The Socioeconomic impact of religious tourism on local communities in Limpopo: A case study

UNIVEN Research Report 2015
About UNIVEN
The University of Venda (UNIVEN), situated in Thohoyandou in the scenic Vhembe district of the Limpopo Province of South Africa was established in 1982. The university has ever experienced tremendous growth and change. From its early years, staff members were drawn from various backgrounds in South Africa but by 1994 staff members were increasingly recruited from other African countries and overseas. The presence on campus of staff from diverse backgrounds created a unique atmosphere and a fertile environment for new ideas and a capacity for change.

To date the university has established itself as a national asset through its niche on problem oriented, project based curriculum with a strength in nurturing under prepared students into nationally competitive graduates. The university has therefore become an important player in the South African higher education landscape, contributing significantly to the human resources and development needs of the country and region.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is an investigation into the socio-economic impacts of the religious gathering in Moria on the surrounding communities. Moria is the head-quarters of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), an entirely black denomination with millions of members from several African countries, formed in 1910 by the late Engenas Lekganyane. In a given year, the gathering takes place in April and in September, although attending services and spiritual consultations do take place outside these two main gatherings.

In this highly spiritual context with a lot of activities that may not be comprehended by the common person, this research study is an attempt to gather information and give voice to the agents within the communities surrounding Moria themselves, and to present this evidence to policy-makers, business establishments and any other interested stakeholder in the tourism industry as an input to their strategizing and decision-making in relation to this massive gathering. The study was approached mainly from a qualitative approach and secondarily from a quantitative approach. In the field work, observations, informal interviews and two sessions of focus group discussions with agents from the business establishments located within 50km radius of Moria were conducted. The first observation method was executed before the gathering as a way of scanning the environment, and the second was done during the gathering and another a month after the gathering when activities in fuel stations were monitored. Informal interviews accompanied the first observation, while focus group discussions were a standalone.

The findings of this research report are presented under five headings that were identified from the data gathered: a description of Moria and the surrounding communities; relations between the gathering and commercial establishments; determinants of business location; social impact of the gathering; and motorists utilizing fuel stations with and without the gathering. Using these findings we report that over and above being the supplier of spiritual food, the church is contributing towards employment, education and health. We argue that these contributions are vital as they have a great potential of reducing poverty, crime rate, and use of drugs that usually accompany the unemployed and the uneducated. The presence of the church without a doubt improves the rural-urban linkages. While most businesses report that they do not observe any significant change in their sales during the gathering, they do nonetheless respond to certain requirements of pilgrims to take advantage of the increased demand. The findings also suggest that the gathering triggers a ripple-purchasing effect from non-ZCC members of the community, where the report defines the ripple-purchasing effect as activities accompanying an event that lead people to be in a buying spree. For fuel stations in particular, the frequency with which motorists utilise their services is twice more during a week-end with the gathering. On the other hand, the report also highlights the reduction in sales observed by some hawkers during the gathering as a result of over-supply of commodities by business establishments who position themselves to supply only during this period.

Moving beyond the socio-economic impacts of the gathering, the report provides the implications of the study for religious tourism in Moria, with a special emphasis on the potential of using the gathering to attract secular tourists as is the case with basilicas of Rome. Subject to the church’s approval, this may be achieved through collaboration between the church and the government and/or private sector. If well-orchestrated, this may bring benefits especially to tourism value chain business establishments such as accommodation, which are currently not benefiting at all from the gathering.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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GLOSSARY OF TOURISM TERMS

Religious tourism
Religious tourism (also known as faith tourism), encompasses a range of spiritual sites and associated services which are visited for both secular and religious reasons (Lefebvre, 1996)

Pilgrim
A person (especially a religious devotee) who journeys, especially a long distance, to some sacred place as an act of religious devotion

Pilgrimage
Pilgrimage may be defined as a journey resulting from religious causes, externally to a holy site and internally for spiritual purposes and internal understanding (Barber, 1993).

Tourism
Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (World Tourism Organization/WTO)

Tourist attraction
A place of interest where tourists visit, typically for its inherent or exhibited natural or cultural value, historical significance, natural or built beauty, offering leisure, adventure and amusement.

Tourism expenditure
The amount paid for the acquisition of consumption goods and services, as well as valuables, for own use or to give away, for and during tourism trips.

Tourist
A visitor (domestic, inbound or outbound) is classified as a tourist (or overnight visitor), if the visitor’s trip includes an overnight stay.

Visitor
A person who travels to a country other than that of residence, for any reason other than paid work (United Nations World Tourism Organization/UNWTO).
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYMS</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ATG:</td>
<td>Alternative Tourism Group</td>
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<td>GNP:</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>RT Rev:</td>
<td>Right Reverent</td>
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<td>SERVQUAL:</td>
<td>Service Quality Model</td>
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<td>UAAC:</td>
<td>United African Apostolic Church</td>
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<td>UK:</td>
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<td>UNWTO:</td>
<td>United Nations World Tourism</td>
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<td>USA:</td>
<td>United State of America</td>
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<td>ZCC:</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

People usually travel away from their places of residence for different reasons. Each reason of travel is categorized into a type of tourism. For example, extended family voyages or club voyages are categorized as social or group tourism; travelling for business and conferences has been termed economic or business tourism; travelling for political events is named political tourism; trips by athletes as well as visitors of sporting events are termed sports tourism; and that voyage whose participation is motivated either in part or exclusively for religious reasons is termed religious tourism (Rinschede 1992). This study is about religious tourism and its impact on surrounding communities (and by surrounding we mean communities within a 50km radius from Moria).

Religiously motivated travel is considered as one of the oldest and most widespread reasons for travel. There are a number of destinations that have become renowned for their religious tourism resources and large volumes of visitors daily. Sacred places such as shrines, temples, churches, landscape features and ceremonial events are among the most ancient in religious tourism (Nolan and Nolan 1992). Similar to other countries, millions of people in South Africa also travel to places of spiritual significance such as religious sites for religious reasons. Over time, religious tourism has had an increased affinity to pilgrimage, cultural and secular tourism to the extent that Hudman and Jackson (1992) have used the term tourism pilgrimage to stress this kinship of terms.

The study reveals that Moria, the religious site for the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) is not only important for pilgrims but for some unconventional businesses that totally depend on this religious event. While these businesses are a small component of all businesses that apparently do not depend on the religious event operating in the study area, there is evidence that most other businesses do take advantage of the gathering. Yet still there are unconventional businesses that claim to lose out during the gathering. The study also reveals that Moria is well positioned to be a tourist attraction for secular tourists, if collaboration between the ZCC and the government or private sector is well orchestrated.
1.1. Rationale for the Study

Religious travel has significant social and economic impact on many countries around the world. For example in India religious travel is reported to be the largest economic sector generating about 20% of national revenue in 2010 (Patel and Fellow 2010, as quoted in Saayman et al 2013). Tarlow (2010) indicates that religious travel is one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism industry, with an estimated value of US$1.8 billion (in 2010) and 300 million travellers. Similarly The Economist (as quoted in Saayman et al 2013) reports that religious tourism is the fastest growing industry in Saudi Arabia grossing about US$8 billion annually to the fiscus.

To the best of our knowledge there is general paucity of studies that have attempted to research the impact of religious tourism in Southern Africa, let alone in South Africa (with the notable exception of recent study by Saayman et al 2013 which emphasized economic impact evaluation of religious tourism). This is despite the potential impact that religious pilgrimage may have on local economy given that travellers require some form of accommodation, food and drink, transportation, and facilities for recreation and shopping on the way, during and after their visit to the sacred sites.

Therefore, this proposed study attempted to fulfil this research gap and to assess both the social and economic impact of religious tourism site in the Limpopo Province have on local communities.

1.2. Problem Statement

In the province of Limpopo there are various religious sites that are located in rural areas. These sites include Ha-Mavhunga village, the pilgrimage site of the United African Apostolic Church (UAAC) and Moria village, the pilgrimage site of Zion Christian Church (ZCC). These sites attract domestic and international travellers. Some of these pilgrims and tourists would consume tourism specific products and services and engage in other economic activities in the local economy. It is however unclear what the socio-economic impact of such religious tourism has on local economies. The research sought to assess the implications of such travel on the tourism sector and local communities with particular focus on the case of ZCC September gathering in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.
1.3. The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to determine the socio-economic impact of the ZCC gathering on the local communities within a 50km radius of the church site.

1.4. The objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are the following:

- to review relevant international literature relating to religious tourism by focusing on the impact of popular religious sites such as Mecca and Jerusalem on the local tourism industry and surrounding communities.
- to describe the ZCC gathering and its socio-economic impact on the local tourism industry and surrounding communities.
- to identify and determine the impact of the gathering on the supply side (e.g. accommodation) and the effect it has on the local communities.
- to make appropriate recommendations on how local tourism industry and communities can benefit from religious tourism both socially and economically.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Stark (2009) describes religious tourism as a form of tourism that is conducted at religious sites and often includes aspects of religious worship. Thus a religious tourist is someone who engages in tourism but does so at religious sites. Rinschede(1992) adds that religious tourism is a genre of tourism that is exclusively or strongly motivated by religious reasons. Religious tourism, according to him, involves a dynamic element – movement in space, a journey, as well as by a static element – a temporary stay at a place other than the place of residence. From Rinschede’s definition, it is clear that many religious places such as churches are tourism and leisure visitor attractions. Rinschede identifies three major types of religious tourism - short-term, long-term and organisational forms of religious tourism. The short-term religious tourism is distinguished by excursions to nearby pilgrimage centers or religious conferences. The long-term describes visits of several days or weeks to national and international
pilgrimage sites or conferences. Organizational forms of religious tourism can be distinguished by definitive characteristics such as number of participants, choice of transport, seasonal travel, and social structure. Rinschede’s definition differs from that of the United Nations and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development in terms of the stipulated period of stay. The United Nations posit that the journey has to be for a limited period of time whereas Rinschede’s definition includes a day-trip. This difference is salient for our purposes in this study because informal preliminary investigation shows that there are some day-trip visits to the selected sites. As such, this study leans on the definition of tourism proposed by Rinschede.

Tourism is traditionally and closely linked to religion which has acted as a powerful motive for travel from the time of early pilgrimages to contemporary journeys to sacred places. Religious buildings, rituals, festivals and ceremonial events are important tourist attractions for those with a casual interest as well as more devout followers of the particular systems of belief (Henderson, 2003). Tourist sites are shown to have acquired a sacredness, travel to them exhibiting the qualities of pilgrimage (Cohen, 1992 a, b). Tourism at religious or sacred sites is a special type of cultural heritage tourism (Shackley, 2001). Many researches deal with religious phenomenon and analyze it as a determinant factor, a cultural element, and an important component of economic and social activities. Religious attraction is an important element of the rural tourism phenomenon. On the domestic front, Pilgrim Tourism can be very helpful for regional development, employment generation, and can entrench cultural values. Religious tourism generates revenue in a way as no other kind of tourism does (Karar, 2010).

According to Rinschede (1992), religious motivated tourism is probably as old as religion itself and is consequently the oldest type of tourism. Religious tourism is developed based on tourist’s motivation; it is motivated by religious reasons or faith. However, tourism and religion have often been seen as independent and mutually exclusive activities. For example, Willson (2011) observes that traditionally, scholars viewed travel as being devoid of spiritual meaning. Indeed, there was time that tourism was viewed as hedonistic and superficial, in which tourists were rich and selfish, travelled in luxury, remain in their ‘bubbles’, merely experiencing the peripheral importance of travel, and do not gain much of personal meaning (Lowenthal, 1962; Boorstin, 1964). In recent times, tourism is not only a pleasure but also embraces significant meanings for people that, in turn can considerably shape their lives. Tourism’s experiences are not only associated with physical travel to certain places but also a spiritual
experience that embraces physical and psychological benefits, altruism, and other personal development and changes in life (Wilson & Harris, 2006).

