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THE CONTRADICTIONS AND CONTESTATIONS IN POLICY PRODUCTION AND ELABORATION OF POLICY FOR THE TRAINING OF TOURIST GUIDES IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature

Date 7/09/02
ABSTRACT

An analysis of policy production and policy elaboration for the training of tourist guides with a focus on the Standards Generating Body for Guiding

This study examines the play of discourses and the range of discourses operating in and jockeying for power and turf within the processes of policy production and policy elaboration for the training of tourist guides in South Africa. The different structures of the National Qualifications Framework as well as the other players possessing political, economic and cultural capital in the tourist guiding field are investigated. The past and present systems of tourist guide training are also considered - together with an exploration of the development of the new tourist guiding qualification.

Data was collected through interviews, textual policy, internet research and policy implementation documents. The findings indicate that certain anomalies exist between policy and the implementation thereof. The specific kinds of powerplays, mismatches and inequalities which have been created or addressed are investigated and appropriate conclusions drawn with reference to the theories of power and reflexive sociology of Foucault and Bourdieu.
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To my family:
"Je commence à comprendre ..."
Thank you Harold, Tanya, Shana and Oren for always being there.
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"As the new millennium approaches, education has become more important than ever before in influencing how well individuals, communities and nations fare. The world is undergoing changes that make it much more difficult to thrive without the skills and tools that a high quality education provides. Education will determine who has the keys to the treasures the world can furnish" (World Bank: Education Sector Strategy 1999).

Policy development in South Africa after 1994, as the works of De Clercq (1997) and Muller (2000) show, has been pivotal in the reshaping and the restructuring of the South African society. As stated by Soudien (2002):

Using policy, particularly in the form of legislation, the South African Government has sought to construct a comprehensive platform to facilitate the emergence of new social practices and social relations. Beginning with the Constitution in 1996, the State developed new policy in a whole range of areas from the environment to education. In each of these areas, guidelines and procedures were laid out for the redevelopment of practice. These developments have been critical in so far as they have carried the political interests of the new State. But they have, also, not been without their contradictions.

In this dissertation I am concerned with the specific difficulties and issues which are accompanying the development of policy in the tourist guiding field.

My involvement in the tourism industry as a trainer of tourist guides over the past six years has led to many questions about the past and current tourist guide educational systems. The previous system for the training of tourist guides in the 1990s was, in effect, based on an approach which emphasised the effectiveness of the trainer, the trainer's material, and the skill of preparing the learner guide for the external South African Tourism Board (SATOUR) Panel Examination.

The course content for training guides included: an introduction to tourism and tourist guiding; principles and practices of tourist guiding (this was a module written by SATOUR and a copy was purchased for each student); history (this emphasised European historical influence); geography; environment and ecotourism; architecture (especially
European influence); communication; wine (compulsory for Cape Town guides only); tour routes and itineraries and a First Aid course (CPR and emergency procedures). The First Aid and Wine courses were both examined and certificated by SATOUR accredited specialist trainers. All tourist guiding material was examined by the trainer through the use of various assessment methods (including written examination, practical role plays, and visual identification of sites). No standardisation of assessment methods was effected. The learner was only entered for the SATOUR External Panel Examination when he/she had achieved a certain result in the internal examination (the percentage required varied with different trainers).

Pedagogically, control lay totally in the hands of the trainers - many of whom had minimal or no educational training. This resulted in tourist guides being trained in the same habits and skills in guiding as the "trainer". This was, however, a vast improvement on the previous method of training, used in the 1980s, when a learner guide simply had to accompany a registered guide for a few tours, and was then allowed to practise as a qualified guide nationally. Problems with this approach - its lack of explicit structure, standards and objectives - had resulted in the SATOUR external Panel Examination being introduced in the 1990s.

As a registered trainer of tourist guides under the SATOUR system of the 1990s, I became aware of the many problems in this field of education and training. These included, inter alia:

The lack or unsuitability of educational qualifications of the trainers;
The difference in instruction, facilitation, and examination effected by different trainers;
The difference in materials - content, quality and quantity - provided by different trainers;
The differing lengths of the courses (for example, the number of hours could vary from 40 hours to over 100 hours), although the content for examination was similar;
The lack of practical skills training for guiding in the training curriculum (for example, use of microphones and techniques to assist tourists on and off coaches);
The lack of practical skills in guiding of some of the trainers (for example, some trainers had never actually conducted a guided tour);
The lack of on-board training facilities for the training of guides (for example, coaches);
The lack of any curriculum and outcomes; and
The lack of an educational qualification on completion of the course - the guide simply received a badge which was renewable annually on payment of a fee.
Representations were made in the late 1990s by the Western Cape Tourist Guide Trainers Forum to the National Registrar of Tourist Guides at SATOUR in Pretoria, but this resulted in minimal changes being effected. During this time there were many changes being introduced in the education and training arena which included the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act No 58 of 1995, as the past educational system which the new South Africa had inherited was marked by many inequalities. As a result, there were issues that required immediate attention so that redress and equity could be effected. Moletsane (2000) makes the point that we are not coming from a "normal" past, and that we need to take cognisance of the disparities that have come with this past.

1.1 Education and Tourism Policy - an introduction

1.1.1 Education Policy

Many initiatives were instigated from the 1970s to the 1990s to suggest and to initiate change in the education and training sector, and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) can be seen to trace its origins back to the labour movement of the early 1970s (The National Qualifications Framework: An Overview 2001:2). These initiatives included the introduction of the Private Sector Education Council in November 1989 which consisted of organisations which would "formalise and unify the action that is required to get what employers want from South Africa's education system" (PRISEC 1990:2). However, from the early 1970s, the labour movement struggled against employers who were not prepared to pay living wages to workers that the employers deemed to be unskilled. The black workers saw training as a way to achieve their demand for better wages and, in 1989, a research group comprising workers and union officials, was established by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA). They formulated an integrated proposal which was based on the assumption that skills development would lead to the payment of better wages. It emphasised portability of skills, national recognition of training, and the need for basic education, and linked wage increments to staged improvements in skills. In July 1991 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which had become a leading advocate of a systematic approach to upgrading and diversifying the skills both of workers and work-seekers, adopted this proposal (NEPI 1993). The proposal was intended as being based on a 'high-participation, high-skill' strategy and also focused on training, women workers and adult basic education.
Student protests and demands for change in education also occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. A Task Team which included representation from the State, employers, the trade unions, the ANC Education Department and providers of education and training, worked together from 1992 on a new integrated framework for education. This was called the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). At the same time, the National Educational Policy Initiative (NEPI), which was primarily made up of Academics and Non-Governmental Education sector members, undertook a study and generated reports and a framework which were based on a non-racial and a unitary system of education and training. The 1993 report generated by this initiative stated that "South Africa's economy has been in crisis for the past two decades, and growth rates have declined dramatically" and that "labour markets in South Africa are segmented on the basis of class divisions, production systems, and gender" (NEPI 1993:168-169). Further, the report continued with the following:

Human resources development is central to meeting the twin challenges of restoring economic growth and improving income distribution in the South African economy. Education and training contribute to skills and productivity, and thus underpin long-term economic growth... Recent policy proposals of all major political players share a commitment to revitalization of education and training as part of a long-term development strategy. (NEPI 1993:133)

The alliance of NEPI members, together with COSATU, continued into 1994. At the same time as the NEPI process was unfolding, the state had initiated the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS). The ERS promoted the idea of general formative education for the first nine years of schooling, followed by a differentiated further education phase made up of three streams - vocational, academic and that which was vocationally-orientated. This was viewed as problematic by the liberation movement which saw it promoting a differentiated, tripartite education system. According to the literature, this tripartite system had not been successfully implemented internationally (with a few exceptions) (NEPI 1993:171). The ERS was thus viewed as an attempt to limit access to higher education of 'high risk' students - rather than to promote more equitable access to higher education institutions.

Three publications emanated from the Task team in 1994 viz. the ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training; the Discussion Document on a National Training Strategy Initiative; and the CEPD Implementation Plan for Education and Training. These laid the foundation for the White Papers for Reconstruction and
Development (1994) and Education and Training (1995). The White Paper on Education and Training, in turn, led to the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) Act (No. 58 of 1995) which was passed into law on the 4th of October 1995. SAQA's Mission was: "to ensure the development of a National Qualifications Framework which contributes to the full development of each learner and to the social and economic development of the nation at large" (The NQF and SETAs brochure).

This SAQA Act outlined the objectives of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) - a "set of principles and guidelines by which records of learner achievements are registered to enable national recognition of acquired skills and knowledge, thereby ensuring an integrated system that encourages life-long learning" (The National Qualifications Framework: An Overview undated:1).

The purpose of the NQF was to transform education and training in South Africa. Further, it sought, and still seeks, to bring the separate education and training systems into a single system; to allow for learners to move and progress easily within it; to redress gender and equity situations of the past; to improve the quality of education and training; and to support the economic and social development of South Africa.

The NQF was created to address specific systemic features of South Africa's educational structure viz. inequity, a lack of quality, and inadequate participation by stakeholders. It presents itself as a dynamic and flexible system which allows all learning - whether formal, informal or workplace-based - to be made to count. This encourages the development of learning which is relevant and of value to the individual, the economy and society.

Internationally, the importance of education is emphasised by the World Bank (1999) as it suggests that education improves peoples' lives and reduces poverty. Education: has become more important than ever before in influencing how well individuals, communities and nations fare. The world is undergoing changes that make it much more difficult to thrive without the skills and tools that a high quality education provides. Education will determine who has the keys to the treasures the world can furnish. (World Bank 1999:1)
However, the gap between the "have" and "have nots" is growing (Carnoy 2001) - and the importance of cultural capital (qualifications and skills) is becoming more important than ever in the new millennium. South Africa must have the ability to move into the Information Age where the whole society needs to be able to assimilate and process complex information (Castells 1998). Unless this occurs, states Castells, South Africa could become part of the "Fourth World" (Castells 1998).

1.1.2 Tourism and Tourist Guiding Policy

The ability to move into the Information Age is particularly important in the most dynamic part of the world economy: tourism. The value of the international travellers' spending (excluding the cost of travel to destinations) was USD 476 billion in 2000; and international travel and tourism totalled nearly 8% of world export earnings - the largest single category of world trade. What is more, international tourism has grown from 25 million people in 1950 to 698 million people in 2000 (Mintel 2001:69).

Internationally, a range of programmes (formal and employer-based) has developed over the years to meet the diverse skill and knowledge needs of the industry. The results of the Total Education and Quality (TEDQUAL) study of 1996 by the World Tourism Organisation indicated that problems in the industry included, inter alia, a lack of co-ordination in tourism education and of awareness of post secondary programmes in tourism; and a lack of performance standards and credentialling processes. In the United Kingdom, training through transference of skills; creating a more informed staff; and developing the new skills and knowledge needed by the next generation through formal education (e.g. the tourism National Vocational Qualification (NVQ)) have been put forward as possible solutions by the Educational Policy Department of the Department for International Development in England (DFID) (DFID undated:unnumbered).

The tourism industry in South Africa came into being in 1906 with the growth of the South African Railways. Minimal focus was placed on the industry until 1983, when elements of the Department of Commerce and Industry, the South African Tourist Board and the Hotel Board were amalgamated to form the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR), giving the industry much more structure. A report (which served as the basis of a White Paper) was put forward by the Development Bank of South Africa and SATOUR in 1991. This report led to the Tourism Act (No 72) of 1993 which replaced all previous Acts. In 1996 the White Paper titled "Development and Promotion of Tourism
in South Africa” was released, and was further developed into "Tourism in GEAR" in 1996. This resulted in the Tourism Amendment Act (No 105) of 1996, and the Second Amendment Bill of 2001 which brought tourism education and training in line with the SAQA Act of 1995.

Within the tourism and tourist guiding education sector these policy documents resulted in the establishment of:

- the National Standards Body (NSB) 11:Services;
- the Standards Generating Body (SGB): Tourism:Guiding; and
- the Education and Training Quality Assurance Body (ETQA)/Tourism Hospitality Education Training Authority (THETA) (SETA No 25).

Tourist guide trainers, including myself, were positive regarding these new developments, and looked forward to assisting in the transformation of the tourist guiding industry with our combined knowledge and expertise. The trainers immediately organised a Working Group for the Western Cape representing many role players involved in the tourist guiding industry, including representatives of the five main groups as defined by policy. Meetings of the Working Group were held under the auspices of the Western Cape Tourism Board. A proposal recommending unit standards was formulated (and later forwarded to the appointed SGB), and nominations for SGB members were forwarded to SAQA by the Working group. At a meeting held at Kirstenbosch after the appointment of the SGB members, it was publicly stated by a THETA representative that these nominations had been discounted out of hand by the selection committee as some were deemed not being acceptable as they were not "politically correct". When the new qualification for Tourist Guiding was published, it became apparent that the new SGB in Tourism:Guiding had ignored the recommended unit standards put forward by the Working Group.

Concurrently, the Tourism Amendment Bill states that:

The training required for a qualification mentioned in section 21A(4), shall follow the National Qualifications Framework contemplated in the South African Qualifications Authority Act, 1995 (Act No. 58 of 1995), and the national standards and qualifications registered for the tourism sector as contemplated in section 5(1) of that Act. (1999:6)
Every tourist guide must therefore be in possession of the new National Certificate in Tourism: Guiding in order to register and to practise as a tourist guide in South Africa. As an educational qualification registered with SAQA became a pre-requisite to register as a professional tourist guide with DEAT, a synergy formed between education and training and tourism.

In South Africa the Government policy framework, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), has given tourism a prominent role in the building of the economy through foreign currency generation and employment. Tourism is favoured by the State as a development tool, and as an agent for social change as it encourages people to share their beliefs, to co-exist and to understand and to appreciate one another's cultures.

The tourism experience of sharing and learning is especially developed by the tourist guide as the person who creates the experience for the tourist. The tourists are often a "captive audience". The information disseminated will be retold by tourists when returning to their homes - and this will, in turn, affect the lucrative "second time visitor" market. It is this strategy which constructs the tourism discourse. Thus it is critical that tourist guides are competent and knowledgeable, and that the tourist guiding education and training process serves the tourists' needs and reflects the redress, portability and mobility needs contained in the NQF. Historically the competence and knowledge of tourist guides could be questioned, as the curriculum (what counts as valid knowledge) and pedagogy (transmission of knowledge) were developed and controlled individually by the providers, who were accredited yearly by SATOUR. Only the final examination for tourist guides - the SATOUR Panel - was constituted externally, but the examiners themselves were all accredited tourist guides. Thus the discourse of the past was reinforced.

The report prepared by/for the new Standards Generating Body (SGB) for Tourist Guiding (2000) requires that the following issues should receive attention for transformation in the profession: discrimination; skills development; gender and racial issues; poor service ethics; poor access; and poor quality of guiding experience. These issues suggest that the result of the framing of the discourse by the guides strongly reflects the curriculum of the past. The interaction and the lack of ideological neutrality has also been referred to by Katriel in Handelman (2001) in his discussion of the interpretative frames presented by guides in Israel.
The transformation issues resulted in the new Unit Standards and Qualifications not only being in line with the National Qualifications Framework so that the new tourist guide qualification "facilitates access to, and mobility and progression within, education, training and career paths"; but also accelerated "the redress of past unfair discrimination in education, training and employment opportunities" and contributed to "the full personal development of each learner and the social and economic development of the nation at large" (NQF and Standards Setting 2000:4).

