiences.

Authenticity, therefore, has mythical overtones, and this could easily imply that the authentic events offered in tourism destinations are a form of deception as the “metaphor of staging suggests that there is someone or something behind the deception who wilfully engages in the craft of concealment and fabrication” (Rojek, 2007: 4). For instance, it has been found that cultural traders in KwaZulu Natal, “have no idea about how things [were] made in the past, but invent stories to satisfy their customer” (Preston-Whyte, n.d.; Hamilton, 1992: 7). Therefore, the beadwork skills that are named to be Zulu, are often not traditional Zulu beadwork as the skill was not passed down from one generation to another, but through the education systems and NGO initiative to promote cultural (heritage) knowledge (Hamilton, 1992). In every sense myths propelled by tourism sales and development have been seen to have been used to manipulate and control the ordinary person (Rojek, 2007) but it is also important to note that the myth is a man’s creation to “give meaning to complex and bewildering events” (Rojek, 2007: 4). This point emphasises the meaning of culture which is defined by Rojek (2007) as the process about how you and others around you are organised as persons. He further considers culture to be public and states that “It is a system of representation through which we render ourselves unto ourselves and others, as ‘individuals’, ‘unique person’, and ‘social agents’” (Rojek, 2007: 5). The myth concept can be found to be staged in terms of its authenticity “precisely because staged versions of history and the truth are intricately constructed, revealing the forces that empower them is often tricky” (Rojek, 2007: 12).

Mason in looking at the Hawaiian tourism context finds that the myth created ‘manufactures’ a “trivial way of being, a form of travel that, according to Boorstin (1964), has become emasculated and made ‘safe’ by commercialisation; it promotes indulgence and is packaged to prevent any real contact with others” (Mason, 1996: 131). Furthermore tourism destinations ensure that the local culture is ‘down-played “except perhaps to emphasise their ‘primitiveness’ and tourists are actively encouraged to believe the myth of an island paradise of unadulterated luxury, hedonistic pleasure and flowing hospitality” (Mason, 1996: 131).
The ease of tourist gullibility is based on the notion that the tourist “tend to be people ‘out’ of a culture” (Mason, 1996: 130). In the first instance, they do not usually belong to the cultural background of the destination, and secondly they are beyond the boundaries and constraints of the ordinary and routine day-to-day social reality, in what has often been referred to as a ‘lucid’ or ‘luminous’ realm (Mason, 1996). This view of the tourist is therefore in full support of the commodification of cultures that are so prominent within the scope of cultural tourism. The tourist has been viewed as an easy target for mockery, and “indeed scholars of tourism have more often than not begun their studies with a notion of tourism as something that is inherently ‘bad’, due to the cultural degradation it is claimed to cause” (Shepherd, 2002: 183). However, some scholars have argued against this view, and see cultural tourism as a stimulant which revives local interest in traditional culture (McKean, 1989; Shepherd, 2002: 184). Traditional culture is, however, governed by tradition of the local community, and the tourism industry has mainly been accused of entering these traditional cultural ways and reducing the ‘aesthetics’ of cultural products and as well the traditions- due to the tourist demands (Shepherd, 2002). Ultimately the increase of tourism unavoidably leads to the process of cultural commodification (Shepherd, 2002). Robert Shepherd elaborates this point and states that “while tourism may promote a renewed interest in traditional arts and social practices among local craftsmen and others, tourist purchases are fuelled by the desire to possess a mark, rather than any genuine interest in local cultural traditions of beliefs”.

**Commodification of cultures in tourism**

As tourism has been defined as a growing sector for most developing countries (Ivanovic, 2008; Tomaselli, 2001) such effects have not been studied extensively in the South African tourism context furthermore the implications of the cultural exchange lacks to explain this growth (i.e. economic) (Reid, 2000). Culture is styled to be a historical system of explicit and implicit “life designs” shared by groups at specific times (Ritchie and Zins, 1978). These “life designs” include various everyday components such as “architecture, clothing, crafts, language, religion, education, tradition, art, music and culinary etc.” (Welgemoed, 1996: 297). The bases of tourism being identified as a source that identifies culture as a commodity, is due to tourism being a form of economy where with the increase of globalisation has transformed cultural exchange into a commodity as well. The tourist and local community relationship has been further seen to have implications where one member is at ‘play and the other are at ‘work’ (Cohen, 1972; Mason, 1996; Urry, 1990). Cohen (1972) elaborates this point by stating that ‘the tourist has economic assets, and little cultural knowledge, the local community has ‘cultural capital’ but little money’. The contact between the tourist and the host community takes place in the “context of service orientated transaction within the holiday resort, and destinations…this has strong associations with servility” (Mason, 1996: 131). As a result of this exchange, Mowforth and Munt (1998) suggest that the foundation of cultural commodities are based on the spread and
intervention of capitalism into the Third World, and therefore tourism has turned the places, landscapes and the people (from these societies) into commodities ready for consumption, just as objects are consumed as commodities. This process of commodification includes the packaging of traditional societies, into a source that tourists can buy into and economic gain prevails.

In considering the cultural commodification element that South Africa tourism exploits; Keyan Tomaselli (2002) examines the cultural tourism commodities that exist between tourists and indigenous peoples. The three issues that he evaluates asks firstly “how does marketing of cultural villages, authenticity and indigenous artefacts replicate common-sense, discourses about same (Europe) and other (Africa)” Secondly “how do western stereotypes about people as primitives impact on conservation and development policies” and thirdly “how do photographic apparatuses contribute to the sense of being there” (Tomaselli, 2002: 174). The way in which the relationship between the tourist and the local community is; assumes that the meeting will promote the exchange of cultures. Tomaselli (2002) explores this phenomenon of meeting of cultures by examining the “movie-induced” tourism concept, which looks at film being produced as a way to share historical and cultural information about the indigenous communities that have tourism prospects. This process enables the indigenous host communities to perform and collaborate with tourism institutions for the common goal of earning a share in the tourism industry. The perception of “movie-induced” tourism is build on the design of “the locations and sites associated with the successful films” (Tomaselli, 2002:177; Riley et al, 1998) can bring in an increase in tourism income. Through the Shaka Zulu TV series, for example, as suggested by Tomaselli (2002: 177),

The Shakaland ‘experience’ was promoted ... Storylines, themes, exciting sequences and human relationships induce tourism in addition to natural scenery attractions... Movie induced cultural tourism thus operates at the level of ideology which re-makes the already familiar in terms of what the visitor already knows prior to the actual encounter.

Tourism is perceived to offer this cultural exchange. Tomaselli (2002) deliberate however that dynamics between the tourist and the local (toured) community offer differences that are ontological in nature. He states that “the history constructed by one section of society will refer to the world not quite the same as that constructed by someone from another part” (Tomaselli, 2002: 176). This is said to be due to media representations, that which at some point emphasises the host communities as ‘primitive’ and tourists are buying into these images and believe the myth portrayed (Mason, 1996). There is obviously a conflicting and social (as well as economic) disparity within the tourism cultural encounters. The cultural appropriation of places through image making represents an area of conflict and contestation (Shepherd, 2002). This could be due to the possibility of cultures being generated for economic gain as opposed to community expression (Shepherd, 2002).
The movie-induced tourism concept is vital in elaborating the strategies that could be employed by the tourism industry in promoting a destination. It is also vital in questioning the ‘image’ portrayed on whether the representation of the indigenous communities is true to the heritage (and culture) and as well their identity.

The marketing of cultures to the tourist is, therefore, an important element to tourism development (Morero and Littrell, 1996). Tomaselli (2002) elaborates that the analysis of “conservation and identity is also of importance with regard to the way that cultural tourism is promoted within the semiotics of ecotourism [tourism]” (2002: 174). With the growing communication channels, that further enhances global connections, such as the World Wide Web (social networks- facebook, u-tube, twitter etc.); satellite television- the image of the indigenous is widely available through these channels and the tourism industry gain full support from governments and policy developers in promoting and using these channels as a marketing tool to gain tourists attention. Essentially cultural tourism ensures to commoditize the “encounter between tourists and indigenous people...” (Tomaselli, 2002: 174) the images which circulates through internet advertising; television; magazines etc, creates “iconic and mythical elements remembered and re-remembered via imaging technologies taken on holiday by tourists” (Tomaselli, 2002: 174).

The commodification of culture is a tricky phenomenon as this has been seen as a way to modify and sometimes demolish indigenous cultures (Greenwood, 1989). Modernisation and globalisation, has had a direct influence on marketing cultural tourism destination as well. The package of the destination holiday has “increasing opportunities for large numbers of people to travel overseas” (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 91). It has profound effects on many areas of the world which now serve as receivers of tourists (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Cultural tourism is a global spread of “tidal wave of the pleasure periphery” (Prosser, 1994: 24) and it is a mode of consumption, fashion or lifestyle that has spread downwards through the socio-economic class structure of a society (Prosser, 1994). In the context of KwaZulu Natal tourism, it is evident that the destination is now more visited by the local tourist. The international cultural tourist (the intended tourist), seem to be less relevant to the cultural tourism industry. Robert Prosser (1994:24) in his analytical model to the spread of tourism asserts that:

..Admired elite inspires or propagates a fashion which is then aspired to by progressively broader sections of society, who as they become able, attempt to emulate the behaviour and style of the perceived elites... As this process continues, the discoverer and elite groups, driven by the desire for novelty, uniqueness and exclusively of experience, seek out fresh destinations and move on...(Prosser, 1994:24)

KwaZulu-Natal tourism has effectively mixed the concept of theming and labelling the KwaZulu-Natal/Zulu Kingdom destination concept. Durban, for instance, claims to attract tourist from all over the world (the elites), drawn by its hot, sunny climate, beautiful location and endless sightseeing
offerings. Further, Durban sells water-based theme parks, in particular uShaka Marine World as providing a service that offers more than enough to fill up an entire day (http://www.durban.world-guides.com). Naming of theme parks, affiliated to Zuluness is just one of the ways that enables labelling to be an effective way of commoditising cultural destinations. By this means KwaZulu-Natal tourism has successfully managed the cultural tourism success. Therefore, labelling of attractions reflects their existing, spontaneous functional nature, which is often of a permanent nature with strong symbolic connotations (Ivanovic, 2008:160).

The commodification of culture is therefore conspicuous in cultural tourism development and entrenched in this concept is the “complex phenomena of tradition” (Moreno and Littrell, 1996: 138). In this brief definition, tradition is defined “as the handing down of customs, beliefs and ideas intergenerational” (Moreno and Littrell, 1996: 138). On the other hand the concept of tradition has been used to oppose modernity in the promotion of romantic idealism, which ultimately encourages nationalism and earlier in history has been used to describe a culture, which “eventually lead to a more elastic understanding of both culture and tradition” (Moreno and Littrell, 1996: 138). Through cultural tourism, we see tradition evolve to be a ‘reservoir’ and a ‘symbolic resource’; ‘cognitive corpus’ or a ‘local set of possibilities’ where “tradition ‘hold’ in- numerous cultural options from which some are selected and others, through disuse, are abandoned, no longer apart of the repertoire of possibilities… thus the selection of cultural elements has the potential to reflect a link to the past, provide continuity in the present, and construct unique cultural forms for the future” (Moreno and Littrell, 1996: 138).

Conclusion
This chapter aims at evaluating the historical evidence regarding Zulu beadwork history as well as the culture in its wider context. It also provides an evaluation of the literature regarding debates about the concept of authenticity, and how the creation of authenticity in the development of cultural tourism destination has an influence on how history and heritage are displayed for the consumption of a particular culture. The province of KwaZulu-Natal is ideally placed and resourced to promote Zulu culture. This is through the labeling of the province as the kingdom of the Zulus, and the utilization of the dynamics of commodifying Zulu culture contributes which has resulted in the development and expansion of a lucrative and job-creating cultural tourism industry in the province.
Chapter 3

Theorising Authenticity in cultural tourism

Theoretical Perspective

Introduction
The theoretical foundations of this study are framed in the theories of identity and culture; borrowing from cultural anthropology studies; tourism studies and cultural communication studies. The aim of this study questions the increasingly debated notion of authenticity in the cultural tourism industry, with the specific focus on Zulu beadwork as a cultural tourism expression as found in Durban KwaZulu-Natal. The overall objective, therefore, is to determine changes that have occurred over the years and how modern Zulu beadwork, under the influence of tourism, has or has not retained its ‘authentic’ Zuluness. This is determined via interpreting the changing meaning, if any, of Zulu beadwork and investigating the reasons for it possibly reflecting an authentic expression of Zulu culture utilising two groups of research participants:

i. bead makers

ii. cultural tourists.

The dynamics of cultural tourism, that are created in the relationship between the bead makers and their prospective consumers (the tourist), are the focus of this study as this works to facilitate unpacking the reasons which add to tourism destinations offering cultural experiences.

This study is, multidisciplinary in its theoretical approach. Cultural communications allows for a look at the global scale of tourism growth and this provides a basic overview of how tourism impacts a cultural expression of the host communities, as it is evident that the, “increasingly commercial relationship between hosts and guests has been seen to alliterate both parties by reducing the apparently authentic tradition of hospitality to a mere commercial transactions” (MacLeod, 2005: 179). Theories from the field of communication studies allow for an exploration on the meaning of Zulu beadwork and how it features in modern society, building from the notion of western influences ‘commodifying’ cultural objects and having influence on the style of beadwork that is produced and sold to the tourist.

Theories associated with cultural anthropology studies problemetise the notion of authenticity as a debated concept in defining ‘true authenticity’ which utilises culture as a way to describe a society. Exploring the discourse of culture and how tourism encourages cultural expression. This allows for a
debate on the two contending notions on culture, which include a view of the primordial (earliest essentialist) and the modernist school of thought (Post Modernist) to further problematise the issue on notions of authenticity that are prominent in the cultural tourism sector. Tourism studies helps in defining ‘cultural tourism’ as a concept for South African tourism development initiatives, and locate how Zulu beadwork fits the global expectation in fitting the growing cultural tourism industry.

Identity and Culture
Identity and culture are the driving forces of many societies. Kevin Gosine (2002) views identity as one of the most “discussed and contentious issues in both social sciences and society at large” (2002: 81). The theoretical conception of the notions of ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ therefore lays the foundations of this study’s theoretical framework and will work as an umbrella to the notions of authenticity that are prominent in the cultural tourism sector. Gosine further defines identity as, “everything to do with how people acquire a sense of belonging and how they situate themselves within a wider social context” (Gosine, 2002: 81). This is a relevant point as we have to consider how ‘Zulu identity’ has an influence to the Zulu beadwork as sold to the tourism sector: that is how it (identity) features and applies to the ‘style’ from a piece of Zulu culture expression. This is so because as a known ‘Zulu’ craft, it can be viewed to be a source of Zulu Identity, as it forms part of Zulu cultural expression. Identity is therefore an important notion as it has grounding in how society views and understands “culture” and every cultural interaction has to consider that a society is made up of individuals with diverse social experimental settings and that “this reorientation supports the idea that individuals reflect or embody multiple cultures and that ‘culture’ is always psychologically and socially distributed in a group” (Avruch, 2000: 5).

Expressions of Zulu Identity through Beadwork
Zulu beadwork is known to have great importance to the Zulu culture and “although beadwork is a feature of many African cultures, the Zulu are particularly renowned for their elaborate, colourful and impressive beaded objects” (Von Kapff, 2011:16). This is an ethnic element of the Zulu culture and plays to form a performative aspect of the Zulu ethnic group as expressed in the tourism industry. The issue of identity is therefore an important element to explore in this study as the landscape of KwaZulu-Natal is intricately linked to the ascribed and inscribed ethnic identity of the Zulu culture (Mhiripiri, 2010). KwaZulu-Natal tourism has promoted the ‘Zuluness’ as an authentic experience through the overarching marketing concept of the Zulu Kingdom. Zulu beadwork as a cultural product (or ethnic product), provides the cultural tourism industry as a ‘self-performative’ production of a cultural or ethnic product (Mhiripiri, 2010), as a craft held by the Zulu people and made available for tourism consumption.
Culture, Identity and tourism

Ethnic identity in the tourism industry is an important notion as many ethnic groups, like the Zulu people (if viewed as an ethnic group); interact with tourism through the construction and reproduction of their ethnic identity (Richards, 2007, Smith, 1989). Johannes Fabian (1983; 1985; 2005) has noted that colonialism performed the system of ‘Othering’, and that process presented the European identities with notions of the ‘Same’; which were notions about itself but also about humanity (Mhiripiri, 2010: 26). Colonialism, through the notions of ‘Othering’ contributed to ethnic identity constructions which are utilised today in the processes of constructing cultures for tourism production and consumption. If African cultures through the science of anthropology were viewed as “savage, primitive, tribal” (Fabian, 2006: 140) and the tourism industry can be seen to take the same view (Mhiripiri, 2010), where the tourist is seen as the ‘same’ and the tourism destination, displaying local cultures as the ‘other’. Ethnic identities therefore appeal to a more primordial approach to defining culture, moulding ethnic cultures in a ‘romanticised’ manner, “emphasising how different are ‘the others’ and made them not only different but remote and inferior” (Leach, 1973: 772).

Tourism has over the years ensured to utilise the term of culture as an important commodity easily packaged for touristic purposes. As a global structure, tourism can be viewed through a framework designed by imperialistic merchant trading and technology (Burns 1999), underpinned by increasing discretionary travel, education and curiosity. The three main elements found in this process, concern missionaries, colonisation and Darwinism, the last forming part of the quest for rational scientific knowledge and answers to the unknown - which essentially was the inevitable invention of cultural anthropology (Burns, 1999). The missionaries were bringing Christianity and ‘civilisation’ to ‘uncivilised’ people of the colonial world. These missionaries, “carried the romantic idea that societies being ‘discovered’ through imperialism and its political pool...were archetypal...’noble savage’ unspoilt and living a simple life, just as God intended” (Burns, 1999: 7). This idea of the ‘uncivilised’ society could have contributed to the thought that such societies were ‘primitive’ low down in the hierarchy of society who needed to be civilised. With many colonial officials, racial superiority played a role in contributing to the imperialist attitude of the coloniser. The Darwin’s theory strengthened the idea of a unilinear evolution of species where only the fittest survived (Burns, 1999).

In trying to understand the notions of ‘identity’, beadwork culture can play a role on how Zulu culture can now be easily ‘commoditised’ through the processes of tourism consumption. The role of identity can also be aligned with the notions of “memory” and “record”, and therefore be viewed to “have information about the past that... history performs a fundamental task for society” (Keto, 1995: 3). Fabian (2006: 145) states that “thinking about memory gets us to consider, identity, individual as well as collective, psychological as well as cultural”. Zulu beadwork therefore has a role in
maintaining historical information about its bead culture, through its existence as found in the tourism sector. In terms of the notions of memory, the past can be described and this can shape “our sense of consciousness about what went on before us in this part of the universe in which we presently live and, by so doing, defines who we are” (Keto, 1995: 3). The cultivation of the sense of consciousness is central when questioning the notions of authenticity as this research envisions. The South African tourism landscape is built on the heritage discourse as it has been known to be a “trendy catchword in the South African society” (Marchall, 2010: 1). As a result, the heritage discussions for the development of the South African economy, encourages this way of thinking, as one of the reasons that can prompt the previous disadvantaged communities to learn of their history and as Sabine Marchall (2010: 1) elaborates that:

the previously marginalised black majority, heritage is presumed to signal empowerment: [through] the valorisation and preservation of their cultural beliefs and values; the honouring of their heroes and contributions; the authentication of their neglected stories and memories [and] the official acknowledgement of their suffering and sacrifices

Essentially the heritage discourse has been utilised to merge discussions of culture and identity, and further designing what can be seen as authentic or “what constitutes the deep roots of cultural identity and essence of a sense of nationality” (Marshall, 2010:1; Sherpard, 2008). Historical information is therefore vital to the cultivation of authenticity, through notions of culture and identity and it “survives in our consciousness [as a] social instrument with which we carve out an identity of who we were in the past, who we are in the present and who we can be in the future” (Keto, 1995: 3). Zulu beadwork as a heritage object can be viewed amongst other tangible artefacts, architectural structures of the past, landscapes and as well as intangible aspects of a Zulu culture-which include Zulu traditions, oral memory and customs (Marchall, 2010).

Kevin Avruch (2000), observed how the history of the conceptualisation of ‘culture’ has an influence on how previous essentialist definition of culture encourage certain political ideological agendas. For instance cultural anthropology has been widely criticized as having the notion of culture “as static, fixed, objective, consensual and uniformly shared by all members of a group” (Grillo, 2003: 158). This notions therefore cultivates the view that a culture can inform an individual’s identity and as well as societies collective identity, and therefore culture membership is thus virtually synonymous with ethnicity (Hann, 2002). As in ‘community attachments’, which is known to define a peoples and their identity, it is their ethnic appeal that is highlighted (as “ethnic communities”) and “ethnic communities are defined by their cultures” (Grillo, 2003: 160). The ‘community attachments’ which are loaded with ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ are known to be “historic, rooted, authentic and traditional” to the principle of community attachments (Grillo, 2003: 160). This can be viewed as an essentialist notion, with the belief system that human beings are “cultural” (and under certain conditions
territorial and national) (Grillo, 2003). Furthermore that human beings are therefore subjects and “bearers of a culture located within boundaries of their world, which defines them and differentiates them from others (each other)” (Grillo, 2003; 158). This view is vital to how meanings are created in tourism settings, and how host communities express their everyday lives through traditional crafts.

This thought immediately connects to the idea that identity can be viewed to be a tool to separate individuals within a society into ‘categories’, for some to fit in a particular ‘category’ (perhaps racially or through gender) they have to meet inherent characteristics that are shared by all members of that category and that they retain exclusively such characteristics, which are fixed essences. Cultural anthropology refers to this as also being a process of ‘othering’ (Fabian, 2006). Visuals of African people have been viewed to have been used instrumentally to the construction and propagation of imperial and colonial narratives (Mhiripiri, 2010).

Aspects Culture and Heritage in Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism has been described as a difficult concept to describe mainly because of its diverse nature and the ever-changing definitions that cloud the cultural entity of the whole concept (Smith et al, 2010). Heritage and Culture and Ethnic within tourism are closely related. Through cultural tourism, these three concepts are seen to blend easily. It is important, however, to provide a separate definition for each of these concepts and then define how they blend to formulate a unique cultural tourism entity that the KwaZulu-Natal tourism industry has adapted through the promoting of its products. The similarities between culture and heritage and ethnicity are due to the fact that all these concepts consider depictions of history and/or the past, building on locality or nationality. This has been through the ‘text’ which culture has produced about it.

The aim of the study is to question authenticity as a viable concept within the cultural tourism industry through the beadwork ‘sector’ found in the Durban Beach front region. Authenticity as a concept within cultural tourism draws from the same premises of history and the past and often the authenticity or inauthenticity of a destination is validated through the knowledge drawn from heritage and cultural and ethnic standards. The knowledge of the past relies on history and is “important and central not only for self identification but also because it informs the motifs, cultural signature and the substance of the social heritage we leave behind for posterity” (Keto, 1995:3).