The World Tourism Organization defines tourism as ‘a set of activities practiced by people who are traveling to different places outside their homes in regular trips of no more than one year; these activities include business, recreational, religious and cultural behaviour’. According to Cosmescu (2005), tourism can be divided into many sectors according to the purpose. For instance, there are relaxing tourism, health-care tourism, transit tourism, visiting tourism and professional tourism. Also according to the destination, tourism can be classified into domestic tourism and international tourism. In the global market of tourism, there are organized tourism, semi-organized tourism and unorganized tourism. Tourism can also be divided according to the number of tourists into two types: individual tourism and group tourism; in some cases, the group may be one extended family. Tourism can further be classified by duration into three kinds: tourism for a short period like a trip for one day, tourism for a long duration like a tour for one month, and tourism for a very long time like a tour for one year (Minciu, 2004).

This study will focus on religious tourism as an important and growing type of tourism all over the world. The UNWTO estimates that 300 to 330 million tourists visit the world’s key religious sites each year. Several researchers have acknowledged that there is no single confirmed definition of religious tourism (see Cui, 1998; Yan, 2000; Chen and Zhou, 2001; Fang, 2001; Lin, 2002), and identified two widely held views about religious tourism. The first is based on the fact that religious followers conduct touristic activities for the purposes of religion, including pilgrimage, worshiping, ‘roaming around’, ‘doctrine spreading’, among others. The second focuses on the various touristic activities performed around resources of religious tourism. Obviously, religious tourism is different from other tourist activities based on sightseeing and cultural tourism. It focuses on religious culture and possesses the quality of piety, belief and seriousness.

Religious tourism has become one of the most important industries and sources of income in many countries. For example, Pilgrims and tourists tend to use hotels, various means of transportation and purchase food, drinks, gifts, souvenirs, clothes, and spiritual items. All the previous elements represent a large part of the local revenues in many countries, and therefore have significant effects on gross
domestic product. Religious tourism can be viewed as a global industry of about $US 18 billion through a number of 300 million tourists. According to the Religious Society of Travel, in 2008, North America recorded about $US 10 billion worth of travel on religious visits. Israel is considered one of the top countries achieving growth in the number of religious tourists with estimates ranging from 1.8 million passengers to 2.4 million tourists in 2006 alone (Levit, 2008).

Box 1: The Case of Mecca

Religious tourism: Mecca

MECCANS say they do not need agriculture, for God has given them the pilgrimage as their annual crop. Millions of Muslims are now setting out to take part in this year's haj, a trek to Islam's holiest site, in Saudi Arabia. The haj, which all Muslims aspire to do at least once in their lifetimes, now brings in $16.5 billion, around 3% of Saudi GDP. Jerusalem, a holy city for all three Abrahamic religions, also draws crowds of pilgrims, and huge numbers of Shia Muslims visit shrines in Iraq. The UN's World Tourism Organisation estimates that over 300m people go on pilgrimages each year. Countless others visit shrines or sacred places.

The numbers are increasing because the Middle East's growing middle class means more tourists, three-quarters of whom travel within the region. Abundant tumult is less likely to deter those travelling for religious reasons than ordinary tourists. Shia pilgrims still flock to Karbala and Najaf in Iraq, despite the threat of bombs. "The person who sees their holiday as a cultural experience will be put off by bad security, but the believer will not," says Kevin Wright, an observer of new tourist markets.

Faith-based tourism in the region dates back to Moses leading his people through Sinai "with God as their tour guide", jokes Peter Tarlow, a travel consultant who is also a rabbi. In medieval times Venetian traders took Europeans on trips to the Holy Land. Israel has long promoted religious tourism. Yet most countries have been slow to profit from their religious sites.

One exception is the haj, which has both expanded and gone upmarket. Oil wealth and a rising identification with Islam have made it a huge money maker. Posh hotel chains have piled into Mecca, including Raffles, which in 2010 opened the spa-equipped Makkah Palace. Souvenir shops do such a roaring trade that some only bother to open during the haj. Travel firms in the tourists' home countries do nicely too. In Egypt packages cost up to 80,000 Egyptian pounds ($11,450), according to Reda Dunia, who runs a travel agency in Cairo.

Some pilgrims grumble about the rising cost of performing their religious duty. Airlines and hotels put up their prices during religious holidays. Nevertheless, says Mr Dunia, Muslims often save for years for their haj, “so most of them are willing to spend money on the experience.” Some tour operators now offer packages that include leisure pursuits alongside the religion. This helps to boost the price tag and might also persuade agnostics and atheists to visit holy sites just for the cultural experience.

Countries lacking their own religious landmarks are now trying to create them. In June Dubai’s authorities announced plans to build a Holy Koran theme park, with walls depicting stories from the Koran and a garden of plants mentioned in it. Dubai is betting that the pious are as profitable as the shoppers and fun-seekers that it currently attracts.

The case of Mecca presented in Box 1 above provides a good view of the importance of religious sites and events and its contribution to the economy. As claimed in the case of Mecca, countries without religious landmarks are attempting to create some. Another case is presented in Box 2 below, which demonstrates the importance of religious sites, paths and locations.

**Box 2: The case of Santiago De Compostela**

**Religious tourism: the St James way**

The “St. James Way” or simply “the Way” is a “reanimated” pilgrimage track across northern Spain (Frey, 1998). Beginning in the 1960s, the number of pilgrims grew. Today, an eclectic array of people walk, pedal bicycles or ride horses along the various ways to Santiago (Figure 3). In 1993, 100,000 pilgrims walked all 500 miles of the main route – the Camino Frances – and received their Compostela certificate, a simple diploma with their name written in Latin. This was a Compostellan Holy Year, when Saints Day (July 25th) fell on a Sunday. No reliable figures exist on how many people walk or visit the Camino these days. But it has become so well known that Martin Sheen starred in a 2012 movie called “The Way.” This film gives a surprisingly tender portrayal of why so many people are drawn to redefine and expand a Medieval religious rite. The most travelled pilgrimage road – the Camino Frances – is an east-west route covering 500 miles from St. Jean Pied-auPort in France to Santiago (Figure 4). It traverses northern Spain through the Basque country and Pamplona, the arid meseta region, and the green Celtic hills of Galicia. This main camino is a geopolitical transect through the cultural landscapes of Basques, Castilians (Spaniards), and Galicians. It is a unifying traverse linking Heaven and Earth, and perhaps, maintaining peace between separatist nations and the State. But many sacred caminos exist, several originating in France. Inside Spain, the Camino del Norte is a coastal route covering 500 miles that passes through Bilbao and Santander before joining the Camino Frances. The Camino Ingles is a 200 mile cut-off from the Atlantic coast to Santiago. The longest route in Spain is Via de la Plata (the Silver Way) that covers 620 miles from Seville to the same holy destination. Portugal has a 250 mile way called, appropriately, the Camino Portugues. There are many roads but all lead to Santiago de Compostela.

The Camino came into being as a major pilgrim’s route in the Middle Ages, although, in later centuries, it saw long periods of neglect. Over the last few decades, this pilgrim’s route has been adapted by a wide variety of public bodies that have embellished and renewed its heritage, a process shaped by numerous interests and reflecting a substantial diversity of ideologies and interplay of territorial identities. There has also been a resurgence in the number of pilgrims as a result of a militant effort favoured by the proliferation of Jacobean associations and studies. Pilgrims travel to Santiago on foot or by other means of transport that require the use of their own strength. A pilgrimage of this kind dovetails with the reasons for travelling: the search for unusual experiences, slow travel, contemplation of the landscape, learning about history and culture, and meeting new people. The final destination is the same as it has always been – the city of Santiago de Compostela, which was declared a World Heritage Site in 1985. Nevertheless, the experience of the Camino is currently associated with a multicultural and multireligious content.

Unfortunately, there are countries in Africa, South Africa included, that have religious landmarks that are not positioned for religious tourism. This is part of the gap that this study partly intends to fill, using the case of Moria. The present study also reviews a large body of literature on the impact of religious tourism on the world’s two major religious sites – Jerusalem in Israel and Mecca in Saudi Arabia as provide in the rest of the following paragraphs.

According to Rashid (2007), Muslims have been performing pilgrimages to several holy places and shrines around the world for the last 1400 years. The various destinations include Syria, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and other parts of the world. However, the main pilgrimage that Muslims must perform is the one to the holy city of Makkah (or Mecca) in Saudi Arabia, known as the hajj. Every year around 3 million Muslims, from more than 70 countries converge on Makkah, Saudi Arabia (Raj, 2007). For Muslims, the hajj is the fifth and final pillar of Islam. It is the journey that every adult Muslim must undertake at least once in their lifetime if they can afford it and are physically able (Rashid, 2007). The purpose of the pilgrimage is to visit a shrine in the city known as the Ka’aba, built by Ibrahim (Abraham) and Isma’il (Ishmael) at the command of Allah (God). It is a place for all who wish to reaffirm their faith.

Raj (2007) noted that Hajj is a unique spiritual event, bringing together people from every part of the world – such an immense diversity of human beings. These people represent such vast differences in culture and language, forming one community and performing the same faith, and all are devoted to the worship of their single creator. Michael Majid Wolfe, an Islamic scholar, commented on this phenomenon thus:

> This is one of the images that sticks with me most powerfully about the hajj. The idea of praying five times a day all over the world is a very orderly idea. To see this idea enacted by almost 3 million people in one space at the same time is awesome. When the prayer takes place in Mecca with this many people it’s so quiet you can hear clothing rustle as the people change their postures. It is a stunning event. (http://edition.cnn.com/COMMUNITY/transcripts/2001/03/05/wolfe/ accessed on 11 September 2014)

In addition to the sense of togetherness experienced by these culturally diverse people, the pilgrims gain other important benefits from hajj. For example, they share the unanimous view that nothing can quite prepare them for the sheer beauty of the experience and the overwhelming feeling of humbleness that overcomes them. Also, pilgrims enjoy the sense of purification, repentance and spiritual renewal.
during the journey of hajj. Malcolm X (Malik el-Shabazz) (cited in Raj, 2007, p. 136), aptly stated in his autobiography:

Every one of the thousands at the airport, about to leave for Jeddah, was dressed this way. You could be a king or a peasant and no one would know. Some powerful personages, who were discreetly pointed out to me, had on the same thing I had on. Once thus dressed, we all had begun intermittently calling out ‘Labbayka! (Allahumma) Labbayka!’ (Here I come, O Lord!) Packed in the plane were white, black, brown, red, and yellow people, blue eyes and blond hair, and my kinky red hair – all together, brothers! All honoring the same God, all in turn giving equal honour to each other …

Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practised by people of all colors and races here in this ancient Holy Land, the House of Abraham, Muhammad, and all the other Prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week, I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors … (http://www.colostate.edu/Orgs/MSA/find_more/m_x.html accessed 12 September 2014)

A large body of research has been conducted to examine the impact of Hajj on the Saudi Arabian economy. For example, Raj (2007), in his case study: the Festival of Sacrifice and Travellers to the City of Heaven (Makkah), reported that hajj is an event that leads Muslims in the footsteps of Muhammed to the barren plain of Mina and the slopes of Mount Arafat and is the biggest yearly mass movement of people on the planet. The author further noted that hajj contains unique spiritual aspects, and brings together people from an immense diversity of mankind.

Eid (2012) in an attempt to measure the quality of Hajj service and the satisfaction level of the pilgrims as “customers” employed Parasuraman’s SERVQUAL model on a sample of 934 pilgrims from five different countries. The study found that tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy are perceived as being important factors that make safe and pleasant Hajj. In a similar study, Brooke (1987) examined the dynamics of transporting, slaughtering and disposing of about one million animals in Makkah on the eve of Hajj as an extra-ordinary exercise in logistics and management from geographical and ecological perspectives.