It is of importance to review the education and training and tourism policies in the light of the effect of implementation, and this will now be considered as no previous analysis has been attempted on how policy is produced and implemented for the Sub-field: Tourist Guiding.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

What are the contradictions and contestations in policy production and the elaboration of policy for the training of tourist guides in South Africa?

In order to address this question, an assessment of particular sub-questions is necessary:

1. Who are the basic stakeholders in the policy production and elaboration processes?
2. What are the statutory and other administrative structures that mediate policy?
3. How are these policy positions mediated in the production and elaboration processes?
4. How are these positions translating into policy?
5. What is the role and mandate of the Standards Generating Body in the interpretation of government policy?

In this investigation the way in which the structures are mandated to articulate with one another and are intended to work will be described. The examination proceeds from the assumptions that processes of policy production are intensely contested. Policy processes bring together players with a range of interests that are framed by class, colour, and political orientation. Inevitably, interests collide and this results in the production of factions and groups who represent a multiplicity of discourses. How power works in this situation will be the primary object of analysis. The guiding discourse will initially be investigated through the use of Reflexive Sociology as used by Bourdieu. In this analysis it is the role of agents within the discourse which will be investigated, as will be the
social plays that accompany their actions. The policy process in tourist guiding will thus unfold, and, within this, the reflexive sociological theory of Bourdieu and the power theory of Foucault will be most useful.

Within the context of education (specifically tourist guide education and training), the new approaches are of significance and the production and elaboration of the new policy documents need to be investigated scrupulously especially as South Africa's education system is rooted in a historically problematic past and this cannot be allowed to continue.

Further, the tourist guiding sector needs to be transformed to facilitate and encourage economic and cultural development. It is for this reason that it is necessary to identify and to interrogate the different discourses that are present within the policy to understand what forms of economic and cultural development these policies give rise to, and to understand the social processes that underpin them.

In undertaking this study, a central question to be answered is how training for the tourist guides contributes to development and reconstruction. What meanings of development and reconstruction are inherent in the new policy and what is being promoted in the identification of the new learning outcomes in the unit standards for tourist guides? Is it development, reconstruction or equity? According to Muller, in the past in South Africa understandings of "equity" and "development" differed - equity was viewed as standing for "people's needs, aspirations and struggles"; and "development" came to stand for "macroeconomics and macroefficiency, for the imperatives of a transforming state system ... as a consequence [this or that group] [could] be expected to defer their group-specific needs for those of the greater need" (Muller 2000:120-121).

The members of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding are mandated in policy to develop the new unit standards - but do they have an "ideal" tourist guide in mind? The concept of ideal is developed by Higgs and Smith (2000) when they describe the ideal student who fits in nicely with the school system. But the question must be asked: who is determining what competencies the tourist requires in the tourist guide? Is the SGB determining the needs of the tourists - or is the process driven by the tourists' needs? Is this leading to power tensions between the structures involved in tourism education and training? What power centres and factors are operating? Might one say, following Bourdieu, that "political capital" (Bourdieu) is determining the way forward? Or economic capital? The power of the state is demonstrated in Foucault's statement: "In political thought and analysis, we
still have not cut off the head of the king" (Foucault as quoted by Rouse in Gutting 1994:99). Thus political capital could be playing an integral role in the determination of outcomes of the new tourist guide unit standards.

Powell (1999:3) expresses concern that policy which is not based on a "total understanding of the environment or situation", is then "very likely to experience implementation difficulties or be unsustainable in the long-term". The members of the SGB are supposed to be drawn from the "key education and training stakeholders in the sub-field" and "enjoy credibility and respect in the sub-field" (NQF and Standards Setting 2000:12) - but was this criterion respected when selecting the current members? If these members are not living within the discourse of tourist guiding, then can they determine the competencies required by guides - and can they address the past inequities that occurred within the guiding arena? Or are the facilitators (employed by other interested parties in the process) pre-determining the outcomes? In the words of Michel Foucault (in Higgs and Smith 2000:77): "The new methods of power are not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalisation, not by punishment, but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus". Does this introduce the concept of finding ourselves being "sucked into the power machine" as identified by Foucault in Muller (2000:127)?

The impact, influence or power of individuals (who are not key stakeholders) on the SGB on the process of determining the new tourist guiding qualifications and unit standards is of concern - maximum participation is essential and encouraged in the policy-making process (Mashamba in Muller 2000:135), but that is only provided for in policy at the stage when the unit standards are put up for public comment.

The development of qualifications with relevant outcomes, especially in tourist guiding, is of critical importance - as it is the tourist guide who creates the memorable experience at the destination. The policies appear to be in place for this correct development of unit standards - but is correct implementation thereof being effected? This is identified as an important problem by Von Hirschfeld when she states that:

in highly competitive industries where competitors have to sit around a table and agree an industry-relevant list of outcomes, two things can happen: first, the skills that really make the difference are not put on the list, and second, those that do make the list are based on an historical view of the business and not on a future-oriented view. (date unknown:4)
The policy process in Tourist Guiding is thus being unpacked, and the reflexive sociological theory of Bourdieu and the power theory of Foucault will become most useful in the analysis of the issues. It is within this discourse - the regime of power - that this analysis will develop. Bourdieu states:

The field of power is a field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power. It is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field] confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces ... . (1992:76)

Bourdieu introduces the notion of the field, the players on the field, the game, the stakes, and the tokens used in the game. The field could be related to the tourism education arena, and the players are the NSB and its members; the SGB and its members; the ETQA/SETA with members and employees; the Business Trust with the Tourism Learnership Project (TLP); and the Portfolio Committee.

The field has definite boundaries as it is related to domestic and international tourism - and the education and training required to service this industry. It is a network with:

objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of the species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu 1992:97)

Within this field there are the players who have varying degrees of capital - and who are jockeying for power. The SGB, ETQA, NSB, Portfolio Committee, Business Trust and TLP are particular groups who have a strong voice and who are pushing a specific agenda. They have investments in the game and they possess trump cards which have varying capital value. These different species of capital include cultural capital, political capital and economic capital. These are used as a weapon and as a stake of struggle to be
able to wield power and influence - and to justify the existence of the player in the field. The capital only has existence and relevance in relation to the field. The exchange of this capital is relevant as position taking occurs - and the processes of policy production are intensely contested.

As the field of struggles is transforming, Foucault asserts that: "power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" and he objects to the "very idea of a knowledge or a truth outside of power relations" (Foucault as quoted by Rouse in Gutting 1994:99). The selection of the members for the SGB has given them power to transform the guiding section of the tourism industry and to be a "player" (Bourdieu) in the field. My research to date has delivered evidence of continual power plays - of structures and individuals who are jockeying for the turf in order to acquire the most powerful position in the field. The field is a valuable one with the economic, cultural and political capitals of tourism as values. The players are anxious to acquire positions of power - and they have effected these power positionings through policy elaboration. This results in 'adaptation' of policy when implementation has occurred - and results in strategic positions being acquired. Further questions could be asked: Do the players possess the necessary capital or knowledge to be on the field? Are the trump cards being held in the hands of a few and being wielded at will for domination? Is policy creating further inequalities (not consciously) as it is not addressing those that it should and thereby restricting reconstruction and development?

The power struggle can be further developed through the words of Bourdieu:

> What is at stake in this game is, on the one hand, the monopoly of the elaboration and diffusion of the legitimate principle of division [sic] of the social world and, thereby, of the mobilization of groups, and, on the other hand, the monopoly of the use of objectified instruments of power (objectified political capital).

(1991:181)

This dissertation will argue that power plays do indeed affect the elaboration of policy, and will also identify, through the research, exactly which players are exerting power on the field of tourism education. This will be done through a detailed interrogation of the tourism and education policy, together with in-depth interviews with the relevant roleplayers.
To ensure clarity of meaning, an explanation of the terms and the concepts to be used in this investigation will now be considered.

1.3 Explanation of terms and concepts

The key terms and concepts relevant to the research investigation are:

1.3.1 Educational terms and concepts

(1) Education and Training Quality Assurance Bodies (ETQA):
The role of the ETQA is "to monitor and audit achievements in terms of national qualifications and standards" (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting, 2000:13). It assures quality, certifies trainers and assessors and accredits training providers.

(2) Learnership Programme:
A Learnership Programme is a structured learning and practical work experience programme that leads to a National Qualification.

(3) National Qualifications Framework (NQF):
The NQF is an eight-level framework. The bands are: General Education and Training (GET): Level 1 equates to the General Certificate of Education or Adult Basic Education & Training Level 1; Further Education and Training (FET): Levels 2 - 4 culminate in a Higher National Certificate at Level 4; and Higher Education and Training (HET): Levels 5 to 8+ constitute Tertiary and Research. The NQF divides all training into 12 organising fields.

(4) National Standards Bodies (NSBs):
NSBs are registered bodies are responsible for "establishing education and training qualifications and/or standards, and specific functions relating to the registration of national qualifications and/or standards" (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting, 2000:10). There is one NSB per field - each NSB is registered by SAQA for three years.

(5) Qualification:
A qualification is a "planned combination of learning outcomes with a defined purpose or purposes, intended to provide qualifying learners with applied competence and a basis for further learning" (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:41).
(6) Quality Assurance:
Quality Assurance can be explained as: "Quality has to be built into a product - it cannot be tested into a product. The primary function of quality control is to oversee production. This function should, however, be expanded to include the formulation and execution of a quality assurance program to ensure continued and increased consumer acceptance of the product/s" (Lück and Gavron in Robinson, R.K. (Ed.) 1990:389). Quality Assurance should be an integral yet autonomous component of the total management structure, and should be an approach in which quality is built into the system so that waste is eliminated.

Implicit in SAQA's quality assurance spiral is the understanding that "quality is not a thing; quality is an ongoing event. The NQF quality spiral and the quality assurance have to encapsulate this dynamic notion of quality as a continuous event in order to ensure the continual development and redevelopment of qualifications and standards in order to meet individual learner needs and society's needs" (The NQF and Quality Assurance 2000:7).

(7) Sector Education and Training Authority (SETAs):
SETAs are established in terms of the Skills Development Act, and are involved in the development and implementation of a sector skills plan, registering and promoting learnerships and apply for accreditation as an ETQA to SAQA.

(8) South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA):
The role of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is to: "ensure the development and implementation of a National Qualification Framework which contributes to the full development of each learner, and to the social and economic development of the nation at large" (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:4).

(9) Standards Generating Body (SGB):
An SGB can be explained as "registered bodies responsible for the generation of qualifications and/or standards" (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:12).
(10) Unit Standards:
Unit Standards are "registered statements of desired education and training outcomes and their associated assessment criteria, describing the quality of the expected performance". It guides the assessor, the learner and the provider (SAQA: NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:8).

1.3.2 Tourism terms and concepts

(1) Culture:
Culture refers to "the dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or a social group. It includes the art and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, heritage and beliefs developed over time and subject to change" (White Paper on Art, Culture and Heritage 1996:12).

(2) Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT):
DEAT is the Chief Directorate of Tourism within the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

(3) National Registrar of Tourist Guides:
The Registrar is an officer in the Department of Environment and Tourism who maintains an essential database of all registered Tourist Guides.

(4) Tourism:
"Tourism is deemed to include any activity concerned with a temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places the normally live and work and their activities during their stay at these destinations" (Middleman in Bennet, J.A. (ed.) 1995:6).

(5) Tourist:
A Tourist is any person who undertakes travel which is not considered as commuting. He/she undertakes a "journey at which one returns to the starting point, a circular trip...during which various places are visited and for which an itinerary is usually planned" (Murphy in Bennet, J.A. (ed.) 1995:5).
(6) Tourist Guide:
A Tourist Guide is any person who for reward, whether monetary or otherwise, acts as a tourist guide. The tourist guide displays the appropriate attitudes, competencies and values to present a holistic and balanced view of the peoples and their location. A person shall be registered as a tourist guide in terms of the Second Tourism Amendment Bill (2001) only if he or she has the prescribed qualifications through the training contemplated (in section 21b) - as registered on the NQF.

1.4 Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 contains the context and analysis of the tourism and education arena, together with the identification of the key role-players and policies within the terrain.

Chapter 2 examines the body of scholarship which relates to the proceedings taking place within the tourism education policy implementation. The literature further allows for the identification of the functional organisations and individuals involved in the process, and the reasons and reasonings for their participation. The process of policy implementation starts to unfold through the consideration of the works of Ball, Foucault and Bourdieu.

Chapter 3 introduces and explains the research methodologies and the reasons for the choice of these methods. It elaborates further on the key concepts so that clarity is ensured in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter 4 details the policies interrogated through written and diagrammatic form. It outlines the policy as formulated, and then proceeds with the elaboration. A detailed analysis of the policies and the interviews is provided and discussed which enables the identification of the players in the field and the reasons for their being in the game.

Chapter 5 allows for the summation of the analysis. This includes the integration of the theoretical framework together with the practical findings of this study to allow for a deeper understanding of what exactly is occurring in the field of tourist guide education - both the contradictions and contestations in the policy elaboration.
CHAPTER 2   LITERATURE REVIEW

"On ne voit bien qu'avec le coeur.
L'essentiel est invisible pour les yeux."

Antoine de Saint-Exupery: Le Petit Prince

The literature which informs this dissertation is extensive. It covers theories of power and the State and extends to theories of policy and policy making. It explores the discussion of who makes policy, who reads it, and who influences the implementation of the policy. Within the way that it is read and written, it examines in particular the social perspective of power regimes within an educational and an analytical framework. The literature that was chosen for review is pertinent to the aim of this dissertation as it assists in the process by which the perceptions are examined and developed - those of policy making, policy implementation and power plays and players.

This investigation into the literature which informs the investigation will commence with the introduction of critical rationalism and critical theory. Critical rationalism, originally an ancient Greek philosophy, is a method of enquiry that encourages questioning. It views problems - including political and life problems - in an objective, scientific way and it encourages open mindedness. A philosopher who subscribes to critical rationalism is Karl Popper. According to Higgs and Smith (2000), Popper states that critical rationalism is against societies which are oppressive and unjust. These societies do not allow people to discuss things openly; and people who do not accept the authorities' views are imprisoned or killed. This introduces the concept of power - the power of the political authorities who control the society. Hannah Arendt, Helen Suzman and Nelson Mandela are, according to Higgs and Smith (2000), people who promote critical rationalism. Critical rationalism encourages people to question those in authority and "the system".

This system is defined by Higgs and Smith as being: "the political, social and economic system we're all caught up in" (2000:64). They add further: "The system we have in mind here is the capitalist system, also referred to as capitalism" (2000:66). The method of enquiry which is concerned with changing a social, political or economic system is termed critical theory.
Critical theory, a method of enquiry which has its origins in German philosophy, is therefore the next body of literature to be examined. Higgs and Smith state that:

Critical theory believes that any form of power structure is dangerous and destructive. Critical theory claims that all power structures do not just drive our economic and social life - it claims that power structures actually influence the way we think. (2000:69)

Marxism is therefore a version of critical theory as it wants to abolish powerful people and powerful systems which dominate society. Marx stated in *The Communist Party Manifesto* that the aim of the Communist Party is: "To organise society so that every member of it can develop and use all his abilities and powers in complete freedom and without hurting society" (Higgs and Smith 2000:72). This promulgates the devolution of power from the hands of a dominant, powerful few (the capitalists) into the hands of the suppressed majority (the labourers).