Heritage versus History

Heritage discourse proportion has often been associated with ‘tradition’, which is inherited or passed down from one generation to the next (Smith, 2003). The ‘past’ which is reflected in heritage and culture is mainly concerned with ‘all that has ever happened’, whereas history involves attempts of ‘successive presents’ to explain selected aspects of the past (Smith, 2003). In other words, what happened and why it happened. Therefore, if heritage is defined as a view from the present, which is
either backward to a past or forward to a future, Melanie Smith (2003: 82) argues that heritage is therefore a “contemporary use of the past, including both its interpretation and representation”. As a criticism to this definition, it can be argued that marketing or promoting what is known as a ‘history’ or ‘heritage’ of a particular place, may carry just one version of ‘the truth’, usually bearing a vague and superficial portion of past events as documented in various sources (Waitt, 2000; Ashworth, 1990; Smith, 2003). The definitions of ‘the truth’ of history are argued to be embedded in the different (diverse) perspectives that are hidden in various forms of history finding that they are manipulated in the process of capitalism and contemporary dominant social norms (Waitt, 2000). This can then be seen as way that the producers of history to provide certain information in order to conceal their own misconceptions about their own cultures.

Therefore, representations of the past can be seen to be selected through the process of heritage and history; where the ‘inferior’ voices are frequently not to be entirely heard. History, in its selective process, marks out the voice of the undeveloped heritage as an interpretation of the past and is therefore, “open to appropriation by sectional interests within society” (Waitt, 2000: 836). This argument can be compared with that of referring to heritage as a ‘bogus history’ (Hewison, 1987). Through this view, heritage is viewed as being static, which makes the past seem like a fossil, frozen in time and a distortion of historical facts merely for the purposes of entertainment (Smith, 2003). A similar critique is offered, where the term ‘heritagisation’ to past events is found to be constructed as ‘time capsules’ that are served from history ... “they represent a form of historical memories” (Walsh 1992: 103). Furthermore Walsh (1992: 113) argues that “history as heritage dulls our ability to appreciate the development of people and places through time”. This suggests that heritage is missing full representation of the past; it allows itself to be captured in a moment in the past or history and isolates them from the historical context.

The debate on history and heritage is legitimate and it is often questionable as to who’s truth and past realities are actually being sold and marketed in the tourism destinations. KwaZulu-Natal Tourism coined the concept of ‘Kingdom of the Zulu’. That said, in the nineteenth century the term Zulu kingdom or Zulu king was the normal usage. It is interesting to note that the phase King of Zululand has never, either today or in the past, been widely used. This differs from many monarchs. One has the Queen of England but not the Queen of the English.

The specific term the Kingdom of the Zulu is used today because what is now the province of KwaZulu-Natal was once, at least in part, the famous kingdom created in the 1820s by King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Today the province has a majority of isiZulu-speaking inhabitants despite having been exposed to the South African apartheid system; KwaZulu-Natal has retained a broad ethos of Zuluness which remains in the public image, nationally and internationally (Mare, n.d.). But this mystique of ‘Zuluness’ and indeed of Shaka existed before South Africa’s reintegration. As the
Globalisation, Tourism and Marketing of Cultures

Globalisation has added the edge of profit to tourism commerce. However, the commerce of ‘blackness’ predates the sets of relationships and practices that have been called globalisation (Mhiripiri, 2010; Mare, n.d.). The Zulu image is that Zulu people are depicted as a warrior nation and as well as a nation that preserves their traditions; some of these traits have made it easy to develop the Zulu image (Mare, n.d.). After all, it has not been forgotten overseas that at the battle of Isandlwana in 1879 a Zulu army destroyed an invading British military column. This is a powerful image and potentially a commercial one.

Globalisation has a significant role in how cultural tourism has been promoted as a development strategy for developing countries. Local, national and transnational organisations have embraced cultural tourism: “UNESCO promotes cultural tourism as a means of preserving world heritage, the European Commission supports cultural tourism as a major industry, and the newly emerging nation-state of Africa and Central Europe see it as a support for national identity” (Richards, 2006: 1). Globalisation which is a system that will be interpreted as a form of internationalisation (Scholte, 2005), meaning that there is a growth of transactions and interdependence between countries also emphasising accounts of globalisation as internationalisation to put weight on the issue of contemporary trends that replay earlier historical scenarios (Scholte, 2005); will contribute to how nations have promoted tourism as an economic important component. Laurence Wai-Teng Leong (1997: 71) states that “tourism is primarily an industry that generates foreign exchange”, and states have a stake in tourism business that provides a service to the tourists. Furthermore “most nations promote tourism and, in the process, they become planners of tourist development, marketers of cultural meaning, and arbiters of cultural practice” (Leong, 1997: 72) therefore making tourism to have political and international implications. So the notion that states exist in relation to other states, can be reflected through as “tourism presents images of the distinctiveness of a particular nation-state to the international diplomacy, a field that involves national image-management” (Leong, 1997: 72).

In further explaining the heritage concept, it is argued that heritage is not ‘bad history’ but is a celebration of the past rather than an inquiry (Lowenthal, 1998). Essentially, history and heritage should not be viewed as a ‘fixed past’ but one that combines the present as “history explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes (Lowenthal, 1998: xv). This argument continues in stating that heritage brings back life into history. The argument states that while heritage looks old, it is actually new in its interpretation... as, “heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the
past... heritage thus depends on display to give dying economics and dead sites a second life as exhibitions of themselves” (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 7).

The African image is frequently sold in the heritage industry but often depicts a primitive and backward society, “which provides additional anecdotes for international tourism looking for exotism and adventure in the African wilderness” (Akama, 2000: 43). However, it is important to know that the African reality is that Africans are confronted by serious social and economic challenges, with an increase in levels of poverty, accelerated rates of unemployment and generally poor living conditions. With this background, as in certain other parts of the globe, tourism equates as a development tool that can assist ameliorate the socio-economic problems confronting indigenous communities (Akama, 2000).

For tourism development South Africa has the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) which has outlined priorities that aim at ensuring that the tourism sector provides a sustainable tourism growth environment in line with the Tourism Act of 1993 (Act no 72 of 1993) as amended, and the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (Tourism White Paper of 1996). The focus of the NTSS is aimed at providing facilitation to the growth and development of tourism by providing support to the public and private sectors, and the broader community. In ensuring ‘growth’ the NTSS’s key priorities, vaguely state that the priorities include creating a conductive environment for sustainable growth. It also aims to renew focus in marketing and brand management, stimulating regional and domestic tourism, development of business and events tourism, niche product and rural tourism development, responsible tourism development, increasing investment in the tourism sector, transformation of the sector, promoting decent work, improving service excellence, addressing community beneficiation and effective cooperative partnerships.

Essentially, South African Tourism policies are committed to the ‘growth’ of tourism and for tourism to work as a development tool, against our current economic challenges. The tourism industry, in other developing countries is increasingly being “perceived”, in many quarters, as a “major growth sector which has great potential in assisting ameliorate the developmental problems that are confronting indigenous communities in the third world in general and Africa in particular” (Akama, 2000: 43). From the global context indigenous communities offer a “comparative advantage in the development of tourism because they possess unique cultural and nature based tourist attractions” (Akama, 2000: 43). John Urry (2002) conceptualised the concept of the “tourist gaze”. He does this by looking through the process of post modernism, which is defined as a “system of signs or symbols, which is specific in both time and space...such a system can be characterised in terms of a specific regime of signification in which particular cultural objects are produced, circulated and received” (Urry, 2002: 75). Urry argues that this process involves the dissolving of the boundaries, which are not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism,
art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture. Urry emphasises this point that “tourist patterns are not themselves unchanging... tourism might be viewed by some as a as ‘game’ and that there really are no simply ‘authentic’ tourist experiences” (Urry, 2002: 75). Essentially the “tourist gaze” develops a semiotic exchange between tourist and the destination or the host communities (Tomaselli, 1999).

## Tourism as heritage and culture

The process of producing heritage and history in tourism is vital as the tourist is presented with the cultural product designed from the heritage-history ‘capsules’. The tourism industry, therefore, represents tourist sites in a way which builds the authentic nature of that site which questions what is authentic in nature. Dean MacCannell (1976) defines representation as being an arrangement of objects in a reconstruction of a total situation... representation aims to provide the viewer with an authentic copy of a total situation. This form of representation can be linked to ‘living history’ where evidence is stored in a ‘museum’ like environment and represented to the viewer as a still image drawn from the past.

To question how tourism can be seen as a form that restores historical heritage is relevant in the attempt of this dissertation to question notions of authenticity, that form part of the tourism strategies employed in cultural tourism promotion for development. Culture as defined by Tylor (1871) is said to be that complex situation which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man who is a member of a society. The keyword here is the word ‘acquired’, “which make clear distinctions between those characteristics that might be biologically inherited and those acquired through learning” (Burns, 1999: 56). Ultimately, this definition emphasises that, “culture is about the interaction of people and how they learn from each other... [Promoting] the idea that learning can be accumulated, assimilated and passed on through a range of oral and written traditions (Burns, 1999: 56). Tourism as an industry, through the cultural tourism, specifically has cultivated a cultural exchange through the design of ‘selling cultures’ in pursuit of authentic cultural expectances. Through cultural tourism we can observe culture through both social relations and material artefacts (Burns, 1999). These social relations and material artefacts consist of behavioural patterns; knowledge and values which have been acquired and transmitted through history (Burns 1999). As time changes, so does society (and thus culture). Anthropology studies argue for this point, that the cultural change is in response to environment and technology and that the clear implication of this passing knowledge and behaviour through generations is that culture is dynamic: all cultures change over time.

The ‘design of cultures’ which was a study conducted by Levi-Strauss (1963) analysed social structures to account for the way in which people in society behaved. His work avoided the immediate observable behaviours or material culture, but searched the relationship between social structures and...
the deeper mental structures such as language, kinship and myths that worked to develop that particular society. Ultimately, it is argued that there is no difference in the application of thought processes within a society governed by ‘primitive’ mythology and once governed by a ‘scientific’ framework by stating that “the kind of logic in mythical thought is as rigorous as that of modern science, and ... the difference lies not in the quality intellectual process, but in the nature of things to which it is applied” (Levi-Strauss, 1963: 230). This notion can be described as “men everywhere [as being] plagued intellectually by the contradictions of existence—by death; by man’s dual character, as part of nature yet transformed by culture... the realm of myth is used above all to tinker endlessly with these contradictions” (Keesing and Keesing, 1971: 311).

In this case MacCannell suggests, “in traditional society, man could not survive unless the oriented his behaviour in a: ‘we are good—they are bad’ framework” (MacCannell 1976:40). Therefore, the obvious binary opposition of tourist-versus-host (community or destination or society) is important in analysing tourism products and the authenticity or inauthenticity of those cultural products.

**The role of Myth in Cultural Tourism**

The ‘myth concept’ is vital in defining cultural aspects of a destination. It can be argued, form an essential part of cultural history, if we regard the notion that the term ‘myth’ refers to something that is not in a literal sense (Burns 1999). It is further argued that the “realm of myth is crucial in this enterprise because here human thought has its widest freedom... man can think all possibilities, and in myth his thoughts have freest reign” (Keesing and Keesing, 1971: 311). Myth as a contributor to cultural expression is important for tourism, as it is a part of creating images that tourism industry banks on (Tomaselli, 1999). In an urban post-industrial environment that generates most of the world’s tourists, part of that world is disconnected with nature and spirituality; the abiding myth of such an existence is that of freedom (Burns, 1999). When it comes to Africa, the culture created by the tourism industry is largely based on living culture, such as dance and performance and a well as artefacts (cultural artefacts like Zulu beadwork). On the other hand, in Europe cultural tourism- the ‘cultural’ is expressed more on monuments or material heritage such as museums (Richards, 2002). The common denominator between the two different ‘cultural tourism’ experiences is found in that travel and tourism ... keeps this particular myth alive and continues with the idea that travel is the perfect freedom (Burns, 1999).

**Notions of Authenticity in Tourism**

The concept of Authenticity in cultural tourism is a complex notion that plays an important role in the dynamics that drive the tourism industry. The complex nature in a single definition of authenticity is the cultural and heritage connotations it carries. The concept of authenticity in tourism has been generally accepted as having been introduced by Dean MacCannell (1976) as a concept adding to the
sociology study of tourist motivations and experience. Authenticity has been widely critiqued about its usefulness and validity as “many tourist motivations or experiences cannot be explained solely in terms of the conventional concepts of authenticity” (Wang, 2000:46). Tourist activities vary such as visiting friends and relatives, beach holidays, ocean cruising, nature tourism, trips to Disneyland and travel for special interests such as shopping, fishing, hunting, sports, and so on - which are touristic activities that have little to do with authenticity in the MacCannell sense (Schudson 1979; Stephen 1990; Urry 1990; Wang 2000). Due to globalisation and the increased interaction enabled by communication technology and travelling technology - the authenticity concept, “is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism” (Urry, 1991:51).

Authenticity is, therefore, only relevant to certain types of tourism, “such as ethnic, historical or cultural tourism, all of which involves some kind of presentation or representation of the other or the past” (Wang, 2000: 46). The purpose of this study is to question the notions of authenticity not of the tourism industry as a whole, but specifically through evaluating the process of authenticity as employed by the Zulu bead makers in the Durban beach front area. The application of authenticity can be limited in nature, yet this concept is of central, importance in tourism studies (Wang 2000). My study will not look into the wider scope of the difficulties found in evaluating this concept, but will narrow the investigation specifically to evaluate how this notion has been adapted through the selling of Zulu beadwork, taking into account, the influence of identity; culture; history and heritage connected to the understanding of Zulu culture.

The meaning of authenticity has been subdivided through two conventional meanings, mainly objective authenticity and constructive authenticity. However, there is a third use of authenticity which will be briefly discussed as it is suggested to be an alternative form of authenticity (existential authenticity). Due to the post-modern condition found in tourism, it is evident that objective authenticity and constructive authenticity can only encompass a limited range of tourist experiences, whereas existential authenticity is observed as an activity based authenticity, “germane to the understanding of a greater variety of experiences” (Wang, 2000: 47).

Objective authenticity

The initial usage of the concept of authenticity has made it complex to define it in accordance to the different contexts of tourism that are found. The initial usage was used, “where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them - or, if this has already been paid, with the administration they are being given” (Trilling, 1972: 93). The term was also adapted to refer to human existence and “the peculiar nature of our fallen condition, our anxiety over the credibility of existence and of individual existence” (Trilling, 1972: 93). The museum link has been extended to tourism through tourism products such as “art, festivals, rituals, cuisine, dress... [and are] usually described as ‘authentic’ or...
‘inauthentic’ in terms of the criterion of whether they are made or enacted by local people according to custom or tradition” (Wang 2000: 48). At this point authenticity “connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of genuine, the real or the unique” (Sharpley 1994:130). However the museum link still does not explain the complex nature of authenticity in tourist experiences (Wang, 2000).

The levels of authenticity are based on two issues, one that concerns the tourist experiences and the other toured objects. At this point authenticity in tourism can be differentiated into these two separate issues. These two separate issues are often confused as one however – “an authentic experience... is one in which individuals feel themselves to be in touch both with a ‘real’ world and with their ‘real selves’” (Handler and Saxton 1988: 243).

The fact that the nature of authenticity in tourism is classified into three different types is testimonial to the complex nature of authenticity in tourism. Objective authenticity refers to “authenticity of the original that is also the toured object” (Wang, 2000: 48). Therefore it follows that the authenticity of “tourist experience depends on the toured objects being perceived as authentic... in this way of thinking, an absolute and objective criterion is used to measure authenticity” (Wang, 2000: 48). Essentially even though tourists themselves may think that they have had an authentic experience, “it can still be judged as inauthentic, given that many toured objects are in fact false and contrived, or form part of what...is called ‘staged authenticity’ (Wang, 2000: 48).

Constructive authenticity

The second form of authenticity is constructive authenticity which is formed as a result of social construction. Authenticity here is not seen as an objectively measurable quality, things “appear authentic not because they are so but because they are constructed as such in terms of social viewpoints, beliefs, perspectives or powers” (Wang, 2000: 49). Erik Cohen (1988) argues that authenticity is relative, and can be negotiable, furthermore constructive authenticity is “contextually determined’ (Salamone, 1997) and even ideological (Silver 1993). Authenticity can therefore be as a result of a, “projection of dreams, stereotyped images and expectations onto toured objects” (Wang, 2000: 49). Therefore the tourist is seen to seek signs of authenticity or symbolic authenticity (Culler, 1981; Wang 2000).

Cultural commodification tendencies in constructive authenticity

Closely associated with authenticity is the notion of cultural commodification (Cole, 2007). A closer analysis of cultural commodification allows for the deconstruction of authenticity as this can address issues fundamental to destination communities. Touristic commodification has been viewed to lead to some communities to be disempowered, while in others authenticity is appropriated and becomes a powerful resource (Cole, 2007). Ultimately by providing a subtle difference in a shade of meaning or feeling or colour- the analysis of a specific setting it highlights how, if, in interpreted from a local
perspective, tourism is sowing the seeds of social, psychological and political empowerment (Cole, 2007). Authenticity can therefore have socio-cultural consequences, as it is viewed as, “Western cultural notion associated with the past ‘primitive other’ articulated in opposition of modernity... the dichotomy between a pre-modern (authentic) and modern (inauthentic)” (Cole, 2007: 944).

The authentic nature of a tourist experience through constructive authenticity, thereafter fails to explain the authentic nature that is formed as a result of cultural commodification. Tourism is viewed to turn culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists, which is argued to contribute to a loss of authenticity. Research on crafts, performance, photography, hospitality and identity has been examined and been said to transform the presence of tourist. For instance the discussion of how traditional art has now equivalency as a souvenir- “authenticity to memento”. As difference and “otherness” become consumable tourism commodities, one responds to and consequences of this is the awareness and affirmation of local identity and the (re) creation of ethnicity (Cole, 2007: 945).

The dynamics of a tourism industry are vast and interlinked. Separate entities such as hospitality, performance and the arts (to name a few), are all combined in one umbrella of that particular destination. The cultural commodification processes that bind these separate entities are all targeted towards outsiders. In KwaZulu-Natal for instance, the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ imagery forms part of a commodification of Zulu culture. As a result, tourism policy with the intention to create economic growth enables cultural commodification, where the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism, for Durban sees itself as an ethnic attraction, boasting beach tourism with Zulu beadwork lining the beach walkways, providing an ambiance of Zulu cultural presence. The presence of Zulu culture in Durban can be viewed as a representation of a Zulu ethnic way, and there exist a possibility of economic and political implications for the whole group.

If cultural tourism through authenticity is too be viewed as a preserver of culture, it can ensure cultural tourism to be viewed as a straitjacket for communities (Bucher, 2001) and the differing levels of economic development are seen as part of culture, and inequality becomes reinterpreted as “cultural diversity” (Cole, 2007). The tourism industry essentially involves the business of constructing authenticity as part of the product presented to tourists. The versions of reality created are accepted by tourists as part of packaged holiday experience, and “the power of the industry, the media and other stakeholders in creating attractive versions of reality is considerable...” (Smith et al, 2010: 16). With regards to the tourist experience, John Urry (1990, 2002) refers to the tourist as a ‘post-tourist’, and notes that this tourist actively enjoys the artefacts that are constructed (or staged), while fully aware that this is a game to be played in touristic fun. Urry means that there is a development of ‘sociology of consumption’ that occurs in the tourism industry; and the ‘post-tourist’ is therefore concerned with those services related to holidaying, “to the extent to which there can be said to be...
[a concern] with the differential purchase, use and symbolic significance of material objects” (Urry, 1995: 129).

Existential Authenticity

Existential authenticity which is viewed as an alternative form of authenticity within tourism “suggests that the individual creates a sense of truth within him or herself” (Smith et al, 2010: 16; Wang, 2000); therefore the rituals of tourism which includes relaxation, freedom from everyday work related constraints, or a more pared-down routine based on sensual enjoyment, all trigger this form of authenticity (Smith et al, 2010). Ultimately tourism is seen not as a “corrupting and commodifying influence, but as a way of being that is genuine and natural” (Smith et al, 2010: 16). The role played by tourists through an existential authenticity experience involves an active participation rather than an observational touristic experience. The argument is that having a sense of performing within a culture and creatively adjusting the body to the shape of a dance, for instance, will create a sense of existential authenticity (Daniel, 1996).

An existential authenticity is exemplified as that found through tourism activities, that involves a close association with the countryside such as camping or hiking- because this form of tourism allows one to test themselves and rediscover their essential selves (Smith et al, 2010). The search for authenticity is within themselves as individuals and not to places or objects that they encounter.

Notions of authenticity remain complex when applied to cultural tourism. This study in particular adds to this complex web, in its search for authentic expression in Zulu beadwork sold in Durban areas. The complexities that exist are due to the business of difference projection and the interpretive vehicle of ‘othering’ that exist in the tourism industry.

Conclusion

Zulu beadwork owes its rights to exist in the cultural tourism market as a product representing Zulu culture. It is a product easily available and also easily identifiable as that associated with and of the Zulu people. The history associated with Zulu beadwork is relevant as to how it shapes the product in the tourism industry. The Durban, eThekwini municipality, has ensured to provide stalls for the special purpose of local crafters to have a space to sell their cultural products. The evaluation of authenticity of the products sold in these stalls functions as way to explore identity, cultural issues that arise in a cultural tourism destination, as well as to illustrate how the tourist views the product as projected by the host communities.
Chapter 4

Methodology

Qualitative ‘Cultural’ Research methods

Introduction
This study employed a qualitative research methodology, which is concerned with non-statistical information (Haviland et al, 2008) about the notions of authenticity in cultural tourism using as a vehicle the symbolism of Zulu beadwork, as viewed by Zulu bead makers and the cultural tourists based in the Durban South and North beach regions. This study is located within an interpretive paradigm. The main concern of the interpretative tradition is not to establish relations of ‘cause’ and ‘effect’ but with “exploring the ways that people make sense of their social worlds and how they express these understandings through language, sound, imagery, personal style and social rituals [and cultural tourism]” (Deacon et al, 2007:5). In an attempt to unpack the notion of authenticity as a concept, qualitative research methods were employed to understand behaviour, belief, opinion and emotions from the perspectives of the bead makers and the tourists that they provide a Zulu cultural bead service. The interpretative paradigm as a qualitative research method allows for the research to provide an in depth understanding of the research issue and “embraces the perspectives of the study population and context in which they live” (Henrink et al, 2011:10).

The research approach is located in the field of cultural and media communication. Taking the cultural and media communications approach allows for the research issue to be located in the varies issues that arise in everyday aspect of life; as culture and media communications is said to be “central to organising every aspect of contemporary life, from the broad patterning of social institutions and cultural systems to intimate everyday encounters and peoples personal understandings of the world and their sense of themselves” (Deacon et al, 2007:1). This study also focuses on cultural tourism and in implementing communication; it considers that cultural tourism systems are understood through the nature of culture and more importantly the nature of intercultural interaction that occurs between the host community and their tourist visitors. In ‘banking’ in the notion of authenticity through the sales of cultural products such as Zulu beadwork, my study aims to find whether authenticity as a concept works for the Zulu beadwork culture that exists in Durban, at the South and North regions of the Durban beachfront.
In an attempt to unpack the notion of authenticity as a concept, qualitative research methods were employed specifically to understand behaviour, belief, opinion and emotions from the perspectives of the bead makers and the tourists for whom they provide a Zulu cultural bead service. These methods unlock the ‘people’ or the ‘human’ element in tourism structures, in terms of their views and behaviour that enhance the notion of authenticity-specific to this study. The qualitative approach will allow for the research to question how people understand the tourism process that occurs between them (beadwork makers versus the tourist). The meaning that people give to their cultural tourism experience will further provide an understanding of their social interaction which occurs through the norms and values shared in a touristic environment. The cultural tourism activities with special regard to the social, cultural and economic elements will also be analysed giving voice to the issues that exist in a cultural tourism exchange that are vital in that environment.