Gunlu and Okumos (2010), presents findings from in-depth interviews with female pilgrims traveling from Turkey on their Hajj. The authors found that the three main motives for the respondents were fulfilling one of the Five Pillars of Islam, visiting the center of the Muslim world, and seeing how others
practised Islam. Moreover, for the majority of female pilgrims, the decision to go was made either jointly with their husbands or by others on their behalf. The long-lasting influences of this pilgrimage may include becoming more spiritual, peaceful, attentive, calm, tolerant, and careful.

Ascoura (2013) investigated the environmental effect of the Hajj. He analysed the interaction between the evolution of pilgrims’ numbers, the urban growth and problems arising during the pilgrimage season in Mecca. The findings show that the gathering of millions of people at the same time in the same space, for a few days, contributes several problems relating to the environment. The three major problems identified are social, health and public services and security issues. The social challenges involve the degradation of the habitat in the sense that the accelerated increase of pilgrims in a limited space resulted in a real housing crisis. Rental prices increases incredibly. The study further found a unique phenomenon - eviction and deportation during the pilgrimage season. Residents who rent apartments or homes were evicted during the days of Hajj to make way for pilgrims who are charged very high rents causing many problems for residents who cannot find another individual or family accommodation.

In the case of health challenges, concentration of pilgrims in a very small area in the different hotels and private accommodation, can lead to difficulties in controlling the spread of an epidemic. The city also suffers from the overload on health establishments, which leads to strained health services to the population in these neighbourhoods. Another critical health challenge is the issue of pollution during the days of the pilgrimage Bastie and Dezert (1991) confirmed that the formation of ‘layers of grime’ over large agglomerations are caused by modern urban concentration and the development of the car. Therefore, the means of transport have a major role in air pollution especially with large numbers during the pilgrimage season. The gaseous releases of various types of vehicles (motorcycles, cars, buses and trucks) are of petroleum origin which can affect the health of not only the pilgrims but also the population at large. Another type of pollution comes from the wastes that accumulate in open areas, sometimes on a side street in the near neighbourhoods of the shrines, especially Al-Azizya. Much of unpleasant odours occur at these locations. According to Gatrad and Sheikh (2005), the severe heat, the prolonged duration of the rituals and the sheer number and proximity of pilgrims from diverse locations all intensifies risks to health and safety, especially among the elderly and infirm.
Public services and the security issues relate to the dissemination of pilgrims in the neighbourhoods preclude the provision of the necessary services. Their consumption exceeds the capacity of existing public services in the city, primarily the drainage service and the supply of drinking water. The streets of spontaneous areas are mostly narrow and this fact impact heavily on the daily life of the population. Sometimes the extension of infrastructure site closes these streets. Traffic is a real problem in the city of Mecca. The failure in public transport where most population has private cars, results in suffering of the population in their movements in the city. People take a lot of time to return home from work. At peak hours, all the streets of the city suffer from congestion. Thousands of students and officials use private transport. Traffic congestion causes the spread of the phenomenon of bottling, which leads to the difficulty of movement of ambulances, civil defence and police in case of disasters such as fires or accidents. Al-Arabiya, (2012) alluded to the above challenges and reported that with more than 3 million Muslims in total performing Hajj in 2012, immense pressure has been put on the infrastructure of the holy places during late modernity.

According to Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (2013), Jerusalem has long been a destination for visitors because of the rich legacy of its religious sites. Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, there have been approximately 63 million tourist arrivals, 83% of them since the 1980s. It benefits from its worldwide recognition as a city of incomparable historical and religious significance. Attracting millions of pilgrims, Jerusalem is a holy city for the world's three major religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. In 2012, 77% of all visitors to Israel go to Jerusalem (about 2.5 million visitors out of 3.3 million to the country), illustrating the city's continuing importance in the context of the country (CBS 2012). Despite the relatively small size of the country and thus relative ease in visiting multiple cities, Jerusalem stands alone in the uniqueness and value of its historic and cultural sites.

In Israel's Tourism Industry: Recovering from Crises and Generating Growth, Levit (2008) noted that Israel is one country in which the tourism industry is still developing and has yet to reach its capacity for visitors. Levit further stated that despite its small size, Israel is home to hundreds, if not thousands, of tourist destinations and activities. Yet still, Israel's rich past combined with the variety of tourist attractions found there makes it a perfect destination for tourists of all kinds (Levit, 2008). According to Farsakh (2006), tourism generates US$2.4 - US$4.5 billion, roughly 4% of Israel's GNP in 2004.
The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that 2013 has been the country's record year for incoming tourism with 3.54 million visitors. Of these visitors, Christians represented more than half (53%) of day visitors and 78% of cruise visitors. In total, over two million Christians visited Israel in 2013. Of these Christian tourists, about half (49%) were Catholic; 20% were Protestants (the majority Evangelical); 28% were Orthodox (mainly Russian Orthodox) and 7% were from other Christian denominations. Furthermore, approximately a million (40%) of these Christian tourists defined themselves as pilgrims; about 30% said they were in Israel for sight-seeing and touring and the remainder for other reasons. The major source countries for incoming Christian tourism are: USA; Russia; Italy Germany; UK; France; Ukraine; Poland; Spain; Brazil. The major source countries for incoming Catholic tourism are: Italy; USA; France; Poland; Germany; Spain; Brazil; UK and Mexico. These nine countries represent 65% of all Catholic tourism into Israel. Africa also represents a growing segment with Nigerians being the largest group from Africa (ATG, 2013).

Approximately 40% of all Christian tourists define the purpose of their visit as pilgrimage. The most visited regions in Israel in 2013 by Christian pilgrims include: Jerusalem (90%), Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee (89%), Nazareth (86%), Dead Sea (85%), Capernaum (83%), and Bethlehem (86%). The most visited sites in 2013 by Christian tourists include Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Via Dolorosa; Western Wall; Mount of Olives (90%), Church of the Annunciation; Capernaum and Yardenit baptism site (80%), Qumran and Caesarea (60%), and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (86%).

Several studies have been conducted in the recent past to determine the impact of religious pilgrimage on the economy of Israel. Shoval and Raveh (2004), for example, examined the relation between the trip characteristics of tourists and the attractions that they visit. The study used the multivariate analysis (co-plot) that enables the simultaneous analysis of observations and variables and the graphic presentation of the interrelations among them. Jerusalem was seen as an “ideal” city for the demonstration of the co-plot method of data analysis due to the heterogeneity of its tourism. The research was conducted between September 1998 and March 1999. The results of the statistical analysis show that Jerusalem's tourist attractions can be categorized into four distinct groups and that there is a tendency of spatial concentration among sights belonging to the same group. Based on these results, a spatial model of tourism consumption in large cities was developed.
In another study, Poria et al (2003) analysed tourists' visitation patterns to a heritage site of religious significance (the Wailing Wall, Israel). Differences are found between tourists based on their religious affiliation and religiosity. The findings also reveal that the tourists' religiosity has different effects on those with different religious affiliations. It is argued that the actual relationships between a tourist's religion and strength of religious belief need to be understood in relation to the site visited, the tourist's perception of it and the meaning he or she attaches to it. The implications for tourism management and the theoretical investigation of heritage tourism are discussed.

Krakover (2000) examined longitudinal employment adjustment trends in eight tourist centers in Israel. Five variables are employed in order to account for monthly variation in hotel employment. These are measures of foreign and domestic demand, rates of bed-occupancy, and indices of the expected monthly fluctuation and long-term trend. Most results confirm the hypothesized relationships, with $R^2$ ranging from 0.47 to 0.95. Only the effect of the occupancy rate was found to be inversely related to the level of monthly hotel employment. The results suggest that while hotel operators are accustomed to hiring and firing employees according to the rhythm of regular seasonal fluctuations, they are less prepared, unwilling, or unable to fully synchronize labour to demand. Major differences appear to exist among the eight local tourist centers in the way hotel operators adjust internal employment to their respective external labor markets.

Poria, Biran, and Reichel (2007) examined tourist motivations to visit the specific sites as well as the nature of the interpretation provided while touring the city were investigated in relation to tourist perceptions of Jerusalem as part of their personal heritage. The study involved a sample of 213 tourists interviewed in different locations in Jerusalem. The findings indicate that multi-heritage site cities, such as capital cities, are visited by different tourists with different preferences regarding the tourist experience sought.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
The literature review in the preceding section has demonstrated that religious tourism has centred on three distinct themes of inquiry: the characteristics and travel patterns of religious tourists; the economics of religious tourism; and the negative impacts of tourism on religious sites and ceremonies.
Conceptually, this study sequentially follows and focuses on these three distinct themes by first attempting to observe travelling patterns of religious tourists in Moria village. The economics of religious tourism covered only include the supply side. Finally negative impacts of the religious impacts resulting from the gathering in Moria are traced and documented from the lens of the established businesses within a 50km radius.

4. METHODOLOGY

The section of the report presents the way this research was conducted in detail. First we describe the study design that informed all other methods and instruments used to gather data. Consequently, there are slight overlaps from the study design section into all other sections.

4.1. Study Design and Methods Description

The study has been designed such that we have to employ quite a number of approaches to determine the impact of the Moria gathering on surrounding communities, especially on businesses. The first step or stage was to visit Moria and observe the surrounding communities within a 50km radius to establish a background understanding ahead of developing the final instruments for collecting data. The observation approach has been used in several studies as a tool for collecting data (Kawulich, 2005) and has been hailed as one of the important tools of research in terms of “active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience” (Dewalt and deWalt, 2002, p. vii). This method is defined by Marshall and Rossman (1989, p.79) as “the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study”. The visit to Moria on the 29th of August 2014 to observe the extant situation was therefore the first step in a series of many other steps yet to be described in this section. In this visit, we attempted to establish all possible routes that the pilgrims probably use to converge to Moria both by observation as well as informally interviewing those we conveniently found in strategic places such as fuel stations, vendors’ structures, shops and accommodation establishments.

Formally, in the first step of our design, the study was explorative and used convenience sampling to get respondents for informal interviewing. Marshall (1996) describes convenience sampling as the least rigorous technique, involving the selection of the most accessible. This technique is different from judgemental sampling, which we also used to sample respondents for our focus group discussions in
the second stage of our study design. Perhaps defining judgement sampling becomes necessary at this stage as well. According to Patton’s view (1990) judgemental sampling is encompassed under the broad term of ‘purposeful sampling’. However, leaving the definition at this may not be sufficient in that many other types of sampling in qualitative designs fall under this broad term as well. For example, there is opportunistic sampling, snowballing sampling, and convenience sampling amongst others. Marshall (1996) goes further to provide a definition of judgemental sampling that seems complete, that is, he says “the researcher actively selects most productive sample to answer the research questions” (p 523). This definition guided our design to meticulously separate informative from relatively uninformative respondents in the second stage of data gathering process, which is described in detail below.

Guided by the first step, the second step involved developing a framework of variables in the surrounding communities, which then influenced our judgement on the selection of respondents for our focus group discussions. Seven variables, that is, establishments of interest were identified in the first stage. These are: Accommodation, Taxi Operators, Fuel Stations, Food and Beverages, Vendors, Car Fixing and Repairs and Car Washes. Armed with these variables, the team then approached agents operating therein. This is where the intellectual strategy and judgement was needed to identify the most productive sample of respondents to form part of our focus group discussions. According to Marshall (1996), not all respondents would yield good usable data. If anything, choosing the respondent at random, according to him, is as simple as choosing anyone and ask him or her about repairing a broken car, rather than identifying and asking a person who has been a mechanic for a while. So the field team used this idea to be ingenious by first creating an informal group discussion among agents of each and every identified establishment. Though tedious and time-consuming, during these informal discussions, the team managed to sift productive from unproductive respondents. We then schematically selected the respondents we thought could yield us more information, making sure we keep-up with issues of gender as well. The disadvantage with this informal group discussion was the bias of our selection based on the natural abilities of the respondents to speak. There are definitely some respondents who may not speak much in public, but that does not make them any less informative and productive. To overcome this disadvantage, the team then asked the selected respondent to recommend a useful candidate with experience and knowhow for the issues we sought to know. Therefore, we can safely report that our judgemental sampling approach was coupled with
snowball sampling approach, where the latter is defined as the referral approach or the technique where existing study subjects recruit other subjects among their acquaintances who have a great deal of information about a phenomenon (Sandelowski, 1995). Having done this, the team then formally executed the focus group discussions whose detailed description is provided later on.