One of the central concerns of critical theory is the question of power and of who is exercising the power. It is the power structures which drive society and which influence the way that it thinks. They influence and control the way that we live and the way that we exist. The power structures change shape according to their needs and to the needs of those in power. To see the shape, stated Michel Foucault, a critical theorist, is to see the secret of power. And a regime of truth is, according to Foucault, "linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which induces and which extends it" (Ball 1990:13). It is therefore a closed circle in which power flows from those who are with the power and gain further power from those who are giving their power to those who have the power, to in effect make the power holders even more powerful. Thus power begets power. It is necessary, therefore, to identify the instruments (power structures) which yield the power in order to see the shape of the power.

Street (1995) identifies the models of power as being: Power as a quantity - in which power is seen as being a property which can be possessed; and Power as a process - in which power is viewed as ever changing and varying according to the sites and contexts. He further emphasises the importance of how power can be transformed and become productive - as this is critical when constructing an educational agenda.
Critical questioning is a method which can be used to interrogate the education system, which is a power structure, in order to identify and to assess the system. As education involves the acquisition of knowledge, of skills, of attitude, of performance and of competence in the development of a questioning attitude, organised and sustainable instruction in critical questioning can be introduced to allow for the development of a questioning mind. This, it is hoped, can empower the learner to identify, to assess, to critically question and to challenge power systems. It can be further developed through the words of Habermas, a critical theorist, who states that:

_In their very form, the human sciences are supposed to present an amalgam of knowledge and power; the formation of power and the formation of knowledge compose an indissoluble unity._ (Braaten 1991:125)

According to MacIsaac (1996), Habermas emphasised that this knowledge includes the knowledge of work, interaction and the power domain. MacIsaac (1996) states that Habermas discusses these three main knowledge bases - work, practical and emancipatory power. Work knowledge broadly refers to the way in which people can control and can manipulate their environment. This knowledge is based on empirical inquiry of the empirical-analytical sciences which use hypothetical deductions. Practical knowledge describes human social interaction or what Habermas refers to as "communicative action". This knowledge of society is governed and dictated by accepted norms. According to Habermas these norms are based on a mutual understanding of intentions (MacIsaac 1996). Emancipatory knowledge identifies self-knowledge and self-reflection. Through a process of self-reflection, one can emancipate oneself from the shackles of the environment and environmental forces and thereby diminish external power control.

Habermas further elaborates on communicative power by explaining that:

_Informal public opinion-formation generates "influence"; influence is transformed into "communicative power" through the channels of political elections; and communicative power is again transformed into "administrative power" through legislation._ (1994:8)

Thus, through communicative power, the law gains legitimacy which provides the political power of the state with its binding force.
Both Habermas and Foucault are identified as critical theorists as both reflect on "the system". Foucault stated that: "I am interested in what Habermas is doing. I know he does not agree with what I say -- I am a little more in agreement with him..." (Robinson date unknown:1). Foucault defined power relations as:

The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others. Which is to say, of course, that something called Power, with or without a capital letter, which is assumed to exist universally in a concentrated or diffused form, does not exist. (Al Amoudi undated:15)

Higgs and Smith (2000) identified that Foucault was concerned with the powers that institutions wield over society. As stated by Foucault:

If we truly wish to know knowledge, to know what it is, to apprehend it at its root, in its manufacture, we must look not to philosophers but to politicians—we need to understand what the relations of struggle and power are. One can understand what knowledge consists of only by examining these relations of struggle and power, the manner in which things and men hate one another, fight one another, and try to dominate one another, to exercise power relations over one another. (1974:11)

Foucault claimed that people were forced to conform to the regulations, rules, desires and expectations of the society, the system and the power structure holding the society in place. In this way the powers compel people to be unnatural (through the act of conforming, the degree of emancipation is restricted) and to view and to live life as the powers desire. Punishment is used as a technique for the exercising of power - and not only as part of the legal machinery. Further, Foucault asserts that power is exercised by and through the dominant (who are the implementers of the power) - that it is exercised rather than possessed. Power exists in "an infinitely complex network of 'micro-powers', of power relations that permeate every aspect of social life. For that reason, 'power' cannot be overthrown and acquired once and for all by the destruction of institutions and the seizure of the state apparatuses" (Sheridan 1980:139). It is for this reason that the implementability of the theory of Marxism, as discussed earlier, is questioned. The power is not only in the hands of the few which can be redistributed to the hands of the population - it is found in all aspects of life as noted above in the quote of Foucault which introduced the systems of power which produce and sustain it. As stated by Foucault:
A society without power relations can only be an abstraction. Which, be it said in passing, makes all the more politically necessary the analysis of power relations in a given society, their historical formation, the source of their strength or fragility, the conditions which are necessary to transform some or to abolish others... In effect, between a relationship of power and a strategy of struggle there is a reciprocal appeal, a perpetual linking and a perpetual reversal. At every moment the relationship of power may become a confrontation between two adversaries. Equally, the relationship between adversaries in society may, at every moment, give place to the putting into operation of mechanisms of power. (1982:1)

This system of power is further enforced by a complex network of "spies". These spies are there to protect certain interests - and to ensure the retention of power and power bases. The concept of power is reinforced by Foucault in Hoskin (in Ball 1990:48) through the introduction of this double theory that "power and knowledge directly imply one another; there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."

Thus, through critical theory, the power that the system exercises over people and the shape of this power can be interrogated. Depending on personal attitude (including inferiority), anyone has the propensity to be powerless or to acquire power - and critical theory allows for the presentation of the world as a network of power plays and power structures which are corrupting and distorting human societies. Critical theory classifies humans into two categories - those who accept the system and those who want to change it. This implies that people are not equally susceptible to power. Those humans who wield power are able to change the situation of those without power. People are aware of choices and are able to make a choice - which dominant humans use to acquire and to use power over the subservient or less powerful humans. In the words of Foucault (in Higgs & Smith 2000:77): "The new methods of power are not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalisation, not by punishment, but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus."

Power is defined by Sheridan, in his explanation of Foucault's theory of power, as:

Power is not a possession. Power is an effect of the operation of social relationships, between groups and between individuals. It is not unitary, it has no essence. There are many forms of power as there are types of relationship... Every group and every individual exercises power and is subjected to it. (1980:218)
This concept of power is further developed by Freire when examining the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. He clearly emphasises the fact that the oppressed must perceive the reality of oppression as a limiting condition which they can transform - and not as a situation with no exit. This in itself must become the motivating force for self-liberation. It is not possible for the oppressor to exist if there is no oppressed - as confirmed by Hegel (in Freire): "The one is independent, and its essential nature is to be for itself; the other is dependent, and it's essence is life or existence for another" (1970:34). This demonstrates the power of the Master over the Bondsman. It is only when the oppressed can "overcome the contradiction in which they are caught only when this perception enlists them in the struggle to free themselves" (1970:34). This freedom from the power of the oppressor over and concomitantly given by the oppressed can be effected through education.

However, in order to implement this liberating education, Freire (1970) states that it requires political power - of which the oppressed have none. Freire states that the political power rests in the hands of the oppressor - the dominant elites who perform as actors to their subjects with the objective of the preservation of oppression (the Theory of Oppressive Action). Freire takes this further when he states:

If we consider society as a being, it is obvious that only a society which is a "being for itself" can develop. Societies which are dual, "reflex," invaded, and dependent on the metropolitan society cannot develop because they are alienated; their political, economic, and cultural decision-making power is located outside themselves, in the invader society. (1970:160)

Thus the decision makers determine the identity of the oppressed society through mere transformation - which is in the interests of the metropolitan society as it does not equate to the development of the oppressed society. Part of this transformation could include the delegation of minimal powers which will not affect the dependency and will therefore ensure the continual power of the oppressor.

This introduces the importance of the power of the State through policy which will now be considered. *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes, who has been described by Kenneth Minogue of the London School of Economics (in the Introduction of the Leviathan 1994) as understanding "politics in terms of the perennial human susceptibility to illusion" and as having produced "the greatest masterpiece of political philosophy in the English language", will now be investigated.
Hobbes, in his work *Leviathan*, debates the several subjects of Knowledge of which one is the "Knowledge of Fact" - in which he includes the "Science that is Knowledge of Consequences; which is called also PHILOSOPHY". He further explains this Knowledge of Consequences as being the:

Consequences from the Accidents of *Politique* Bodies; which is called POLITIQUES and CIVILL PHILOSOPHY" which consists of two sections:
1. "Of Consequences from the Institution of COMMONWEALTHS, to the Rights, and Duties of the Body Politique, or Soveraign",

Hobbes thus introduces, through this debate, the concept of power between the Sovereign and the Subjects - and also between the Subjects and the Sovereign. This balance and quantity of power can vary in degree - and also could be viewed as both positive and negative forms of power. He continues with the fact that the "Greatest of humane Powers" is when the powers of most men are joined together (united) by consent into one person which contains and can use all their powers - for example the "Power of a Common-wealth" (1994:47-48).

Rouse states that Michel Foucault, in his theory of power, rejects many of Hobbes' concepts. Further, he states that Foucault attempted to break free of the "orientation of political thought toward questions of sovereign power and legitimacy" (Gutting 1994:99). Foucault emphasises that: "In political thought and analysis, we still have not cut off the head of the king" (Gutting 1994:99). Thus those who are in power are all powerful and are in control. The power of society has not yet been fully realised by the members of the society themselves. It is only through this realisation that the members may become an active and productive power. They still allow for the existence of the control and power methods that are employed on all levels and forms by the state and its apparatus. Thus the members of society must start to start to realise the positive aspects of power. Sheridan states that Foucault explains this power as being:

not simply repressive; it is also productive. ... Power subjects bodies not to render them passive, but to render them active. The forces of the body are trained and developed with a view to making them productive. (Sheridan 1980:219)
Foucault asserts therefore that power comes from above and from below - power is found in relations and not outside of them - they are formed and operate in the workplace, home, institutions - all places where humans interact. In the words of Foucault:

When I think of the mechanics of power, I think of its capillary form of existence, of the extent to which the power seeps into the very grain of individuals, reaches right into their bodies, permeates their gestures, their posture, what they say, how they learn to live and work with other people. (Sheridan 1980:217)

He reconfirms the idea that power is an "effect of social relationships, between groups and between individuals" (Sheridan 1980:218), and that there "is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives" (Higgs and Smith 2000:85).

This discussion of literature has introduced the theme of power and power relations. The importance of the players will now be considered through an examination of the sociological aspects of power.

The philosophical works of Pierre Bourdieu, which investigate politics, education, culture and language, allow for the analysis of the sociological perspective of power. Bourdieu is described by Street as being "one of the other leading theorists about power in western critical research" (1995:33).

According to Mesthrie et al (2000), Bourdieu identifies four kinds of capital available to humankind: social capital (based on group membership and connections); cultural capital (including skill, education and forms of knowledge); economic capital (financial wealth); and symbolic capital (honour and prestige). These can be compared to the power of riches, worth (value), dignity, honour and worthiness which are identified as being human powers by Hobbes (1994). However, states Thompson (in Mesthrie et al), for Bourdieu power is:

essentially the capacity to mobilise the authority accumulated within a market ... it is transmuted into a symbolic form and thereby endowed with a legitimacy it would not otherwise have. Power is then exercised through symbolic exchanges. Control of the 'symbolic marketplace' is a central part of the exercise of all social power. (2000:344)
Street (1995) emphasises that Bourdieu considers the most powerful form of capital to be symbolic capital which is the means to convert or transform economic or cultural capital into real, material sources.

This symbolic power perspective is further developed by Bourdieu when he introduces the notion of the field and the players on the field:

The field of power is a field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power. It is a space of play and competition in which the social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field] confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces .... . (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:76)

The field has definite boundaries. It is a network with:

objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of the species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:97)

Bourdieu emphasises that the notion of the field is a systemic one - it is defined to be put to work empirically in a systemic fashion. The field follows "regularities" which are not codified or explicit, and the limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease to exist. The field is a system of relations that are independent of the populations which these relations define. Further, the relationships between the players on the field acquire their meaning within the system.

Each player on the field is involved in a relationship of domination: as the dominated or the dominant. Bourdieu concurs with Foucault in the concept that there is an activation of resistance in any domination environment. Foucault, as stated, introduced the power of the resister as being a productive one. Bourdieu focuses on the force that can be exerted
particularly by the dominator, but also the fact that anyone, as a player on the field, can exert influence. However, the dominated usually have choices between two equally "bad" positions.

Being a player on the field means that the game is worth playing, and that the players are taken in by the game through participation and opposition of one another. By so doing, they concur that competition is present in the field, and that it is the state of the relationship of force between the players that defines the structure of the field.

The extent of the power of the player depends on the field and on the amount of capital possessed by the player in relation to the requirements of the field. The players have varying degrees of capital, and these are used to jockey for power. These different species of capital include cultural capital, political capital and economic capital. These are used as a weapon and as a stake of struggle to be able to wield power and influence - and to justify the existence of the player in the field. This capital only has existence and relevance in relation to the field, and the exchange of this capital is relevant as position taking occurs.

Players can play to conserve or to increase their capital - or to transform, either completely or partially, the rules of the game. These are some of the struggles within the field, which can include the varying of the exchange rate between various forms of capital; the form of capital on which the force of the opponents rest (such as political capital); and increase the value of the kind of capital which they possess (such as economic capital).

So the capital possession of the player will be important in determining the position of the player in the space of play; the relative force of the player in the game; and the player's strategic orientation towards the game. The capital confers a power over the field; over the rules and regularities; and therefore over the profits generated in it.

Players have investments in the game and they also possess trump cards which have varying capital value. The investment is the inclination and the ability to play the game - both of which are historically and socially constituted. The trump cards are "master cards whose force varies depending on the game: just as the relative value of the cards changes with each game, the hierarchy of the different species of capital (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) varies across the various fields" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:98).
Bourdieu (1992) further asserts that some players on the field seek to differentiate themselves from the other players, to reduce competition, and to form a monopoly over a particular subsector of the field. In this way, the player who dominates the field will be able to make it function to their advantage - but also will need to contend with the resistance of the dominated who will continuously struggle to transform it. Therefore, each player has a specific interest in the field according to the position occupied in the game.

Bourdieu (1992) states that it is the field which is primary and which is the focus of the research operations. The people and structures exist as agents who are active in the field as they possess the properties required to participate and one must consider their particular point of view - how their vision of the field is constructed. He therefore introduces the Hermeneutic circle that: "in order to construct the field, one must identify the forms of specific capital that operate within it, and to construct the forms of specific capital one must know the specific logic of the field" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:108). Popkewitz concurs with Bourdieu by emphasising that the production of power can: "be understood as relational to the patterns in which the actor is constructed and constituted" (Ball (ed.) 2000:1805).