This research ultimately aims to highlight the cultural systems which are created through a touristic exchange between the host community and the tourist.

**Research Site: Durban North and South Beach areas**

Durban beach areas were an obvious site for the investigation of this research issue, as it is one of the oldest settings where there is the production and sale of Zulu beadwork for the tourist. It is also the site where other, related, Zulu craftwork is carried out, such as weaving, crocheting and threading intricate bead designs (Derwent, 1999). These bead makers and sellers, therefore, play a vital role in answering the specific set of research questions which relate to issues of authenticity; the context of the cultural tourism environment in Durban; and the meaning and understanding of the interaction that occurs between these groups. Access to their perception and their own ideas on authenticity, a vital component to the research, is provided at the beach market.

**Research Strategy**

The overall research strategy is based on qualitative ethnographic strategy methods. It is important to specify that my research intends to provide a narrative that will be informed by the interpretation of the cultural tourism aspects of the Durban region, based on the interaction that occurs between the cultural tourist and the Zulu beadwork makers/sellers who tend to the stalls in a market setting along the beach area of Durban North and South beaches.

The research is informed by qualitative research methodology which will incorporate ethnographic methodology to abstract knowledge on the occurring cultural exchange between the cultural tourists and the Zulu beadwork makers/sellers. The aim of this qualitative research is to be situated in an

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7 The slash (/) between the words ‘makers’ and ‘sellers’ does not mean to say ‘or’, it represents the fact that most of the bead crafters at the researcher site fitted both the portfolio of ‘selling’ and ‘making’ (producing) the Zulu beads sold from their stall, as far as they communicated with the researcher.
activity where I, as a researcher, observed the nature of surroundings of the research site and overall environment. This practice has been seen to:

...turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversation, photography, recordings and memos to the self... at this level, qualitative research involve an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 3).

The major duty of a qualitative approach is to explore a research issue (Bryman, 1984). Unlike quantitative research methodology, which is described as an approach which applies a natural science, that is, a particular positivist or empiricist approach to social phenomena (Bryman, 1984). Qualitative research seeks to “seeing the social world from the point of view of the actor... emphasis... to see through the eyes of one’s subjects close involvement” (Bryman, 1984: 77-78), with their social setting (everyday experience). Consequently qualitative research “is deemed to be much more fluid and flexible than quantitative research in that it emphasises discovering novel or un anticipated findings and the possibility of altering research plans in response to such serendipitous occurrences” (Bryman 1984: 78).

My research has a social science approach which by purposefully excluding quantitative methodology works to being flexible to the nature of the research question and research subjects. The emphasis found in quantitative research methodology to be driven by “fixed measurement, hypothesis (or hunch), testing” (Bryman 1984:78) which is the complete opposite to the qualitative methodology approach, where the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative methodology are typically attributed to phenomenology, and symbolic interaction as found in a cultural touristic setting. Micheal Quinn Patton (2002) finds that the meaning that explains the phenomenology as a term- that has been exposed to various definitions and uses, have led to its meanings to be “confused and diluted” (Patton, 2002: 104). Phenomenology can be viewed as a philosophy, where social science perspective plays a major role. Dermot Moran (2000:4) describes phenomenology as

...a radical, anti-traditional style of philosophising, which emphasises the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe phenomena, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experiencer. As such, phenomenology’s first step is to seek to avoid all misconstructions and impositions placed on experience in advance, whatever these are drawn from religious or cultural traditions, from everyday common sense, or, indeed, from science itself. Explanations are not to be imposed before the phenomena have been understood from within

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, my research method adheres to interpretative theory (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) which shares a common focus with the above mentions variations of
phenomenological approach. The commonality lies in its nature to explore “how human beings make sense of experience and transform experience into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning” (Patton 2002:104). Patton (2002) further explains that:

Anything that presents itself to consciousness is potentially of interest of phenomenology, whether the objects is real or imagined, empirically measurable or subjectively felt. Consciousness is the only access human beings have to [the] world or rather, it is by virtue of being conscious that we are already related to the world, Thus all we can ever know must present itself to consciousness, therefore falls outside of the bounds lived experience.

This research features a phenomenological methodology. I will not involve any statistically, or calculating of cultural tourism ventures or activities. I will not involve any research methods which aim at providing information which measures the buying quantity of bead work. The focus will be to evaluate the cultural experience of tourists who purchase beadwork. The purpose of the study is in part to investigate the Zulu beadwork producer’s views on their experiences in producing a commodity for the enjoyment of tourists. The second level of or implication of adhering to phenomenology is for me, as the researcher, to experience the phenomenon as directly as possible through an ethnographic methodology, which employs participant observation and in-depth one on one interview , as well as through the use of group interviews.

Ethnographic research method

The purpose of ethnography is to look at human behaviour and the ways in which people construct and make meanings of their worlds and their lives, which are highly variable and locally specific (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010). Essentially, ethnography, as a research strategy tool, allows the researcher to discover and investigate, by exploring what people actually do and the reasons they give for doing it. This allows the researcher to avoid making assumptions, derived from prior knowledge through previous research conduct on closely or similar research, or from theories developed from professional or academic disciplines (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010).

Due to limitations of time and the availability of participants, my research, in terms of extended and lengthy time spent at the research site, was concentrated. As a result, I dedicated short yet frequent visits at different times of the year, between 2011 and 2012, to, firstly, observe the scene; secondly, to talk generally willing participants; and, thirdly, to conduct the research through the use of semi structured interviews. The bulk of my research required knowledge and information from both the bead sellers/makers as well as from the cultural tourist. It was a challenge to gain cultural tourists to participate in the research, not least because it is sometimes a challenge to pin point who fit into the definition of cultural tourist. That said, an interesting sample was studied of those who purchased the beadwork and who were interested in sharing their experience and outlook about Zulu beadwork.
This research therefore has ethnographic elements, where ethnographic research will employ basic ethnographic skills to abstract information from the research participants. The reason it might fail not to be titled as an ethnographic research is due to the time spent with the research participants, whereas ethnography requires long periods of time of the research process; to be spent with the research participants. This process allows for the cultural aspects of the ‘everyday’ norms to be cross-examined in order to make sense of the practices that occur through those cultural exchange/occurrences (Fetterman, 2010). The everyday process that occurs at the research site and specifically towards this study was to understand a cultural group, in this case which includes the cultural phenomenon of tourists that purchase Zulu beadwork and the products of the beadwork as found in Durban.

The nature of ethnographic methods has been described as, “the essence or nature of an experience” which uses language that is descriptive and ‘re-awakens’ or “shows the lived quality and significance of the experience in a fuller and deeper manner” (Van Manen, 1990: 10). As an ethnographer with the intention of gaining a fuller and deeper sense of meaning created by tourism in the Durban area, my research utilised tools to access information through participant observation and by using tools of in-depth interviews and as well group interviews. This research method is commonly known to be employed by anthropological researchers, as their primary research method (Haviland et al, 2008). As my study is focused and based in communication studies, the same method is used to investigate the cultural aspects that arise in the communication process that occurs between cultural tourists and the host community. Ethnography ultimately provides a ‘cultural interpretation’ of the findings.

**Defining Cultural Interpretation**

Cultural interpretation essentially involves, “the ability to describe what the researcher has heard and seen with the framework of the social groups’ view of reality” (Fetterman 1989: 28). There is high value placed on the knowledge gained from research participants. As the respondents participate in a discussion with the researcher, unlike responding to a survey questionnaires, or as ‘subjects’ of some experiment; “participants in ethnographic research are informants who tell you what they think you need to know about their culture” (Bernard, 2005: 196). The ethnographer can go only so far with data, newspapers and historical information, and even with observation. Ultimately to complete this research, the informants are key to the research outcome. The input of the research participants is therefore important for this study as it questions the notions of authenticity that are well documented and theorised within the cultural tourism industry, but the actual people who are involved in the tourism process, that is the hosts and the visitors, can easily express their perspective, creating a different view on the meanings created in that environment.
Ethnographic Methodology Research Tools: In-depth Interviews and Group Interviews.
To gain the perspectives and meanings of the activity that occurs between Zulu craft makers/sellers and the tourist, who buys beadwork; this research allowed for a series of in-depth interviews, combined with group interviews. The process did not involve an extended involvement with these participants, as the reality of the research was based on interactions which were short, as the tourist was eager to buy an item to carry home as an item of remembrance of the visited location, and the bead worker was selling to make a living out of an item valued by the tourism industry in Durban. In approaching the fieldwork, various ways to get the attention of the participants, were used and the main challenge was that this research was dealing with ‘real people’ who were not always open to long in-depth interview.

In-depth Interaction
The use of one-on-one interviews and group interviews was to explore the particular matter of the interaction that occurs between the cultural tourists and the cultural products as provided by the bead makers/sellers. The interview process ran on average between thirty minutes to an hour, however, for reasons already stated, it did not run into an extended time period, as is sometimes a norm from other research conducted in similar settings. The process of participant observation was valuable, as it resulted to me being able to identify particular participants who are knowledgeable about the subject.

Data Collection: Gaining Participants
Beadwork Crafters/ Sellers: Building ‘Rapport’
In terms of building rapport with the beadwork crafters, as an outsider from the everyday business of beadwork selling and crafting, this was a daunting task. Initially, any attempt made to speak to the stall keepers seemed as if I was interfering in their business. The purpose of conducting research was not understood, and I had to explain each time to the randomly picked participant, who was friendly enough to have a conversation, without making any attempt to sell their goods. So I soon established that our relationship had to be kept at minimal contact. It had to be short and in return of their time, I had to purchase items from their stalls, as a reciprocal gesture to their giving of their business time to assist me.

The interaction was direct; I chose random stalls, asking general questions about the bead craft. I was quick to let them know what my purpose was; what my research was about and why I was undertaking my study, to obtain a Master’s degree from the local university. In most cases, I was positioned as the researched subject, where some participants would ask numerous questions about the reasons for my doing a study on beadwork. They also usually asked me where I was from; and asked about my clan name (Ngema; Madlokovu; Mngadi). I was also asked as to what would be the
outcome of my studies. These questioned established a point of trust for those participants who eventually agreed to be part of my study. But there were also some who were suspicious of my motives and point blank refused to assist me with the project. In some instances, a few participants did not take my research seriously, perhaps because they felt the project would have no benefit for their everyday livelihood. This mixture of response was to be expected.

The first encounter with a participant was a feisty woman named Mancebo. I had decided to take a walk along the South Beach and eventually gained enough courage to start a random conversation with one of the stall keepers. She was very welcoming, and as this was not a formal interview session, she talked with pride about the work she did; she expressed her complains and frustrations about running the business; and the genial conversation was ended with my purchasing some items and taking her contact details, so that I could return in the near future to conduct a more structured interview to contribute to my studies. This was welcomed by her, but on my arrival on the agreed date, she did not seem as keen as we had agreed before. She became very inquisitive about the ‘so-called research process’ that I kept emphasising. She then explained that her lack of education could be her problem as she had a feeling of uneasy about revealing information to me, a complete stranger. At this point, I had a dictaphone in hand, a note book and consent forms to ensure a formal structure of our interview session. These object needed to confirm the validity of the research process, but, in fact, they contributed to her insecurity about contributing to the research. It was now not simply a friendly ‘chat’, it was real business of the research process, and this probably caused her uneasiness.

Mancebo’s reaction was the reality of the field I was working in. Many, but not all, of the participants I came across were willing to participate, but on the condition that I answered ‘their research’ questions on me. I explained why they had to sign the consent form; explained why they had to record their feedback, and lastly what this research would contribute to their business development. This experience proved to me that it was not going to be an in-and-out occurrence; in fact it would be difficult. In seeking to be flexible and inventive as the researcher, I ensured a professional approach, ensured to provide all the information to the participants. In terms of consent forms, I gave the participants an option not to sign if they felt they were signing a document that would bind them to contracts; they would not be comfortable with (as a response that participants gave when it came to the signing off the form). I read out the form and enquired if they understood the requirements of their contribution.

I established a system to gather research in the shortest time possible, where in-depth interviews evolved a sort of focus group interview process, where I would interview one participant at a time, and the inquisitive stall keeper next to that particular participant, would enquire about me, and after the enquiry would voluntarily join in the conversation, creating a random group (focus) interview.

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8 Not the real name of as the participant asked for their identity to be protected.
session. I was also willing to engage in activities which were appropriate to a normal interaction between a buyer (which I took the position of) and the stall keeper (beadwork crafter/ seller). I was also careful to observe the activities, people and the physical aspects of the situation.

Cultural tourists: Building Rapport

The search for cultural tourists resulted in something of a negative experience for my research. Durban as a metropolitan (cosmopolitan) city and boasting to be Africa’s busiest and largest port city, only affords cultural experiences to exist ‘beneath’ all this commercial activity. So as a result, the tourists that are found in this area are recreational, rather than cultural, in nature. I had initially intended to seek knowledge from two sets of tourist; firstly the international cultural tourists and the local cultural tourists. However out in the field, I managed to gain knowledge from really only one set of these tourists, who can be defined as international academic tourists. These I located as a result of visiting Summer Culture Programme. This programme is undertaken by the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, Baltimore, United States of America. It was structured into a two weeks immersion course in culture and communication. The Summer Culture Programme aimed to address the ways in which culture is challenged by political, economic, social, religious and technological parameters in different locations around the world. As one of the participants in the programme, I had first-hand experience in interacting with tourists, who had seen South Africa for the first time, and during the more social activities of the programme I was involved in conversations about my beadwork research and its meaning in a touristic setting. The group visited various tourist settings in and around Durban, and were exposed to the variety of beadwork sold around KwaZulu-Natal, visiting among other places the craft centre at Rorke’s Drift. The interest towards the beadwork was an instant indicator to me as to what other tourists who visit KwaZulu-Natal experience and what they thoughts were in deciding which items to purchase.

The level of interaction between these participants and me as the researcher was convenient and appropriately associated towards my research. I took the opportunity to observe their purchasing of the beads and at the end of the programme took to conducting two sets of group (focus) interviews.

Weaving elements of research: Participant Observation

The touristic relationships formed between the host community (in this case specifically the stall keepers who craft and sell beadwork) and the cultural tourists can be interpreted as a form of human existence that qualifies for a participatory observation methodology. Through this process “it is possible to describe what goes on, who or what is involved when and where things happen, how they occur and why- at least from the standpoint of participants- things happen as they do in particular situations” (Jorgensen, 1989:12). In studying the process of this specific human existence allowed for this research to establish the levels of relationships among the stall keepers and the cultural tourists as
well as the events surrounding their separate organisations, the continuities over time and patterns, as well as the immediate socio-cultural contexts in which human existence unfolds (Jergensen, 1989).

My research employed seven basic features of participatory observation as defined by Danny L. Jorgensen (1989). These features consist of principles, strategies, procedures and techniques that I employed in conducting fieldwork. The first feature requires that there should be a special interest in human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of people who are insiders or members of particular situations and settings.

The second feature requires the location in the ‘here and now’ of everyday life situations and settings as the foundation of inquiry and method. Locating this research in the ‘here and now’ of everyday life situation is the core, as the interaction between the tourist and the stall keepers determine the setting and the structure of this particular inquiry.

The third aspect involves a form of theory and theorising interpretation and understanding of human existence, which will appeal to understanding the communication process that occurs and theorise the notions of authenticity as employed by cultural tourism developers. The fourth feature asks for a logical process of inquiry that is open-ended, flexible, opportunistic, and requires constant redefinition of what is problematic, based on facts gathered in concrete settings of human existence. This fourth element was conducted by my initial unstructured visits to the research site, and through the process of viewing the beadwork on display at the beadwork stalls, and further making conversation with the beadmakers, I can define this as an open-ended and flexible manner of gathering information pre actual research. Given the availability of time with the participants, it was done with very short contact and was an opportunistic act to gain access to the main participants that eventually participated during the in-depth interview phase.

The fifth requirement requires that it is an in-depth, qualitative case study approach and design. As mentioned above, my research design is qualitative in nature, and knowledge towards the research will be gained purely from the research settings. The sixth requirement requires that as a researcher, there should be a level of performance- participant role- or roles, which involves establishing and maintaining relationships with the participants in the field. The exchange of business was my strategy in terms of participant role, when I interacted with the beadwork (makers/sellers) participants. I could easily identify with the cultural tourists participants, as we travelled to various parts of KwaZulu-Natal as a student group and in the process went into discussions about the craft culture as found in these destinations, but specifically to the Zulu beadwork, we would discuss their value, their style and that worked as an opportunity to gaining an access to their thoughts regard the notions of authenticity that are being utilised by tourist destinations.
The seventh and final feature as employed in this research was that there was a use of direct observation along with other methods of gathering information. The methods of gathering information involved in-depth interviews and as well in-depth group interviews.

**Semi-Structured Interviews- Beadwork makers/sellers**

The initial questions asked to the beadwork stall keepers requested general information on the basic history of beadwork crafting and selling in the specific area. All the interviews were conducted in the isiZulu language. This was an advantage to having access to the depth of the knowledge that these participants carried as isiZulu is their mother-tongue. As a Zulu speaker myself, this made the conversations with the participants more fulfilling and meaningful. It made the interaction more comfortable, for both parties. The structure of the questions was flexible in terms of question wording and sequence, in order to follow the flow of the conversation (Cohen *et al.*, 2001: 271). The interviews were semi structured, as I was seeking to “promote an active, open ended dialogue” (Deacon *et al.*, 1999: 65). I retained control of the conversation, by probing questions which were on the interview schedule.

In conducting the interviews, I also considered cultural aspects, which are beyond the actual research process. My position in controlling the interview was slightly dictated by the conventions of generational difference. The participants, as my elders, culturally though not intentionally, demanded respect from a person junior to them. It was difficult for me, a younger person, to arrive in their ‘territory’ with questions that they were not obliged to answer. This played an important part in shaping the results gathered within the research, for there was often an exchange of roles, that is, as the researcher and as well a ‘child’ that needed information.

Below is a display of the semi-structured interview schedule (questions) which were used. These were some of the leading question to the interviews that were conducted with the beadwork makers/sellers participants. The schedule was divided into three sections, the first section was mainly concerned with historical knowledge that the beadwork crafters might have. It was mainly concerned with how the beadwork crafting skills were gained.

The second part of the interview schedule was concerned with the how the beadwork crafters viewed or perceived their interaction with the tourist that visit Durban, and purchase their cultural products.

The third section is concerned with the development efforts as provided for by the eThekwini Municipality, as this could contribute in understanding how the ‘Kingdom of the Zulu’ brand as employed by KwaZulu-Natal tourism benefits the beadwork makers/sellers as they produce these cultural products.
Section one: Zulu beadwork History

- How did you gain knowledge of beadwork craft?
  *Ubani owakudulu isela ulwazi lobuciko bokwakha Ubuhlalu?*

- The knowledge gained - was this for economical benefit or for the purpose of celebrating beadwork as part of your culture?
  *Ulwazi owalithola - walithola ngoba ukhula nalo, njengemvelo yesiko la kho, noma ukufunda kwakho ubiciko bekwenzelwa ukuthi ukwazi ukukhiqizela abathengi bobuhlalu?*

- What knowledge are you aware of regarding the origins of Zulu beadwork?
  *Uluphi ulwazi onalo ngemvelaphi yobuhlalu (ngesinti samaZulu)?*

- Can you describe or elaborate on your knowledge of Zulu beadwork production, for economical benefit?
  *Ungacaza kwabanzi umlando noma ulwazi onalo mayelana nokukhiqizwa kobuhlalu obudayiselwa izivakashi?*

Section two: Zulu beadmaker/sellers as Host

- Do you understand the term "cultural tourism"?
  *Uyalwazi lelitemu elithi "cultural tourism"*

- How do you see Zulu beadwork in the tourism market of Durban?
  *Ubona injani indima yobuhlalu besiZulu obutholakala Ethekwini, obudayiselwa izivakashi kulendawo?*

- How is the relationship between yourself as the Zulu beadmaker and the tourists?
  *Ungakucaza kanjani ubudlelwano phakathi kwakho njengomdayisi, wobuciko kwamaZulu nalabo abavakashe Ethekwini?*

- Who purchases the most beadwork from your stalls?
  *Yiluphi uhlobo lomvakashi elithenga Ubuhlalu ngezinga eliphezulu?*

- How much does the tourist communicate to you about the product (Zulu beadwork)?
  *Kufinyelelaphi ukukhononda kwezivakashi mayelana ngobuciko bobuhlalu obudayiswayo?*

Section three: Zulu beadwork - Stalls along South and North Beach regions

- How has the Thekwni Municipality assisted in the development of stalls that Zulu beads are sold from?
  *Lingakanani ixhathu elithathwe umasipala weTheku ngentuthuko yesakhiwo sokudayisela?*

- Is there a working relationship between the Municipality and these infrastructures?
  *Bukhona ubudlelwano obukhonana nomasipala weTheku? (Bungakanani ubudlelwano?)*

- How has further development within the tourism industry affected Zulu beadwork? For example, Shaka Marine World; Suncoast Casino, Sibaya Casino and so on?
Anikutholi yini ukuthikimizeka kwezokudayisa Ubuhlalu, njengoba sekune ntuthuko etuthetha izivakashi kwezinye izindawo- ezifana noShake Marine World,; Suncoast Casino; Sibaya Casino.

- Who provides Zulu beadwork to high-end stores, found at talternative locations?
  Ngolwazi lakho: ngubani okhiqhiza Ubuhlalu obutholakala ezitolo ezidulayo, ezizime ezindaweni azakhelwe intuthuko?

- What benefits are available to a Zulu beadwork crafter, based at these stalls?
  Yikuphi ukusizeka okuvulelwe abadayisi bobuhlalu, ikakhulu abadayisela kulezigodlo ezibekiwe?

Semi-Structured group Interviews- Cultural tourists

Data from the cultural tourists was collected primarily through group interviews, as this was a productive manner of gathering information. My research used the focus group method as a self-contained method, which worked as the principal source of data for the cultural tourists. The usefulness of a focus group is based on its ability to gather information from the group dynamics based on the topic at hand. David L. Morgan states that “the hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (1997:2).

Below are laid out the questions that developed the group discussion. The questions were divided into two sections. The first section was to determine the kind of tourist that the participants classified themselves as, and the second section was focused on the beadwork culture as found in Durban beach area.

**Section one: Tourist of Durban**

- What type of tourist would you describe yourself as being?
  *Leisure Tourist; *Heritage Tourist; *Day Tourist; *Local Tourist; *Ecotourist; Cultural Tourist...WHY?

- Describe your tourism experience in the Durban South and North Beach region?
- What is your conception of the description of KwaZulu Natal as the Kingdom of the Zulu”?
- What are your general perspectives of Durban, and what have you learnt about its people and their culture?