The third step in our initial study design was meant to be a household survey to assess social impacts of the gathering. However, after engaging the first two steps, it then became obvious that the information we may get from household would not yield any different information that we had gathered from observation, informal interviews and focus group discussion. After executing the first two steps, two things became apparent. First, accommodation and car washes really appeared to be not so important for the pilgrims because of religious reasons and practices, which are not necessarily a part of this report. So these establishments were not worth pursuing further and thus were dropped.

Second, Food and Beverages, Car Fixing and Repairs, and Fuel Stations emerged to be important establishments for the gathering. Unfortunately, respondents from Fuel Stations were not present in the arranged focus group discussions for the team to gather reliable information on the impact of the gathering on fuel stations. This then necessitated that we vary the third step of our study design. The team then decided to make follow-up on Fuel Station managers with no success. Here, the study became experimental and the observation tool became necessary as well here in order to record the number of vehicles pouring fuel during the gathering and after the gathering to allow comparison and determine what impact on sales could arguably be attributed to the gathering.

Given the foregoing description of the execution design and basic description of methods used, we can scientifically opine that the study followed a mixed methods style, in which at least three different methods have been used to gather data. Two of these methods (i.e. informal interviews in the first step, done simultaneously with observation, and focus group discussions in the second step in our study design) followed a qualitative approach and then the other (observation in the first and last step) followed a quantitative approach (see table 1).
### Table 1: Execution Design Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-step design</th>
<th>Method used to identify respondents and/or gather data</th>
<th>Approach used</th>
<th>Data requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>All establishments within a radius of 50kms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Convenience sampling</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Any other data that may inform the design and content of interview and focus group discussion guide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal Interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Informal Focus Group Discussion</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Perceptions on sales etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judgemental sampling</td>
<td></td>
<td>Narratives on socioeconomic impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Snowballing sampling</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal Focus Group Discussion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>Numbers of vehicles utilizing services etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2. Observation Set-up and Execution

It is usually easy to become so involved in developing questionnaires to gather data when a team is carrying out research, to an extent of forgetting other methods which may yield the same or even far better information. This realisation made the team to evaluate different methods that could be used for this research and observation in steps 1 and 3, as already explained in our study design was found valuable. We here offer reasons why and go on to provide a detailed description of how the team executed this method.

After failing to secure ethical clearance from the ZCC church structures to interview the pilgrims, it became impossible to carry out a survey on pilgrims and their spending patterns in the communities surrounding Moria. This meant that we could not even carry-out key-informant interviews with church leaders. Observation became a viable alternative method available to collect the data the team needed, given that it provides the opportunity to see and document the activities of interest without having to depend upon peoples’ willingness to participate in the study. Two techniques were available for this. Either we could use participant observatory method or direct observation. After much evaluation, the
team realised that participant observation was not only impossible and risky but would involve much greater time, training and immersion in the setting than direct observation in establishments of interest within a 50km radius. Thus, the direct observation is very different from participatory observation which is mostly used in ethnography and anthropological research (Spradley, 1980) and is the one adopted for the purposes of this study.

Three other reasons that made direct observation an appropriate and reliable method for the study are as follows: the Moria gathering is an event that unfolds in a given known time; there is physical evidence of the processes and outcomes of the gathering that are observable publicly; all other data collection methods became arguably inappropriate given that the study was not provided ethical clearance to interview pilgrims.

**What to Observe?**

In setting-up the observation method, we asked – what do we want to observe? The answer to this question was guided first by the objectives of the study. Given that the main objective is to assess the impacts of the gathering on surrounding communities, the team needed to observe these communities, especially with a strong bias towards the business community. Google-Maps was used to assess all the routes leading to Moria. Local authorities were asked to provide any database they have on business establishments of this area. Unfortunately most of the databases of this information are outdated or at least do not contain latest information.

The program component of what to observe was then developed before the fieldwork day arrived using ideas of the area found through Google-Maps and the scanty databases of local authorities. In the program a checklist of what to observe and on which routes was structured in such a way that the observations would yield standardized information and afford us to use numerical counts both in step 1 and 3 of our study design (see appendix 1 and 8). Particularly in the first step observation, the field-team identified R71 road as the main route leading to Moria. The road is currently under expansion, renovations aimed at broadening the road, or constructing a bridge for ease of access as you approach Moria from Polokwane city. The team made observations 50km from Moria in opposite directions, making a total of 100km on this road alone. The team then also made observations on all other routes used by different pilgrims to converge to Moria. In the third step, the structure of the observation used in
Fuel Station establishments gives rise to a possible natural experimental design which we exploit to give credence to our observation method, a point we turn to later on when we address credibility of our methods. For now, we explain below the natural experimental design we used in the third step of our study design in detail.

**Observation and the Natural Experiment**

A natural experiment is an empirical study in which the experimental conditions are not under the control of the researcher in any way (DiNardo, 2008). The team structured the observation (see appendix 8) such that the number of all vehicles and the number of vehicles with owners wearing identifiable ZCC materials pouring fuel in the identified garages were recorded during the September gathering. The second set of similar observations was made in the month of October when there was no gathering. The idea behind this was that the team needed to observe, record, and report the frequencies with which vehicles purchase fuel with and without the gathering. Two issues need further clarity here. One, what timing effect could affect the validity and reliability of data collected? Two, what unobserved variables could influence the behaviour of motorist in two different months?

Timing is important when it comes to spending patterns of not only for motorists but all consumers in general. We expect week-ends falling towards month-ends to be busier than week-ends falling otherwise. The week-end of the gathering was on 19 to 21 September 2014. The team selected in October almost the same week-end as that of the previous month, that is, the week-end of 17 to 19 October 2014. Whilst this did not necessarily eliminate all the time varying effects that could influence our data, it however minimised them, a situation we consider better than selected any other week-end in the month of October. On the other hand, there could be some other unobserved variables at play. For instance, some months such as December are accompanied with jovial moods that influence changes in travelling patterns of motorists. For the months of September and October, the team attempted to evaluate any such patterns but did not find any. Therefore it is our belief that if there is any influence of such variables, their influence is minimal between the two months. Furthermore, the closeness between the two months under observation reduces the time difference hence the time varying effects.
Recording Observations

Spradley (1994) provides a list of examples of how recording can be done. These examples show that recording can either be done on the spot or after the team has left the situation. We were interested on methods for recording on the spot as they do not suffer from recall problems. Three methods were used, the observation guide, field notes and pictures. In the first step, the observation guides were combined with the program checklist with routes identified through Google-Maps. Here a space for recording observations was provided (see appendix 1). There were three observers, each having the observation guide. Each observer was supposed to use tallying in the space on each and every establishment. Observers were allowed to show each other establishments of interest but were then supposed to tally it separately on their sheet of paper. This was deemed necessary because it is easy to forget to tally when observers are having general conversations during the fieldwork. Their tallies were then triangulated at the end of the field day by the fieldwork supervisor. Any irregularities were to be solved by calling back the field observers to resolve the issue or revisiting the particular route for re-recording of the establishment. It was explained to the field-observers that there was no payment for re-recording of observation. Probably this piece of information helped in minimising irregularities but of course could have introduced other biases such as observers conniving so that their tallies are not different. In the third step, observation was done by at least 37 field-observers, including the field supervisor. Two observers were posted on each of the six fuel station identified for observation. Each session of recording observations composed of six hours continuous recording of motorists arriving at the fuel stations and pouring fuel. Each of the field-observer was supposed to record on their observation guide but would help the other to keep alert in spotting the motorists especially with the ZCC materials on them. Their tallies were triangulated at the end of the session by the field supervisor in the same way as explained for the observation in the first step.

Field notes are an unstructured way of recording observations during fieldwork. However, these were given and permitted for use by observers because we were also exploring any other information that may be observed, but outside the structured observation guide. Therefore the field notes were also to provide necessary information in developing interview and focus group discussion guides and (before discarding the idea) the questionnaire to be administered on households. The notes were to be provided by the fieldworkers in a narrative descriptive style as they notice or hear something worthy of further pursuit. There were no predetermined issues to be observed as this was exploratory.
Pictures were also taken during fieldwork. But this was strictly done only by the fieldwork supervisor. The camera was an extension of our eyes to a very limited extent given that the Moria village and other private establishment did not permit pictures to be taken, and above all, they are private property. The pictures were then taken and preserved just for proof that the team was in the field and for some other analyses that could aid on our findings.

**Who were the Observers?**

In step one, two core members of the research team and two field-observer assistants were involved in the observation process. One member of the core team was the field supervisor, responsible for triangulating the three tallies of the observers, including that of the other core team member. Two fieldworkers, in addition to the two core team members, were necessary to be included for two reasons. First, they were purposively selected because they come from the Moria area. Thus, they know the area very well such that they also acted as tour guides. Second, they were needed to bring an unbiased fieldwork report. It is so easy for the researcher to blur findings based on what they have in their minds than what is actually taking place (see Myrdal 1990). Therefore, the team approach towards collecting observation data provided a more complete picture and helped to avoid individual biases in data collection. In step three (observing fuel station establishments), one core member of the research team was involved as the fieldwork supervisor and the rest were field-observer assistants. Observation at this stage was deemed to be unbiased as only tallies were needed without the need for field notes that could introduce bias.

**Training Observers**

Research assistants should be trained each time they are hired and used because they may not know the objectives of the project, the need to be honest in research, and how to do the fieldwork. As such, orientation and training on how to use the observation guide, what data is to be collected and how tallying should be done was done before the fieldwork. This was especially important given that our observation findings were to be standardized to make them to be quantitatively comparable across the two settings under study (with and without the Moria gathering). All the field-observers then needed to record what they observed as similarly as was possible. This also meant using similar materials agreed to identify a motorist as a pilgrim and record this with as maximum consistence as is possible.
Tallying is an uncomplicated survey tool that may be even used by a grade 12 learner. So training the University students how to tally was fairly simple and straightforward.

**Credibility of the Observation Method**

We now turn to the credibility of this method in gathering useful information for policy makers and other interested parties. The question we asked ourselves as we pondered on this issue was – will the users and stakeholders view the results in this report credible? This is a genuine question given that most research base on the results directly emanating from the respondents, than from the observation of the researcher. First, it is salient to note that no research is ever pure from the respondents’ point of view. Researchers usually factor in their analyses to make meaning to otherwise congested, hard-to-find-meaning data from the respondents. Second, the credibility may not necessary be concerned with the data and findings per se, but rather if the observers are credible themselves. Mixing the methods and approaches therefore became the primary concern during the overall design of the study. For instance, to improve on credibility of the findings, in the first step of observation, we also used informal interviews recorded in our field diaries. We also attempted to verify the business establishments we observed with local authorities records. Moreover, on each observed component, at least two researchers were involved. The whole study design was executed as thoughtfully and systematically as possible to establish observation as a credible method. Reporting this method as detailed as is possible, relative to all other methods we used, to allow for the user to make informed judgement on the credibility became of paramount importance as well.