The power struggle can be elaborated through the words of Bourdieu when he states that:

> Those who dominate the party, and who have a close interest in the existence and persistence of this institution and in the specific profits it secures for them, find, in the freedom they gain through their monopoly of the production and imposition of institutional political interests, the possibility of imposing their own interests as the interests of those whom they represent. (1991:175)

The importance of the power plays and the power struggles is critical in the analysis of the policies and interviews which follow in this dissertation. Throughout the policy development and policy implementation stages different players are identified who possess different kinds and quantities of capital which they strategically manipulate in order to further their power and placing on the field.

Political power is a form of power from above and from below which is exercised with a series of objectives (Foucault). The aims and objectives are apparent in the policy produced - and, as such, political power can be interrogated through the investigation of
policy development and policy implementation. So as to elaborate further on this form of power, it is necessary to consider policy theory.

The process of policy development can be divided into four stages: initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation (De Clercq 1997). Policy development and policy implementation are separate and can be analysed independently of one another. Further, policies can be analysed in different ways. De Clercq states that they can be:

conceived of as rational activities aimed at resolving group conflict over a allocation of resources and values in order to restore the cohesiveness, order and functionality of the society (Harman 1984). Or they are seen as exercises of power and control and the authoritative allocation of values (both material and social) between different social groups. (1997:128)

Thus policies can be analysed in terms of the effected interests, values and bases of power. In addition, Dye states that the analysis of the policy is: "finding out what governments do, why they do it and what difference it makes" (Ozga 2000:39).

Ball emphasises the writings of political sociologists such as Dale, Bowe et al., and McPherson and Raab, who "have warned against the danger of underplaying the human agency and the complex, multi-layered and conflict-ridden state institutions involved in one way or another in policies" (1997:128). Further, De Clercq emphasises that they argue that "policies are above all about context, processes and conflicts of actors as they relate and mediate their actions within their institutional structures and state organizations" (1997:128). Hjern further elaborates on the players (actors) by emphasising that policy interrogation should not only focus on the policy development and implementation, but also on the strategies and goals of the actors who are involved in policy implementation (De Clercq 1997).

The roles of the players in policy and social power relations introduces the work of Ball on the two forms of policy intervention: policy as a discourse and policy as text. Policy as a discourse, as proposed by Ball and discussed by Ozga (2000), addresses structure; frames what can be said or thought; and understands that policy is a section of a dominant system of social relations. As explained by Ball, we "do not speak a discourse, it speaks to us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows." We therefore "take up the positions constructed for us within policies" (Ball 2000:1836). He agrees with Offe that policy as and in
discourse "establishes the location and timing of the contest, its subject matter and 'the rules of the game'" (Ball 2000:1835).

Policy as a text, according to Ozga (2000), addresses agency; carries a particular narrative of what can be achieved through policy; and is the element of policy that can be worked on, interpreted and contextualised. It covers the scope, the source and the pattern of the policy - that which is present between the formulation and the implementation of policy. Further, states Ball, policy authors "do make concerted efforts to assert such control [on the meanings of text] by the means at the disposal" (2000:1831). However, the policies can shift and change their meaning, and key actors can also change - which results in policies being represented differently by different interests and different actors. Ball elaborates by stating that: "Policies have their own momentum inside the state: purposes and intentions are re-worked and re-oriented over time" (2000:1832).

The roles of the policies and the key actors will become apparent as this investigation develops - as will the power plays and the interests of the players. Further, it is important to consider the relationship between the policy, the power plays and the field of tourism as they are all important components of this investigation. There is a shortcoming in that the literature which informs tourist guiding is restricted to State policy which determines the requirements for registration for tourist guides (Department of Environment and Tourism), and the educational qualifications required for tourist guides (Department of Education). Thus the literature on tourist guiding is very thin.

As tourism is a relatively new phenomenon, this literature is derived from the sub-field of tourism development as tourism education and training (including tourist guide training) is considered to be component of this sub-field. The theorists have focused on the analysis of the kinds of tourists (including the attitudes, interests and opinions of tourists) and the development of tourist attractions. Tourist guides require knowledge and an understanding of the incoming tourism market, and of the attractions that are available as these are included as part of the guiding itineraries. One effect of globalisation has been the "accelerated integration of economic activity across national or regional boundaries" (Evans in Saayman 2000:71). This has resulted in increased competition amongst different destinations world-wide - and the increase of fantasy worlds (or experiences) related to specific destinations. According to Van Hove (in Saayman), these fantasy worlds or animations include:
Movement: sports in all forms;
Social life: brunch and buffet with music, activities for children;
Creative activities: design, paintings, paste-ups, photography, modelling, etc.;
Education and discovery: concerts, poetry, language courses for beginners, cooking, farm visits;
Adventure: diving, night trips, rafting, campfire;
Quietness and self-discovery: ecotourism, classical music, trips. (2000:72)

With increased mobility and information technology, new tourists are "more experienced, more educated, more 'green', more flexible, more independent, more quality conscious and 'harder to please' than ever before" (Cater and Goodall and De Villiers in Saayman 2000:75). Today's world is therefore becoming a buyer's market - the buyer is a sophisticated, experienced and demanding tourist. One of the most important parts of the tourist's experience is the interaction with the locals - and usually this local is the tourist guide. The guide is therefore an integral part of the 'fantasy world'.

According to Poon (in Saayman), tourists are more value and quality conscious as a result of: "more experienced holidaymakers; more destinations to choose from; more educated tourists; many tourists who already travel extensively for business; tourists who expect to do far more than just lie in the sun; the importance of time; more information which is available to tourists; and more flexible tourists" (2000:81). Further, Cleverdon (2002) states that, although European tour operators consider many South African offerings as being sound, there is insufficient new and diversified tourism product development. Therefore the quality of the service provided by the tourist guide becomes an important part of tourism marketing as guides can make the operators aware of the new developments - continual research is an integral part of tourist guide training. Further, with tourists looking for new destinations with natural and cultural experiences and being prepared to travel long distances, South Africa has potential for tourism growth. Concurrently, the impacts of tourism - cultural, economic and environmental - must be considered.

Reisinger and Turner (in Saayman) point out that cultural differences occur between people who "do things differently and perceive the world differently" which causes misunderstanding due to differences and interpretations of behaviour (2000:131). The minimising of these negative cultural/social impacts is the focus of sustainable tourism research and innovative solutions such as community involvement projects are currently being considered. The economic development, especially through small, micro and
medium enterprises depends on a number of variables such as: "the nature and location of the tourism project, the size and source of investment, the policy intentions (if any) accompanying the investment and the level of support available to entrepreneurs" (Kirsten and Rogerson 2002:30). According to Kruger-Cloete (1995), environmental sustainability must be ensured through environmentally orientated and people-centred tourism policy. Further, she states that tourism must be fully integrated into the cultural, social and economic life of the people. Proper management and adequate funding of the natural and cultural resources is essential. The tourist guide can assist in minimising the negative impacts by showing respect for different cultures and through 'teaching' the tourists about the diversity of South Africa; by taking tourists to visit developing entrepreneurs; and by explaining environmental regulations in environmentally sensitive areas.

This introduces further important aspects of policy and of the power which exists socially, politically and economically - and an increasing awareness of the linkages between tourism, policy, and power. This discussion will now consider tourist guiding in a more in-depth manner.

According to Matola, the previous Registrar of Tourist Guides, the work of a tourist guide entails:

The tourist sees the tourism product through the eyes of the guide. The tourist guide constantly finds himself in the company of tourists who wish to learn more about the area or product. Over and above the factual knowledge that he should be able to impart, the guide is also responsible for the smooth running of the tour in terms of time schedules, routes and destinations. He should hold himself responsible for the luggage, booking in and out of hotels, arranging all stops along the route, and dealing with any problem that a member or members of the group may encounter. (Date unknown:253)

This is further elaborated by Thompson, who states that a tourist guide should never "lose sight of the fact that you are an ambassador in a number of different ways" (2001:125). This includes being an ambassador for the country, the tour operator, and for fellow guides. Thus the tourist guide is usually the first person that the tourist meets (on pick up at the airport), the person that the tourist spends the most time with (on tours and dinner transfers), and the last person that the tourist sees on departure (drop off at the airport). The tourist guide therefore is a privileged, powerful occupation which depends on his/her
attitude to realise the dreams and fantasies of Africa for the tourist - or destroy the experience (Thompson 2001).

Katriel (1997) (as reviewed by Handelman 2001) explains how moving through museums looking at exhibits and listening to the guides can be an emotional experience. Katriel states that:

The recognition of ... that moment of connectivity in which one orientates oneself to person, space, and time in ways that evoke (perhaps suddenly) an awareness that is related to one's very sense of self. The intersection of person, space, and time creates place and emotions associated with it. (Handelman 2001:497)

Further, she continues that:

The purpose of guides in these museums is to create this sense of place within these visitors, even if they know little or nothing of the representations that constitute exhibitions. (Handelman 2001:497)

The styles of tour guides, verbal performances which set up "interpretive frames", present shapes of the past, the guides' relationship to the past, the aesthetic dimensions of guiding and interaction between guides and visitors are all important components to be considered (Katriel in Handelman 2001). The importance of guiding services as a tourism-related enterprise and a form of income generation is also of importance in community projects. This was identified by the Department for International Development (DFID) who emphasised further that "growing numbers of tourists would like more meaningful contact with local communities" (DFID undated:unnumbered).

The importance and the power of the tourist guide is not to be underestimated. It is with this in mind that the new policy relating to tourist guide education and training and registration has been introduced.
However, it is the power struggle, which is occurring in the domain of tourist guiding policy production and policy implementation, that has instigated this investigation. The education and training of tourist guides is critical for the development of the tourism arena which, in turn, is of vital importance for the economic, social and political development of South Africa. The roles and power plays of the dominant and the dominated actors will be interrogated through text and interviews - and will then be analysed and developed through the literature.
"If leaders exert but little influence on the actions of subordinates, then one of the axioms of democratic government ceases to apply. ... democracy in the modern state pre-supposes that changing a handful of officials in high places will ultimately change the actions of thousands of employees throughout the system" (Herbert Kaufman 1973).

This research is of importance not only for the tourism industry but for all sites of education and training. The structures of the National Qualifications Framework (National Standards Bodies, Education Training Qualifications Authorities, Standards Generating Bodies) and the Sector Education and Training Authority (SETAs) are present in all spheres of education and training in South Africa, and therefore what happens in one industry has implications for all. This study is an attempt to consider whether the implementation of the new education policy for the training of tourist guides has laid the foundations for the shift in the social power relations to occur in education, and, further, to identify the problems which have occurred in the implementation of this policy. As stated by De Clerq (1997:136), the national policy initiative is "problematic in many ways" which includes the fact that "structural changes on their own are not known to have much impact on the ground because they do not directly question and engage with existing educational teaching and learning problems and practices".

This chapter will address the process of enquiry followed in my research - including the methodological approaches adopted and the process of data organisation and interpretation. The aim of methodology, according to Cohen and Manion, is to help "us to understand, in the broadest possible terms, not the products of scientific enquiry but the process itself" (1994:42).

3.1 Research methodologies

The qualitative research methodology was chosen for this investigation. It lends itself to a rigorous kind of enquiry, and a multi-perspective approach which utilises different qualitative techniques and data collection methods. It uses an emic perspective of inquiry and aims to understand phenomena within a particular context with the researcher using an inductive form of reasoning (De Vos 2000). Further, according to Hoberg (1999),
qualitative research is a way of approaching the empirical world. She also emphasises that:

the data collected, analysed and interpreted is rich in description of people, places, and conversations, and is not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions that are formulated, are aimed at an investigation of topics in all their complexity, and especially in context. (1999:22)

This form of enquiry was required for the interviews and documentary investigations.

In the investigative process a hermeneutic research approach was applied. Hermeneutics is "the science of interpretation of meaning and sense in human actions and production" (Danner 1997:4). Hermeneutic methodology is based on the consideration of the means and the manner in which meaning is discovered or created. This implies that it considers the notions and the means for understanding and interpreting the way in which people interact and encounter the world. These interactions and encounters are communicated through different symbols, and the understanding of issues related to the world can only be affirmed or derived through dialogue. Hermeneutic methodology is a method of enquiry which contemplates, examines and debates the meanings of symbols (for example: power and capital); and is therefore a contextual interpretation of the text with the aim of understanding that context. This research approach is required as the data was collected in the form of words - and was not reduced. It was analysed as closely as possible to the form in which it was recorded and transcribed - taking cognisance of the fact that: "everything has the potential of being a clue that might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied. No statement escapes scrutiny" (Bogdan and Biklen in Hoberg 1999:25).

A qualitative approach and a documentary approach were effected to try to understand the situation holistically, and in its occurring state. Holism implies context. As stated by De Clerq: "policy must be analysed and evaluated in different ways, depending on their nature and scope. Indeed, they vary in their purpose, complexity, target groups, distribution of costs and benefits and location of their impact. There are substantial policies which reflect what the government should do, and procedural policies that spell out who is going to action and through which mechanisms" (1997:128). Both an intrinsic evaluation, which assesses the policies' content, and a policy process evaluation were effected in this investigation.
3.2 Data collection strategies (ways in which data was obtained)

The qualitative research (dealing with data that is primarily verbal) was conducted through:

1. A limited number of interviews with the relevant parties involved in the policy development and application - including members of the NSB, ETQA, and the SGB.

2. Documentary research including:
   An investigation of policy documents;
   An investigation of the documents distributed by the relevant policy bodies; and
   An investigation of documents required by policy - including minutes of meetings, scoping documents, the plan for the standards generation, and the outcomes analysis of the system.

3.2.1 Interviews

This investigation into the elaboration of policy was effected through interviews held (verbally and written) with the key social partners of the SAQA (participants):
Assistant Director: NSB 11
Chamber Manager: THETA
Project Co-ordinator: SGB: Tourism:Guiding
Chairperson: SGB: Tourism:Guiding

For the purpose of clarity, it must also be stated that the CEO of the THETA also holds various posts on Education/Tourism bodies mentioned in this section. These participants were chosen as they were all involved in the tourism and tourist guiding education arena.

The data collection started with an unstructured interview with a schedule together with the creation of a non-threatening environment which I believed would best serve the purposes of the study. As stated by Kitwood (in Cohen and Manion 1994:319):
the main purpose of using an interview in research is that it is believed that in an interpersonal encounter: people are more likely to disclose aspects of themselves, their thoughts, their feelings and values, than they would in a less human situation.

However, this demanded careful planning as it was necessary to build up a relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer. Potentially controversial questions (e.g. selection of SGB members) were not asked at the beginning of the interview so as to minimise any defensiveness on the part of the interviewee. Further, the structure was flexible enough to explore and to assess the direction in which the interview was proceeding. This created the space for potentially valuable and useful information to be presented in alternative ways. As stated by Pearse: "Ethics is a set of rules and behavioural guidelines for the conduct of the educational researcher during research" (1999:5). Therefore, establishing a contractual relationship was meaningful, and the importance of the specialised knowledge of the interviewee was stressed. This contractual relationship is defined as being: "a relationship between two people, which is based on assumed equality between the parties concerned" (Pearse 1999:55; De Vos 2000:303). It is important also to note that certain principles of interviewing needed to be adhere to viz. empathy, confidentiality, individualisation, trust, respect, courtesy and excellent listening skills on the part of the interviewer. Further, interviewer participation needed to be limited to a minimum whilst employing the skills of observation, communication, coping with conflict, attentive behaviour and probing (Pearse 1999).