**Section two: Zulu beadwork as artefact for the tourist**

- Where you at any time attracted to the crafts/ artefacts sold along the beach front?
- What is your opinion of the Zulu beadwork?
- Would you purchase Zulu beadwork? Please provide reasons of why/ why not?
- How do you think Zulu beadwork reflect Zulu cultural heritage?
In your opinion, does Zulu beadwork as a cultural product, reflect Zuluness?

Have you been exposed to Zulu beadwork elsewhere, apart from the stalls that display them here at the beach regions?

Framework for Data Analysis

In employing qualitative methodologies, the data will be analysed in two manners to conduct a "systematic search for meaning, allow[ing] the researcher to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretation, mount critique or generate theories" (Hatch, 2002: 646). The first section of the data analysis will focus primarily on the tourism marketing of Durban promoted under the Tourism of KwaZulu-Natal strategies, which highlight KwaZulu-Natal as a ‘Kingdom of the Zulus’ through various tourism websites. As a result my research conducted a semiotic analysis of the Zulu Kingdoms 'presence', which concerned "uncovering the process of meaning production and how signs are designed to have an effect upon the perceivers of those signs" (Fox et al, 2010: 82). I selected pictures off the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal website, as a source used to refer to the imagery of the Zulu kingdom.

The second section of the data analysis will utilise thematic analysis of data collected through in-depth face-to-face interviews and group interviews from participants who represent the cultural producers and host of KwaZulu Natal tourism and group interviews of the cultural tourist. This analysis approach will work to interrogate and evaluate the use of the Zulu product to persuade cultural tourism initiatives for the cultural tourist and also evaluate the cultural relevance that Zulu beadwork provides and therefore provide evidence as to how the industry of tourism works to utilise notions of cultural authenticity with products that are provided from this particular sector within the cultural tourism of Durban, KwaZulu Natal.

Analysing of Zulu Images: A Semiotic Analysis

My study employed a semiotic analysis approach towards websites (mentioned in detail in the analysis chapter) that promote the tourism of the KwaZulu-Natal province. This allows for the analysis of those images to be applied as a comprehensive science of signs. The images are randomly picked by me. The aim of utilising semiotic analysis is focused on semiotics as a system of signs (Tomaselli, 1999; Chandler, 2002). How the images (from the promotion of Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal) that represent the Zulu culture are constructed and created to provide meaning that can be analysed. Semiotics is generally defined as a study of how meaning occurs in language, pictures, performance and other forms of expression (Tomaselli, 1999: 29). Semiotics is, therefore, concerned with texts analysis; it questions how we make meanings through our creations and interpretation of 'signs' (Chandler, 2002). In considering the thought that “we think only in signs” (Pierce 1931); it can be agreed that “signs take the form of words, images, sounds, odours, flavours, acts or objects”,

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however, these things, “have no intrinsic meaning and become signs only when we invest them with meaning” (Chandler, 2002: 17). Keyan G. Tomaselli (1999) however contends that some approaches to the science of signs, tend to derive from dualistic Western philosophical assumptions, which “tend to imprison researchers into an obsession with ‘the text’-“ therefore the ‘representation’ is only studied in terms of the text… and as a result the “context, the political, economic, social and historical processes out of which specific texts- films, television and radio programmes, print, fashion [cultural tourism]… arise, are suppressed from analysis” (Tomaselli, 1999: 29) hence the text-context relationship is thus eliminated from most studies. Evaluating historical and cultural perspectives

Meaning is, therefore, appealing to the system of signs, where systems which the subject does not control- the subject is deprived of his role as now a source of meaning (Culler, 1981). Therefore, it is contested that, “signs also carry further meanings than the immediately apparent… in other words they have connotations, usually ideological” (O’ Reily, 2005: 173). Therefore “nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign as long as someone interprets it as ‘signifying’ something- referring to or standing for something other than itself”… meaning the use of signs are at the heart of semiotics (Chandler, 2002: 17). My study analyses the images that are encountered on the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal websites. Analysing the relevance of the Zulu representation and how the marketing of the KwaZulu-Natal product can portray a cultural tourism experience. This also allows a reflection of beadwork images that the website displays. This approach will be the structural semiotic analysis which involves identifying the component units in a semiotic system (such as a text [image] or sociocultural practice) (Chandler, 2002).

Thematic analysis: Analysis of Zulu beadwork within the Cultural Tourism of KwaZulu Natal

Thematic analysis is a qualitative method of analysis which is renowned for its flexibility for ‘thematising’ meanings and interpreting of data (Braun and Clarke, 2004, Boyatzis, 1998). It is a method for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data” (Braun and Clarke, 2004: 6). This form of analysis not only “organises and describes your data set in rich detail...it interprets various aspects of the research topic” (Braun and Clarke, 2004: 6). This study questions the notions of authenticity that are commonly utilised in the cultural tourism industry.

This study wants to evaluate the cultural tourism relevance in Durban KwaZulu Natal, and through the Zulu beadwork craft will try to identify patterns that could relate to the issues of authenticity as it anticipates. The data collected was conducted through interviews (and group interviews) and this data is utilised to develop themes and codes, and validate and use these codes to analyse the data. The importance of a theme is that, it can “capture something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning with the data set”
(Braun and Clarke, 2004: 10); which is necessary to qualitative research as the process is not “dependant on quantifiable measures” (Braun and Clarke, 2004: 10).

The thematic code is data-driven, where the “codes are constructed inductively from the raw information... they appear with the words and syntax of the raw information” (Boyatzis, 1998: 29). Taking an inductive approach, allows the themes from the research to be collected specifically for the research through the interview process that was conducted. The interview questions were not necessarily specific to the research question, and therefore this allowed the research process to not be driven by my analytic preconceptions.

**Limitations and Potential Problems**

The practical research process was challenging, as the participants to the research were less than the anticipated number proposed in the research proposal. There were significant difficulties with finding research participants. The research site, as mentioned above was Durban beach front area, including South and North beach. The majority of the stalls in this area produce and sell beadwork. In approaching participants, it was difficult to explain the relevance of the research, and therefore at times difficult to encourage participation. In taking the approach to make appointments with the bead crafters, it failed as on the day of the appointment, the communication would be either impossible (through cellular phone) or the participant would not be available at their original stall, where the appointment was meant to take place.

It was also difficult to approach tourists. At the convenience of participating in a programme that included international research tourists (Summer Culture, 2012), I was able to find research participants, that could fit the definition of tourists, who also stayed in the South beach area, and were exposed to the stall culture that the Durban tourism provided.

There was no language barrier as I am an isiZulu speaker and also have been schooled in first language English. All my participants could either speak isiZulu or English. This research can be trusted to provide information that is truthful, valid and reliable.

**Conclusion**

This chapter explained and describe the research process of conducting this study. This research takes the qualitative research method, and through the research strategy employs both ethnographic techniques and employed participant observation, to gain knowledge from cultural exchange that occurs in the tourism industry in the South African- Durban, KwaZulu-Natal context. The data was collected through in-depth interviews and as well group interviews. The framework for the data analysis includes a semiotic analysis of the images randomly observed through KwaZulu-Natal
tourism websites and the data collected through the stall keepers and the cultural tourist will be
analysed through thematic analyses.
Chapter 5

Data Analysis

Authenticity: Zulu beadwork as Cultural Tourism

Introduction
The aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the notions of authenticity as applied through the tourism process that occurs in the KwaZulu-Natal, Durban’s beach front; through the stall keeping that occurs in the area, where Zulu beadwork is one of the key items sold to the tourist. In previous chapters, the elements that work to create a travel destination based on the cultural traits of the host community have been explored. These elements, which are vital to the creation and production of Zulu cultural presence all, adhere to historical perspectives, to the meaning of heritage, and to notions of identity and culture. Through this, it is possible to align these with the notions of authenticity, to evaluate, for instance the significance and authentic or inauthentic position of the Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.

The analysis of this study utilises two forms of analysis. The first section focuses on semiotic analysis of various KwaZulu-Natal tourism websites to gain knowledge on the meanings created in communicating about a tourism (culturally focused) destination. Tourism is concerned with a semiotic exchange, the exchange of meaning (Tomaselli, 1999; Urry, 2002) (cultural exchange) between the tourists and the destination. The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism marketing strategies that appear on their website\(^9\) offer an example of how Zulu culture in KwaZulu-Natal is sold as a culture to explore.

The second section utilises thematic analysis to gain knowledge into how the notions of authenticity as practiced by the cultural tourism industry has been functional through the sale of Zulu beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. Their view of the tourism industry in Durban works as a defining way of how the industry presents authentic Zulu products. Their knowledge of the Zulu beadwork history elaborates on the survival of this product in tourism setting in Durban. The interpretation of the cultural tourist is limited to the cultural tourists that were interviewed for the purposes of this study. Notions of culture, of heritage, of identity and of authenticity function as a way to navigate the perceptions of the cultural producers. This details their knowledge of beadwork history, their knowledge of the beadwork culture as perceived in Zulu culture; it also details information of how they are involved in the beadwork industry, and how they view competition that arises in the tourism industry. This reflects the meaning created by all these entities that are vital in a tourist environment,

\(^9\) www.kzn.rog.za
and provides knowledge on the views that might not be available during quantitative counts of tourist events that occur in Durban.

The cultural tourist contributes to the notion that Zulu beadwork has value as an authentic product. The perception of the cultural tourist helps in evaluating the levels of authenticity or inauthenticity as anticipated by the cultural tourism through their views of the beadwork as sold at Durban beachfront. The tourist expectation of the Zulu cultural experience as an overall experience in the ‘Kingdom of the Zulu’ and how the beadwork representation is to their view. The contemporary design of Zulu beadwork if aligned to the historical evidence of beadwork is obviously different, so taking the authentic view from this point, can the beadwork found in beach stall be identified as authentically Zulu? The relevance of the tourist perspective is important, as this can evaluate the level of authenticity as provided by the host Zulu beadwork sellers (or crafters).

**Part one: Semiotics analysis of KwaZulu-Natal’s Tourism websites**

A semiotic analysis of images from the KwaZulu-Natal tourism website will provide an analysis of how the tourism marketing is structured to attract the potential tourists. The study makes use of this website to exemplify the marketing that is geared not only the tourist sites but the overall Zulu culture that concerns this study, and more specifically analyse the presence of Zulu beadwork in the images of KwaZulu-Natal. The historical and heritage reference that is often highlighted in the website content provides further information on how the province is describe; for instance as the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ and therefore providing highlights of promoting cultural tourism.

This study has in previous chapters, touched on the fact that tourism is one of South Africa’s major economic development industries, and, therefore, KwaZulu-Natal as a destination is located as a place of culture (rich culture) to be consumed by the tourist, and for this reason sells the image of KwaZulu-Natal to portray a destination ‘vivid’ in culture and heritage in a developing modern African society.

This study has argued and evaluated the perception of culture and heritage and how these can influence the authentic or unauthentic nature of cultural products, mass produced for tourism consumption. The relevance of culture and heritage has a significant influence on the commoditised cultural products, such as beadwork as the notion of authenticity can now be debated from that point of commodifying of culture. Essentially in analysing the various images found to represent KwaZulu-Natal’s Zulu bead culture, it can allow this research to semiotically analyse the reading of the images and explain the meanings they intend to communicate to a tourist viewer intending to explore the cultural tourism produced and promoted in this province.
A semiotic analysis of the KwaZulu-Natal website further explores meanings created to understand the overall theoretical framing of this study, which focuses on issues of identity, therefore allowing issues of identity that are aligned with the image of KwaZulu-Natal to be analysed using these practical images as they work as a system of signs. How these images have been constructed to create meaning and how that meaning is created and defined to represent a Zulu culture but with a special focus on images of beadwork. In considering that “we think only in signs” (Pierce 1931), It can be agreed that a semiotic analysis of KwaZulu-Natal images takes the form of words that and have no intrinsic meaning and became signs only when we invest them with meaning (Chandler, 2002: 17).

The approach taken by this research will, however, avoid the “dualistic western philosophical assumptions which tend to imprison researchers into an obsession with ‘the text’ (Tomaselli, 1999; 29), where the context of the image is not analysed to provide greater meaning to the initial meaning being portrayed, which can have political, economic, social and historical specifics that each image can portray. Thus this study questions the notions of authenticity that are implied (imposed) through the presentation of KwaZulu-Natal, and ultimately aims to provide a “text-context” (Tomaselli, 1999) relationship in exploring these notions of authenticity.

Chapter two of this dissertation, allowed for an evaluation of historical factors, where the cultural interaction that occurs between a cultural tourism destination and tourists can be aligned with the obsession for searching for authenticity in culturally defined destinations. This study places special focus to a cultural product (Zulu beadwork) and therefore evaluates how notions of authenticity has placed Zulu beadwork as an appropriate or inappropriate cultural representation of the Zulu culture in a cultural tourism industry, coloured by tourism strategies that are set against western business strategies, for a developing society, that is young in its economic development, in a country that was intentionally divided economically by the apartheid system, that systematically worked to differentiate cultures and emphasise the cultural difference, which today has been systematically to work develop the economy of South Africa. Tourism now being a source for economic development, we see a rise in the diverse cultural previously deprived cultures in an effort to build the South African economy. Authenticity as a concept, therefore can explore to further evaluate meaning created to sell authenticity and to further question whether the authentic elements can be easily accessible in a touristic environment, where it is commoditised for the consumption of the tourist.

KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Website- A semiotic analysis

A qualitative interpretative analysis of this website is drawn from semiotics. This analysis provides how the website’s images have been designed to reflect a ‘Zulu’ image, and express how the Zulu people acquire a sense of belonging to a Zulu culture, that has been commoditised for the consumption of tourism. The websites are there as marketing tool to advertise and display the offering of that particular destination. The province, through the website images provides a vision of what the
province has to offer, what is to be expected, and each feature aims to express the unique feature of
the province that can easily distinguished KwaZulu-natal as a ‘Zulu Kingdom’ forming a competitive
cultural tourism destination.

The Home Page: KwaZulu-Natal Tourism

![Image of women in traditional attire]

Fig. 5.1 KwaZulu-Natal Website

The main website of the KwaZulu tourism offers an image of black women wearing their ritual
regalia of the common spiritual practice of “Sangoma’s”. The image is a headline image for the
website, under the caption: “Zulu Kingdom: Exceptional”. Below the same image is a caption with
welcoming remarks stating: “Welcome to the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal: enticing,
spectacular and fascinating multi-cultural showpiece destination; flanked by warm Indian Ocean and
soaring peaks”.

This image implies Zulu cultural elements, connote a lifestyle of culture. The elements of a spiritual
culture, which highlight a traditional and ethnic presence that KwaZulu-Natal tourism sector aims to
promote is immediately exposed through this image and further shows, what the cultural tourism in
KwaZulu-Natal has to offer- which are unique to South African Nguni or Zulu cultures. The image
focus is on the two faces of women. One of the women has a beaded hair wig; beaded black and white
hair piece, resembling a ‘mop’ with a fringe over the forehead. The other woman, has a red hair band,
and completes her outfit with beading and a tradition wrap-dress, traditional worn by Sangoma’s.
They both have a distinctive stare at the camera. Analysing briefly, the two women in the image; we

10 http://www.google.co.za/imgres?start=563&sa=X&biw=1280&bih=841&tbm=isch&tbnid=9NULeZ8OVaY3RM:&imgref
er.com/snapshots/280x202/eb/a/c/hb069b7d3b66b385d486a9a90732d274b64.png%253Fwidth%253D280%2526height%253
D202%2526url%253Dres.kzn.org.za&w=280&h=202&ei=DEmjUZ6gK0Hf7AbBq4CQDAKzom=1&iact=rc&dur=109&
page=16&tbmh=154&tbm=214&ndsp=43&ved=1t:429,r:68,s:500,i:208&tx=139&ty=81
(accessed 15 May 2013)

11 This was the main image on the website, when the data analysis of this study was conducted. The KwaZulu-Natal
(www.zulu.org.za) website changes headline images often, offering different views of the provinces destinations.

12 www.zulu.org.za

13 Sangoma is a Zulu spiritual or traditional healer.
can identify already a combination of modern and traditional. The traditional is reflected by the woman in the full or entire regalia complete with the beaded wig. The infusion of modern is therefore found with the second woman, where she appears with a red hair band, which cannot be immediately identified as traditional to Zulu Sangoma regalia.

The background of the image consists of two women with beaded head wigs, in yellow, orange and red. The far distance of the image further includes four people walking, and it seems as a random walk, not intended to create a particular message for this image. The overall image connotes a destination that lacks refinement or elegance. The women are seated in a place that appears to reflect a grass land. Their clothing even if they can appear to seem modern as the red band woman wears, is mostly traditional, not necessarily influenced by a ‘western’ style of dress, but specific to the Sangoma traditional wear- the people the website is expressing.

This image on the home page of KwaZulu website, displays the initial expectations about the province, can imply the expectations of the ‘The Zulu Kingdom’. The caption ‘Zulu Kingdom’, connotes a romanticised cultural abundance (Leach, 1973) in an ‘African Kingdom’, build by the great African King Shaka, therefore enforcing a Zulu cultural experience. The story of King Shaka, the mighty Zulu warrior, contributes to the building of Zulu ethnic identity, which can be located to the western thinking, of contributing to notions of ethnic identity, and worked to construct some identities, through the notions of othering (Fabian, 1983) to suit their position at that particular point in history (see chapter three). The meaning created through the websites messaging takes a primordial approach to imaging the Zulu culture, the naming of KwaZulu-Natal province as the “The Zulu Kingdom” shapes the destination to be a ‘romanticised’ destination. From this image alone, there is a mythical ambiance created in the images of the Zulu and the emphasise is found in the cultural representation of Zulu culture, as found in this image. The tourist in viewing this website, finds their thinking to be shaped and therefore certain level of expectations are expected in visiting a Zulu cultural environment. As there is a representation of the Zulu spiritual culture, this can connote that the ‘Zulu Kingdom’ has a strong traditional spiritual presence, and closer to the topic of Zulu beadwork, the beadwork that the Sangoma’s adorn are a ‘lived reality’ of the Zulu Kingdom. Thus this is setting the scene for Zulu bead items to be expected to be highly visible in Zulu society. This is a convenient task in the packaging of the Zulu cultural package: allowing the commodification of culture to be a process- branding cultural products. It is a starting point.

The caption further connotes Zulu presence, and lifestyle which is based on the traditional or ethnic cultural activities. Beadwork which is reflected in the image above, worn as part of Sangoma regalia, is an example of an ethnic as well as a cultural item that is unique to ‘Zuluness’. The image on focus is however further reflecting vital information, regarding the current state of a modern ‘Zulu Kingdom’, as a developing modern society- hence the modern western attire or garments worn by the
four people in background, and further in the far distance we can see two electricity street poles, connoting a presence of infrastructure (The roads), and technology and as well striving developing African society. The difference which are normally searched for by the tourists, are still in existence, however the scene of this image portrays an a inclusive experience of KwaZulu-Natal (although from the image itself, we can assume it to be a representation of all of KwaZulu-Natal, but in unpacking this single image, we can get an idea of features that portions of the province has to offer).

The KwaZulu-Natal tourism website as a marketing tool, allows the industry to introduce natural surroundings- emphasising nature, and as well introduce one of the cultural traits of the Zulu culture. This study is concerned with the craft culture of Zulu beadwork and the Sangoma image, plays its role by portraying some of the uses of the beadwork and how the Zulu culture can now be aligned and identify with uses of Zulu beadwork. As a tourist, and specifically a cultural tourist, you are in search of learning about a cultural difference to yours, and this image provides that immediate effect of a difference or reflection in finding similarities that your cultural traits may embody. The role of marketing through a website is to not only inform the potential tourist, but to “persuade and impress the potential tourists to visit the destination” (Dasgupta, 2011: 73). Creating an impression of Zulu culture is vital to the branding of the KwaZulu-Natal tourism product, the website as a channel of advertising the product, thus works towards this goal. Providing an image of a Zulu culture is such a tool or and technique to entice the tourist. The tourist would therefore see the unfamiliar, and involve thought of understanding the nature of the culture being presented.

**Creative Authenticity: Marketing and commodification of Zulu culture**

Commodification of cultures as a process of branding and packaging the Zulu culture as a product for tourism purchase can arguably be found to exist in KwaZulu-Natal tourism. Durban as the main city of this research sets a significant example, of how the Zulu product is packaged. The structure of the Durban industry builds it cultural communication (or rather cultural expression) from the commoditised Zulu culture. An example of this can be found on international branded hotels, on their decor interiors with an element of Zuluness, perhaps having some sort of African art being displayed in their corridors. Zulu beadwork always seemed to feature as well as an item of decoration, in different forms, ranging from toilet signage (Beach Hotel, at the Pier 107 restaurant, March 2012), to wall decor as can be seen in ‘Zulu’ themed places like iSibaya Casino (March 2012) outside Durban. Another relevant and constant image that can easily be linked to Zulu culture is that of the ‘Zulu warrior’. Most infrastructures that are designed to gather masses of tourist are generally themed through popular Zulu names or Zulu traditional links. For instance, uShaka Marine World is named after King Shaka; and iSibaya casino, described as an “entertainment kingdom”\(^\text{14}\) and sold as a *Sibiya* clan chiefdom, was built in an area north of Durban and associated with the *Sibiya* historical links.

\(^{14}\) [http://www.suninternational.com/sibaya/Pages/default.aspx](http://www.suninternational.com/sibaya/Pages/default.aspx) (accessed 22 April 2013)
However, it is managed by an international casino company and the management of this casino is unlikely to have been inspired by the knowledge of the area, but rather by business strategies. *Sun International* have used the knowledge of the popular traits and images of Zulu culture, modernised them to match global standards of tourism, and by doing so allowed commodification of the Zulu product to ‘prosper on a global scale’. The association of the Zulu culture and an international brand such as *Sun International* further connotes a luxurious experience, where the middle class tourist can find comforting surroundings with a reliable brand, laying out expectations of a quality experience. Ultimately, there is a “characteristic transformation of places where the local and the global are linked through tourism” (MacCannell, 2001: 384).