**Observation and Ethics**

According to Spradley (1980), observation can be overt, that is everyone would know they are being observed, or covert, that is people may not know they are being observed. The extent to which people should know perhaps depends on case by case bases. In our case, the subjects did not know they were being observed. This appears unethical but at close scrutiny it is not. We observed components that take place publicly and neither our observation nor what we report here arguably harms the subject observed. In addition, following the ethics and morality of research, we do not use in this report explicit observations that identify the subjects.
4.3. Informal Interviews

The team managed to informally interview six respondents, but only two of them yielded information beyond what we had already gathered from our observation. One of these two respondents was an attendant at a fuel station and the other was a vendor. While the interviews were formally guided by the lead questions – what is your perception about the Moria gathering? – this question was approached from the side depending first on the social occasion that we had already created before asking to interview the person. This did not mean that we attempted to be deceptive or devious, but that it is wise to be aware that to start a stimulating conversation, the first social interaction was important. But again, stimulating conversations this way may easily cause the respondent to want to be perceived as brilliant and reasonable, thereby adding other issues that are more superfluous or exaggerated. So asking from the side was helpful, allowing us to disregard the first answer as final, and raising scope to challenge their claims without being hostile, basing on the rapport that has already been created. A good example we used in going about our informal interviews was to buy oranges from the vendor, and as the trade exchange was taking place, social interactions were also traded, starting basically with how the business is performing then slowly but surely drawing closer to our main issues of concern. This way, the respondent would not mind the questions and the time taken while at the same time allowing the team to probe for opposing ideas and asking if they think their rationale towards the issues under discussion is all-encompassing and why. Given how we executed our interviews, there was no standard approach. Each interviewee had a unique social interaction encounter with the team and in each case we had a different way of asking permission to document the conversation on our research diaries and as field notes. Each time the interview was about to be over, we asked the respondent to check and verify if we had quoted him or her correctly. This was done to address the soundness of data gathered (see Creswell 2003).

As has already been indicated, these interviews together with the observation method at the first step of the study design were primarily premeditated to inform the development of questionnaires and interview and focus group discussion guides. However, they also generated interesting results that we also report in the findings sections.
4.4. Focus Group Discussion

During the week leading to 17 September 2014, the team arranged for focus group discussion with key informants by first visiting all business establishment identified in step one. Informal focus group discussions were held three days before the 17th with anyone who was willing to share information on the questions we were asking as already discussed in the study design. Again, the idea was to identify respondents to participate in the formal focus group discussion. In this section we add information on exactly how the participants were identified during this process and go on to describe how the focus group discussion guide was developed, and how the discussion was planned and executed.

Selecting the participants

The team had to make sure that the participants selected fitted the criteria established for inclusion. A selection card (see appendix 2) best provides the actual selection method we used to pick the most appropriate respondents for our focus group. Here, one member will talk to the participants and two will do the recording on the demographic criterion. Then the selection was done before the discussant completed the interview by schematically asking if the selected respondent was willing to provide us with their contact details in the event we needed to make follow-ups. From this method, 14 participants were identified and further calls were arranged to meet them separately. For the second meeting, they were each asked to bring along someone who was almost as experienced and knowledgeable as they are and were provided with transport means to do so. Three respondents, a taxi marshal, car repairs mechanic and conventional food and beverages manager, came without an extra person; a vendor and unconventional fast food seller (Tshisanyama) brought an extra respondent each operating in their line of business. Thus, after the second informal meeting, we had a total of seven willing participants. Unfortunately not all establishments were represented in the group (see table 2). Further probing was made to have the mechanic and conventional food and beverages manager for referrals. We managed to get a tyre maintenance respondent, but none on food and beverages. We then followed up on fuel station managers and food and beverages we had identified in the initial 14 respondents who did not avail themselves on the second interview without any success. However, only two more respondents from the unconventional food supplies availed themselves. Respondents from accommodation and car washes were not followed-up because they had indicated that they do not depend on the pilgrims at all as they do not utilise these services.
Indeed, this assertion was also pointed out by one of the informal respondents in informal interviews in the first step. All those who committed themselves to participate were served with Focus Group Confirmation Letters (see appendix 3).

**Developing the Focus Group Discussion Guide**

The development of the focus group discussion was based on the interview guide designed for business establishment in phase one of this study, that is, “The Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Tourism: The Case of Hamavhunga”. That guide was designed with the overall research objectives in mind and was constructed to ensure that it is consistent with similar studies found in extant literature on religious tourism. The observation done in step one and the interviews did not raise any need to change the previous interview guide. Only this time it was changed slightly to suit a focus group discussion scenario. Because a focus group discussion includes more than one respondent, the following techniques were added using a pencil on the already available focus group discussion guide (see appendix 4): Repeat the question; Repeat the reply briefly, e.g. so you’re telling me that… right?; Pause, throw a nod or an expectant look that shows you are probing further; Use neutral comments, e.g. “anything else”, “what is your view sir or mam”.

**Table 2: Characteristics of Focus Group Discussion Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Respondent ID</th>
<th>Pseudo name</th>
<th>Business Establishment</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mulelu</td>
<td>Taxi Marshall</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Todani</td>
<td>Car Repairs</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khodani</td>
<td>Vendor – Uniform Accessories</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Malabi</td>
<td>Vendor – Fruits</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Maanda</td>
<td>Conventional Food and Beverages</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Andisa</td>
<td>Unconventional food (Tshisanyama)</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Thivholi</td>
<td>Vendor – Fruits</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Zanele</td>
<td>Vendor – Church accessories</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Legodi</td>
<td>Car repairs – Tyre maintenance</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Zidoni</td>
<td>Unconventional food (Tshisanyama)</td>
<td>Female</td>
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</table>
**Team’s Strategy to effectively manage the Focus Group Discussion**

A team composed of four core members was constituted: one member was selected as a facilitator to lead the discussion; the other member was responsible for managing the tape-recorder while another was responsible for translating English to local languages used by respondents and back were necessary; the last member was taking hand-written notes and observing for non-verbal signs during the discussion, which served as a “back-up” in case something happened with the recording equipment or if participants decide not to have their discussion recorded. Two sessions were planned for the focus group discussion. The first was to compose of those participants we identified during the informal discussion from each business establishment we visited days before the 17th of September, the date set-aside for a formal focus group discussion. The other session was to compose of the snowballed participants. Conducting these two focus group discussions would not only provide endogenous reliability and credibility of the results, but also allow for effective management of the group. Large group, of more than 7 people, would have been too large for our purposes, as we needed just one participant from each establishment.

The team developed the guiding principles (see appendix 5) for the group discussion which were to be followed by every group participant in order to make the group proceed smoothly and respectfully for all participants. A further strategy to have the participants committing themselves and taking the whole exercise seriously was to offer them a Focus Group Confirmation Letter and a consent form was also devised to make sure the discussion follows all the research ethical protocols (see appendix 6).

Two separate days were then used to conduct the focus group discussion – the 17th and 20th of September 2014. The first and second sessions had six and four participants respectively. Conversations were both in English and Sepedi. In each session, the discussions did not take more than two hours, with the second session being relatively shorter than the first.

**4.5. Sample Size and Issues of Generalizability**

Selecting an appropriate sample size in any research process is not easy since circumstances and approaches differ. Despite sampling size formulas being available, at times they are rarely practical to apply for some research, a good example being that of qualitative research. As stated by Marshall
(1998), an appropriate sample size in most qualitative studies is the one that adequately answers the research questions, when data saturation kicks in. Quantitative researchers fail to understand this, argues Marshall (p. 523), and he goes on to state that related to this is the misapprehension that generalizability is the ultimate goal of all research. Contrary to this is the sample size for quantitative studies that aim to draw a representative sample from the population with the aim of generalizing back to the population. Here, the larger the sample size, the less are the sampling errors albeit to a certain optimal level. Given that we follow a mixed approach, our sample size design had to fit both approaches as well.

After having done observations and informal interviews to understand the background situation in the first stage of our study design, the number of our sample size in the qualitative approach became obvious that it may need to be 14, that is, at least 2 respondents from each of the seven identified business establishments. However, the team remained flexible in case new categories, themes or explanations kept emerging from data. Therefore the sample size design remained flexible during execution of the whole study design. In the second stage, during informal focus group discussions, the team did not note any new explanations emanating from fieldwork, as such ending up with a sample size of 10 respondents was deemed appropriate.

The team discarded Accommodation and Car Wash business establishments, but felt a strong need to make follow-ups on the Fuel Stations’ line of business for reasons already detailed in the earlier parts of this report. The observation method, just like in the first stage of the study, became appropriate again for the third stage. In both cases, observation was structured to yield quantitative results. As such, in stage one, a survey of all the businesses within a 50km radius was conducted. A total of 84 business establishments were observed and documented.¹ Since all other business establishments of interest, except Fuel Stations, were covered through focus group discussion (qualitative approach), they were then dropped from being observed. Nineteen geographically spaced Fuel Stations thus became the target for observation. It was rarely practical and efficient to observe 19 Fuel Stations from Friday to Sunday 24 hours a day. As such a representative sample that could be used to generalise to this

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¹ Breakdown of business establishments is as follows: Accommodation – 14; Fuel stations – 19; Shops – 40; Car washes (outside that of fuel stations) – 5; Vendors – not ascertained; Car fixing (outside that of fuel stations – 6).
population became a reasonable strategy. Stratified random sampling was then used to draw samples from the five routes with Fuel Stations within a 50km radius from Moria as follows: two fuel stations from N1 (via Grobbler Street then join R71) and one each from Thabo Mbeki joining R71 Route; R71 (Palaborwa/Savannah directions); Seshego (All-days then joins R71); and around Moria. The strata were formed based on geographic location. The route N1 (via Grobbler Street then join R71) had two fuel stations to cater for the densely populated fuel station relative to other locations. These subsets of the strata were then pooled to form a random sample of one fuel station in every three – totalling to six.

The foregoing description of sample sizes and approaches linked with them yields an important assertion towards the generalizability of this study. For all other business establishments except fuel stations, generalizability was not the end goal of the study, but to have deep and rich understandings of socio-economic impacts of the gathering on surrounding communities. Quantities of motorists utilizing the services of fuel stations with or without the gathering became important, and given that these are descriptive numerical statistics, it was also apparent that they be generalizable to the total population of fuel stations located within the 50km radius of Moria.

4.6. Analytical Design

The analysis followed guidelines from Glaser and Strauss (1967), Eisenhardt (1989) and Creswell (2003) to analyse qualitative data, while simple descriptive statistics were used to analyse quantitative data. The tape-recorded conversations were transcribed and Microsoft excel was used to code the data and synthesize it into proof and power quotes (see an example of this in appendix 7). For this to be achieved, first the analysis within each session was independently done of the other to look for common themes that would best categorise the data. This was then followed by cross-session examination of the emerging themes that came up from within the session analysis. Once consensus was achieved regarding the best categories for organising the data, they were assigned as heading titles ahead of starting the write-up summarizing findings for each category and sub-category. Microsoft excel was also used to analyse quantitative data mainly by grouping and using various displaying tools to see how best the analysed data may be conveyed.
5. FINDINGS

This section of the report presents the results from the observations, informal interviews and focus group discussions. These findings, linked to the notion of socio-economic impact of religious tourism are organised into several emergent themes that are presented separately in this section.

5.1. The Setting: Zion City at Moria and the Surrounding Communities

Moria is the head-quarters of the Zion Christian Church, an entirely black denomination with millions of members from several African countries, formed in 1910 by the late Engenas Lekganyane. It is one of the few churches in Africa that was not established by missionaries from abroad, yet it boasts as one of the largest Christian gatherings in South Africa that take place twice a year in Moria, a place that is about 25 kilometres east of Polokwane in the Limpopo province. At present, the church is composed of two congregates led by the grandsons of its founder – Barnabas Lekganyane and Saint Engenas Lekganyane. Informal conversations with willing people from the area informed us that Barnabas is the leader of the Star Congregants and Saint Engenas leads the Dove’s Sect. Observations show that the Dove sect is more modern, with a bigger, more elaborate gate with visible cameras.