The questions and themes were used with a research schedule - which resulted in all the questions being covered - but not necessarily in the same sequence. It therefore allowed for relatively systematic collection of data whilst assuring that important data were not forgotten.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that there are the problems of reliability and validity when using interviews as a research tool. As argued by Kitwood (1977), attempts to increase the reliability of the interview by greater control of its elements could result in a reduction of its validity. The more detached, calculated and rational the interviewer, the more calculated the response as the interview is possibly perceived to be less friendly. Thus, states Meason in Burgess (ed.) (1998), the interviewer needs to stay objective enough but concurrently to remain alert to the interview's configurations.
3.2.2 Review of policy documents and reports

An in-depth interrogation of application documents, meetings, briefs and process reports was also effected in relation to the policy documentation as published. The documents that were analysed in this regard are:

Application for Recognition as a SGB Standard Generating Body - Proposed SGB for Guiding. Dated 27.06.01. Project Manager.
Minutes of the Guiding SGB Consultation Workshop held on Friday, 26 January 2001.
Media Release. "SAQA accredits five new ETQAs" issued on 7 December 2000.
Public Notice by NSB 11, Services, of the Registration of an SGB for Tourism Guiding.
Personal Correspondence.

This form of interrogation assisted in the identification of the "points" as hypothesised by Elmore when he stated:

One is not concerned with mapping all the formal authority relationships that could bear on a policy problem but with isolating the one or two points in a complex organization that have the closest proximity to the problem and describing what needs to happen at those points to solve the problem (1979-1980:607).
3.3 Data analysis and interpretation

The analysis of data was done through qualitative (interviews) and documentary analysis - it consists of the interpretation of the policy documents and data; evaluation of the findings; formulation of the hypotheses or theories from patterns and trends in the data; and the relating of these to the models. As stated by Elmore:

analysts and policy makers have to understand where in the complex network of organizational relationships certain tasks should be performed, what resources are necessary for their performance, and whether the performance of the task has some tangible effect on the problem that the policy is designed to solve (1979-1980:607).

This work investigated the policy itself and the implementing structures to identify whether the policy is having the ambitious effect of promoting effectiveness, redress and equity, and development simultaneously.

The importance of agents within the discourse was also investigated - and the social plays that accompanied their actions. This was further interrogated through the investigation of the formation and meetings of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding; the selection and appointment of members of the SGB; the relationships of the SGB with the other NQF bodies and the Business Trust; the development of qualifications and unit standards for tourist guiding; and the consultants and consultations of the SGB.

The manner in which the collected data was organised and analysed will now be discussed. The qualitative research data was in the form of transcribed interviews which were kept in master files together with other documents in their raw form; material accumulated during the course of the research (including policy documents and reports) were contained in background files; and themes and concepts that evolved and were identified in the course of the research which were filed in an analytical file.
According to Pearse (1999), the following reasoning strategies are important:
Analysis - taking a complex whole and resolving it into parts;
Inductive reasoning - general hypotheses guide the research;
Synthesis - the building up of separate elements and ideas into the connected theory;
Bracketing - removal of any preconceived ideas held by the researcher about the research; and
Intuiting - the viewing of the phenomenon by the researcher whilst drawing on intuition.

The recurring words and phrases were identified in order to discover the themes. This involved developing an understanding of: "why, at a given time, out of all the possible things that could be said, only certain things were said" (Foucault as interpreted by Ball 1994:3, in Petersen 1998). Further, a comparison of statements allowed for the recognition of concepts which could unite them.

The data was not collected to assess preconceived theories, models or hypotheses - but rather to build abstractions and understanding from developed patterns in the data. This development of theory from the bottom up is termed grounded theory (Hoberg 1999). The theory developed after the time has been spent with the interviewees and the data has been collected. The questions started out broadly to open the process, and then became more focused but not so much so that it would exclude discovery. Although the researcher has personal experience in the tourist guiding arena, theoretical sensitivity was applied in conceptual terms. Theoretical sensitivity is described by De Vos as referring to "the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand and the capability to separate the pertinent from that which is not pertinent" (2000:268).

As the interaction with the data occurred, insight in and understanding about the phenomenon developed. This increasing sensitivity to the concepts, their meanings and relationships resulted in "increasing insight and recognition of the parameters of the evolving theory" (De Vos 2000:269).

This part of the analysis which occurs through the examination of the data and results in categorising of the phenomena can be termed coding. Coding occurs when the data is broken down, examined, compared, and the identification of differences and similarities occurs. This constant comparative method of analysis is often referred to as grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss in De Vos 2000). Concepts which appeared to relate to the
same phenomenon were grouped together or categorised. The data was analysed through the grouping of the answers under the category headings:
Formation of the SGB;
Selection and appointment of members of the SGB;
Relationships of SGB with other NQF bodies and the Business Trust;
Qualifications and Unit Standards; and
Consultants and consultations.

The constant comparative method of Lincoln and Guba (in De Vos 2000:338-339) is described as being a: "continuous developing process that takes place in four stages: comparing units applicable to each category, integrating categories and their properties, delimiting the theory, and writing the theory." This was effected through the identification of categories and the comparison of units of information in each category. The units of information were derived from the policy documents and the interview transcripts. The original categories delimited through integration and construction of the phenomena being researched.

3.4 Validation of qualitative research

It is argued by Agar (in Pearse 1999) that the terms "reliability" and "validity" are more applicable to quantitative research than to qualitative research. The model of trustworthiness of qualitative research developed by Guba (in Pearse 1999) is considered to be important - with the four criteria for trustworthiness being: truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality. Truth value is, according to Guba (in De Vos 2000), subject orientated. This can also be termed as credibility. Freedom from bias (neutrality) is achieved through "rigour of methodology through which reliability and validity are established" (De Vos 2000:350). However, in qualitative research it is the neutrality of the data rather than of the researcher that is emphasised (Guba in De Vos 2000).

This leads to the process of data verification, which is defined by Pearse as: "Data verification involves the checking for the most common biases that could steal into the process of drawing conclusions. Data verification involves checking for biases" (1999:62).
According to Guba (in De Vos 2000), accurate conducting of the research will result in credible identification and description of the phenomena. This is critical for trustworthiness. Further, transferability (of the set of findings from one context to another), dependability and confirmability are strategies for ensuring trustworthiness.

This research aimed for neutrality through the application of theoretical sensitivity by the researcher - and through self-monitoring of the researcher's assumptions and reactions throughout the research. Further, all documentation and data are available for any person who wishes to confirm it - a confirmability audit.

This chapter has explained the research methodologies used in this investigation. The ways in which data was obtained (data collection strategies) and the data analysis and interpretation were detailed so as to allow for the formulation of the hypotheses or theories from patterns and trends in the data and the relating of these to the models in further chapters. As stated by Patton in Petersen (1998:56): "analysts have an obligation to monitor and report their own analytical procedures and processes as fully and truthfully as possible" - an essential ingredient in this qualitative research.
"Oh what a tangled web we weave,  
When first we practise to deceive"  
Sir Walter Scott

This research and analysis will now turn to an interrogation of and investigation into the documentary evidence and the conducted interviews. This chapter will consider the policy documents, the results of the conducted interviews, and the resulting disjunctions that were identified. The policy documents that were analysed included the SAQA, NQF, NSB, SGB, ETQA, and Skills Development policy texts, as well as the relevant tourism policies. The interviews were conducted with relevant personnel in the tourism and education structures. The result of the interviews, indicating how the policy was implemented, were first compared to the policy texts and then used to generate an understanding of the contradictions and contestations - what are described as "power plays" in the study - within the process.

The approach of the chapter is to begin with an outline of the formal policy and move to a discussion of the way in which this policy was implemented in the tourism education and training sector.

In the section on the formal policy, the study looks at the South African Qualifications Authority policy documents, including the SAQA Act No 58 of 1995 and the related educational policy documentation. The processes involved in the establishment of the different bodies of the SAQA are discussed in detail, as well as the relationship between these bodies; the relevant Sectoral Education and Training Authority (of the Department of Labour); and the Tourism Learnership Project (of the Business Trust). In this way, the relevant policy documentation is interrogated so as to allow for the analysis which follows.

The implementation of policy section which follows the explanation of the formal policy takes cognisance of the existing implementation documents involving tourism education and training - specifically in the field of tourist guide training. To assist with the explanation, the results of interviews conducted with persons employed by or linked to the social partners of the SAQA are included. This allows for a more in-depth analysis to
This chapter continues with a detailed demonstration of the disjunctions between paper and practice whilst concurrently introducing the possible power plays that are occurring in the arena. This analysis allows for the synthesising of the investigation and the discussion in the final chapter.

4.1 Textual Policies

Texts, as opposed to the voices of the stakeholders themselves, provided an important source of information for this study. A number of texts reflecting the official policy relating to tourism guiding were scrutinised. These texts laid out the official guidelines for the constitution, the membership and the functions of key structures within the tourist guide training process. The most important of these texts were:

- The SAQA Act (No 58 of 1995) - Government Gazette No. 1521 (4 October 1995)
- The NSB Regulations - Government Gazette No. 18787 (28 March 1998)
- The ETQA Regulations - Government Gazette No. 19231 (8 September 1998)
- The Skills Development Act (No. 97 of 1998)
- The National Qualifications Framework and Quality Assurance (May 2000)
- The National Qualifications Framework and the Standards Setting (July 2000)

Each of these is looked at in some detail below.

THE SAQA ACT No 58 of 1995

The South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) Act (No. 58 of 1995) was passed into law on the 4th of October 1995 with a mission to provide for the establishment of a structure and system for the development of education and training programmes which contribute to the full development of each learner and to the social and economic development of the nation. A model of the positioning of the structures as described in this Act is attached as Appendix 1.

The functions, roles and responsibilities of the different structures of SAQA will now be highlighted so that clarity is reached on the text and to allow for later interrogation.
NATIONAL STANDARDS BODY (NSB)

This is key for the legislation. It spells out who is eligible to serve on this structure, what its functions are and so on.

The Act stipulates that the NSB is responsible for "establishing education and training standards or qualifications, and to which specific functions relating to the registration of national standards and qualifications have been assigned in terms of Section 5 (1)(b)(i) of the Act." It makes clear that factors to be taken into account for the nomination of persons who serve on the NSB should include: equity and redress; and the fact that the nominee should enjoy credibility and respect in the constituency; and be able to exercise critical judgement in a high level.

Functions of the NSB spelt out include inter alia that it should:
- recognise and/or establish SGBs within the framework of sub-fields;
- ensure that the work of the SGBs meets the requirements for the registration of standards and qualification as determined by SAQA;
- recommend the registration of qualifications to SAQA; and
- liaise with ETQAs regarding procedures for recommending new and amending existing standards and qualifications.

STANDARDS GENERATING BODY (SGB)

The legislation also describes the roles and functions of the SGBs. Within it is made clear that the SGB is established by receiving a certificate of registration which is valid for a period not exceeding three years. The membership of the SGB shall be composed of "key education and training stakeholders in the sub-field, drawn from interest groups and specialists who have been identified in accordance with the requirements of the Authority" (SAQA: No. R452 28 March 1998). These members should consider the issues of productivity; fairness; public interest and international comparability as related to education and training in the sub-field; and enjoy credibility, respect, expertise and experience in the sub-field.

In this investigation, special emphasis has been placed on the establishment and recognition, composition, membership and functions of the SGB.
i. Appointment of the SGB

While, according to the SAQA and Skills Development Acts, affordability is one of the biggest challenges in considering the composition of structures within education and training, there are certain critical steps which need to be taken that are essential when the NSB appoints an SGB. These include, according to the documentation, inter alia, the conducting of a "scoping process" (establishing focus and boundaries for the sub-field); development of a systematic and controlled plan for standards generation; and the conducting of an outcomes analysis of knowledge, skills and processes required of the system. Also critical is the securing of stakeholder participation; describing a titles matrix (overview) of the sub-field; and growing the capacity of members so that participation is meaningful and informed. The development of a business plan for standards generation together with critiquing emerging unit standards is also essential, as is the securing of the appointment as an SGB so that the standards can be registered and nationally accepted.

The NSB will then decide whether the SGB registration should be effected. All the stages mentioned are critical and compulsory in order to ensure that the SGB will be able to create knowledge more democratically, and effectively generate Qualifications and Unit Standards that will be used for: job profiling, performance management, competency, career pathing, recruitment, licensing, developing learnerships, certification, assessment, and learning programmes. Further, the Standards that are written "must be generated in such a way that they will act as an anchor" upon which the three worlds (the world of curriculum, the world of work, and the world of professional practice) can design their own practices (NQF and Standards Setting 2000:20).

ii. Appointment of members

This will include the addressing of questions such as: who is responsible for the selection of members? What criteria are used in the selection process? What quality assurance process is in place regarding this appointment? Are tourist guide training providers adequately represented (as experts with respect in the sub-field)?
The process of appointing members to the SGB must be transparent and the criteria for membership explicit with regards to: experience, expertise, respect within the sub-field, gender, and race. This will, according to the documentation, ensure redress and equity - as well as "buy in" from the inhabitants of this dynamically structured society.

**Key roles in the relationship between the NSB and the SGB**

**i. Identification and appointment of SGBs by the NSB**

SGBs can come into being in two ways, namely through the procedure of SGB recognition; and the process of SGB establishment.

**Process of SGB recognition**

This process follows a series of steps which are as follows:

- A form is completed by an interest group and is sent to SAQA with accompanying documents;
- NSB Co-ordinator scrutinises details - referring to NSB-agreed and SAQA criteria for NSB plans for the field;
- NSB subcommittee (for SGB formation) receives application and considers whether there is a need for a meeting with applicant;
- Applicants and other interest parties meet the NSB subcommittee (if required) to discuss roles and responsibilities (mapping of the field);
- NSB receives a more detailed application (revised where relevant);
- NSB Co-ordinator submits SGB brief and membership publication to NSB subcommittee, and via Head of Standard Setting to the Director of the Directorate for Standard Setting and Development;
- Public Notice is advertised (30 day period) and Gazetted so that interested parties can comment through the NSB co-ordinator;
- Public comment is compiled into a report and recommendations forwarded to the NSB SGB subcommittee and SGB steering committee;
- A revised SGB brief and list of membership are sent by the NSB Co-ordinator to the NSB SGB subcommittee;
- NSB SGB subcommittee formally considers the application and recommends outcomes to the full NSB who approves the SGB;
SAQA endorses the NSB recommendation and the new SGB is appointed by the NSB to work with the NSB to set and maintain standards in the specialist area. SAQA publishes the registered brief and membership of the SGB for notification on the SAQA Web site and Government Gazette.