![Fig.5.2 these statues can be found at the Sibaya Casino entrance, images of Zulu warrior-ship.](https://encryptedtbn2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcSbnftA0dsqRd2AFn3qR5vdGw1ERy6FQWdCaZoIaHP4wGPTkJVGQ)(accessed April 2013)

In many ways, therefore, the packaging of ‘Zuluness’ through the caption “Zulu Kingdom”, has commoditised the Zulu culture, making it easily accessible and recognisable and brand-able. The elements required in the commodification process, which include the complex notions of tradition (Moreno & Litterell, 1996) refer to complex traditions because tradition is integral in the handing down of tradition; of customs; and beliefs and of ideas ‘intergenerationally’, however the same traditions, have been utilised in the past to create idealism, which has been argued to promote “romantic idealism, which ultimately encourages nationalism” (Moreno & Litterell, 1996: 138). The Zulu culture and its traditions can be argued to have perpetuated these ‘romantic idealism’; however tourism works to develop this romanticised idealism for the benefit of economic and social development of KwaZulu society. The commodification process, therefore works to promote a culture and its traditions, using the cultural resources. Traditional, cultural resources can be seen to evolve through the tourism process, allowing traditions and cultures to exist in a global environment, using global channels to exist- that is through channels like the internet, television, international film induced tourism (Tomaselli, 1999). The exposure of cultures and as well access to traditional cultures, allow their traditions to evolve. They become a symbolic resource, local knowledge and resources
allow modernity for instance, to take a set of possibilities where tradition hold in numerous cultural
options from which some are selected and others, through disuse, are abandoned, no longer apart of
the collection of possibilities... “this selection of cultural elements has the potential to reflect a link to
the past, provide continuity in the present and construct unique cultural forms for the future” (Moreno

The point in question is this; can the concept of authenticity in tourism be relevant in defining Zulu
culture? Is the Durban tourism industry reflecting an authentic or inauthentic cultural tourism
experience? In considering Dean MacCannell’s (2001) view that a tourism destination mainly aims to
attract tourist who want to take a break from their everyday responsibilities of home and work; such
images can be said to be the first contact that a tourist might have with the intended destination and
therefore builds the motive for travelling and experiencing that destination. The next section (thematic
analysis) of this chapter deals in greater details on the notions of authenticity, through the discussions
with the beadwork crafters and as well the tourist of the Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal.

The South African context of marketing a culture is therefore an interesting factor, when we
questioning the notions of authenticity. The apartheid system (South African laws-before 1994),
systematically designed to emphasise ‘difference’ in cultures and races, encouraged each ethnic
group to interact within their ethnic traits, and furthermore providing certain cultures, specifically
European or western cultures to strive (economically and socially) more in the South African society.
As a development strategy, tourism can allow some of the tribalism; ethnic traits to strive through
branding and marketing the culture on display for touristic purposes. The construction of the past,
allows for a selection of the past, and the ‘difference’ that the tourist seeks, can be experienced in
KwaZulu-Natal tourism websites. This gives the websites an opportunity to modify local traditions
and to make them more attractive (MacCannell, 2001). This process can further allow tourism to
“mark and market itself as having distinction, and identity” (MacCannell, 2001: 384). The argument
that MacCannell (2001) makes is that there is a tourism formula that occurs in how tourism
destinations are designed. KwaZulu-Natal is such a destination, the negative perspectives of the South

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16 https://encrypted-tbn3.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcTownsS5bazrp51j814hualU5IU7J-0QAwBf1k_4F1stWonki8idl
(accessed 21 February 2013)
African history are eliminated, and what occurs is “not local specificity but countless variations on the theme of generic locality, a kind of stressful existence that might be called ‘trying to be distinctive for tourist’” (MacCannell, 2001: 384).

Countless variations of culture can be found in Durban, where there is a thriving Indian community (Eastern culture), and as well a White and many English-speaking community within the city. The Zulu elements can be found in crafts that are openly sold on the beach front of Durban, also defined to a great extent on the Tourism KwaZulu Natal website. Indian culture, ranges from the wide selection of restaurants that sell Indian meals, hence Durban’s fame as the home of Bunny-Chow, a nourishing meal made from half a loaf of bread, filled with a variety of Indian curries (ranging from mutton, chicken, beef, beans). The architecture of the city is heavily influence by British style, which recalls the colonial existence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, what lasted 90 years, from 1820 until 1910. Durban also has small communities from the island of St Helena and from Mauritius, as well as immigrant groups from such distant African countries as the DRC, Burundi, Malawi and Madagascar. Even though there are all these cultures within the city of Durban, Zulu culture, in terms of marketing the province prevails, and thus allows Tourism KwaZulu-Natal to formulate a packaged cultural product unique to the dominant culture, but specifically for tourism. The destination is ‘painted’ in a positive light, and is a product the websites of Tourism KwaZulu-Natal utilises to create a reputation and perception in the mind of the viewer of the websites (for the intended tourist) (Dasgupta, 2011).

Fig. 5.4The KwaZulu-Natal battlefields route website

One of the main features of the Zulu nation is based on their historical battle skills, and because of this it has been dubbed as a warrior nation. The images on the battlefields website ensure to display major military engagements that took place in the province and former Kingdom of the Zulus and old colonial Natal. There is much boastful information of how the Zulu nation had a good military formation and discusses some of the battles won and lost, against their old foes the Boers and the British. Such victories as Isandlwana are promoted to display the Zulu nation as one of the most influential in southern Africa.

The semiotic analysis of the warrior image displayed, is to emphasise and unpack how cultural tourism of Durban can be seen to fit in the broader scope of KwaZulu-Natal tourism, and how a cosmopolitan city like Durban, that offers a recreation ‘beach holiday’ experience can also provide an element of Zulu culture (looking specifically at Zulu beadwork), and therefore to establish a consistent cultural product.

The appearance of beadwork

The appearance of Zulu beadwork can be picked up from various images and websites that carry information for tourists of KwaZulu and Durban. The craft of the beadwork is versatile in nature, showing an array of uses of beadwork and its beauty. As a distinct sign of Zulu presence and culture, the images are associated with the lifestyle of the Zulu people, therefore presenting possibilities of uses of beadwork and casting a significance on the product as a core Zulu cultural item.

The significance of producing Zulu beadwork images on the websites can be analysed through the dominant sign model as designed by Saussure. Through which we consider the Zulu Culture as sign that can be seen through the images, and therefore taking the form of words (Chandler, 2002).

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**Image A**

**Image B**

**Image C**

Fig. 5.5 A combination of Zulu beadwork images, that provide an emphasise of beadwork culture


The desire of the tourist to escape their realities and to experience other societies is rooted in their search for difference and experience different identities. The presence of Zulu beadwork, is therefore a sign that is part of a formal, generalised and abstract system of culture (Chandler, 2002), that can be ‘read’ as objects that constitute place and therefore allow the reader (tourist) to decode these objects as “in terms of their discursive functions...in terms of the significatory ideas bestowed upon them by linguistic concepts of the society of which tourism is a major economic practice” (Tavener-Smith, 2011: 96). For the purposes of analysing Zulu beadwork in the cultural tourism framework, we will analyse through “‘structuralist’ semiotics, involving identifying the constituent units in a semiotic system (such as a text or socio-cultural practice) and the structural relationship between them (oppositions, correlations and logical relations)” (Saussure, 1983, Chandler, 2002). Kaja Silverman (1983:10) explains that: “Saussure was concerned exclusively with three sorts of systemic relationships: That between a signifier and a signified; those between a sign and all of the other elements of its system; and those between a sign and the elements which surround it within a concrete signifying instance”. Cultural tourism of KwaZulu-Natal as tourist destination can be viewed as a sign system, and images of Zulu culture including specifically of Zulu beadwork can be viewed as elements that contribute to the sign system.

Meaning is therefore created within this sign system and the interpretation of the destination relies on the meanings associated to it. The interpretation of a destination relies on what the tourist can identify as what represents the community of the destination. KwaZulu-Natal, where Durban is situated, presents a binary paradigmatic code between its tourists and the host community, where the basic strategies of touristic destination are represented by information panels with the various tourism website and as well through the formal representation of the Kingdom of the Zulu brand. The drive for this relies on the tourism seeing difference from their everyday experience and in entering KwaZulu as a paradigmatic opposite to their lifestyles. The Zulu beadwork image than immediately differ from normal modern day attire (western influenced) and offers an exotic element. It ends value to defining popular traits of the Zulu culture.

This can be associated with modernity and the economic development initiates which Tourism KwaZulu-Natal aims to attain and to meet global standards by specifying the Zuluness of the province, excluding a variety of options that can be displayed: such as KwaZulu-Natal being an a modern day province that has cities that cosmopolitan and global. The presence of Zulu beadwork can be seen to be highly available and therefore creates an expectation and there are denotative and connotative elements that arise through this presence. The denotative element provides for the ‘obvious’ and ‘commonsense’ meaning (Chandler, 2002) which would conclude that the presence of the beadwork is that Zulu beadwork is part and parcel of Zulu Culture. The connotative element on the other hand provides a wider solution by analysing the socio-cultural and as well the ‘personal’ association of the sign (Chandler, 2002). There is a denotative meaning connecting Zulu beadwork
and women. Essentially Zulu beadwork is associated with how women use the Zulu beadwork to adorn themselves as part of their cultural attire.

It connotes availability an abundance of Zulu beadwork, and this research has conducted fieldwork with the bead crafters and or sellers of the craft, and there is a huge array of beadwork being available for the purchase of tourist consumers. Beadwork can further be included to other items that are meant to attract the tourist. For instance in Image C, we see a rickshaw cart adorned with beadwork which further connotes a wide variety of Zulu beadwork and as well the availability specifically provided for touristic use.

**Part Two: Thematic Analysis**

The thematic analysis for this dissertation focuses on the individual and group interviews conducted with the Zulu beadwork crafters and as well with the tourists that participated in this research. This allows for the data to capture important dynamics that occur in a touristic environment and further allows the researcher to analyse a patterned response or meaning that arises in understanding the notions of authenticity, with a special focus on how Zulu beadwork as a cultural source exist and represent Zulu culture, therefore establishing an authentic or inauthentic level within the KwaZulu-Natal, Durban touristic environment.

The data collected answers three major questions displayed here:

- How does the Zulu bead maker view their role in Durban tourism and how does Zulu beadwork, express and reflect Zulu culture within Durban tourism?

- How much value is placed on Zulu beadwork by the 'cultural tourist' (the 'cultural tourist' is in inverted commas, because I also intend to find out if the Durban tourist is touring in pursuit of Zulu culture, or mainly for pleasure outside the cultural realm). What are some of the reasons why tourists purchase Zulu beadwork and how does this relate to notions of authenticity in contemporary society?

- Do Zulu bead makers stalls create a social setting that is easily accessible for the tourist (open space- easy access for the front stage to enter and intertwine with the backstage) - and which diminishes a sense of 'authenticity' (for the Zulu beadwork)?

The research was intended to answer the above questions but the data collection process had to rely on the availability of participants as well as having to cater for the field experience, of which proved to derail the interview schedule; and was able to provoke further concerns about the tourism culture.

Thematic analysis will therefore allow the researcher to be flexible and ultimately the researcher’s judgement is necessary to determine what the themes entail; as such themes will be deducted from the data in an ‘inductive’ ‘bottom up’ way, as codes are drawn from interviews enabling themes to develop. (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The first part of this thematic analysis section, places focus on the Zulu beadwork crafters, as they answer on the historical perspective of Zulu beadwork, which includes their personal journey of how they were introduced to bead craft and where they see the
future of Zulu beadwork. This section will further provide information on how Zulu bead crafters understand the structures of cultural tourism and if they feel they contribute as they are cultural producers.

The second section of thematic analysis section will focus on the ‘cultural’ tourist. Will analyse the value that the cultural tourist places on the Zulu beadwork, providing vital information on reasons that motivate a tourist to purchase the Zulu bead work crafts and to further question the notions of authenticity that accompany cultural products that are widely available for touristic consumption.

This study essentially questions what the tourism industry rely on to brand and construct cultural products. The flexibility of this section will further aim to analyse, from the data, how the eThekwini municipality ensures to cultivate the cultural producers to fit and relate to the overall marketing of the KwaZulu-Natal tourism. Zulu beadwork in Durban can be viewed as a cultural product that exists in a more cosmopolitan, ‘sunny beach’ environment. The question to authenticity or inauthenticity will focus on the business environment that the Zulu beadwork crafters are faced with in order to survive a competitive Zulu (Zulu-Kingdom) cultural product.

**Interviews: Zulu Cultural Producers**

**Expressions of Zulu Culture: the view of Zulu Bead makers and/or Crafters**

The sale of Zulu beadwork through stall culture: Is it a way to connect the tourist to the people hosting them? This was my thought at a glance of the relationship between stall keepers and the tourist aimed to purchasing their goods. However, this study reveals that the relationship between the tourist and the stall keepers is based on the business of authentic expression (expected by the tourist). The tourist has their own view of what should be on offer, while the stall keepers, produce, what they know, and believe to be Zulu cultural expression. Therefore at the same time, Zulu bead crafters are faced with challenges of a industry that seems to be working against their efforts to sell their products.

**Defining Zulu culture**

The process of defining Zulu culture was to gain knowledge as to whether the beach stalls provide a cultural service with their natural knowledge of the Zulu culture, through Zulu beadwork. The conversation with the stall keepers was channelled into four questions, which were aimed at finding out, the ‘knowledge gained’:

1. How Zulu beadwork skills were attained.
2. To ascertain whether the beadwork knowledge was for purely a cultural purposes as being practiced through the Zulu beadwork culture (the everyday), or was it for the purposes of selling the craft to the tourist.

3. To gain knowledge on basic Zulu bead history, in relation to the colour process, a process that is documented as being the core element of Zulu beadwork expression; as it was used to code communication through the symbolism of colour coding.

4. The other element of Zulu bead culture is its purpose as cultural attire; the Zulu cultural purpose played by the stall keepers to enhance and reinvent the Zulu cultural attire, will also answer the questions of how the Zulu beadwork culture has evolved and fits in contemporary modern world.

The discussion of modern Zulu expression will further provide knowledge on how, Zulu beadwork meets economic challenges and how it has survived in the tourism industry.

Knowledge and historical perspectives: Zulu bead makers perspective

The total number of stall keepers that participated in this study was ten: two males and eight females. One of the male participants, who will be referred to as Sam described his gaining of knowledge of Zulu beadwork craft, through a small narrative, of a time when he was growing up as a young boy, in eMpangeni and eMtubatuba regions of ‘Zululand’, that he used to observe his elders, mainly female, producing beadwork. He further says:

…Hho shuthi nje abantu abadala abebevele bekade beyenza lento ngokujwayelekile beyenza, shuthi nami ngabona ukuthi engathi ngingayenza lento… Into nje into- like engathi ihobby nje into nje yokudlala abantu uma babehuku babeyenza noma ubani uma kukhona angakwazi ukukwenza kanti ekugcineni kuzoba into engathi ino msebenzi.

(What I can say is that older people, who had been crafting beadwork for many years (a long time), by getting used to watching them, I realised that I could also do it… It is like a hobby for me, to play with, when we grew up it was like a play thing, not realising that one day it will provide for us financially).[interview, 27 March 2012]

Peter the second male respondent, said he grew up in the township of Lamontville, based on the south of Durban, and his knowledge of beadwork was learned through an “arts and crafts” course. He elaborates that even he was in the “location”, (a term used to mean township), he could learn a craft that was seen to be something reserved for “farm people” (implying that he viewed beadwork to be of traditional Zulu people, who lived in homelands (apartheid laws referred to rural areas as homelands, and these areas were reserved for the black community, who needed a ‘dumb-pass’ (a sort of passport to enter urban areas which were reserved for European South Africans) , and does not feature for modern, urban Zulu people.
The majority of the participants alluded to the fact that their Zulu beadwork craft was passed down intentionally and for the sole purpose of selling the beadwork craft. Mama Zuma, a 43 year old bead crafter and seller along the North end of the Durban beach front, said she learned the craft through her aunt, when she first arrived in Durban at the age of 26, in search of employment opportunities [interview, 4 April 2012]. Mancebo learned the craft as she was growing up by observing her grandmother who produced beadwork for selling along the beach front. She said Zulu beadwork played a major role of her upbringing as it also contributed towards her everyday life, she comments:

I gained the bead craft because it was part of my everyday upbringing, my grandmother made beads, and it was also our livelihood… I know beadwork as a traditional and heritage source for black people as traditional attire. There is traditional as well as modern type of beadwork. The clear coloured ones (obunenkanyinkanyi), white people would wear them- as well to decorate themselves and match their clothes - (matching). Zulu beadwork is used both by Zulu people and white people, but the origins of beadwork are from Zulu people. People turned away from beadwork, with the thinking that beadwork is used by people who were ‘savages’ (amaqaba), and the white people took a liking to the bead craft. Sotho people and Zulu people have common liking and usage for beadwork. Like this above [pointing at an item] if it was a Zulu traditional skirt, it would be made from goats or cattle skin (isidwaba). But the traditional way is known to be less appealing as it can be ‘dirty’ at times. However people are still getting married, we thought when a person gets married they need traditional attire (as the one she points to), but more people are getting married through the modern way... [interview, 27 March 2012]

![Fig.5.6 Bridal attire, modern material as appose to cow or goat skin used for a married Zulu woman. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2012](image)

The skirt she pointed to as seen in the above image (Fig. 5.6), is a replicate of the traditional cow or goat skin skirt reserved for Zulu married women. Dress attire for women, according to Zulu culture was also a reflection of their status. The beaded skirt sold massively at each stall is a reflection of culture change and also attest to the commodification of the culture itself. In considering that Zulu
ethnicity has been displayed in various forms to promote and sell Zulu products (Presston-Whyte, n.d); the development of the beaded skirt could be a further positive creative element of the ‘Zulu’ product. This further encourages the idea that the nature of the Zulu product is derived from key items that the Zulu cultured or rather traditionalist use to express their Zulu ethnic and cultural identity. It was however interesting that to learn that the beaded skirt was designed specifically for the local tourist or rather the local cultural consumer. The cultural consumer would qualify as those individuals who purchase the items specially for Zulu cultural events. This could be inclusive of a Zulu traditional wedding (‘umembeso’; ‘umbondo’; ‘umabo’) the Zulu traditional celebration of a girl coming of age- ‘umemulo’; as well as the nationally celebrated heritage day (where this attire is worn by Zulu women to reflect their Zulu culture).

As an attire, the kind of bead worn could also reflect the status of the woman wearing it. In Fig. 5.6 the modern day bead which is made to cover a large part of the chest area is reserved for a married woman, or a bride (Mancebo, 2012) but it has also been used by unmarried women, and mostly for decorative purposes.

The use of colour and shape and design is not relevant today, as there is no meaning attached to the colours; shape or design used, and furthermore the colours are mostly used for decorative purposes. The most popular colours are used are not designed with a specific message to express spiritual or cultural concepts or communications systems but for ceremonial purposes and as a symbolic element of traditions and heritage of the past. Nokuthula, a 26 year old bead crafter and seller, elaborates that modern Zulu beadwork

is made for people who want to look good wearing it, and people who want to be respectable, as it creates an “honourable feeling” she further states that: “people wear it (Zulu beadwork) during cultural events and cultural celebrations [interview, 27 March, 2012].

For marriage, a woman would wear black as a dominating colour, black symbolising the beast that was slaughtered as a gift from the groom’s family to welcome the woman into their family (Mancebo, 2012), during one of the traditional ceremonies which are part of the wedding traditions, called “umembeso”21 (hence the traditional cow skin skirts, which have now been replaced by the material beaded skirts). The beadwork that would be worn would be made and designed by the bride, carrying messages of her journey to getting married (Twala, 1951; Mthethwa, 1988).

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21 Umembeso is a ceremony conducted as part of a traditional Zulu wedding event, where the grooms family provides gifts as requested by the Bride’s family. The groom’s family further gives the bride items that they would expect her to wear when she moves to their side of the family. Umembeso directly translated means ‘to be dressed’
The above image Fig. 5.7, displays the emphasise which this research confirmed that modern day beadwork was mainly attributed to ceremonial purposes and that the use of beads were for decorative purposes during traditional customs associated with the Zulu cultured. The young woman in white wears elaborate beads, as she celebrates her memulo. *uMemulo*, is when her friends and family adorn the young woman with gifts and well wishes for her future as she enters womanhood. *uMemulo* is a performative ceremony where the young woman and her peers perform a dance for her family with song with messages on her journey of being a young girl to being a fully grown woman. These songs reflect messages of intentions to get married and as well messages that thank her elders, who have prepared her for womanhood.

The element of representing and displaying ethnic identity in the cultural tourism sector is displayed through such items; where a traditional item is cultivated to reflect cultural aspects of that particular ethnic group. This can enable the ‘authentification’ process to occur through the knowledge shared between the cultural product producers and the cultural tourist. It contributes to the myth concept that cultural destinations provide and add to the imagined checklist of expected cultural products. Authenticity as a notion utilised in the cultural tourism industry therefore requires the cultural and heritage elements it carries. Zulu beadwork as a cultural product aims to provide more than an object to purchase a craft item but has other links to the everyday uses of the Zulu culture. The design which is now commonly found in the beach stall is genetic to the traditional Zulu beadwork designs but now mostly designed with a special focus to provide for touristic purposes. However the bead crafters still maintain that most of their products also aim to cultivate the modern Zulu culture, but creating innovative ways to ensure that Zulus who still practice traditional ceremonies have excess to the bead craft that they sell.

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22 Photograph courtesy of Phindile Xulu, taken 15 December 2012, at Seaview, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal
23 *uMemelo* celebrates the coming of age of a young female. Today it is mostly associated with a traditional Zulu 21st birthday celebration.
If we consider the historical period before the Zulu nation emerged, the Northern Nguni people who now make up the Zulu nation were formed out of colonial administration and as well as King Shaka’s political force to combine the Nguni and created a singular identity that was separated through the various small chiefdoms that existed before the administration. We can realise the change in symbolism and design of the beadwork itself. Each chiefdom for instance had a distinct feature and design (see chapter two), however the bead colours were similar and the bead communication system has now been changed to fit the consumer structure that is the current trends that fit the more modern demands which are aligned with fashion and trends of the day. Tradition still plays a prominent part in Zulu culture and modernity has intertwined itself within the traditional Zulu customs. The global economic challenges have been also addressed or met with traditional craft items being available for consumption through industries that allow for the purchase of these cultural items under the umbrella concept of economic development.

Zulu beadwork culture is known to be a cultural expression, and is often associated with tradition and traditional expression. This was confirmed in this research where the participants, always associated cultural tourism with tourism that involved the experience of traditions. ‘Cultural tourism’ as a concept was also not entirely understood, as form of tourism (that is by the Zulu bead crafters). At the mention of ‘culture’, the participants understood it as something that only refers to physical cultural expression- forms that only work to include Zulu dance, Zulu traditional food, Zulu cultural events, like “umhlanga” (the reed dance), but it was never viewed as a brand opportunity to promote cultural products, which leaves the question of what is a cultural product? And is the Durban ‘cultural tourism’ delivering to the tourism expectations.

Cultural tourism is often described and discussed as a form that cultivates traditions, ethnicity as well as authenticity (Richards, 1996; Smith, 2003). There is never a singular, direct meaning that all these forms found in cultural tourism can create a singular pattern that works to define cultural tourism. As a result the expression of cultures also depends highly on the individual culture that each host community chooses to promote and validate through institutions, such as education- through teaching arts and crafts- of selected features, and for the purposes of this study through tourism, where the host community is able to popularise items that are easily identifiable and linked to their cultural heritage and as well traditions.