In a given year, the first gathering takes place at Easter in April. This gathering is zealously attended and from our observation, the site is splendour to watch and could be a source of tourist attraction. Thousands of passenger buses of similar colours and destination of origin park together such that when viewed from the above mountainous side, one would think it is a carpet with different colours. Other pilgrims come to Moria using bicycles, cars, taxies and on foot. The way the church manages all the millions of pilgrims and thousands of buses, cars and other forms of transport is also of interest to a general observer. Colours are of interest too, and the natural order can be visible in the way in which these colours are spread out during a gathering. “Khakhi” is the main colour for men, though green suits are also visible. We were told the latter are for seniors. On the other end women would be dressed in blue and some in green and yellow.

The gathering takes place for three days two nights. Pilgrims pitch tents during this gathering in which they sleep in. During the entire period, emphasis is placed on faith healing, purification rites, marching, dancing and singing, night communion, baptism in the nearby river, praying for the Holy Spirit and
individualised prophesying. Each time, the message is sent to the pilgrims through a clear public announcement system that is heard throughout the mountain and slightly beyond. In September, all these activities take place as well but the gathering attracts relatively less pilgrims compared to April, yet the numbers will still be high enough to congest N1 and R101 roads from Johannesburg.

The singing and dancing is particularly one other aspect worth watching. Men in khaki uniforms, and shoes made of tyre rubbers would form a circle and then neatly launch into air with jumps and stomps. Each time the dancers hit the ground with force that produces a loud and banging sound which will be in harmony with the tunes of the song being sung. We were told that these dancing and singing groups do it with their local church flavours, as some had accompanying few instruments while other groups did not have.

Around the site of Moria, there is a vast array of economic activities. There is one garage next to the entrance that is owned by the one faction of the pilgrimage. A school is seen nearby and we were told that it is open to members of the community. We then realised that education is highly regarded in church, a fact rarely said by people as they claim the church is full of uneducated members. One informant alerted us to a letter available on [http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/commiss/trc/zcc_stat.htm](http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/commiss/trc/zcc_stat.htm) accessed on 4 October 2014. In the later, the RT Rev. Bishop Be Lekganyane states the following:

Education is seen as a high priority in our Church. Immediately after the University of the North was established, the Church resolved to establish the Khotso Bursary Fund which assisted children from all backgrounds in their quest to achieve higher education. Due to its own growth and demand for higher education by its own youth, the Church established a new bursary fund in 1985 known as The Bishop Edward Lekganyane Bursary Fund. The present annual budget thereof is R2 million. The fund is unique in that it considers the disadvantaged background from whence we come. For instance, we recognise that due to our past history, most black children find adjustment in the traditional white tertiary institutions sometimes uncomfortable. When such a child fails to achieve desired results, the Church does not withdraw the bursary, but rather encourages the child to achieve better results with the fund's support. An adult literacy programme in 1988 and basic skills such as bricklaying and baking was started in 1996 and from our observation are doing quite well. The annual budget for both is R 1,5 million. In 1974 the Church established Maroba Thota High School with boarding facilities. The Church then invited the government to run the school for the benefit of all children from the surrounding areas. The Church presently subsidises the school to the tune of R 150,000.00 annually and the amount is expected to grow in the coming years.

The church has an established mill and clinic near the site of Moria. We observed that the place is a hive of economic activity with or without the main two gatherings. There are shops and stalls set up
where cooked food, vegetables, milk, bread, church-branded tea and petroleum jelly are some of the items on sale. “Bread and milk is always on high demand” said one of the respondents in a nearby fuel station. “Bread and milk has a lot of advantages for pilgrims. They are affordable and convenient – “there is no need to start preparing to cook and so on and so forth.” Hawkers, despite not being allowed near Moria site, do take chances to sell to the pilgrims especially during the two gatherings. Just across the mill are constructions activities taking place. We could not establish what was being erected. But we visible noticed huge yellow trucks, graders and front-end loaders that we were told are owned by the church. Moving away from this scene you constantly view a significant number of yellow buses, also belonging to ZCC, which ferry people between Polokwane city and Moria. We established that these buses are cheaper than the normal fares of taxies that one would pay for the same distance.

The team then started observing all routes leading to the Zion City at Moria and the surrounding communities within a 50 km radius. We took stock of business establishments along these routes and we documented them (see Appendix 1). Surprisingly not very far away from the Zion City, while moving along R71, we observed a shop selling cigarettes and alcohol. This was of interest in that cigarettes and alcohol are among some of the prohibited goods. Informal conversations proved that there are members of the communities within the 50km radius who have nothing to do with ZCC and hence are potential clients for this shop.

On days without the gatherings, some market stalls are visibly empty, signifying that they are occupied only during the gathering. Informal conversations confirmed this. Also further observation on the September gathering also proved this to be true, as these markets were now occupied. Relative to the number of vehicles that are present during the gathering, the car wash establishments are very few. We had to question one of our respondents why this was so and he said “pilgrims don’t wash their cars until they get to their destination. They say if you wash the car you wash away the blessing that comes along with the gathering.” Observation during the gathering proved this assertion by our respondent. Most vehicles leave the Zion City with dust and are visibly seen and recorded unwashed along R71 and N1 roads. Accommodation was another establishment that was not utilised by pilgrims. Tents are pitched during this period and it could be observed that accommodation outside the Zion City at Moria is not ideal for them. “If accommodation is used at all, it could be used by those coming from very far
and are high class, such that they need to get a good rest Saturday night ahead of driving. But this is rare.” Attempts to have a respondent from accommodation establishment were fruitless.

There were indications that some households nearby benefit from pilgrims as well in several ways. One main way that came out was that some households keep cell-phones for pilgrims at a small fee. While the church has a facility of keeping cell-phones for the pilgrims, it could be that some pilgrims would rather prefer to leave them with nearby households as there may be long queues for registering cell-phone in the main security premises of the pilgrimage venue and probably for taking them out as well when the gathering is over. One of our informal respondents said “some pilgrims pass-by nearby homesteads dropping their cell phones so that they don’t under-go the process of registering them.”

5.2. Relation between the Gathering and Commercial Establishments

We set out to understand the view of agents operating businesses within a 50km radius from Zion City towards the ZCC gathering in relation to their businesses. Four emergent themes resulted from the focus group discussion we had. We report first the permanent and temporary businesses that are at play in the area. We then go on to report the ripple-purchasing effect resulting from the gathering and how businesses respond to the consumption patterns of the pilgrims. When we were carrying out focus group discussions, we realised that the locals used the word “Kopano” when referring to the gathering at the Zion City. Here and onwards, we now use this word as well to describe the September gathering that we studied.

Kopano and Permanent Business Dynamics

This section explores respondents' narratives about the relationship between Kopano and their businesses. From established businesses that are permanently located within the 50km radius of Moria, despite indications especially from the conventional and unconventional food and beverages agents that there is no relation between Kopano and business sales, four respondents relate an improvement in their business sales during this period. The focus group discussion leader had posed the question on this to all respondents (# 1-6) present relating to this matter.

Discussion Leader: What is your view about ZCC gathering in relation to your business?
Mulelu: In our business, in a normal day that is, we are mostly busy during peak hours you get me [you understand]. In the morning when school children go to school and people who work go to their different work places, and in the afternoon and evening, same pattern, same routes. However during Kopano it’s very busy, especially on Sundays we tend to be extremely mobile almost throughout the day. That is good for busy and it keeps you away from stress of just sitting in the taxi rank.

This view from Mulalo brings about one salient point that goes beyond what we intended to get from this question. That is, while he is definitely acknowledging that Kopano increases business for the taxi industry, he goes on to shed light that being busy at this period of time also reduces stress that results from being idle most of the time. Khodani also agreed to business growth during Kopano but qualified her statement by stating that she also has to sell even without Kopano and the following quote demonstrate this:

During Kopano we benefit a lot. Pilgrims buy from us. I have some of the church attire and accessories that I sell to them...So in a massive way I depend on Kopano and yah I can safely tell you that I sell accessories to the pilgrims. Yes in a way, my sales increase during Kopano. But maybe I should also stress that I also do have sales outside Kopano. Once ZCC members feel like replacing some of the accessories they already have, they can do so with or without Kopano... We also do sell to members who come here even when there is no Kopano.

In the other session of the focus group discussion, another lady – Zanele – said almost the same thing: “Accessories sell better during Kopano because pilgrims will be in a buying mood…I find that simple musical instruments that accompanies music goes faster during this period.” We were worried that how do these agents sell accessories when they are sold in the Zion City. The discussion leader probed further on this issue.

Discussion Leader: Just a follow up, does the church allow you to sell uniform or church accessories?

Zanele: There are items that pilgrims buy from the church like the badges and uniform. There are some other accessories, like I’ve already mention, the musical instruments that accompany the singing. We do sell these. We have never faced any restrictions from the church in selling these. Of course other hawkers take chances in selling more, but I can’t talk of others...the only thing you can’t do is to sell some 2-3kms from Moria, mhhh there (within 2-3kms) it’s not easy as we are not allowed.
Two focus group members however, had to say something to the contrary regarding their businesses. "In our set-up, we are here to sell with or without Kopano" said Andisa briefly without showing signs of elucidating her point any further. This seemed a strong statement from her especially when you consider "we are here to sell". However, from the way she said it, the team could tell that she is just expressing the fact that Kopano has no impact on her business. Brief comments were also observed from the second session of the focus group discussion where Thivholi and Zidoni said that they also do not see the impact of Kopano on their business. Maanda was willing to explain why he thinks there is no relation between the business he manages and Kopano:

There is no observed relation between our business and Kopano. I have never seen a significant number of people from the church coming to buy during Kopano. Most of our customers are the general populace.

So, while some business establishments have observed the effect of Kopano on their businesses, some have not. The meaning is two-fold. One, there are some businesses that are permanently established in this area that totally depend on Zion City pilgrims, for example, informal traders who sell ZCC accessories such as head scuffs, straw hats and musical instruments. Two, there are businesses that are permanently established in this area, but have locational decisions outside those of solely targeting millions of pilgrims. While for some Kopano had no effect, for a hawker we informally interviewed alone the situation is different in that Kopano negatively affects his business. He feels like Kopano reduces his sales and profits. He claimed that he enjoys the market when there is no Kopano because “lots of hawkers during Kopano come, some with trucks full of fruits and vegetables and undercut their price.”

**Kopano and Temporary Business Dynamics**

Other businesses, though located within a 50km radius from Moria, temporarily relocate closer to Moria to take advantage of the millions of potential clients that come along with Kopano. Examples of such businesses were car and tyre repairs and temporary hawkers. These mobile business dynamics show the importance of Kopano to their business. When Todani responded to the question on the relationship between his business and Kopano, he said:
In my case, we have business outside pilgrims who come to attend Kopano.....but during Kopano instead of waiting for pilgrims who have problems with their cars to come to our premises, we temporarily relocate to be closer to the gathering so that we respond quickly to any potential business. And most often we do get the business as most pilgrims have break-downs, may need a mechanic here and there or may need towing and so on and so forth. Once Kopano is done, there will be no more need to remain closer, so we move back to our original location.

The same sentiments were raised in session two of the focus group discussion when Legodi expressed that they “…operate closer to the church site during Kopano because we [they] expect to get business.” This answer was not surprising given that a week before Kopano, the team carrying out observations recorded a total of 17 empty hawkers’ stalls around the Zion City. A passer-by was asked why the market stalls were empty, just as a way of triangulating the mobile business dynamic finding. She said, “These stalls have owners and they will be there next week during Kopano.” It remained unclear where these hawkers operate during days without Kopano, but what was clear was that they come to operate on these market stalls during Kopano.

For conventional food and beverages, some temporary business dynamics at play never involved Kopano, but were identified directly to the pay days within the month.

From the 15th of each month, we have observed that sales shoot up. Teachers or something would have been paid. Then some few days after, other civil servants get paid and we experience a jump in sales again. Then comes month-end when most private companies pay their employees. At this time, we also feel another jump in sales. Otherwise besides these, I don’t have any other significant increases in sales. If anything other days of the month are relatively quiet even though we are still able to sell.