Process of SGB establishment

Where initiative has not happened independently of the NSB, the NSB itself can initiate the establishment of an SGB. This could happen in the following way:

- Areas in which SGBs are required are identified by the NSB;
- A meeting for six to eight identified leaders (experts) in an area is convened to develop a preliminary brief for an SGB;
- SAQA nationally publishes the brief together with an invitation for submission of CVs and an invitation to the stakeholders meeting;
- A stakeholders meeting is held, the brief is refined, criteria for membership discussed, and a steering committee is appointed;
- The NSB Co-ordinator receives the completed application form from the steering committee;
- The SGB brief and membership are finalised and published. A Public Notice is advertised (30 day period) and gazetted so that interested parties can consult with applicants through the NSB co-ordinator (create a consultative network);
- Public comment is compiled into a report and recommendations forwarded to the NSB SGB sub-committee and the SGB steering committee;
- The public comment is incorporated by the SGB steering committee and a report regarding the incorporation is submitted;
- A revised SGB brief and membership list are sent by the NSB Co-ordinator to the NSB SGB subcommittee;
- The NSB SGB subcommittee formally considers the application and recommends outcomes to the full NSB who approves the SGB;
- SAQA endorses the NSB recommendation and the new SGB is appointed by the NSB to work with the NSB to set and maintain standards in the specialist area.

In both processes the final steps are those of ensuring that the SAQA requirements are met by the work of the SGB. This is effected by monitoring the SGB against monitoring procedures developed by the NSB, by SAQA (regulation 19(1)d) and NSB regulations.
On fulfilment of its brief or if de-registered due to inadequate performance or ability to fulfil its brief, the SGB will be dissolved. Alternatively, the brief of the SGB can be extended.

ii. The NSB authorises the SGB to perform various functions. These are the generation of standards and qualifications on levels; the recommendation of these standards to the NSBs; the development of learning pathways (for potential qualifications and standards); the recommendation of criteria for the registration of moderators and assessors; the updating and reviewing of standards (as required); and the performance of other functions as required by NSB.

iii. The NSB oversees the generation and registration of standards and undertakes the recommendation of standards.

The standard setting process stages are:
First the SGB's activities are assessed by the NSB "to ensure that the skills and knowledge required in its field is (sic) captured" (The National Qualifications Framework and the Standard Setting 2000:23);
The NSB then develops a plan regarding unit standard development, qualification and standards to be developed, immediate priorities, and time-tableing;
The NSB will co-ordinate the development of the qualifications and standards through the recognition of the SGB which will adapt, adopt or originate standards and facilitate the consolidation of existing standards or qualification-generating processes.
Alternatively, where there are no standard generating processes, these will be commissioned through the SGB;
The NSB recommends the criteria for assessment and moderation (quality assurance process), in consultation with SAQA - these criteria will be developed by the SGB for use by the ETQAs.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING QUALITY ASSURANCE BODY (ETQA)

Another key structure within the quality assurance and accreditation framework is the ETQA. SAQA accredits the ETQAs to ensure that the education and training which learners receive is of the highest quality. The ETQAs are responsible for accrediting providers who offer education and training in accordance with the standards and qualifications registered on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). The ETQA
can make a nomination to serve on the SGB in a specific sub-field in which it has a critical interest, and will be responsible for the following:

to promote quality amongst providers;
to accredit providers for specific qualifications and standards registered on the NQF;
evaluate assessment and facilitation of moderation among providers;
co-operate with relevant bodies appointed to moderate across ETQAs;
register assessors for specified registered qualifications and standards in terms of the criteria established for this purpose;
monitor the quality of provision;
take responsibility for the certification of learners;
maintain an acceptable database;
submit required reports to SAQA;
recommend new qualifications and standards to NSBs for consideration, or modify existing qualifications and/or standards. (The NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:6)

In terms of these, the ETQA "will ensure the effective performance of overall systems for the management of quality" through the quality audit (The NQF and the Standards Setting 2000:22).

The Tourism and Hospitality and Education Training Authority (THETA) is the ETQA as established by SAQA, but also operates as the Hospitality, Travel, Gaming and Leisure Sector Education and Training Authority [Sectoral Education and Training Authority] (SETA) as established by the Skills Development Act (1998).

SECTORAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING AUTHORITY (SETA)

As of March 2000, a total of 25 SETAs were established with functions as determined in the Skills Development Act (1998). These include the development and implementation of a skills sector plan; the registration and promotion of learnerships; and the application to SAQA for accreditation as an ETQA for qualifications in its sector.

In addition to the above, the SETA is likely to have representation on one or more NSBs and SGBs relevant to its economic sector; and may take the initiative to establish an SGB (under the criteria set out by the relevant NSB) in a critical interest specific sub-field.
As an ETQA and a SETA (which must be applied for within a week of the SETA being established), the structure will be responsible for the following quality assurance functions in respect of the specific qualifications for the sector in which it is accredited:

- Accrediting providers;
- Promoting quality amongst constituent providers;
- Monitoring provision;
- Evaluating assessment and facilitating moderation among constituent providers;
- Registering assessors;
- The certification of learners;
- Co-operating with relevant moderating bodies;
- Recommending new standards or qualifications to NSBs or modifications to existing standards and qualifications;
- Maintaining a database;
- Submitting reports to SAQA. (The NQF and SETAs brochure)

The SETA is also involved in the levy grant scheme as legislated in the Skills Development Levies Act (No. 9 of 1999); as well as the management and quality assurance of the apprenticeships which are to be termed learnerships.

TOURISM LEARNERSHIP PROJECT (Business Trust Tourism Learnership Project) (TLP)

The Learnership programme differs from the skills programme as a learnership is: "a structured learning programme which includes practical work experience, and leads to an occupationally-related qualification on the NQF" whereas the skills programme is:

- a learning programme which is occupationally based and for which a learner may obtain credit towards a qualification registered on the NQF, once a skills programme has been successfully completed. (The NQF and SETAs brochure)

A project of the THETA (as a SETA) is to establish the Tourism Learnership Programme called the Tourism Learnership Project (TLP) which is promoted financially (initially a minimum of R115 million over four years) by the Business Trust and the Department of Labour. It was officially launched on the 1st of February 2000, and is managed by a Learnership Committee (a THETA committee) which: "develops and monitors learnership plans, reviews outcomes and expenditure and advises THETA on the implementation of learnerships" (Training Matters Vol. 1 Issue 3).
According to the THETA,

The TLP will:

- accelerate the development of NQs [National Qualifications] for all key sub-sectors of tourism. It is in the process of generating some 35 new NQs and the relevant unit standards.
- increase the availability of NQs, which will trigger increased investment in training by employers, who will have clearly articulated standards of competence against which to measure the impact of training.
- award 10 000 NQs to employed people and implement 5 000 learnerships for the unemployed over four years.
- develop systems and support the training of unemployed people through learnerships that provide the skills necessary to find work in a growing job market (Training for Growth, THETA publication).

As the descriptions above indicate, guidelines exist for the implementation of the existing policy. While the volume of policy information is dense and on occasion somewhat labyrinthine, it spells out the procedures for the establishment, staffing and operation of the various structures.

Seen thus, the policy documents clearly spell out the modalities for including stakeholders and for holding them accountable. The roles of the NSB are interlinked with the roles of the SGB through the establishment and recognition of qualifications developed. The ETQA roles are intertwined and overlap with those of the SETA - and concurrently with the SGB as the ETQA is the accreditor of the providers, trainers, and assessors of the qualifications developed by the SGB and recommended for registration by the NSB with SAQA. The ETQA can also recommend new qualifications to the NSB or modify existing qualifications. Each stage of the process is determined by policy, and the roles and functions of each role-player are clearly stated. Therefore there are strong, dominant themes which characterise this policy as framed textually.

The appointment of these stakeholders bodies and of their members is also clearly defined, and therefore moderation and quality assurance can be facilitated through policy adherence. This quality assurance will ensure the effective performance of overall systems through the quality audit - an ongoing process. This is a key feature of the National Qualifications Framework.
The policy documents therefore spell out the processes and construct the discourse for tourist guiding education and training in South Africa. What happens in practice is, however, another story.

In what follows an attempt is made to understand the actual practice and to see what actually happened when these structures were established. The descriptions will show how much more complex the realities have been, their contradictions and the contestations which took place around them.

4.2 POLICY DEVELOPMENT

SAQA and Tourism Education Policy elaboration

The focus of the descriptions which follow are on the formation and establishment and the practical approaches to its work, particularly the way in which it conducted its meetings, of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding. This investigation into the elaboration of policy was effected through interviews and an in-depth interrogation of application documents, meetings, briefs and process reports that were developed in relation to the policy documentation as published. The investigation was done to establish whether the implementation of policy was in accordance with the published text. As the roles, functions, and accountability of the stakeholders were clearly defined in the policy, the possible disjunctions between text and practice could be identified. These issues are dealt with in terms of the following sub-sections:

Formation of the SGB;
Selection and appointment of members of the SGB;
Relationships of the SGB with other NQF bodies and the Business Trust;
Qualifications and Unit Standards; and
Consultations and Consultants.

This analysis will take the form of discussion and will be presented in tabular form.
i. Formation of the SGB

In the section that follows, I will be examining the formation of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding. Within policy, as we saw above, there are two ways in which an SGB can be appointed (SGB recognition and SGB establishment). What actually transpired in the process used by the SGB: Tourism:Guiding will now be described and discussed.

Formation

There are two processes for the formation of the SGB which can be followed - the process of SGB recognition; and the process of SGB establishment. It appears that the process of SGB recognition was used in the establishment of the SGB:Tourism Guiding.

The initial steps, according to the published text, should have been the completion of a form by an interest group which would have been sent to SAQA with accompanying documents. This would have been followed by the NSB Co-ordinator's scrutinisation of the details and the referencing to NSB-agreed and SAQA criteria for NSB plans for the field. In attempting to piece together the process for the establishment of the SGB, it appears that two Applications for Recognition as a Standard Generating Body were submitted - one is dated the 27th of June 2000 and the other is undated.

There are several anomalous points to consider in these documents:

The named Project Managers on the Application forms differ. For the Application of the 27th of June 2000, Mr Tony Ansara, the Chief Executive of THETA, was also named as the Project Manager for the proposed SGB for Guiding. On the second Application (undated, but according to Ms Prinsloo, Official Contact Officer, this was the subsequent and final Application which was submitted to the NSB 11), Ms Pearl Prinsloo was named as the Project Co-ordinator. Therefore, the applications appear to be submitted subsequent to the formation of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding which was formed in March 2000 (and held its first meeting in April 2000) - whereas the initial application (according to Ms Prinsloo) for recognition of SGB document was dated 27th June 2000, and the final application was submitted after that date. Considering the eleven stages required for the process of SGB recognition as per policy, it is unclear how this was effected in time.

The interviewees were unclear as to when the SGB was registered with SAQA, but, according to a Public Notice by the NSB 11, it was registered by the NSB in November 2000. Therefore it would appear that some stages of the process of SGB recognition were effected - but not necessarily in the order as stated by policy.
Further, according to published policy text, the THETA, as a SETA, may take the initiative to establish an SGB in a critical interest specific sub-field. However, again there appears to be a discrepancy in dates as the THETA was accredited by SAQA as an ETQA in December 2000, and as a SETA subsequent to this date. This implies that it could not have taken the initiative according to policy process.

ii. Selection and appointment of members of SGB

The published text clearly spells out the selection and appointment procedures for members of an SGB. As was seen, members would be credible and respected persons with the necessary expertise and experience in the sub-field who would be nominated by key education and training stakeholder interest groups in the sub-field, and would be appointed by the NSB after consultation and in co-operation with the bodies concerned.

What happened in the SGB: Tourism:Guiding was significantly different.

Selection of members

According to the formal policies text, the selection of the members of the SGB needs to include: "key education and training stakeholders in the sub-field, drawn from interest groups and specialists" (The NQF and the Standard Setting 2000:12). According to the Chamber Manager (a member of the selection committee), seven members of the SGB are representatives of the interest groups (this includes a tourist guide who has never trained and others).

Further, the Government Gazette of 13 October 2000 states that the SGB members, particularly the main training providers, are to be "composed of organisations, which shall be key education and training stakeholder interest groups, and experts in the sub-field". Through an investigation of the Application for Recognition of Standard Generating Body documentation, it was noted that, under the category Training Provider, school teachers as well as trainers in: teacher training, business advice, tourism (not tourist guiding), public administration - all of whom are not tourist guide training providers - were classified as key education and training stakeholder interest groups, and experts in the sub-field. This indicates that the practice of selecting SGB members is differing from the formal text. The Chairperson of the SGB, for example, was initially nominated by the Cape Technikon where he was employed by a faculty unrelated to tourist guiding. His appointment as a member of the SGB was as a Training Provider (which was confirmed by the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB). Important to take note of
here is that the Chairperson was not a tourist guide and had never been a trainer in the sub-field and thus he, technically at least, did not qualify as an expert in tourist guiding training provision. One can argue, therefore, that the practice is not in line with published policy.

This disjunction is further evident in the statement by the Assistant Director of the NSB who emphasised that all members represent key education and training stakeholders in the sub-field, drawn from interest groups and specialists, and that this insurance of representation was quality-assured by the NSB SGB Sub-committee. The question must therefore be asked: has policy been put into practice as far as the representation of training providers is concerned?

This selection of members of the SGB was explained by the Assistant Director of NSB 11 (the Services - including Tourism - NSB), who stated that a notice had been placed in the Government Gazette. In line with policy which states that members must be selected by the NSB, he stated that:

Members were selected on the basis of their expertise in the sub-field i.e. CVs were submitted. Eventually the NSB analyses the composition of the SGB and makes recommendations around issues of redress, equity, gender and representivity.

Policy is clear that the process must be adhered to - and, when considering the above, it appears that this was effected. However, this is in conflict with statements by the Chamber Manager, THETA, who stated that:

they [the members] were selected by a committee with representation from Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism, Department of Labour, THETA and...

others whom he could not remember. This selection procedure was confirmed by the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB, who said that a group consisting of: Tony Ansara, DEAT, Portfolio committee, one from SATOUR, and Clive [Chamber Manager] were the selection committee.
This difference between policy and the statements of the Assistant Director of the NSB when compared to the comments of the Chamber Manager and Project Co-ordinator, led to a further investigation into the policy implementation process.

According to the Chairperson of the SGB, he had not been interviewed regarding his membership, and his membership had been confirmed by the THETA (the ETQA) - in conflict with the comment of the Assistant Director of the NSB who stated that the person who managed the selection procedure was: "The SGB convenor" and that the NSB confirmed the appointment of the members. This quality assurance aspect of the proposed members was addressed by the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB (an employee of THETA) as "Quality assurance is the policy - the regulations of the NSB. Who does have one?" [who has a quality assurance policy]. This introduces the role of the ETQA (THETA) which is one of quality assurance. Quality assurance is the basis of the new NQF - and yet concern must be expressed when considering the findings of this interrogation of policy in practice.