Value of Zulu Beadwork through cultural tourism

In an attempt to understand the value placed on Zulu beadwork, the participants were asked of their view through the commonly used terms, in cultural displays in the tourism industry such as ‘cultural tourism’. This was to ascertain, the depth in understanding the implications of providing a cultural product. To ascertain what is ‘cultural tourism’, the respondents perspective reflected a conception
that deviated from most definitions of what cultural tourism could be. Sam (interview, 27 March 2012), elaborated that: “cultural tourism is about tourists who visit a particular destination, looking for cultural celebrations”. He also explained that their cultural interest is also extended to cultural heritage, where visitors want to experience events such as ‘memulo’. This perception is perhaps a reflection that cultural tourism in an a South African context has its own agendas and that the role played by the small business or service providers of cultural products, need to be cultivated so as to promote (local) cultural knowledge that can be appreciated and valued through the values of the host communities. This is because in a western perspective of cultural tourism included are other entities that previously disadvantaged communities or developing countries have not been exposed to. For instance, cultural tourism in Europe reflects not only on the daily lives of the people but expands to the traditional setting of culture, for instance the ‘museum’ forms an important aspect of a western perspective of cultural tourism. As a result, the local, South African perspective of cultural tourism should not be viewed to compete with the global scale of cultural tourism as these are different. For instance, “Europe has long enjoyed a dominant position in international tourism and cultural industries” (Richards, 1996:10), however the South African context can be identified as a force to be reckoned with, offering a different stance to its cultural expression. Within developing communities, such as found in South Africa; is a trend to promote consumption, and culture is therefore transformed and should be marketed through campaigns that are created for a new imagined environment. Through cultural tourism this is possible and the central objective is to create an idea “selling” a place and the nature of the product should be created to “[be] borne by local communities and expressed in at best superficial gestures towards genuine appreciation of a real sense of place” (Wirth & Freestone, 2003:1).

Cultural tourism within a South African context can be understood as a reflector of identity and culture. As explained in previous chapters, the wider context of society which includes how people acquire a sense of belonging is the foundation for how culture can be identified as a source or a foundation of a cultural expression. Essentially identity is vital in grounding how society views and understands culture. Zulu beadwork as a source of cultural expression provides a window to the Zulu cultural expression and through tourism, the tourist can indulge in that piece of Zulu culture offered by the craft.

**Understanding Cultural Tourism as a concept**

In an attempt to evaluate whether Zulu bead work crafters have a concept of the terms generally used to define the form of tourism that they participate within; they were asked as to whether they knew the term “cultural tourism”. ‘Cultural tourism’ as a textbook concept was to be differently understood by the participants. Their general response indicated that the literature provides distinct definition of the

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24 *Memulo* is a tradition Zulu ceremony, celebrating the womanhood of a young woman. It is often associated with the modern twenty first birthday celebrations.
concept where as in reality or at grassroots levels, the agents providing cultural touristic crafts and or experiences do not fully conceptualise the concept as it has been widely defined.

Cultural tourism broadly defined is a western cultural notion, where ‘culture’ as a term is frequently debated in a more euro-centric approach, forgets the diversity and complexity of cultures that occupy other parts of the world. In essence the values of culture are different and the cultural producers that participated in this research, through their understanding of ‘culture’ redefined the concept and the meaning that was a general view is of culture having traits of everyday living; traits that regard ceremonial rituals to define Zulu culture. Zulu culture is therefore people orientated; it is flexible to the current conditions of the people within that particular cultural identity. For instance, Mancebo [interview, 27 March 2012] is linked to her Zulu culture from the teachings she gained from her grandmother about how a young girl should be until she is a grown women, ready for marriage. However, as she became a Christian, she was influenced by her Christian faith and disregarded some of the traditional Zulu everyday rituals as they were associated with being ‘backward’ (*ukuba iqaba-as she uttered*). However, she still refers to herself as a Zulu woman and her understanding of cultural tourism, is not very clear in her answer to the question of whether she is familiar with the concept of ‘cultural tourism’ as she simply says: “Ngiyalizi, ngikengilizwe belikhuluma. Ngikengizwe kuthiwa yikhona okuyisiZulu [I know, as I have heard people talk about it. I have heard that, that is what can be Zulu].

This study to question authenticity was to understand or conceptualise cultural tourism as a concept from a South African perspective. Through the perspective of the Zulu bead crafters; they could explain their position within this cultural (tourism) industry and their position as cultural producers. This study further considers their products, examining whether they are authentic expression of Zulu culture. The notion of authenticity at this stage is therefore vital as the evaluation of authenticity itself is reliant on various stakeholders that are represented in a cultural setting. The cultural expression of a particular society can be viewed as the attraction and as well as a ‘difference’- ‘the other’ against the cultural expectations of the visiting tourists. Therefore the intercultural exchange that occurs in a tourist set up comes with dynamics that involve worldviews that differ and the authentication of a ‘cultural’ tourist product has that particular challenge to meet and the authentification process thus begins from this point.

Questioning the various notions of authenticity in the cultural tourism sector with regards to Zulu beadwork can begin at the point of identifying and defining authenticity. In light of the complex nature of comprehending culture and heritage as concepts that can have a universal nature across all cultures, this research shows that cultural perceptions and values are different and that it can be compared to some extent but does not necessarily produce similar outcomes. The view of the general
term of ‘culture’ as pointed out by the participants is not easily definable and cannot be simply detailed as a; b; c. Cultural tourism in this context can therefore include many contexts, which range from activity based cultural activities, to crafts such as Zulu beadwork, to art that has elements of ‘Zuluness’, to history of the Zulu people, and to modern day challenges that the Zulu people encounter.

**Selling African Culture in Cultural Tourism**

The idea of selling African cultures has to be understood as a form of developing a culture that has been previously disadvantaged and has been labelled as a ‘savage’ culture. As a result African society has to catch up and meet international or global standards. Key elements found in cultural tourism can be highlighted as being ‘heritage’ and ‘ethnic’. The question with regard to Durban tourism, does it offer elements of heritage and ethnicity which is specific to the Zulu beadwork? Through a survey of the KwaZulu-Natal tourism website and through the observation of entry points where the tourist arrive in South Africa, It can be argued that the presence of the Zulu beadwork is often seen and displayed for the tourist to view and possibly purchase the item as a symbolic token of their South African visit. There is a presence of beadwork and we can associate the product to having national elements as a South African token to take home after visiting the country.

This photograph (Fig.5.8) was taken at the O.R. Thabo International airport in Johannesburg (2 November 2012). It works as an example to show that the tourists are introduced to South African cultural products at their arrival through the service of curio shops that are based at point of entry for the tourist in places such as the Airport.

The other source which introduces crafts as cultural products to the tourist is that which is implemented and displayed through web images as found in the various South African tourism websites. In introducing KwaZulu-Natal, the Zulu culture is introduced with human images where a ‘Zulu’ woman or man would appear in traditional regalia.
Although beadwork has been removed from everyday attire, it is still a very fashionable item that can be worn with modern day clothing. Mancebo elaborates on the various beadwork items that are linked to cultural relevance. She identifies *uJiza* also known as *ucu*, as a popular item known to have been produced by a young girl as a message to her boyfriend, detailing messages of love and well wishes for their new found love. Mancebo (interview, 27 March 2012) describes two types of love beads, which should be differentiated:

*‘Ujiza’* is a string placed around the neck. In the olden days, *‘ucu’*- a string of beads around the neck, worn by young men. Before there was no opportunity for a boy and a girl to meet up and exchange cell phone numbers. When a girl liked a boy, she joined beads. There are two kind of love beads. The first kind is for the boy and girl to start talking, and that is named *uJiza*. When she has access to the boy, where they are now lovers and she has information, where she knows the boys problems, from inside out, as a girlfriend. She would produce beads that are more elaborate and explaining more of their love issues. This kind of elaborate string of beads- *ucu* is now called *isigcolagcola*, “akukho muzi okungakhulunya kuwona, nakandlwana kuyakhulunya (there is no home that has no commotion, smaller homes also have commotions)”…It happens that you fall in love, thinking you are the only one for your man (umuzi owodwa- single homestead), but a lot of other women speak for the same boy, so the girl would not talk much, she would tell all (or communicate her issues) through her beadwork, speaking through the beads- *isigcolagcola*.

With this view of the ‘love beads- *ucu’ or *umucu*, the Zulu bead culture is further cultivated to create a popular myth about the uses of the Zulu bead craft. This enables the packaging of Zulu beadwork as an identifiable product; to be possible and easily accessible to understanding mythical cultural ‘stories’ that go with the packaging process. The question that sparked a response about their clientele was the one that prompted knowledge on the market that they cater for; was that: Is their relevance as hosts to the tourists that visit the Durban area? The general response to the question ‘who purchases their product?’ was that Sotho speaking tourists, were constant and frequent tourist customers aside from the international white tourists. Nomusa [interview 4 April, 2012] was of the view that

> There is a one hundred percent good relationship with the tourists…, tourists buy the most of our product over the South African people, the tourist never ask for ‘special price’…White tourists consume our products and of course the Sotho tourist from Lesotho also purchase a lot of our products

The level of trading the Zulu beadwork proved to be a business transaction, where the tourist would observe the trail of stalls and decide from that observation as to which item was more appealing at that particular moment and consume the product based on their interest, known to them. This further prompts the question whether the Zulu beadwork crafters have had a particular customer who would want to explore the use of the beads sold to them and the general response was that tourists, already know the product they are purchasing and Nonhle [interview, 27 March, 2012] says:
My thinking is that, most people think of KwaZulu-Natal as a place of getting good bead craft...there are various cultural artefacts, like Zulu shields- ‘amahawu’...so my thinking is that people who purchase these cultural objects, like the beadwork, really do so while experiencing Durban.

Zulu beadwork craft as it seemed from the participants general responses is that, the product is self explanatory and reflects the Zulu culture. Mancebo [interview, 27 March, 2012] boasts about the use of colour in her beadwork crafts and explains that the use of colour was motivated by the fact that her clients always want a variety of options, and –“They (tourist) arrive; when they get the colours they are looking for. But we mix the colours so the consumer can have a choice of colours to choose from. It is not made for specific requests” (Mancebo, 2012). She further confirms that the intercultural occurrence (or relationship) of selling the bead craft to the tourist is only a business transaction, where she provides the bead service to a paying customer, and ultimately she says:

No one has arrived and asked about the beadwork process. When they (tourist) arrive to purchase, they only care for what is on offer, going for the colours they like and want, and they ask for the price, and take what they want. They complain sometimes about our prices.
[Mancebo, interview, 27 March, 2012]

Zulu beadwork crafters generally responded positively to valuing their product and were confident that their product was competitive in the craft market. They see their product to be what the consumer wants when they enter KwaZulu-Natal, and want these beads specifically to take home as an object representing KwaZulu-Natal. Their working is in a beach environment (recreational tourism) did not seem to be a factor for their clients to buying or not wanting to purchase their beads. Nomusa [Interview, 4 April, 2012] further elaborates on this point, by referring to peak seasons by noting that:

Peak seasons are the ones that are particularly good for business, our busiest time is around September, October, and as well the Easter holidays, as Easters are coming people will be flocking in.... December is always busy...

Nomusa further discusses the factors regarding official festivals organised in the beach area, but said that they (as bead crafters) never get appropriate communication about the events and end up being sidelined from business opportunities that they feel entitled to as they provide a service to tourists on an everyday bases. These beach festivals are eThekwini municipality drives to draw masses of tourist under the umbrella of ‘beach festivals’. Nomusa (Interview 4 April, 2012) comments that:

The beach festivals around June and July still exist, however at the festival taking place, we are hardly aware of the process to get involved with the festivals. The municipality does not include us and does nothing extra to include bead sellers.
Mancebo also feels more could be done to expend their sale opportunities, where she suggests that the municipality fails them during conference type events, and does not afford them an opportunity to sell any of the bead crafts, she appeals:

*Uma bengasithatha, basifake ezindaweni zokudayisela - basixhase. Umasihambile ezindaweni, sike sibathole abantu bethi 'sifakwe umasipala', usikhokhela umaspala njengoba sila, abanye abasuka kwabanye omaspala. Thina suke sizihambise thina. [If only they would take us, and sponsor and place us at these events, so we can sell. If we happen to find our way to important events, we find people who say their municipalities made it possible for them to be there, these are people from other municipalities. We arrive at events by our own means.]*

Zulu beadwork as a cultural significant item places immense value on the stories created on how the Zulu beadwork works (fits) in the lifestyle of the Zulu culture. As such the eThekwini municipality can be viewed as placing ‘special’ attention in maintaining of the selling of the craft as it can be viewed as an authentic cultural item which identifies the Zulu culture. During the planning for the 2010 world cup, However the Zulu beadwork crafters were of the opinion that the municipality made promises about their future as cultural producers but failed at the implementation of executing the promises.

The infrastructure that the Zulu beadwork crafter occupy were built and developed during the planning of the world cup (2010), according to the participants of this study, the municipality consulted with them and provided images containing plans, and explained procedures of the process. However at the conclusion of the project, the stall keepers were not satisfied with the new systems that came with the development.

For instance, Peter [interview, 27 March 2012] concern was the actual infrastructure- their place of work. He said it resembles a car parking garage and even after numerous complaints to the municipality, no further improvements have been done. He elaborates and states that: “I would say there is no progress, as we get work according to the weather. When it rains, we cannot sell our products”

The contention with most of the stalls, especially the ones based at the South beach area, was that they did not provide storage space for the crafts being sold. So at the end of each day, stall keepers would have to pack all their goods to a distant storage space, or take it home with them if they had transport to travel with their goods. The conditions of that particular storage space were also less desirable. If it rained, the storage space would leak rain water and the purpose of protecting the goods would be ineffective. The discussion with the Zulu beadwork participants therefore lead to explore and evaluate their working conditions. The general view to the question of: “with the new ‘developments’ that arrived with the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the new infrastructure, was there an improvement to the
running of the business?” Mancebo [interview, 27 March, 2012] response was less confident about the eThekwini municipality efforts to nurture their services to the tourists. She explains the storage situation as the extreme example of their contention:

Asikutholanga. Kuqala sasithi sihlela la, istorage sasi la [pointing at a nearby place] mangiqhubula la, ngizoyilayisha ntambama, ngiyifake estoreroom ngigoduše. Manje havele basusa le storeroom, basifakela istoreroom esingale, mangifuna ukuthi lempahla ngiyidase, fanele ngikhokhele umfana uR10, ayithathe ayise ngale. Umangininganayo imali fanele ngihele lexikelwele somfana, angimkhokhelanga, mhlampe uvumile ukungikelelela. (we never received proper support. Before, we used to store our goods where we work. Now they removed those storerooms, and replaced them with a single storeroom on the other side of town. I have to pay those carrier boys R10, to take my stock that side. If I do not have money, I have to live with that boy’s credit, and that’s if he agrees to help me.)

The other significant concern was regard the actual structure itself, as Peter had referred to the infrastructure as resembling car parking lots, Azanda [interview 4, April, 2012] felt that the older infrastructure with the thatch roof was more appealing to tourists and as well provided good working conditions, she says:

ngokwakhe umasipala likhulu (Iqhaza) kodwa ngokwethu sibona lilincane ngoba sometimes uyabo nje kuyimanje usinciphisele ispace kodu ufuna irent enkulu… Ziwumsangano sisi ziyabheda… uyyazazi izakhiwo eyindala? : Number 1, 100% ke zona ezino tshani kunalezi ngoba lezi uyabona la uma kungase kune imvula la… u-la nawe ungbona ukuthi ziyabheda ngempela ngona kungamele siqoqe sambe ngoba imvula iyangena kanti lezi eyindala imvula ibingangeni nhlobo.

(According to the municipality, there is development, but according to us, there is little development, because, as you can witness, as we speak now: They (municipality) have reduced working space, but they want huge amounts for rent… This is ridiculous my sister… Do you know the old stalls? They were number one, one hundred percent, those ones, the ones with the thatch roof. With these ones, when it rains… you would see they are ridiculous indeed, because we would have to pack up, and go home, but with the old ones, we never had that problem.)

The Zulu beadwork crafters obviously play a small role in the tourism industry, and the nature of their craft and business is not fully implemented in the strategies of the tourism development. This was a concern to the beadwork crafters and there was clear contention to how their relation with municipality of Durban as the closest unit of government that is supposed to implement structures for small tourism businesses to prosper in this local but highly national and global industry.

**The Durban Cultural Tourist**
The relevance of acquiring the tourist’s perspective is related to the nature of the interaction that occurs between the tourist and the destinations they visit. The visit requires the tourist to consume the culture that they visit, this is through. Consuming the culture does not only including learning about
the everyday, exotic lifestyles of the host communities, but includes the learning of their heritage and culture as well as getting to know and making sense of their identity as ‘the other’ to the tourists. The participants to this project were academic tourists, who were in the Durban area attending an international conference (as mention in methodology chapter in detail). During their visit, they made observations about Durban and its people, even though their view of Durban was limited to the hotel they stayed in and the places they were able to visit during their stay. Their input is mostly relevant for their choices to purchase or not to purchase the Zulu beadwork, more especially with regard to the Zulu beadwork crafters based at the South and North beach regions. The tourists were interviewed in two group interviews.

Group Interviews with Tourists

Experience of Durban: Zulu bead craft introduced
The experience of Durban and especially with regard to the interaction between these tourists and the beach stall keepers was an important element to examine and Khadijah [group interview, 2 August, 2012] summarises the general interaction that occurred as follows:

I didn’t have much experience; I haven’t really left the hotel… I haven’t really walked around very much…

The use of tourism facilities was evident, but restricted to the formal structures that are closely similar to the western lifestyles that the tourist comes from. For instance as the beach area has a street of restaurants with a variety of options which Omar [group interview, 2 August 2012] and Kevin [group interview, 2 August, 2012] include as their description of the Durban experience. Omar says:

It’s been like we walked on the beach and like had food at restaurants but that was mostly it; like we were a bit confined to the beach front and the hotel and that’s it.

Kevin (group interview, 2 August, 2012) further elaborates this point by also mentioning ‘street vendors’ who were just outside their hotel, his view expresses the introduction to the beadwork crafts but his response excluded giving a reaction or to confirm an interaction with the stalls that he had seen. He says:

Okay so we are staying in a hotel on the south beach, beach front and we are…..the first thing you notice for me when I got to the hotel is all the vendors along the beach front you know selling their products you know…and uhm we spent a lot of time there like having lunch at the different places usually along the water front along the beach there is a restaurant in the hotels so we went to a lot of different restaurants and ate a lot of different meals and we did not really venture outside of that tourist area beach front area.

From this we gather that there was less interaction that occurred between the tourist and the bead craft sold at the beach front. The feeling towards the beach stands in particular was that they offered a
sense of being ‘typical’ and ‘obvious’ and ready to offer the crafts, so the crafts themselves were viewed as not being immediately ‘attractive’ and therefore less authentic. Amanda [group interview, 2 August, 2012] felt that:

It felt a bit too touristic…at least for me because I felt like: no I would get them from a more authentic place—at the market; because I felt like they were specifically catering to the hotels (area) and the tourists.

Nora, further bounces of Amanda’s view by including that:

They felt more mass produced and whether or not that is true or not they felt more mass produced. As compared to some of the stuff we were seeing in Art galleries or art collectives or actual bookshops…

The presentation of cultural products in a touristic setting is an important element on how the product is then preserved as authentic or inauthentic to the cultural tourist. This was a further implication as Khadijah (group interview, 2 August, 2012) suggested that:

Americans like the idea of authenticity even though we know it is not real but we still like the idea, like not getting the stuff you just sell to tourists, because the idea is that you sell crap to tourists because they do not know any difference and so the idea is like we’ll go somewhere else, where maybe people, other people would be buying the stuff…

Although the Zulu beadwork found at the beach stalls was not denied its ‘authenticity’ as these tourists’ participants suggested, but they felt that the setting of being positioned immediately outside the hotels was a disadvantage for the value as an authentic Zulu product. The tourist could not rely on that product, the identity of the product relies heavily on the surroundings and the beach environment, sets a setting for ‘cheap’ products mass produced for tourists, who will not be getting the full value of the product. The trend was then for them to visit a variety of areas that offer a more authentic environment, such as ‘museums’ and ‘markets’ and ‘art’ exhibition centres in order to get the value for their money and the value of the product.

The experience of Durban correlates with how an authentic experience is valued in a tourist environment, such as the one in question. The participants confirm the presence of heritage and culture and as well ethnic entities, however the presence of such does not equal authenticity. The cultural products need to exist in a more ‘authentic’ environment for them to be evaluated as authentic. The ‘authentic’ environment in the case of this study is validated by the tourist themselves, and they go in search of places that they feel reflect or give them better value for their money and their experience of the Zulu culture. Therefore the Zulu bead crafters being positioned in the beach area in an obviously easy access to tourist, has worked against the value level of their product and as a result, tourist have
been seen to venture to other parts of the city to purchase beads which to them carries a more Zulu authentic value.

The above images A and B in Fig. 5.9, display a juxtaposition of what occurs along the beach trail. On the one side (Image A) is a typical stall, which not only provide beads that is the core of this study, but a combination of goods that a tourist in a beach environment might make use. Boasting sun hats, beach towels, swim wear, just to name a few items. The Zulu beads are amongst the mist of all these items. These items can be viewed as ‘cheap’ imports, and are not unique or ‘artistic’ and this to me as an observer was a disadvantage to the cultural products that were amongst these objects. The Zulu beadwork having being combined with these objects loses its value, and as the tourist participant’s negative view of the Zulu beadwork product could be as a result of the design of this particular trend carried by the majority of the stalls.

The second image (Image B), is a reflection of ‘structure’ and ‘order’ that is found in the hotel industry, found directly opposite the beach stalls that sell various hand crafts and so called ‘cheap’ touristic items. The hotels accommodate tourists and they are often seen by the crafters occupying the space (Durban) which both the hotels and the Zulu crafters are aiming to get clientele. The concern that was shared by the Zulu bead crafters was that they have often seen tourists in mass groups enter hotels and leave in buses to go and purchase the items that they sell in other areas of Durban. The perception that the Zulu bead crafters have of the hotels is that they manipulate tourists into thinking that their products are not good enough, and transport them to better areas like the Victoria market²⁵.

²⁵ The Victoria Street Market in Durban is described as a market that offers a blend of Indian and African cultures in an ‘ornate structure’. Mostly dominated by the Indian culture, as it offers a wide range of Indian food, clothing and cultural objects, it however also includes a wide selection of African crafts, from Zulu beadwork, to woodwork and woven baskets as well as Chinese wholesale goods. It is a combination of what Durban peoples are about. (http://www.sa-venues.com/things-to-do/kwazulunatal/victoria-street-markert (accessed 9 August 2012)
The crafters are also of the view that tour guides are also a source of their demise as they do not direct tourists to their stalls. However through my observation and discussion with the tourist participants, it was confirmed that the purchasing of Zulu beadwork went hand in hand with the ‘setting’ of the places where beads were sold. Having the opportunity to travel with the tourist group, I observed that at the valley of a thousand hills, where we stopped for lunch at a tourist hub. The purchasing of beads took place there in large quantities. Engaged in a discussion with Kevin (July, 2012) about what they thought of the beadwork found in this area, he said that he thought the beads were ‘similar’ to all those he had seen, but being in the presence of nature, and the huts that housed various shops, resembles an African ambiance, and although the beads were not sold by African women, he believes the store owners source the beads from women in the surrounding communities and that alone gives him a sense that they are ‘authentic’ products and will contribute to that community.