This segment has shown that there are businesses that respond to Kopano by temporarily relocating to places near Zion City. Below, a main determinant that necessitates and justifies this mobility is examined.

**Hype of Activities and Ripple-Purchasing Effect**

The benefits from Kopano are also reported to even occur indirectly as it comes along with a hype of activities that seem to have a ripple effect on the spending patterns of non-pilgrim agents operating within the 50km radius of Moria. By ripple-purchasing we mean that the excitement and busy-ness
associated with Kopano gives rise to a series of spending that go beyond the purchases of the pilgrims. Malabi’s experience shown below proves this:

My experience has shown that ZCC creates a hype of activities during Kopano. Taxi and bus drivers get to be so busy ferrying people to and fro. As they do this, they get tired and hungry at the same time. Obviously when they are hungry we get to benefit in that as they wait for their turn to load travellers, they will be eating a fruit or two. This is in sharp contrast with the situation where it’s not busy and taxi drivers have all the time to go and wait for a main meal such as roasted meat and pap. So these activities trigger sales from non-ZCC members.

The other case in point to illustrate the ripple-purchasing effect is the business establishment of mechanics and tyre services that temporarily relocate closer to the Moria area during Kopano. During this period, local residents, who are not ZCC members, take a chance to have their vehicles checked and serviced. Todani indicated the following:

We have observed that community members who do not necessarily belong to ZCC now know that during Kopano, we will be around the Moria area and as such they also make sure that they get a service from us during this time. It is funny how we started this only targeting the pilgrims, but it turns out we are also reaping more out of it from non-ZCC members of the community.

Indeed, it so appears that the hype of activities is not confined to pilgrims and businesses but to the general public at large. What could have appeared to be services for pilgrims have given rise to an opportunity where the community members get to utilise the services as well. As Todani explained, not only do residents bring cars for repairs, but they get to service their cars. More several rounds of purchases extend beyond this scenario in terms of the multiplier effect. Here the multiplier is used exactly the same way it is used in the economic theory. For example, when residents and pilgrims buy from the hawkers who sell fruits, the hawkers in turn will increases their purchases from where they source the commodities on sale. There as well, as the demand goes up, more labourers are needed to meet this demand and thus seasonal employment may increase. In contrast, the ripple-purchasing effect we report here does not mean the multiplier effect; rather it means that activities accompanying an event lead people to be in a buying spree for several reasons. The ripple-purchasing effect can kick-start the multiplier effect.
Consumption Patterns of Pilgrims and Businesses' Response

The focus group discussion made us to realise that businesses respond to the pilgrim’s consumption patterns – another sign of the impact of Kopano on businesses. Pilgrims have preferences over certain foods such as milk, tea and bread and do not consume food such as pork. Seemingly, food and beverage establishments, both conventional and unconventional, make sure that preparation of non-pork food is done separately from pork food. Andisa, an unconventional food and beverages agent, explained that:

Before pilgrims buy our meals, especially containing roasted meat, they will first ask if in roasting the meat we have done it at the same place where we also roast pork meat. Over time we have seen that it is hard to convince them if you only have one stand for roasting meat. So as a way of assuring pilgrims that non-pork meals were not prepared where pork meals are also prepared, we make sure there are two different stands for roasting or preparing our meals. This has been good as well for non-pork eaters.

When talking about eating of pork, Maanda had earlier expressed the same sentiments:

I even think it’s [pork] not encouraged there or not allowed am not sure. I have observed though that my staff at work has here and there assured pilgrims that we have meals that only do not have pork, but are prepared separately from pork meals.

In fact, the team discovered that the pilgrims do not just enquire on the preparation of food and food ingredients of what they intend to buy, the church official do inspect ahead of pilgrims buying. “You know with the issue of food, I think the church is serious because I have had an experience with officials inspecting so that they advise pilgrims of where to buy” exclaimed Zidoni. So it appears that there are some businesses that have established a name for themselves over time in terms of being known that they do not either sell pork at all or prepare non-pork food separately from pork. But again indications are that the church could be moving towards a situation where ZCC members who are hawkers supply food to pilgrims. This is not easy but it appears indeed the church is getting towards that direction. For instance the focus group discussion below supports this assertion:

Team member: Please tell us more about this new route issue?
Zidoni: We are reliably informed that the pilgrims have been advised to use another route, unlike the major route R71…[interjection by Thivholi]
Thivholi: Yes, it appears they will use Chuenespoort.

Zidoni: Yah yah, there could be many reasons why pilgrims have been asked to change, but am sure it’s also having to make sure that ZCC members who are hawkers benefit…[Thivholi interjects again]

Thivholi: It could also be that ZCC members will never sell food prepared together with pork…[and then there was laughter]

Legodi: But seriously, guys, the new route will definitely affect most of us who operate on R71 negatively.

The accounts provided by Zidoni, Thivholi and Legodi demonstrate the worry from both the ZCC members and the business establishments. The worry from the former is that conventional and unconventional businesses could sell food tainted by pork products to pilgrims. The worry from the latter is the lack of business that they will face when pilgrims use a different route. There is also a possibility that the church could be positioning the ZCC members to get potential customers in the new route.

Other consumption patterns of pilgrims were given account of by Zanele as follows:

Pilgrims like, or rather rumour has it that they are encouraged to eat bread, drink a particular brand of tea and milk. So it makes sense to always know what pilgrims are after and you get to supply such things. Hawkers take chances in selling these items despite the fact that these items are sold at the shops near the premises of Moria.

Certainly, pilgrims have consumption patterns that are unique to Kopano and businesses attempt to respond to these by making sure they take advantage. There is definite evidence of businesses making sure they comply to the demands of the pilgrims of not mixing non-pork meals with pork meals. In other places this is usually not so given that everything is prepared from the same place, whether pork or non-pork food. Then for other foods such as bread, tea and milk, hawkers do take their chances to sell these commodities to pilgrims, even though there are shops that sell these things near the two gates of the Zion City.
5.3. Determinants of Business Location

There are several factors that explain and determine how businesses are spatially spread and located in different milieu. These factors, which interact with one another, are wide-ranging but include factors related to supply, demand, or the economic context, factors related to business features, the market and nature of the services offered (Rubalcaba and Gago, 2003). Some time back, in 1935 Christaller’s central place theory became famous in understanding the dynamics of business location (see Rubiera et al 2010). Later, Stigler (1951) opined that economies of scale are also an important component in locational decisions. Other factors are well explained by Rubiera et al (2010) who did a literature review in detail on this issue. We do not intend to cover all these factors here but our main aim is to assess what factors influenced the businesses under study to locate where they currently are. To achieve this, the question “If there was no Kopano, would you locate your business here?” guided the focus group discussion.

Kopano-based Location

We report first the businesses whose location are solely based on Kopano, and as such if this gathering was not taking place then the businesses would not exist or would not be located in the area. As is a bit obvious, the hawkers who sell church and uniform accessories would not be located where they currently are if the church gathering was not in Moria. “If pilgrims who come regularly to visit Moria and Kopano were not here, I wouldn't be here as well, as there will be zero demand for my commodities”. Only one business line in our focus group discussion made a locational decision based on Kopano. All others were based on the two locational factors discussed below.

Zoning-based Location

There are several location decisions that the businesses make in order to improve their performance, viability and sustenance. One of them is to locate where such businesses have been zoned to operate. In other instances some rigid structures erected by the agents within a certain line of business do influence location too. All these have nothing to do with Kopano. For instance Mulelu had the following to say in relation to location:

We have taxi ranks that have been zoned for our businesses. While we have decisions to make for the routes we then use, that as well is not easy to change once you have a route.
So those who are not allowed to use the route, R71 for instance, to Moria, may then not start using it because there are a lot of people all of a sudden. It doesn't work like that in the taxi industry.

The same is almost true for hawkers. While they may be mobile, over and above formally designated locations they are allowed to operate in, they erect their own rules of operation. Even if Thivholi knew or suspected that the route used by pilgrims would change this year, she could not do much about it as she claimed that it would be hard to just go and start to sell at a new location as “…there are hawkers who may be operating there, and they wouldn't just permit you [her] to operate just like that.” On the other hand, semi-industrial businesses operate within a zoning-based location as evidenced by Todani – “We are located in a small industrial site, near other businesses of similar nature. With us, a space is needed to make sure that cars with break-downs can have a place to park.”

The foregoing proof quote from Todani also has another aspect in it, that of agglomeration. The fact that commercial establishments are zoned affords them to be able to draw on strong economies of agglomeration which come along with high concentrations of human capital. This factor, even as a stand-alone, can be attractive for locational purposes of business. This is because the interaction of agents operating in similar activities concentrated in high area leads to knowledge spill-overs that bring about increased growth and attraction of more firms belonging to the same activity sector (Porter, 1990).

**Complimentary Products based Location**

More than anything, the focus group discussion was dominated by the fact that businesses in this area locate to take advantage of complementarity amongst products or services they offer. Maanda, who basically dominated this part of the question revealed the following:

Our decision to locate is usually positively correlated with the location of fuel stations. We believe that if a car's tank gets empty and needs refuelling, so does the human body. So as cars refuel so do humans…In fact there are some garages that we currently own so that it becomes easy for operations.
So in contrast to economies of agglomeration that are tied to zoning, there are products that are viewed as moving together and as such they do influence location, negating Kopano-based location. Malabi also explains her business experience in relation to locational decision in the following account:

"Getting a spot near a taxi rank or along a waiting spot along a major route is ideal. It's easy to sell to travellers. They are most likely to be hungry along the way or after having been done with their busy day, when they get to a rank they may buy and eat on their way home."

To end this section, it is pertinent to highlight the fact that whilst some businesses do benefit from Kopano, their decisions to locate were not in any way related to Kopano. There are however, as has already been highlighted, incidences where businesses have temporary re-locations to come closer to Zion City and take advantage of the customer base. Thereafter, these businesses return to their original location.

The following section briefly examines the perceptions of agents operating the selected business establishments on social impact of Kopano in the neighbouring communities.

5.4. **Social Impact of Kopano**

In the second session of our focus group discussion, when the discussion leader asked the question “What social impact do you think Kopano is having?” There was silence in the room that prompted the discussion leader to further qualify that “we are not talking about the church *per se*, but the social influence the church may be having in the community”. Still the question appeared a little bit tricky. There could be several reasons for this but the leading one we suppose is the fact that there are different unqualified sentiments that relates to what happens in Zion City and hence respondents were a bit timid to respond especially in session two of the focus group discussion. So the leader tried again to explain that we are trying to find out social effects to the community and not what happens inside Zion City, it was then that Zanele said, “it [Kopano] is really good for the business”. Nothing much then was noted on the social impacts from the second session. Setting the same question for discussion in the first session of the focus group discussion was different. When the question was posed, Khodani quickly responded, without probing, and from her conversation we were able to derive the fact that the youth try their luck in attempting entrepreneurship during Kopano.
Kopano Generates Youth Entrepreneurs

Kopano seem to generate a band of new entrepreneurs especially the youth – a situation which Khodani believes would not be if it was not for the gathering. She said:

A lot of people especially the young ones get to try their luck with enterprising during this period. I have seen youth buying small items…, where we also get to buy our stuff … to sell them during this period. The stuff they will be buying though is really cheap stuff, maybe because they would not be having capital to buy in bulk like we do. But you see, the fact that there is Kopano makes someone to think of how to make money.