The Chairperson was clear about the process of development of the SGB by stating:

If you look at the formation of the Guiding SGB. Number 1, I must say the Guiding SGB was put together almost completely differently to what ... and I mean I stand to be corrected ... than any other SGB has been put together. Because that was formed by the Bill, there was a Policy document if you can recall those ... all those, the Portfolio Committee and their input, and clearly what came up there were a number of things and those things were:

1. The industry needs to be transformed - that remains the key to everything. Everything was brought down to: the industry needs to be transformed. And by the industry needs to be transformed it meant that the composition of the industry was and still is almost exclusively white. The fact that you have tourist guides being almost the first contact and the face of the tourism industry - I mean one can't really call them that. That people- that your tourists - international and national - would, after being in contact with the tourist guides, will view that as the real thing. Whatever comes through them is crucial. ... but transformation is essentially the key to it. Everything had to be transformed and therefore the task of the SGB was to ensure that that happens. And advising - obviously also doing international comparability studies - that was mostly done by Pearl and THETA's people - to get info about what happens in especially the UK to do that. The transformation agenda was key.

Further, clarity was pursued regarding the issue of the "experts in the sub-field" by questioning the fact that many of the unit standards were focused towards culture (a
speciality for the qualification is cultural guiding) and whether there were any cultural specialists or cultural advisors to the SGB or on the SGB. The response from the Chairperson of the SGB offered the comment that:

There was definitely in a narrow and wide consultation process .. you know .. consultation with experts. Per se, as far as my knowledge is concerned, there are no real experts on that on the SGB itself.

In conclusion, in personal communications with the Chairperson of the NSB 11 (as of the 30th of June 2001) when he was questioned regarding the selection procedure of the SGB members, he stated that the SGB members were selected from nominations by the Co-ordinator of the SGB - and not by the 'Vice-Chair of the NSB as per policy'. There appear to be many other players with different agendas than is stipulated in policy - and this is clear when considering the selection of the members of the SGB Tourism:Guiding.

iii. Relationships of SGB with other NQF bodies and the Business Trust

The NQF sets the boundaries and, within these boundaries, the organisational structure is clearly defined and the detailed development and implementation are carried out. Two distinct 'arms' can be identified: the sub-structures in the standards setting arm, viz., the NSBs and the SGBs; and the quality assurance arm i.e. the ETQAs. The relationships between the structures of the NQF and other aligned bodies will now be examined with a view to identifying the differences between policy and practice.

Relationship of SGB to Tourism Learnership Project (TLP)

The document: Guiding Standard Generating Body Report of the Tourism Learnership Project does not provide clarity with regards to the roles of the Standards Generating Body, those of the TLP, and those of the other structures in the NQF. The transformation mechanisms in the TLP involved the "rigorous management of the SGB processes" by the TLP; the generation of working examples of assessment; and the design of curriculum examples (Guiding Standard Generating Body Report 2000:7). Further, the Report states that the TLP would be selecting Training Providers for accreditation. This approach is not in line with the National Qualifications Framework policy - these are functions of other structures in the NQF, and ought not to be managed within a Learnership Programme.
Relationship of SGB to other bodies
Clarity was sought regarding the relationships between the Business Trust, THETA, the TLP, and the SGB: Tourism:Guiding. The responses by the interviewees varied showing how differently policy elaboration developed.

The relationship between the four structures was explained by the Chamber Manager as being:

The HITB was the agency chosen to roll out the project. The HITB and the Business Trust worked on the development of the TLP. The THETA and other role players were asked to set up the Guiding SGB and to ensure a transformative element in the SGB. The Business Trust contributed around R80 million and the Department of Labour around R35 million. THETA was best positioned [it was decided] to deliver on the project. [Business Trust + THETA + Department of Labour decided this together] The THETA is answerable.

The lack of application to SAQA policy is of concern in this situation as only the ETQA is part of the NQF structure. It is in noticing the role of the Business Trust that one can suggest that economic interests within the discourse are introduced.

The involvement of the ETQA and other structures in the establishment of the SGB was further explained by the Chairperson of the SGB who stated that:

THETA co-ordinates the SGB - that's bottom line their function. The Business Trust provides the finances for things like travelling up and accommodation - that kind of thing.

This last point was confirmed by the Chamber Manager - that the TLP:

had money and resources (administrative and co-ordination ability) to facilitate the [development of the] unit standards i.e. pay for the travel and accommodation of the SGB members to attend workshops for standards development.

When policy is consulted, it is clear that the establishment of the SGB is the function of the NSB. Other Government departments (Department of Labour, Department of Environment and Tourism, the portfolio committee) and private structures (Business Trust) should not be part of SGB establishment, standards generation, assessment, and curriculum design for the NQF. These functions are clearly stipulated in policy as being the roles to be performed by named structures in the NQF. This therefore introduces a deviation from policy and the introduction of possible economic and political power.
plays by structures acting within the education arena but who are positioned outside of education policy.

Further, the relationship between the ETQA and the NSB was clarified by the Assistant Director of the NSB as "there is a working relations between the two. The ETQA will regularly inform the NSB on the Qualifications and standards it quality assures". He continued by explaining that "NSB 11 is responsible for the registration of the SGB. Therefore the SGB is answerable to the NSB". He ended by stating that there is no direct relationship between the NSB and the Business Trust. This is in line with policy - but is contradicted by the statements made by the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB who tried to clarify the relationship by stating that:

the Guiding SGB is the one the Business Trust gave THETA - the TLP is for development of tourism jobs. To implement the Learnership project you have to have qualifications - there were no qualifications so [we] did it for the Department of Environment And Tourism (DEAT) and portfolio committee - [who] asked THETA and TLP together under the management of Tony Ansara to help in the formation.

Further, she stated that the role of THETA as related to the SGB is one of "no relations [no relationship]".

It appears that the THETA is effecting more 'extended' roles than those stipulated in SAQA policy for an ETQA - and reduced roles concurrently as there is supposed to be a relationship between it and the SGB according to NQF policy. This further develops the notion that external power plays are being effected. According to these statements it appears that the TLP, DEAT, DoL, the portfolio committee and the Business Trust are influencing qualifications and unit standards development for registration within the National Qualifications Framework. Further, it appears that the structures of the NQF (as per education policy) are effecting functions which go beyond policy whilst not effecting published roles.

This discussion will now continue with an in-depth investigation into the development of the qualifications and unit standards developed for the National Certificate in Tourism:Guiding to identify adherence to or divergence from published text.
iv. Qualifications and Unit Standards

In the National Qualifications Framework and the Standards Setting (2000) policy document, it clearly states that the SGB will generate qualifications and unit standards and will recommend these qualifications and unit standards to the NSB for registration. The ETQA, in turn, can recommend new qualifications and standards to NSBs for consideration - but its main functions are quality related. The NSB, as the structure that recognises and/or establishes the SGB, has the ultimate responsibility for the standards submitted and recommended. Nowhere in education policy is the structure of DoL (the TLP) involved in qualification or standards generation.

In the application for Recognition as a Standard Generating Body document it states that:

the SGB will consult with stakeholders during the process of unit standards generation, giving the opportunity for feedback and comment, and for the sector to take ownership of the standards developed at various levels in the NQF.

(undated:7)

This point is of importance when noting that, according to the Standards Generating Process Report, the unit standards were developed between 12 April (the first meeting of the SGB) and the 20-21 November 2000. In addition, within the project plan for the standards generation for the sub-field, the application document states that a contextual analysis for a framework of guiding standards; a learning pathway to meet the needs of the framework; and actual qualifications and unit standards will need to be conducted, designed and developed. However, the Qualifications Framework is clearly given in the same document. These are also identical to the final qualifications (including many of the unit standards) registered for the NQF Level 2 and the NQF Level 4 Qualifications in Tourism:Guiding less than a year later. This occurred between the first meeting in April and the first application document dated June 2000.

The Standards Generating Process Report by the SGB for Tourism Guiding submitted to the NSB states that five meetings and workshops were held in 2000 in which the unit standards were developed. The dates of these meetings and workshops were: 12 April; 6-9 June; 4 July; 12-14 July; 9 August and 20-21 November [this totals six]. According to an e-mail received from the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB, the only meeting held in
the first half of 2001 was held on the 5th of June 2001. There are no regulatory requirements (in policy) regarding the number of meetings held by the SGB - only "as many as was needed to complete the brief" (Assistant Director, NSB 11).

It is therefore unclear how, by whom, and when these unit standards and qualifications were developed - and whether the project plan proposed by the TLP was duly effected by the SGB: Tourism:Guiding.

Further, the consultative process is spelt out in the policy documents - and it is stated within the Application that "all major organisations / associations have been contacted and are in support of this initiative" (undated: 12). The list in support of this appears to include mainly the organisations whom the members of the SGB are representing, and therefore puts to question as to whether this consultative process had been fully implemented.

So as to try to reach clarity on these issues, the documents: Application for Recognition as a Standard Generating Body; and the TLP Guiding Standard Generating Body report were continually referred to for the purposes of the interviews conducted. The questions were developed to interrogate the reasons for, methods used to develop, and the content of the new qualifications and unit standards.

Determination of the unit standards
The Chairperson of the SGB was questioned regarding who determined the National Certificate in Tourism:Guiding Level 2 and a National Certificate in Tourism:Guiding at Level 4 as referred to in the document. To this he responded by stating that he:

would have to say that the key to get into that would be: Number one the experience that we have on the SGB ... the people that are involved in guiding first of all - either guides themselves and obviously tour operators also.

When he was questioned whether the actual NQF levels - and that there was going to be a National Certificate - were determined by the SGB, he adamantly responded:
Obviously ... I mean all these things are recommended by the SGB - that's the job of the SGB - to appoint those at particular levels. Remember initially in any SGB process - and I am involved in two SGBs - when you discuss those things it is more .. initially it is more about where you think it is going to be where the SGB thinks it should be logged at. Like so it's more conceptualisation, forward thinking .. that kind of thing that happens.

This was elaborated with the later statement regarding a consultant who is employed by the TLP as:

He is a facilitator. I mean obviously as a facilitator - he does a lot of the conceptualisation - leading to the process beforehand - and feeding .. making us think about certain things that we might not be so position clarified on.

When the Project Co-ordinator was questioned about the relationship of the same consultant to the SGB she declined to address the question. The questions therefore must be - who is managing and developing the unit standards and qualifications and is it being effected by the SGB as required by policy? This led to further interviews to try to achieve clarity.

The Chairperson of the SGB commented on the determination of the qualifications by stating:

And then there were various stages because at the initial [stage] if you look at the documents you will see that these possible things that were identified that was really just setting - let's call it setting the agenda of getting there. Levels and those kinds of things weren't determined at the first meeting .. for instance that happened way down the line. Members are required to speak to their constituencies and to feed that back into the SGB process. So what you will have hopefully is you've got what we will call narrow consultation and wider consultation.

He was adamant, however, that the Guiding SGB determined the Core, Fundamental and Elective Unit Standards :" The transformation agenda was key - so these things were determined by the SGB. And no one else but the SGB." However, the Project Co-ordinator of the Tourism Guiding SGB (who works for the SGB: Tourism:Guiding and is employed by the THETA) had an alternative explanation regarding the determination of the unit standards through her explanation that they were determined by: "the Guiding SGB." She then clarified this by adding:
The tourism ones were determined by the Hospitality Travel Tourism Gaming and Leisure SGB - they determine the Tourism standards. The guiding ones [only] - the Guiding SGB.

This introduces new players with new agendas - another SGB. The time period; the expertise; the TLP facilitator; the qualifications determined in the Application for Recognition as a Standard Generating Body document; and the TLP's 'rigorous management' of the SGB processes all indicate that there could be a variance from the NQF policy in practice.

The Assistant Director of NSB 11, though, stated that the unit standards were determined by the SGB: Tourism:Guiding - and that the NSB then ratified the choices, or sought motivation for the choices. Further, he clarified the method in which the levels were determined:

The SGB engaged in a scoping exercise of the sub-field. It then established the need for these qualifications. The SGB (experts in the sub-field) determined, with the guidance of the level-descriptors document, the levels of the qualifications and standards.

He was adamant that the qualifications in Tourism Guiding met the objectives as determined by policy "or else the SAQA Authority would not have registered the qualification". Thus the NSB ratifies the process according to paper - but the interrogation of this paper indicated alternative procedures.

v. Consultants and consultations

Throughout the interviews and the interrogation of paper it became apparent that the role of consultants was pivotal in the establishment of the SGB and the development of the qualifications and the unit standards. A list of consultants is given in the Application for Recognition of Standards Generating Body document, and the Guiding Standard Generating Body Report - and throughout relevant implementation documentation these names continually appear. This led to interviews conducted to determine the consultants and their roles in the educational process. When the interviewees were questioned regarding the reasons for consultation with this specific group of organisations and how the specific problems were identified, the reasons given appeared to vary considerably.
The Chamber Manager stated that:

[These organisations come from a] wider list. The SGB have focused on a narrow concentration. [They] take to their own constituency and then to other interest groups (broader). They are representative of stakeholders in the industry.

This was taken further by the Project Co-ordinator who remarked that: "[They are] specialists in the culture, heritage and field guiding. [They are] nationally recognised to have expertise. Not only them [were consulted]". The Chairperson of the SGB answered the question by stating that: "I think that the only answer that I can give here is that the SGB identified those to be crucial - to be, you know, consultants". Regarding the problems, he added:

They were compiled by the SGB obviously with the facilitator (Pearl's facilitator) [the Project Co-ordinator's facilitator] and also looking at what the policy documents and all of those things so it was informed by all of that.

The role and expertise in the field of tourist guiding of the TLP facilitator was not identified, and no further clarity could be reached regarding the selection criteria of the consultants.

According to policy, the consultation with as many communities and interested parties as possible should be effected - no evidence of this wider consultation regarding the unit standards was evidenced in minutes of the meetings of the SGB.

This investigation into the policy development and policy practice will now continue with a detailed identification of the contestations as identified through the documentary interrogation and interviews held.
4.3 THE DISJUNCTION BETWEEN PAPER AND PRACTICE

As, hopefully, the foregoing has shown, the policy documentation clearly stipulates what processes must occur for the establishment and the operationalisation of the structures for tourist guiding. Equally clear is that the practice and implementation of the policy have taken another route. In what follows, an attempt is made to lay out the disjunction between the published text and the actual practice in a schematic way to open up the key points of contradiction. This representation of the disjunctions is intended to facilitate the development of the analytical frame for this research.
1. SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF SGB MEMBERS

SGB members will be "composed of organisations, which shall be key education and training stakeholder groups and experts in the sub-field".

In the process for SGB establishment, the NSB appoints the SGB members. In the process for SGB recognition, the NSB Co-ordinator receives and processes applications for SGB status after checking "against issues of expertise and the requirements of equity and redress" (NQF and Standards Setting 2000:34).

Representation of all members is quality assured by the NSB SGB Sub-Committee.

Members to be selected by the Vice Chairperson of the NSB: "the NSB appoints members after consultation, and in co-operation with the bodies concerned" (Ibid 2000:33).

Criteria for membership are explicit with regards to: experience, expertise, respect in the sub-field, gender and race.

Membership of the SGB: Tourism Guiding - the group are represented by: training providers, school teachers and trainers in: teacher training, business advice, tourism (not tourist guiding) and public administration. There are members of the SGB who do not represent key stakeholders and experts in the sub-field of tourist guiding. Many are not involved in the tourist guiding field.

(Application for Recognition of SGB documentation).