The notion of authenticity is an important element in a tourism setting, how it is executed and packaged for the tourist is key to how the cultural products are viewed and are seen as reasonably authentic to the tourist. The entire cultural tourist that participated in this research did not see the display of Zulu beadwork along the beach front as a true and authentic reflection of the Zulu culture. They did not make an attempt to visit the stalls, and the closest level of interaction was through the walking trail along the beach, where they were then able to have a closer look at the beadwork, but would not purchase as the general perception was that the crafts were ‘too touristic’ and were probably more expensive than they should or could be. The authentic element also assumes an ‘artistic’ element... of which the stalls lacked according to the tourists.

An observation of the stalls being in a long trail, and offering the ‘same’ or rather similar styles of beadwork, is that there is no sense of artistic individualism in the Zulu beads as found in the beach stalls. A solution for this lack of variety needs to focus on the market of the bead crafting, the market being the tourists who are in search of ‘authentic’ expression. Zulu beads have played a role as being evidence of the Northern Nguni clan being consolidated into one Zulu nation. The historical knowledge and links to how women were the backbone of this craft through a communication system that strived before the knowledge of western reading and writing, could be the same backbone of how beadwork can be seen today. Creating an exclusive product is what is needed to facilitate the process of product growth and product relevance as a cultural product to ensure and produce authentic existence.

Questioning Durban as the Kingdom of the Zulus
The conception of KwaZulu-Natal province as a Zulu Kingdom, has been discussed and evaluated to a great extend in this thesis. It is a key marketing element that aims to brand and identify the tourism product, which is for the purpose of economic development in South Africa. The process of branding
and marketing KwaZulu-Natal tourism as a Zulu Kingdom is beneficial to a wider scale of the tourism industry, and the small scale business (such as craft business such as those that concern this study), do not enjoy the benefit of this marketing branded product under the umbrella of Zulu Kingdom. The responses to the question related to acquiring: whether Durban can be viewed as to embody some ‘Zuluness’? Two of the participants, Jasmine and Kevin, felt that they cannot agree to being exposed to any marketing that exclusively emphasised this province as a ‘Zulu Kingdom’ and Kevin further says:

Except when we went on a safari to St Lucia and there was a little bit you know from our tour guide like the you know the African people but it wasn’t specifically framed as Zulu land or your coming to you know the Zulu kingdom like uhm I did not experience that marketing.

However Omar felt that there was a minor significant element of Zulu representation, and experienced this at his arrival, he says:

Uhm like it is hard to know because we have not been to other parts of South Africa to see but yeah it is definitely we got… like I got like the message that this is like Zulu culture you feel it, it is very pleasant like this is supposed to be the capital of Zulu but I did not really experience what that means… Yeah like you know from the airport from the marketing like from the name of the airport…

In interpreting these views, it is evident that perhaps the Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal does not promote the city to form part of the Zulu Kingdom, there is no substantial emphasise providing for this notion. However the sale of cultural objects is visible and that sets as an indicator or a reminder of where the city is located (culturally). Khadijah notes this point as well by saying that:

Well also saw from like merchandise that is available, like there is lots of Zulu shields…which are a bit representations of the fact that this is the capital of Zulu.

As a city, the participants noted on the diversity of cultures that exist in Durban, this being viewed from their general observation of buildings of religious houses and the general architecture. Their particular interaction with any members of the host community was also always connected to the fact that they were tourists, and members of the Durban community (which they interacted with), were not open enough to share more of their lives except for the tourist interaction. Khadijah comments on the nature of the diversity and says:

I mean my perception is that its damn pretty diverse and that’s mostly because we have been looking at like Uhm different kinds of messaging….when I say diverse too I mean like there are different kinds of people and spaces but I have not gotten any sense of like uhm exactly... and I know uhm like we have seen a
mosques so we know that there is a Muslim population here, we know there is clearly white population based on its class and there is an Indian population here and clearly black African population.

With regard to the touristic emphasise with the Durban environment, Smith [group interview, 2 August, 2012] elaborates on the local people’s interaction as he encountered it, he says:

To say the people who I have met so far are people at the hotel, uhm taxi drivers, a few people at the beach that I have spoken to and people here at the university and people at museums, I feel like in a lot of ways we are missing a lot of the other culture. And those people are largely service people who want to fulfil their service… in a taxi, for instance and its people who want to continue tourism and all the taxi drivers we have talked to have been like here is my number call me back; I want your business in the future… so it is that sort of thing…. yeah the people in that business sort of people that are a large part of people that I have been around with.

From the discussion with these Durban tourists, it can therefore be established that the cultural sphere of Durban is diverse and therefore challenges the outlook of culture as emphasised in the marketing of the KwaZulu-Natal brand. The cultural production is evident from a structured level, however there is a strong emphasis on provide a touristic experience and more specifically to gain economically from the tourist who visit.

**Discussion**

**Zulu beadmakers and their role in Durban cultural tourism**

In questioning the notions of Authenticity: Zulu beadwork as Cultural tourism: allowed for an evaluation firstly of the historical perspective of what Zulu beadwork entails in the Zulu culture and how it has become an important commodity for cultural production that can be utilised for touristic craft as a representative of the Zulu culture was significantly explored in the literature. Secondly this study wanted to further question the role played by Zulu beadwork crafters, specifically in the Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal, who sell the craft for economic gain and develop knowledge on their perspective as cultural producers and holders on cultural tourism. Thirdly establish authenticity which has been offered to be a process which includes the creation of an imagery to sell KwaZulu-Natal as a tourism destination (Pritcharch & Morgan, 2001; MacCannell, 2001). The process of authenticity has not examined, as to whether it offers knowledge on the grassroots cultural production that occurs in a touristic destination. Focusing on Zulu beadwork has offered an opportunity for this study to explore the nature of the ‘authentification’ process of Zulu culture, from a wider view of the meanings created through the marketing process of the KwaZulu-Natal provinces as a destination of choice for tourist who want to explore it as a ‘Kingdom of the Zulus’.
From the meanings created from the various tourism websites on KwaZulu-Natal tourism; a semiotic analysis of various images posted on the websites establishes a presence of the Zulu culture. A presence especially linked to the period of its origins as a ‘nation’ under the ruling of King Shaka. History of the Zulu nation therefore contributes to how identity of the Zulu culture is constructed to produce images that portray culture. Zulu beadwork has been featured and this study can confirm its relevance to Zulu identity as being key cultural item to defining it as a Zulu culture. However the meanings created are integral for establishing an identifiable brand for a specific destination, and KwaZulu-Natal as the Kingdom of the Zulu is unique and fixed for the province, which as a product is the idea that there is a specific culture, with a cultural service, based mainly on its tourism opportunities but mainly for its recreational experiences for the hospitality industry. Zulu culture is therefore an intangible product and the image of Zulu culture can therefore be offered through imagery of Zulu cultural traits, exploring various historical and heritage references to emphasise the presence of the Zulu culture in the province. However the opportunity to explore Zulu beadwork within this intangible product of Zulu culture, it is significant as a tangible small scale product that offers the tourist to purchase the object as a token of their Zulu cultural experience.

Regarding Zulu beadwork in particular, there is a mythical ambiance created in particular to how the tourist view this craft and the Zulu bead crafters know this and work towards an economical gain through their cultural expression. If we consider the view that Zulu culture is shaped by its living reality (Ivanovic, 2008), we can acquiesce the Zulu bead culture being integrated to modern day life, mainly through the innovative products that incorporate modern day materials to ceremonial cultural clothing. This is an opportunity for the ethnic aspects of Zulu culture to modernise and as well offer the traditional, past down from generation to generation skills to be reserved. Even through the ‘past’ which carries the Zulu cultural traits and heritage, can be witnessed through the modern Zulu beadwork; the modern Zulu items are not concerned about ‘what has happened’ in the past, but there is a reflection of the past through them.

The appearance of beadwork crafts along the beach area, and as well in all the outlets that sell and produce beads can be viewed as not having an individualistic element. The beadwork found at the stalls as seen through my observation are similar in style and colour combination. This study explored the genealogy of Zulu beadwork and discovered that evidence of different style techniques and colour combination of beadwork used by various Northern Nguni (now Zulus) was a key feature of determining and distinguishing each Nguni chiefdom. However, the use of beadwork was for similar cultural traits (or rituals) which are still carried today, through cultural events and or cultural ceremonial celebrations. The use of beadwork also included a communication process reserved for the Zulu culture, before reading and writing were integrated to the society: which allowed for instance-young Zulu maidens to send ‘love’ messages to young men who had proposed love to them. This research observes that the lack of knowledge or education about the beauty of diversity that occur in
Northern Nguni beadwork, works against the capturing of the whole Zulu beadworks nature and therefore limits the Zulu beadwork produced for cultural tourism to be limited to products that are mostly viewed as ‘touristic’ and mass produced by the same tourist who consume these beads.

Zulu beadwork crafters therefore find their role in the tourism industry to be hopeless. All the participants were concerned that their craft is not as ‘special’ as it used to be, especially during the 1980s as Mancebo remembered that “tourists would arrive solely for the bead craft found in the beach area as it was exclusive in that area” (interview March 2012). The creation and selling of the craft was and is today for economic gain, however the bead craft market has grown to include cultural producers, outside the Zulu culture; who know and understand the competitiveness of the cultural tourism industry and ensure to sell in areas that are considered ‘authentic’ by the cultural tourist, such as museums and art exhibition centres and cultural villages. Ultimately the Zulu beadwork found in the beach area are not seen as authentic, but as mass produced objects, solely due the nature of their setting and displays. Durban being a cosmopolitan modern city, the beach area is mainly catering for recreational purposes, and the tourism drives in the area are less about the Zulu culture. The Zulu beadwork however works as a token item that the recreational tourists can purchase and take home as gifts. The Zulu beadwork crafters confirm that during peak periods, they do have a significant number of ‘Sotho’ (tourist from Lesotho) who purchases their beadwork, but this is mostly during the peak seasons. The rest of the year, (and Durban is reasonably a warm city, so even the winter season which is the school holiday season, there is a number of tourists who visit the area, and especially to enjoy the beach festivals that are run between June and July) the selling is not as beneficial. The bead crafters have to pay a fee to rent the stalls, but they feel the eThekwini municipality did not consult with them appropriately during the construction of the stalls and for that reason are not happy with conditions of the stalls, which made selling difficult during rainy seasons, as they did not cater for
shelter for rainy days. Even the fee for the selling licence acquired at the ‘municipal support unit’ was not sufficient as they have submitted their grievances but the municipality does not take any of their concerns seriously.

Cultural Tourist: Consumer Values and Authenticity
Zulu beadwork is held at high regard to the visiting cultural tourist. In fact general African beadwork is renowned for its beauty and significance in everyday lifestyle of the various ethnic communities of Africa. The Zulu culture famously known as a ‘warrior nation’ is also known for its unique bead culture which was used as communication tool before the knowledge of reading and writing was introduced through western education. Even though beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal was in fact populated by the increased trade with the Arab, Europe traders in the 1900s, this culture has been a defining ethnic trait that the Zulu culture holds dear and still affirms the bead culture as an important element of the Zulu culture.

The sharing of this culture is then still maintained and through tourism, tourists can interact with the beadwork culture but are indeed in search of an ‘authentic’ kind of Zulu beadwork. In the age of globalisation, Zulu beadwork style can be easily copied by industry that mass produces jewellery. This in fact is evident in many retail outlets that are selling the bead crafts, in masses and therefore this is a challenge to the craft in aiming to retain cultural authenticity.

![Fig. 5.11 bracelets sold at a leading retail store, from a fashion range attributed to African ethnicity. Photo: Luthando Ngema, 2011.](image)

The reasons that influence the purchasing of Zulu beadwork are linked to how authentic the craft is perceived. Cultural tourists appreciate an effort of cultural ambiance as this confirms a different environment from their everyday lives (Urry, 1990). The tourist participants to this study viewed the beach stalls as reflecting a mass production environment and, therefore, the Zulu beadwork found in the area was not associated with it being unique and as such its value was not fully appreciated. The majority of the participants, did purchase Zulu beads but in places that were set in more ‘authentic’ environments. An authentic environment to them was something along the lines of art exhibitions.
The element of ‘art’ is a contributor, as this symbolises that the item is produced for a smaller market, and individual expression is emphasised, so the value of the piece reflects authenticity for the consumer. They also produced a number of bead crafts in historical museums, such as the one based in eSandlwane- Rorke’s Drift, and as well at the Valley of a Thousand Hills in Hillcrest area outside Durban. The reasoning for the purchase of the beadwork in these areas was that the rustic environment symbolised an appreciation of Zulu culture and the beads produced in these areas, were linked to an identifiable Zulu community, and therefore authentic.

Notions of Authenticity

An analysis of the concept of authenticity through the Zulu crafts culture of beadwork can be said to be as complicated as the concept of authenticity with a broader context of cultural tourism. In contextualizing authenticity for the context of craft culture such as Zulu beadwork, it is vital as Zulu beadwork has Zulu cultural traits. These cultural traits are sold and promoted for cultural tourism consumerism. It is vital to think about authenticity in the cultural tourism industry has been noted as ‘complex notion’ that plays an important function to what defines ‘authenticity’ for a particular destination or environment.

Authenticity and Cultural History

Cultural history is an important element in an ‘authentic’ cultural product. This can be noted as being an essential form of defining cultural aspects of a destination in cultural aspects of a destination in cultural tourism (Burns, 1999). However this study focused on a cultural product that works to reflect as a symbolic and influential product, representing Zulu culture. As a craft, Zulu beadwork features amongst competitive and more lucrative objects and that works to function the overall tourism industry (such as structured hotel industry, restaurant business that most tourists spend their time and as well structures like casinos and game parks, are designed to cater for tourism leisure). Though beadwork can be viewed as a small segment of the market, it holds a significant role in maintaining cultural, ethnic expressions of Zulu culture. In terms of ‘cultural’ aspects, Zulu beadwork as we know it today reflects a period of history, where the Zulu people as a nation, were being structured and ruled under King Shaka Zulu. The beadwork culture itself play a significant role in explaining and proving the existence of various Northern Nguni tribes that were later to form part of the Zulu nation, but through colonial administration were consolidated as on one Zulu nation.

The role of Zulu history is important in cultural tourism in order to build on the ‘myths’ of the Zulu nation, as “human thought has its widest freedom … man can think all possibilities and in myth his thoughts have freest reign” (Keesing and Keesing, 1971: 331). Through Zulu beadwork, myth in Zulu society can be found in how beadwork is described. Rooted in the courting process, a young Zulu maiden is said to have communicated through the beadwork with her young male admirer- where,
through beadwork, communicates her desire, hopes and future prospects about their new found relation. She would initially produce ‘ucu’ which was a symbolic bead item affirming their new found love. The construction of this communication process to be better explained and embraced in terms of cultural tourism has been described as a ‘Zulu love letter’. Mancebo a bead crafter, also went to in great detail about the various types of ‘love letters’ but confirmed that the function of a love letter cannot be said to exist in the bead crafts they sell today, as it was a personal message from one person to another. But replacers of the love letters can be found in forms of bracelets and beaded pins but not conveying a message, but for decorative purposes.

Zulu beadwork in Zulu society carried important messaging and communication functions. The kind (or rather types of beadwork) worn by a community member displayed their status in society as well as their ranking with that society. Beadwork was also worn as a adornment item, which is still relevant through various cultural rituals today, where the beads are worn in abundance during these cultural celebrations. The term culture is laden with tribal implications, and Zulu beadwork as a tribal product can be validated through continues use, as found today through the various cultural practices that further promote the use of Zulu beadwork (such as uMemulo, or uMembeso and or traditional weddings, cultural heritage events).

South Africa as a new democracy also embraced the diversity of culture, and through the heritage month celebration, South African ethnic cultures are seen to create a kaleidoscope of cultures embracing individual ethnic traits. Zulu beadwork has been seen to feature in most part of the country and including Lesotho as a valued cultural item, of African ethnicity. South African society has embraced and uses Zulu beadwork to adorn their cultural attires during such heritage and cultural celebrations. Today the beadwork worn across all Zulu celebrations does not seem to provide a link to the Zulu culture, being used as a communication process within the society, but works as a symbolic gesture to honour the culture.

**Zulu Beadwork as Cultural Tourism**

Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism can be said to depend extensively on images created to define and describe the cultural traits of a destination- that is KwaZulu-Natal. However the portrayal of Zulu culture is an intangible imagining of culture which works well through the marketing and setting up of development strategies; to create brand quality which appeals to a broader definition of tourism of KwaZulu-Natal. Zulu beadwork is a tangible cultural asset of the Zulu culture and the authentic value of the product is required for it to be viewed as an authentic object of the Zulu culture. As a visible product, well known through various images of the craft itself, and also through mythical tales of beads as ‘Zulu love letters’, allows for the survival of the product as having cultural value.
This study investigates whether the notions of authenticity can be reflected through Zulu bead craft; through the perceptions of the bead crafters and their potential consumers - the cultural tourists who visit the stalls along the Durban beach front area. The conventional meaning of authenticity (as a concept) can be subdivided through three meanings that explain the divisions and levels of the authenticity concept (Wang, 2000); that are utilised by the wider scope of cultural tourism: the first two are conventional meanings mainly objective authenticity and constructive authenticity. Objective authenticity initial and effect use has been associated with an ‘expert’ in matters related to art (appealing to an individual expression of art), therefore an item goes through various administration in order to be validated as an authentic item. The Zulu beadwork sold at the beach front, if considered as an objective authentic products, can be linked to the fact that, the crafts are produced by the crafters (who sell it as well), as the aim to gain economically. However, in terms of artistic validation, they fail to meet an individualistic element, as they resemble each other’s styles. The bead crafts sold do not for instance carry the historical symbolic reflection of how bead craft varied, due to geography (therefore resembling the area – of KwaZulu, where the beadwork could come from) and as well does not reflect an artistic approach to their creations, as they all imitate each other’s styles. In fact, considering the beach crafts as objectively authentic would therefore require an element of individual artistic and relevant to portraying African ethnicity. At the beach stalls, artistic value and creativity is further clouded by the existence of other objects that are factory manufactured items aimed at consumers who visit the beach areas (items such as sun hats, swimwear, sunglasses etc). Therefore the value is therefore diminished and cultural consumers (tourists) evaluate the stalls as having less authentic expression, this research validates this effect.

Objective authenticity for cultural objects such as beadwork is therefore based on two levels of authenticity, which concerns mainly the tourist overall experience towards the toured cultural objects. Zulu beadwork can therefore be referred to as a toured object (Urry, 1990) for the cultural producers who exist in a recreational environment. The beadwork as a cultural object (toured object) is not sufficiently promoted and the cultural; ethnic and historical significance of the craft limits its validation as an objective authentic cultural product.

The second convention of authenticity is named constructive authenticity and is known to have been formed social construction (Wang, 2000). In this instance cultural objects such as beadwork are expected to meet the objectively measurable quality where ‘things’ may not necessarily be authentic but because there are constructed as such in terms of social viewpoints, beliefs, perception or powers (Wang, 2000). This research can validate that the level of constructive authenticity was relatively low at the beach stalls, and the participating cultural tourist confirmed that the objects sold at the beach stalls, still appear to be cultural ‘authentic’ items, even though they could recognise the Zulu beadwork amongst other items sold at the stalls (They would not purchase the bead craft mainly for
the lack of authenticity created by the other factory items sold alongside the bead crafts). The appearance of modern or the combination of recreational beach items alongside the stalls diminishes the authentic value of the Zulu beadwork products found at the beach stalls. Perhaps Zulu beadwork products found in this area could be seen as authentic if the cultural producers utilise and work to construct the Zulu beadwork, providing exclusive Zulu beadwork products, eliminating the need to sell their crafts alongside other objects (as mentioned several times) and constructing a brand quality Zulu beadwork products, that appeal to the artistic eye and as well the cultural ambiance that these objects can provide (Salamone, 1997).

Constructive authenticity can essentially be negotiated with historical cultural knowledge, ultimately producing a cultural product that is contextually determined, appealing for instance to the concepts of indigenous cultures, ideology and political development initiatives for economic sustainability. (Cohen, 1988; Salamone, 1997; Silver, 1993). Zulu beadwork as a constructed product (specifically the crafts sold at the beach area), can allow historical knowledge mentioned in the literature, to be evaluated, and a genealogy of the Zulu bead culture can be established. The work to evaluate the genealogy of the Zulu beadwork craft, can work to contribute to the knowledge of firstly the historical styles, and this can link to how the craft can be developed as a source for craft development in the craft industry which many unemployed, yet skilled crafters rely on for economic gain. This can grow the craft industry and do away with the desperate attempt of including inauthentic factory items.

The relative reasoning that can be deducted from the lack of sales experienced by the craft sellers is due to the lack of ‘authenticity’, which the tourist consumers have validated as inauthentic through their expectations. Data reveals that Zulu beadwork beach crafts fail to meet cultural expression and therefore do not display culturally authentic items. The convenience of them being at the beach should not be viewed as a negative for the products, in fact this is an ideal space for interacting with the overall touring tourists, who regulate the beach areas, however there is a need to develop and increase the product value, and new ways to promote the product, as reflecting important elements that can be gained from Zulu history, and traditions. Considering the level of appreciation and significant ethnic Zulu being associated to the beadwork in KwaZulu-Natal, the craft can take any direction, as an inclusion of beadwork, and a touch of Zulu style (that is the design) can be inclusive to any objects and the product of Zulu beadwork can live and exist in many forms. There are therefore significant developments that could be taken to cultivate the bead culture to the benefits of the stall keepers.

Cultural Commodification – creating Zulu beadwork as an authentic product
Aspects of cultural Commoditisation (Commodification) are vital when dealing with cultural objects with an aim of expressing authenticity. The notion of cultural commodification is closely associated with the marketing process as a packaging tool. If the view that cultural commodification allows for a deconstruction of authenticity to address issues fundamental to destination communities and this is
taken into consideration- we can realise that with regard to Zulu beadwork, it does not apply because Zulu Beadwork as a cultural product is fairly recognised as a Zulu cultural product. However the consumption of the product is dependent on the location. If the location of the product is viewed as having a Zulu cultural ambiance, the product is closely regarded to be authentic.

As a community, the bead crafters are seen to be disempowered of their cultural expression as they often limit their individual artistic bead crafting to skills that resemble each other and the overall display of their work is poorly (disadvantage) presented and therefore portraying an inauthentic environment working against their cultural products. Whereas if it was authentically commoditised, this could work as a powerful resource that captures the vital elements that encourage an ‘authentic’ view which include culture, ethnicity and environmental aspects which are unique and symbolic of a Zulu culture- therefore not creating a doubt in the mind of the cultural tourist (the consumers- that these products carry less cultural Zulu value as they are adjacent to recreational space and as well flooded with items that are seen as cheap to the cultural tourist).

Ultimately notions of authenticity in cultural tourism are fundamental for cultural products to flourish and therefore the position of Zulu beadwork at the beach front has to consider the dynamics of the tourism industry. Cultural tourism specifically as it may be interlinked to modernity as the cultural tourist can still be found to dwell in modern accommodation and eat at modern restaurants, similar to the ones they have from their lifestyles (at home); as they toured cultural objects, their overall experience interlinks to the expectation to be confronted with thick cultural expression which cannot be found at the beach stalls. As a result, the Zulu beadwork stalls do not display their crafts as Zulu cultural objects as they are aligned with other non-cultural items and this is the main factor that denies the Zulu bead crafts to be associated with cultural expression and authenticity.

**Conclusion**

The evaluation of the KwaZulu-Natal websites as a semiotic symbolic carrier of Zulu culture ensures an understanding on how Zulu beadwork can be evaluated as a Zulu culture carrier and how it can be seen as cultural symbol in a destination that is heavily advertised and promoted under the umbrella of Zulu Kingdom and as well how the culture has embraced and promotes cultural products. However the thematic analysis of crafters of Zulu beadwork and cultural tourists who consume the crafts further explains the nature of the meanings created in the cultural tourism destination through cultural communication. Cultural communication is therefore a vital aspect and determines the value of cultural items sold in tourism. This thesis took to exploring the concept of authenticity as a source to explore the nature of the Zulu beadwork in a broad tourism sector, to examine how communication can work in a tourism setting that serves recreational tourism, but still offers cultural elements which
are vital to the development of cultural tourism from a South African (Zulu culture) perspective through the viewpoints of people within the industry, firstly the cultural producers— the crafter and/or sellers and the cultural tourists.
Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

Culture (re)defined in toured cultural objects

Notions of authenticity: forms of communicating culture
The communication process in a tourism environment, such as the one under this investigation of this study requires a consideration of the past, where the history of the destination is selected and packaged for touristic consumption. This study investigated the relationship between bead makers as the host of Zulu culture, and the cultural tourist. The study is concerned with how Zulu beadwork remains relevant and symbolic of Zulu culture, through a key search of the notions of authenticity. This study evaluates the historical relevance of bead culture amongst the Zulu people, and tracks the genealogy of the bead culture, and as well as explaining the political and ideological significance of the Zulu bead culture. Notions of authenticity are unpacked and their levels discussed. Authenticity as a concept utilised in tourism is afforded to the destination as a tool to describe cultural, ethic and traditional traits; however the evaluation of the concept with regard to Zulu beadwork, allowed for the examination of how the cultural tourists view and what meanings are created in tourism settings such as the one the based at Durban beach front, where stalls are set up for the sale of local items-mainly Zulu beadwork (dealt with in this study).

The value of Zulu beadwork knowledge lies in the true origins of Zulu beadwork design, and how the deterioration of Zulu beadwork meaning-changing from everyday item to an item of heritage reference and artefact symbolic of the Zulu Culture. KwaZulu-Natal province as a whole is described as the Kingdom of the Zulu. As a result cultural tourism in Durban is largely dependent on the semiotic of the images created in the marketing and promotion of the province.

Recommendations
South African tourism, in conjunction with KwaZulu-Natal tourism, is surveyed in light of notions of authenticity that can drive and enforce sustainability for cultural products (as this is evident in the marketing of South Africa as a destination and especially KwaZulu-Natal as the 'Kingdom of the Zulu'). Much investment needs to be secured for the cultivation of African crafts, so that they are reflective as African authentic products, validated not only on cultural and traditional assurance, but as a valuable product, resembling an ambiance of the Zulu culture during the creation process of the craft. Economic development as the key factor of the tourism industry in South Africa, has a further challenge of providing a sustainable cultural experience and as well (and mostly) ensuring that the
cultural industries, which are tools for income generation for communities can provide craft skills to the tourism industry that the cultural tourists appreciates and views at ‘authentic’.

The future of authentic toured cultural objects
It is vital that Zulu beadwork survives as a core element in KwaZulu-Natal’s curio industry. The reason for this is straightforward enough; the tourist finds it both appealing and affordable. Moreover, it is a reminder of their experience amongst Zulu culture in particular and as well South African culture in general. However, that said, Zulu beadwork faces the danger of being easily dismissed as being an inauthentic item, especially if sold at particular places that are not generally regarded in the public perception as being part of the ‘authentic Zulu cultural experience’.

One outcome of this study, regarding the ‘meanings’ created in a cultural touristic destination considers the setting of the stalls as being an important factor in evaluating on how authentic a product is perceived. So authenticity of a cultural object is dependent on not just the product being available but more-so the overall presentation of a cultural product. But other entities that are also important to the cultural experience of the tourist.

Zulu beadwork, as cultural toured objects, has the potential to grow as a symbolic cultural object. The key to the development of bead culture relies on strengthening levels of authenticity, so the cultural product is appreciated as being authentic to the tourist consumers. An artist element should be encouraged. The Zulu bead craft should be approached through a strategized method, to sell the creative and the unique stylistic method used to create the bead craft. There is evidence as well through observing the overall cultural tourism sector, where bead crafts can go beyond basic bead items (which are available in mass quantities), where larger items can be created from an interior design perspective, for instance, where decoration items can be created as beads, therefore creating items that can be incorporated into today’s modern lifestyle. Ultimately the bead craft has the potential to survive the modern world, as items that can be expressed to emphasise African ethnicity.

Zulu bead crafters should ‘commodify’ Zulu beads
The commodification of cultures can play a significant and pertinent role in how cultural products are exhibited and sold for the cultural tourist authentic appreciation of the cultural products. This study involves knowledge of how cultural tourism in KwaZulu-Natal constructs and packages knowledge derived from the traditional and ethnic elements of the Zulu culture. Special focus of the study, is how Zulu beadwork can be viewed as an authentic product and what meanings are created in a cultural tourism environment-Zulu beadwork being the cultural objects of the Zulu culture. It is evident that the area of Durban beach front stalls researched for this study, as a site fails to integrate and exclusively reserve stalls only for Zulu bead crafts (that is, if the stalls are inclusive of Zulu beadwork), and the inclusion of ‘factory’ imports worked against the ‘exclusive’ appeal that the
tourist is seeking in a craft environment. This, therefore, renders the products inauthentic. This was evaluated on two levels: First, mainly objective authenticity was found to be lacking; and, second, as a result of constructive authenticity (the sameness of the stall) rendered the products to look as if they were mass produced, even if this was not the case.

Zulu beadwork has potential to grow as a cultural product. The same process used by the marketing strategies of packaging Zulu culture, can be incorporated to exemplify how Zulu beadwork is presented and produced. With regard to presentation, stall keepers will have to develop their crafting skills, their Zulu cultural knowledge, and will have to gain more knowledge about their target market. Only when this is realised and acted upon will the trade develop into more than a semi-subsistence occupation.

In terms of crafting skills, the Zulu beads offered at the beach are genuine enough and can rightly be viewed as being beautiful and symbolic of the culture. But the fact remains that much of the work is repetitive and is ‘uncreative’. As one walks along the stalls they give the impression of being more or less the same. Zulu beadwork history, through evidence displayed at the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg and the Killie Campbell collection in Durban, reveals that Zulu beadwork has different variations. This spectrum is lacking on the stalls which found in the cultural tourism crafts markets, such as the Durban beach front. As a point of encouraging therefore the variation of Zulu beadwork in the tourism marketing is important to ensuring the development of Zulu bead culture. Past knowledge, in the case of Zulu beadwork, is fundamental for the growth of the product. As a product which seeks value and further evaluation as being authentic or inauthentic, the lack of knowledge about the colour combination, for instance (that is amongst the crafters) is a sign of their lacking vital knowledge of the genealogical significance of beadwork in Zulu culture. It is vitally important that this be recognised and action taken to deepen knowledge and further develop skills for a better cultural output, which in turn the tourists will associated with the myths of the Zulu culture, creating stories about the cultural products from Zululand.

Cultural tourist view

An integral part of this study was to gain the cultural tourists perspective on their view of authenticity and Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism. The general conception was that Zulu beadwork was a unique and symbolic item of the Zulu culture. However, for the beadwork to be portrayed as authentic, the cultural product had to be physically aligned with a cultural environment. Most of the tourists admitted to purchasing the Zulu bead craft in places like the market (for instance the Victoria Street market) and the Arts and Crafts Centre- Rorke’s Drift, as well various museums, where they attended Zulu beadwork exhibitions (mainly at the African Art Centre). Here the selling of the Zulu bead crafts portrayed an array of styles, and incorporated art as well as provided a great variety of items not only confined to neck, hand and belt pieces. For example, the beads were found intertwined into bags or as
ornamental objects - all this in interesting colour combinations. So variety of design and attached product offered an extended array of items to tempt the tourist.

With regards to the notions of authenticity, the value of the cultural product is an aspect that is important to the cultural experience as a cultural tourist, who is frequently a well-educated person. And indeed, the reason for the disappointing volume of the Zulu beads sold at the beach stalls is motivated by the lack of authenticity as perceived by the tourist. The setting of the stalls along the beach front placed them negatively in terms of authenticity and the value of the product, for they seems less valuable even if perceived as a product that resembles the ‘genuine’ Zulu beads. The tourist referred to crafts as to seem ‘mass’ produced, and the fact that it did not seem as if care was taken to the production of the items.

Authenticity Concepts as Tourism development
Tourism development for economic sustainability such as beadwork is therefore a specific recommendation to the development of authenticity in Zulu cultural products. Though South African laws and regulations have special provisions on how tourism destination should be planned, they tend to lack follow through strategies that focus on craft cultures and promoting craft skills which are essential if the cultural tourism experience is to be developed. Host communities in displaying and producing their cultures have to consider the growing sophisticated cultural market. That sophistication of the market is based on the nature of the cultural tourists understanding of authentic products. This as mentioned several times in this thesis as artistic elements to be a key factor on receiving and accepting cultural products as authentic. The second issue is the environment, where the cultural products are sold. Cultural ambiance, that is a different or even ‘rustic’ nature of Africa, is highly expected to surround the crafts that are sold to the cultural tourists. This is often a challenge for the crafters as the environment and selling spaces are provided by the eThekwini municipality, and this is what they have to work with. There is no negotiation regarding location or upgrading. The structures that the municipality provides are not reflective of ‘rustic’ or Zulu culture, as one of the crafters has indicated, they feel that they are working under ‘garage car ports’. And this in turn works as a disadvantage to cultural expression and cultural authenticity.

The other important aspect regarding crafts sold for tourism purposes are that the crafts representing the past of the Zulu culture. This can work to the advantage of cultural producers. KwaZulu-Natal tourism can further nurture the element by implementing structures that train cultural producers to produce items that are useable and follow the latest fashion trends and as well cultural products that are functional as curio items for the cultural tourists. This can enable products to have a high value as authentic products and as well maintain elements of indigenous qualities. The majority of host communities use arts and crafts to express their culture. But the crafts produced are becoming less of an everyday activity for those producing them. The harsh reality is that modernisation and the impact
of western cultures has had its impact. Therefore, increasingly cultural expression relies on historical knowledge that can be gained by active engagement of official government programmes, designed to research indigenous craft knowledge and developing strategies to inform the craft industry on improving their cultural products. There is no longer a guarantee that such knowledge is inherently part of the culture where generational passing down of knowledge is naturally expected to exist.

Cultural tourism is often described and discussed as a form that cultivates traditions, ethnicity as well as authenticity (Urry, 1990; Smith, 2003, Richards, 1996). Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism can be assigned similar traits and plays a prominent function in cultural tourism industry, not only for the KwaZulu-Natal province but for the National expectations as a key product representative of a South African product. Tourism as a development strategy needs to strengthen the relevance of tourism craft products and work at strategies to have relevant markets for these crafts to flourish.

**Conclusion**

This chapter provides recommendations that are relevant to the study of notions of authenticity and how Zulu beadwork can work as a cultural tourism product. There is no doubt that Zulu beadwork is an indigenous and cultural item representative of the Zulu culture, but the display of Zulu bead crafts at the research site places much concern for the authentic value of these crafts as they are often aligned with imitations and industrial products labelled as ‘cheap’ or inauthentic by the cultural tourists. Solutions to cultural production should be highly considered for the development of cultural products and cultural tourism. It is time for regional and national government to intervene.
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Statute
Appendix Section

Appendix A

Masters of Social Science: 100% Research. UKZN, CCMS

Topic: Questioning notions of authenticity: Zulu beadwork and cultural tourism

Interview Schedule: For beadmakers

Zulu beadwork History

- How did you gain the knowledge of beadwork craft?
  Ubani owakudlulisela ulwazi lobuciko bokwakha Ubuhlalu?

- The knowledge gained - was for economical benefit or for the purpose of celebrating beadwork as part of your culture or everyday life?
  Ulwazi owalithola- walithola ngoba ukhula nalo, njengemvelo yesiko lakho, noma ukufunda kwakho ubiciko bekwenzelwa ukuthi ukwazi ukukhiqizela abathengi bobuhlalu?

- What knowledge are you aware of regarding the origins of Zulu beadwork?
  Uluphi ulwazi onalo ngemvelaphi yobuhlalu (ngesinti samaZulu)?

- Can you describe or elaborate on your knowledge of Zulu beadwork production, for economic benefit?
  Ungacaza kwabanzi umlando noma ulwazi onalo mayelana nokukhiqizwa kobuhlalu obudayiselwa izivakashi?

Zulu beadmaker as Host

- Do you understand the term "cultural tourism"?
  Uyalwazi lelitemu elithi "cultural tourism"

- How do you see Zulu beadwork in the tourism market of Durban?
  Ubona injani indima yobuhlalu besiZulu obutholakala Ethekwini, obudayiselwa izivakashi kulendawo?

- How is the relationship between yourself as the Zulu beadmaker and the tourists?
  Ungakucaza kanjani ubudlelwano phakathi kwakho njengomdayisi, wobuciko kwamaZulu nalabo abavakashe Ethekwini?

- Who purchases the most beadwork from your stalls?
  Yiluphi uhlobo lomvakashi elithenga Ubuhlalu ngezinga eliphezulu

- To what extent does the tourist communicate about the product (Zulu beadwork)? What are the comments that the tourists usually make about your beadwork?
  Kufinyelelaphi ukukhononda kwezivakashi mayelana ngobuciko bobuhlalu obudayiswayo?

- Are there any particular designs that the tourists like to buy? If so, why do you think they buy these ones in particular?
Yiluphi uhlobo oluthengwa kakhulu yizivakashi? Ngokucabanga kwakho, kwenziwa yini lokhu?

- Do the tourist even asking you for what a design means? Do you ever tell them stories about what the beadwork means?

Nayayitrhola imibuzo ngencazelo yobuhlalu? Iyaba khona inxoxo ngobuhlalu, noma imilando eniyioxela izivakashi ngobuhlalu?

- Are there any stories, parts of your culture that you decide to include in your beadwork - why?

Zikhona izindaba ezihlangene nomlando wakho, ozixoza ngobuhlalu obudayisayo-kwenziwa yini lokhu?

- Do tourists ever stay and watch you make your beadwork? If so, why do you think they do?

Kuyenzeka yini uthole izivakashi, sihleli zibuka uhlanganisa ubuciko bakho? Ngokucabanga kwakho, kwenziwa yini lokhu?

- Do tourists ever ask you to make anything especially for them, that is different from what you regularly sell? How do you feel about this.

Zikhona izivakashi ezike zizele uhlobo olukhethekile lobuhlalu? Kukwenza uzizwe kanjani lokhu?

Zulu beadwork - Stalls along South and North Beach regions

- How has the Thekwini Municipality assisted in the development of stalls that Zulu beads are sold from?

Lingakanani ixhathu elithathwe umasipala weTheku ngentuthuko yesakhiwo sokudayisela?

- Is there a working relationship between Municipality and these infrastructures?

Bukhona ubudlelwano obukhonana nomasipala weTheku? (Bungakanani ubudlelwano?)

- How has further development within the tourism industry affected Zulu beadwork? Eg Shaka Marine World; Suncoast Casino, Sibaya Casino etc

Anikutholi yini ukuthikimizeka kwezokudayisa Uobuhlalu, njengoba sekune ntuthuko ethuthela izivakashi kwezinye izindawo- ezifana noShake Marine World,; Suncoast Casino; Sibaya Casino.

Who provides Zulu beadwork to high-end store, found at these alternative destinations?

Ngolwazi lakho: ngubani okhiqhiza Ubuhlalu obutholakala ezitolo ezidulayo, ezizime ezindaweni azakhelwe intuthuko?

- What benefits are available to a Zulu beadwork crafter based at these stalls?

Yikuphi ukusizeka okувulelwe abadayisi bobuhlalu, ikakhulu abadayisela kulezigodlo ezibekiwe?
Appendix B
Masters of Social Science: 100% Research. UKZN, CCMS

**Topic:** Questioning notions of authenticity: Zulu beadwork and cultural tourism

**Interview Schedule: For the cultural tourist**

**Tourist of Durban**

- What type of tourist would you describe yourself?
  
  *Leisure Tourist; *Heritage Tourist; *Day Tourist; *Local Tourist; *Ecotourist; *Cultural Tourist...WHY?

- Describe your tourism experience in Durban South and North Beach region?
- What is your conception of the description of KwaZulu Natal as the ‘Zulu Kingdom’?
- What is your perspective of Durban, and what have you learnt about its people and their culture?

**Zulu beadwork as artifact for the tourist**

- Were you at any point attracted to the crafts/artifacts sold along the beach front?
- What is your opinion of the Zulu beadwork?
- Would you purchase Zulu beadwork, please provide reasons of why/why not?
- How do you think Zulu beadwork reflects Zulu cultural heritage?
- In your opinion, does Zulu beadwork as a cultural product reflect ‘Zuluness’? Please explain.
- Have you been exposed to Zulu beadwork other than at the stalls that display them here at the beach regions? If so, what are the difference between the beadwork there and here?
- Do you feel that watching the beadmakers produce their craft adds to the value (authenticity) of the beadwork? Please explain.

**Local Consumer of Zulu beadwork**

- What are the reasons for purchasing Zulu beadwork?
- Do you know the meaning of Zulu beadwork?
- Is the beadwork purchased for decorative reasons or for cultural expression?
- Do you have cultural occasions that require the wearing of beads, Please describe and define such occasions?
- Who has taught you about Zulu beads and its meaning, how is this represented for the modern Zulu?
- Have you witnessed any change in the design of the beadwork that is sold over the years?
Do you have any knowledge of the 'Zulu love letter'- in the form of beads, and can you read such from the beads sold today? Is this traditional expression still relevant today?
Appendix C

Confirmation of Informed Consent

Project Title: Questioning Notions of Authenticity: Zulu Beadwork in cultural tourism

Dear Participant

I would firstly like to thank you for your interest in contributing to this research study. Your participation will contribute to a research study in fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Social Science Dissertation, within the discipline of Culture, Communications and Media Studies, faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard College, Durban Campus.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the authenticity of Zulu beadwork as found within Durban tourism. The nature of the research is to ascertain how beadmakers view themselves within the cultural tourism industry (Zulu cultural tourism), as they hold the knowledge of Zulu beadwork and produce and distribute the beadwork within cultural tourism of Durban, North and South Beach regions. As the cultural tourist participating in this research, you will contribute to reception of Zulu beadwork. The research also aims to verify the type of tourist that is to be expected to 'buy' Zulu cultural artifacts (specifically the beadwork) and the reasoning behind the purchasing of these artifacts.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences to themselves. Participants must also be aware that there are no particular benefits that participants will receive as a result of their participation in this research. The information that participants provide, may be used as experts in the final research dissertation. However, participants can be assured confidentiality, if need be. Participant's anonymity will be protected by using pseudonym.

All data acquired will be used solely for the purposes of the above-mentioned research study. Research data will be filed safely throughout the duration of the project, and will subsequently be housed at CCMS by my Supervisor (Mrs. Lauren Dyll Myklebust).

If you require further information or have concerns, regarding this research project; please contact myself or my supervisor at the following contact details.

Luthando Ngema

Cell: 0799621815

email: luthando.ngema@gmail.com

Supervisor Details
Professor Donal Mac Crecken

Cell: 072 3856457

email: mccrackend@ukzn.ac.za

Please sign next to preferred option:

May acknowledge identity _________________________________

Assure confidentiality _________________________________

Please sign below to confirm your informed consent

Declaration:

I (participants full name/ anonymous) ……………………………………..hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am taking part in this research voluntarily. I also understand that as a participant, I am free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences to myself.

SIGNATURE                                                                       DATE

…………………………..                                                   ……………………………..
Isihloko socwaningo: Ukucubungula imvelaphi yokuhlonleni bamaZulu; neghaza okulibambayo esikweni lwesizivakasha. (Questioning Notions of Authenticity: Zulu beadwork in Cultural Tourism.)

Mhlanganyeli othandweyo

Ngizoqala ngokubonga umnako owoxezile ngokuzihlanganisa naloulucwango. Imiphumela yocwango iyisidingo ngokuthi inikela ezifundweni zeMasters of Social Science Dissertation (100% Reseach) zomcwango; ezifundwa ngaphansi kwesigaba seCulture (Amasiko), Communications (Ezokuxhumana), and Media Studies (iCCMS), isigaba esingaphansi kwesigaba seikulu seHumanities (Ezabantu), Development (Ezentuthuko) and Social Science, ngaphansi Kwesikhungu Inyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natali, Howard College (Ethubini), Ethekwini.


Lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe luzosethenziwisa ucmcwangoinga kuphela. Lonke ulwazi luzonakekelwa ngumcwangoinga, kuze kufike isiphetho sezifundo, phambi kwalokho isigaba seCCMS, sizonakekela lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe. Umphathi womfundisnguLauren Dyll Myklebust, ulwazi lomfundisngu luzophelile kuyena ekuphetheni kwezifundo zomcwangoinga.

Lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe luzosethenziwisa ucmcwangoinga kuphela. Lonke ulwazi luzonakekelwa ngumcwangoinga, kuze kufike isiphetho sezifundo, phambi kwalokho isigaba seCCMS, sizonakekela lonke ulwazi oluqoqiwe. Umphathi womfundisnguLauren Dyll Myklebust, ulwazi lomfundisngu luzophelile kuyena ekuphetheni kwezifundo zomcwangoinga.

Umakwenzeka udinga ulwazi noma unezikhalo ezithile mayelana naloulucwango; ngicela uxhumane nomcwangoinga noma umphathi wakhe, kule mniningwane elandelayo.
Umewaningi: Luthando Ngema
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Imininigwane yomphathi:
Professor Donal Mac Crecken
Cell: 072 3856457
email: mccrackend@ukzn.ac.za

Ngicela wenyule okufisayo

Ibizo lidalulwe ............................................................

Ibizo lingadalulwa...........................................................

Ngicela wenze isivumelwano sokuhlanganyela kulolucwango.

Isivumelwano

Mina (igama/ noma X uma ukhethe ukuhhoxa ibizo) .................... ngenza isivumelwano sokuhlanganyela kucwaningo. Ngiyavuma ukwazi nokuqonda ukuthi okuphakathi kwalomqulu kuchazani; nokuthi lolucwangingo lucwaningani.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ukuzhlanganisa nalolucwango kungokwefuza yami. Ngiyavuma ukuthi ngingakwazi ukuhhoxa kulolucwango, ngokwefuza yami, noma ingasiphi isikhathi engisifisayo.

SAYINA LA                                          USUKU LOKUSAYINA

..............................                                                       ..............................
Appendix D: Ethical Clearance Letter

20 July 2011

Ms L Ngema (203507660)
School of Literary Studies, Media and Creative Arts
Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Ngema

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0572/011M
PROJECT TITLE: Questioning Notions of Authenticity: Zulu Beadwork as Cultural Tourism

In response to your application dated 15 July 2011, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

[Signature]

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor: Mrs L Dyll-Myklebust
cc. Mrs S van der Westhuizen, Post-Graduate Office