In his interview, the Assistant Director of the NSB stated that he verified the SGB experts in the sub-field, and that the SGB members were selected from nominations by the Co-ordinator of the SGB then the Chief Executive of THETA. According to other interviews, the members were selected by a committee with representation from DEAT, DoL, THETA, SATOUR and the Portfolio Committee.

According to the current Chairperson, THETA confirmed his membership of the SGB. Further, he stated that "transformation was the key" [for membership].

The one elective is cultural tourism, but as stated by the Chairperson of the SGB "there are no real experts on that on the SGB".

Disjunctions

Structures that were not involved in the NQF were paramount in the selection of members, who were to determine the Unit Standards and Qualifications for Tourist Guiding. The process and the determination of the members of the SGB was not implemented according to policy requirements.

Analysis

Evidence of power plays and hidden collusion by the players in the Tourism field reveals meta-capital capable of exercising a power over other species of power. Thus the policy intervention has been limited.
## TEXT

2. RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SGB WITH OTHER NQF BODIES, THE BUSINESS TRUST AND THE TLP

The SGB is monitored by the NSB. The SGB is approved by the NSB, and works with the NSB to set and maintain standards within the specialist area. According to the Assistant Director of NSB 11 and policy, "the SGB is answerable to the NSB" (*Ibid* 2000:28).

The SGB performs the functions: "to develop learning pathways for potential qualifications and standards...to generate standards and qualifications on levels..." (*Ibid* 2000:36).

A function of the ETQA is to: "accredit providers for specific qualifications and standards registered on the NQF" (*Ibid* 2000:13).

A provider is "a body that delivers learning programme focussed on the achievement of specific NQF qualifications and standards" (*Ibid* 2000:13-14).

### Disjunctions

According to the Chamber Manager of THETA, the Business Trust contributed over R80 million and the Department of Labour contributed R35 million to the TLP. The interviewees stated that "The THETA is answerable", and that the THETA delivers on the TLP project. Neither of these could be found as functions of a SETA or an ETQA in the relevant policy texts.

### Analysis

Through these "extended roles", it appears that some players on the field have extended economic capital which represents economic power, and a form of dominance. The investment in the field is apparent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>PRACTICE</th>
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<td>The SGB is monitored by the NSB. The SGB is approved by the NSB, and works with the NSB to set and maintain standards within the specialist area. According to the Assistant Director of NSB 11 and policy, &quot;the SGB is answerable to the NSB&quot; (<em>Ibid</em> 2000:28). The SGB performs the functions: &quot;to develop learning pathways for potential qualifications and standards...to generate standards and qualifications on levels...&quot; (<em>Ibid</em> 2000:36). A function of the ETQA is to: &quot;accredit providers for specific qualifications and standards registered on the NQF&quot; (<em>Ibid</em> 2000:13). A provider is &quot;a body that delivers learning programme focussed on the achievement of specific NQF qualifications and standards&quot; (<em>Ibid</em> 2000:13-14).</td>
<td>According to the Guiding Standard Generating Body Report of the TLP, the transformation mechanisms in the TLP involved &quot;rigorous management of the SGB processes&quot; by the TLP; the generation of working examples of assessment and the curriculum examples being designed. Further, it states that the TLP will be selecting Training Providers for Accreditation. According to the Chairperson of the SGB, the &quot;THETA co-ordinates the SGB -that's bottom line their function. The Business Trust provides the finances&quot;. According to the Project Co-ordinator of the SGB, &quot;to implement the learnership project you have to have qualifications - there were no qualifications so [we] did it for the DEAT and Portfolio Committee - [who] asked THETA and TLP together...to help in the formation&quot;.</td>
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Disjunctions

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Analysis

Through these "extended roles", it appears that some players on the field have extended economic capital which represents economic power, and a form of dominance. The investment in the field is apparent.
3. QUALIFICATIONS AND UNIT STANDARDS

SGBs will: "under take the generation of qualifications and standards..." and "initiate qualifications and standards generation within the framework of the sub-field" (Ibid 2000:22). The consultative process during the process of setting unit standard is an essential point in the guiding principles of the NQF. The NSBs and the SGBs "must consult widely with those who have an interest in their area" (Ibid 2000:23).

The Qualifications Framework for Tourism Guiding was clearly given in the Application for Recognition as a Standards Generating Body Document which was submitted to the NSB. The trial qualifications (including many of the unit standards) registered on NQF level 2 and 4 for tourist guiding were also listed in the Application - which was submitted prior to the establishment of the SGB.

The Chairperson of the SGB stated about a consultant employed by the TLP: "He is a facilitator - he does a lot of conceptualisation - leading the process beforehand...and leading....". He also stated that "Members are required to speak to their constituencies".

According to the Project Co-ordinator of Tourism Guiding SGB (who is employed by THETA), only the guiding unit standards were developed by the guiding SGB - the others were developed by the Hospitality, Travel, Gaming and Leisure SGB. However, the Assistant Director of NSB 11 stated that the SGB (experts in the sub-field) determined the levels of qualification and standards.

In personal correspondence dated the 25th of June 1999, a previous Chamber manager of THETA wrote: "To my knowledge, preliminary discussions are underway for the development of standards for tour guiding". The first meeting of the SGB was held on the 12th of April 2000.

Disjunctions

Who is actually managing and developing the unit standards? Is it the TLP, the Tourism Guiding SGB, another SGB or others? The policy is clear that the experts (members) in the sub-field Tourist Guiding will determine the limit standards and qualifications with due consultation.

Analysis

However, the implementation process is unclear and the power plays are being revealed. There are hidden agendas and trump cards being used in the field.
4. FUNCTIONS OF ETQAs / SETAs

The stipulated roles of the ETQA according to SAQA documentation are: "to promote quality amongst providers; to accredit providers for specific qualifications and standards registered on the NQF; evaluate assessment and accreditation of moderation among providers; co-operate with relevant Bodies appointed to moderate across ETQAs; register assessors for specified registered qualifications and standards in terms of the criteria established for this purpose; monitor the quality of the provision; take responsibility for the certification of learners; maintain an acceptable database; submit required reports to SAQA; recommend new qualifications and standards to NSBs for consideration, or modify existing qualifications and/or standards" (Ibid 2000:13).

As an ETQA and a SETA, the structure will be responsible for the following quality assurance functions in respect of the specific qualifications for the sector in which it is accredited: "Accrediting providers; Promoting quality amongst constituent providers; Monitoring provision; Evaluating assessment and accreditation of moderation among constituent providers; Registering assessors; The certification of learners; Co-operating with relevant moderating bodies; Recommending new standards or qualifications to NSBs or modifications to existing standards and qualifications; Maintaining a database; Submitting reports to SAQA" (The NQF and SETAs brochure).

Disjunctions

Apparent 'management' of SGB processes and the 'ensuring' of the implementation process raises concerns regarding the policy elaboration of the National Qualifications Framework.

Analysis

It must be considered that the TLP is a project of THETA - so who is actually managing and ensuring implementation of policy? Is the ETQA replacing the actual policy role of quality assurance? or are certain players managing processes for power reasons?
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

"People know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what they do does." (Michel Foucault)

This dissertation has attempted to evaluate how policy documents dealing with education restructuring in tourism created appropriate conditions for the shift or reconstruction of social and power relations in tourist guiding education. It has argued that, although the policy text promotes greater development, participation, redress and equity, the practice of policy is unlikely to fulfil these promises. In fact, the policies are in danger of creating and of re-re-enforcing conditions which will assist the advantaged and make it more difficult or unsuitable for the participation of the disadvantaged.

As the research has unfolded, it has become apparent that it is necessary for the bureaucracy to faithfully execute the directives of the polity. Further, the power of the implementers should be identified by the policy makers and this should be strategised to try to constrain or to minimise the influence of the implementing agents. According to McLaughlin (as stated by De Clercq):

> implementation is not about automatic transmission but is a process of bargaining and negotiation between the various local and national actors. ... the implementing bureaucrats will always put their own interpretations and meanings to the intended policies and, in the process, will use their power or discretion to subvert or transform the original goals of the policy makers. (De Clercq 1997:129)

The theory of power, particularly as it relates to the roles of players, has been threaded through the pages of this investigation. Whether policy is considered as a discourse because it "investigates how policies influence restructuring, redistribution, and disruption of power relations", or if policy is considered as text where the "meaning of the policy text will get affected, deflected and inflected by existing social inequalities as the stakeholders contest, mediate and react to the policy text" (as promulgated by Ball in De Clercq 1997:131), the policy perspective emphasises actors' strategies, struggles, goals and interactions around particular policy. These power struggles can be amply
demonstrated throughout this research and in this synthesis, and is elaborated in the schematic representation in the preceding chapter of the disjunctions between the published text and the actual practice.

Bourdieu introduced the notion of the *field*, the *players* on the field, the *game*, the *stakes*, and the *tokens* used in the game. The field has definite boundaries as it is related to domestic and international tourism— and the education and training required to service this industry. In order to analyse a field, Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) states that it involves three necessary and internally connected moments. Firstly, the positions on the field must be examined according to power. Secondly:

\[
\text{one must map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents of institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which this field in the site. And third[ly], one must analyze the habitus of the agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find a definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:105)}
\]

The field could be related to the tourist guiding education arena, and the players from the educational structure are the NSB and its members; the SGB and its members; and the ETQA/SETA with members and employees. Additional players on the field are the Business Trust, the Portfolio Committee, the Department of Environment and Tourism, the Department of Labour and the Tourism Learnership Project. These agents all have different agendas and different kinds of capital—economic, cultural and political. Bourdieu (1992) states that it is the field which is primary and which is the focus of the research operations. The people and structures exist as agents who are active in the field as they possess the properties required to participate and we must consider their particular point of view—how their vision of the field is constructed. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) therefore introduces the hermeneutic circle in which one must identify the forms of specific capital that operate within the field.

As has become evident through the research, some players have substantial capital which has increased their power within the tourist guiding education arena. As the *field of struggles* is transforming, there are those whose struggles are aimed at seizing power over the political and economic resources that wield a power over all games and over the
rules that regulate them (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). They have a propensity to activate their capital towards the preservation of the distribution of capital - or towards the subversion of this distribution. The extent of power exerted by the player depends on the amount of capital possessed by the player (capital possession), and in this study it has become apparent that the players are using varying degrees of capital to jockey for power and to wield power and influence over the other players. This is demonstrated in the relationship of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding with other bodies which is being effected through further 'extended roles' than those determined within the policy text - for example the TLP's "rigorous management of the SGB processes" (Guiding Standard Generating Body Report 2000:7). Additionally, the selection of the members of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding who determined the new unit standards and qualifications indicates the use of political and economic power plays as it appears to have followed a process which was not prescribed in the policy text. The influence of this power can be identified in the words of the Chairperson of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding when he stated in the interview that "the Guiding SGB was put together almost completely differently to what ... than any other SGB has been put together."

Further, players appear to have reduced competition and are dominating the field so that they can make it function to their advantage. This has been effected through the hidden collusion of players, extended roles being enacted, trump cards being used, and the apparent extension of policy in order to extend power. The hidden collusion appears to have been through the formation of coalitions and ties with other bureaucratic agents who have a common preference - other organisational entities with their own interests and resources (Bourdieu 1992). This is clearly evident throughout the processes of the selection of members and the development of the qualifications and unit standards for tourist guiding, and within the roles of the consultants who effected roles including conceptualisation and 'feeding' certain things to the members of the SGB.

As stated by Bourdieu, players have aimed at attempting to acquire power and improve their positions in the field through the imposition of "the principles of hierarchization most favourable to their own products" (1992:101). In this way, the dominant player has appropriated the specific products at stake in the game and, as is obvious, the player who dominates the field will make it work to their advantage. The management of certain processes in the appointment of the SGB: Tourism:Guiding and the development of the qualifications and unit standards clearly demonstrates this domination of the field.
through economic and political power. The Application documents also indicate that power plays were at work from a very early stage.

Further, it appears that some players are working to change the value of capital possessed by themselves on the field (from political to economic) and to discredit the form of capital on which opposition rests (e.g. political capital). This has been addressed by Bourdieu as:

There is an emergence of a specific capital, *properly statist capital*, born of their cumulation, which allows the state to wield a power over the different fields and over the various forms of capital that circulate in them. This kind of *meta-capital* capable of exercising a power over other species of power . . . .

(Bourdieu 1992:114)

This exertion of power over other species of power through the possession and use of a meta-capital was identified with the involvement of the THETA in:

- the Application documentation for the SGB;
- the selection and appointment of members of the SGB as the THETA was well represented in the selection committee;
- the involvement of THETA linked consultant(s) with the SGB; and
- the relationship between the THETA, the Business Trust and the Department of Labour - both of whom contributed financially to the TLP which is a project of the THETA.

These roles are extended roles which extend the power of the ETQA (THETA) beyond the quality assurance role which is stipulated in the NQF and the policy text. The quality assurance aspect is the basis of the NQF - is this being effectively applied when the ETQA (THETA) is apparently, in itself, effecting additional roles to those stipulated in policy?

This leads to the words of Bourdieu previously stated in this work that:

Those who dominate the party, and who have a close interest in the existence and persistence of this institution and in the specific profits it secures for them, find, in the freedom they gain through their monopoly of the production and imposition of *institutional political interests*, the possibility of imposing their own interests as the interests of those whom they represent. (Bourdieu 1991:175)
The players who wished to acquire the positions of power have effected this through policy elaboration. This has resulted in 'adaptation' of policy when implementation has occurred - and has resulted in strategic positions being acquired. This has attempted to be demonstrated in the schematic representation of the Field of Struggles.
5.1 **Field of struggles** (Bourdieu)

(agents and social plays and power issues)

"Policy as discourse"

**Key**
1. Political capital
2. Economic capital
3. Cultural capital
4. TLP Project is managed by THETA

**Communication**

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<tr>
<th>Strength</th>
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**Utilisation of structures**

to fit into power issues

(Players are using policy for power)
This research has considered the policy texts that are applied in the education and tourism arenas. Through the policy analysis and the interviews, it has become apparent that there are deviations that are occurring between the actual text and the implementation of the policies. Codd (in Taylor in Ball 2000:1876) clearly identified that policy documents "can be said to constitute the official discourse of the state." The state is further elaborated on by Burton (in Taylor in Ball 2000:1880) as consisting of a "complex of relationships, embodying a certain form of power operating through various institutional arrangements." The policy documents instituted by the state that were investigated in this research clearly promote participation, equity and redress, but it is within the policy implementation phase that the power (possibly as a form of domination) is exercised.

Within the field of struggles in the implementation of policy in tourist guiding, the power of the implementers must be recognised as it appears that policy makers have focused on the "immediate problems of policy formation rather than the more distant problems of implementation" (Elmore 1979-80:613). It is within this arena of implementation that the social, and especially political and economic, power plays have been identified. The state of relationship of force between the players and of the particular linkages between agents and institutions were also explored which resulted in the identification of all material and symbolic advantages associated with the possession of symbolic capital held by those who have the privilege of investing in the game (Bourdieu 1991). This possession of meta-capital has resulted in the tourist guiding field being controlled by players (in structures that have only changed in name or players) who had power in the past and who still possess the same or even greater power. This leaves me with the question: despite the development of policy text with redress and equity in mind - has anything really changed in the field of tourist guiding after policy implementation?
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