The generation of youth entrepreneurs has several advantages in that it may not only reduce unemployment but may indirectly reduce the social evils associated with being unemployed. Starting without capital is actually a good example of an effective entrepreneur. As posited by Levi-Strauss (1967, p. 17), ‘making do with what is at hand’ is a good sign for entrepreneurs and the special term for this is ‘intellectual bricolage’. In various discourses, bricolage has been used to denote a resourceful person and someone who is able to adapt and deploy whatever strategies are required in response to unpredicted activity (Ciborra, 1996). This befits this youth. They have minimal resources at hand, which they then try to use and deploy during a period where there are a large potential number of clients. What is unpredictable is whether they will be successful or not. Should they be successful, the proceeds they get from their entrepreneurial endeavours could be used as a springboard to venture in the same business or to another and keep growing until they become established business people. There is tendency however to look down on business run by hawkers. The thinking is that they do not make meaningful money from their businesses. This may not be so. In fact starting low and then trying hard to climb the ladder could be very important in learning how to run and manage a business.

Kopano – A part of the Society

Kopano has become a part of the society that people have not only accepted but would be disappointed if it does not take place. From Andisa’s viewpoint:

Kopano is part of this community whether one worships or not. It is just like a situation where there is Christmas or something, you just get excited that there are people around you…so yah it’s so normal [to have Kopano] such that if it doesn't take place in April or September, one would miss it I guess.
Maanda then said:

…during the gathering, the talk is just about Kopano. If it takes place, my staff at work will talk about it to the extent that everyone at work becomes aware and get to talk about it as well… You see I don't have the dates of when this gathering takes place, but when it does take place, you just feel the vibe in the air…

It is clear that residents are not afraid to identify with Kopano as they believe it is part of the community. The congestion that we experienced during Kopano was not part of both sessions of our focus group discussion. Maybe because we are not part of the community, we felt there was congestion, but they do not feel it. They like it. It is part of them. This then raises the idea that one man’s meat is one man’s poison. For sure in this community, congestion is not a bad thing.

5.5. Motorists utilizing Fuel Stations with and without Kopano

We now turn to the findings from observations of motorists utilizing the services of fuel stations during the week-end with and without Kopano, falling almost at the same time of the month. The numbers of observed motorists are reported from Friday to Saturday in figure 1. Each day or night is divided into six-hour intervals that were basically the working shifts of the field observers. Within each interval, motorists which without a doubt were seen as ZCC members were reported separately from all other motorists.

The results show that there are more customers for fuel stations during the week-end with Kopano compared to a week-end without. This is especially easy to observe for the ZCC motorists' case. There are on average 14 times more ZCC customers during the week-end with Kopano compared to 1.8 times more customers for all other motorists during the week-end with Kopano.²

Figure 2 shows the proportions of ZCC motorists to all other motorists with and without Kopano to further clarify the case of ZCC customers and their importance. Concerning observed numbers of all other motorists utilizing the services of fuel stations, to what do we attribute the 0.8 increase per motorist’s difference between week-end with and without Kopano? There are three possible reasons for

² Standard deviation for ZCC motorists’ case is 17.3 and that of all other motorists is 0.3
this difference. First, it could be that there are pilgrims who travel without any attribute that may identify them as ZCC members. Second, it could be the purchasing-effect from non-ZCC customers that accompanies the week-end with Kopano. Lastly, it could just be a coincidence that may not be observed under a similar natural experimental set-up.

**Fig 1: Customers utilizing Fuel Stations**

Figure 1 also shows another pattern that deserves further explanation. Fridays seem to be busier and then it gets less busy on late Saturday and early Sunday, only to pick again late Sundays. What could be the reason behind this pattern? For the case of pilgrims, we expect them to arrive late Friday and early Saturday for Kopano. To make sure they then travel on Sunday without any further delay, they fuel their vehicles when they arrive. Saturday afternoon and evening therefore becomes relatively quiet,
with some fuel stations recording zero clients identified as ZCC (see appendix 9). For all other pilgrims, it could be that motorists usually travel on Fridays after work to different destinations and return on Sunday to the destinations of work. In addition, people consider Friday as a day to enjoy life, which comes along with spending.

**Fig 2: Proportions of ZCC motorists with and without Kopano**

![Fig 2: Proportions of ZCC motorists with and without Kopano](image)

The motorists we observed utilizing services of fuel stations definitely did not purchase the same litres of fuel. However, because we are interested in the rand value of their purchases, generalised to all fuel stations, we now explore two simulations of sales with and without Kopano (see table 3 below). While there are many simulations that can be run within our natural experimental set-up, two captures the essence of the sales with and without Kopano – these are, simulating 20 litres of fuel purchased by each motorist at a standardised price of 13.6 Rands per litre (scenario one) and 50 litres per motorist for the same standardised price (scenario two).

The simulations in table 3 can help us to generalise for the population of all fuel stations within a 50km radius of Zion City. Under scenario one, a week-end with Kopano will have a total sales of 6,153,728 Rands compared to 2,942,632 Rands that result from a week-end without Kopano. Under scenario two, a week-end with Kopano has a total sales of 15,384,320 Rands compared to 7,356,580 Rands that
result from a week-end without Kopano. It can be observed that a week-end with Kopano generates at least twice the revenue that is generated from a week-end without Kopano.

Table 3: Simulation of Sales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Motorist</th>
<th>Simulated Fuel Litres @ 13.6/L</th>
<th>Total Sales in Rands*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>With</td>
<td>Without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20/motorist x 299</td>
<td>20/motorist x 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 299</td>
<td>50/motorist x 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 857</td>
<td>20/motorist x 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:00-00:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 857</td>
<td>20/motorist x 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 857</td>
<td>50/motorist x 550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20/motorist x 351</td>
<td>20/motorist x 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 351</td>
<td>50/motorist x 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 892</td>
<td>20/motorist x 584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00-06:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 892</td>
<td>20/motorist x 584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 892</td>
<td>50/motorist x 584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20/motorist x 198</td>
<td>20/motorist x 39</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 198</td>
<td>50/motorist x 39</td>
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<td>20/motorist x 817</td>
<td>20/motorist x 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06:00-12:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 817</td>
<td>20/motorist x 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>50/motorist x 452</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20/motorist x 173</td>
<td>20/motorist x 10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 173</td>
<td>50/motorist x 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 655</td>
<td>20/motorist x 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-18:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 655</td>
<td>20/motorist x 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 655</td>
<td>50/motorist x 424</td>
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<tr>
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<td>20/motorist x 65</td>
<td>20/motorist x 13</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 65</td>
<td>50/motorist x 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 407</td>
<td>20/motorist x 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:00-00:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 407</td>
<td>20/motorist x 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 407</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 53</td>
<td>50/motorist x 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 233</td>
<td>20/motorist x 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00-06:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 233</td>
<td>20/motorist x 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 233</td>
<td>50/motorist x 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20/motorist x 448</td>
<td>20/motorist x 60</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 448</td>
<td>50/motorist x 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>ZCC</td>
<td>20/motorist x 1016</td>
<td>20/motorist x 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06:00-12:00</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20/motorist x 1016</td>
<td>20/motorist x 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist x 1016</td>
<td>50/motorist x 541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 20/motorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50/motorist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*these are absolute figures
6. DISCUSSION

In this study, we sought to investigate the socio-economic impacts of religious tourism on local communities. In doing so, we first observed and recorded major activities within a 50km radius from Moria, the Zion City, before, during and after the religious gathering. Our observation mainly concentrated on business establishments. We also conducted focus group discussion to gather qualitative data for the study. In sum, we provide evidence to support the contention that the gathering has positive socio-economic impacts to surrounding communities that outweigh the negatives.

First our findings highlighted the general context of the study site and the surrounding communities. Here, observations showed that the ZCC church has a vast array of businesses, school and clinic around the area. Definitely over and above being a supplier of spiritual food, the church is contributing towards employment, education and health. These contributions, especially that of employment and education are vital as they have great potential of reducing the crime rate, reduction of poverty, use of drugs and other social evils that accompany being unemployed and uneducated (see Melick, 2003; Saunders, 2002). It is not easy however, to quantify most of these socio-economic impacts. While quantifying how many people are employed by the church is easy, it is definitely difficult to quantify the reduction in poverty resulting from this employment, for instance. Some of these impacts may need a panel study. However, there remains no doubt that these impacts are present. Perhaps one further insight on the socio-economic impacts relates to the realisation of rural-urban linkages that has been made possible because of this religious event. Economically, rural and urban areas are linked by the reciprocal exchange of products. Strengthening this link, in most cases, requires a good road network between these two areas. The presence of the religious gathering in Moria has seen improvements in road network that may not only help the pilgrims, but may facilitate exchange between rural and urban agents.

Second, our findings highlighted in a qualitative detail the relations between the religious event and the businesses. The results showed that while most businesses do not observe significant effects of the religious event on their businesses, they do nonetheless respond to certain requirements of pilgrims to take advantage of their demand. Some of the businesses go to the extent of relocating temporarily closer to the religious site to make sure they benefit from this extra demand. The quantitative data from observing customers at fuel stations showed that the frequency of motorists visiting the fuel station is
twice more during a week-end with a religious event. These findings were used to suggest that religious events may trigger ripple-purchasing effect from non-pilgrims. Thus, there are purchases by other members of the community that are done, that may not have been done if the religious event had not taken place. This finding encourages researchers to go beyond the multiplier effects when attempting to investigate the impacts of religious gathering in local economies. To the best of our knowledge, this factor has been over-looked by researchers who study the impacts of religious tourism on local economies especially in South Africa (see Stynes, 1999, Saayman and Saayman, 2004 and Saayman et al 2014). Furthermore, perhaps the extra demand both from pilgrims and the community in general, which accompanies the religious event in Moria, is accompanied by the extra supply that could come from suppliers who are located outside the surrounding communities (that is outside the 50km radius from Moria). While this is good as it brings variety and restricts prices from going up, it is not very pleasant for small entrepreneurs who reside within the 50km radius of Moria. Results showed that the decrease in prices and the flooding of suppliers during the religious event is not good for their businesses. In addition, the suppliers from outside this community are a source of leakage.

Last but not least, moving beyond the social and economic impacts of the religious events on local communities, we discuss the potential of this gathering as a secular tourist attraction. At present, pilgrims and other religiously motivated visitors far outnumber secular tourists at the Moria site. Learning from the definition of religious tourism by Nolan and Nolan (1992) who describe a religious tourist attraction as a place that appeals and draws tourists by virtue of some aspect of the site such as architecture, exceptional building, or a spectacular view from the terrace, we observe possibilities of attracting large proportions of secular tourists to Moria. There is a possibility of creating a place on the mountain, which is not owned by the church, to be the location centre of secular tourists who may be interested in sight-seeing the spectacular site of the April and September ZCC religious event, subject to the church’s approval. If properly advertised and managed, attracting secular tourists could raise the demand for accommodation in this area, which is currently at a low given that the pilgrims do not utilise accommodation.

3 The study by Saayman et al (2014) is of particular interest given that it compliments this study by providing the demand side aspects of the study. We therefore do a detailed comparison of the study by Saayman et al study with this study in Appendix 10.
7. IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS TOURISM IN MORIA

While there is no doubt that the religious event in Moria has socio-economic impacts in surrounding communities, there is however more doubts concerning its ability to be a secular tourist attraction centre. Pilgrims are definitely a form of tourists, but however, they seemingly are not attracted to other products and services that mostly accompany tourism. This is unlike a situation where there are secular tourists, who are usually prepared to not only utilise accommodation, but go on to tour other places of attraction as well. There is therefore a need to redirect efforts of raising the proportion of secular tourism to pilgrims in the area of Moria. How can this be done? One of the key steps would be to identify an anchor-site, on which the spectacle of the religious event can be viewed. With the blessings of the church, the times and days at which viewing is done, when for instance buses have parked, pilgrims are seated according to their uniform colours, or are dancing in their groups can then be arranged. This becomes the main religious tourism product, and it will get to be complemented by other tourism products or packages.

One key challenge in turning the religious event and site at Moria into a tourist attraction centre lies on the potential conflict between secular tourists and pilgrims, who definitely would feel disturbed during their spiritual exercises. There are several lessons that can be learnt in other pilgrimage sites in other countries. For instance, Nolan and Nolan (1992) give an account of how Jerusalem site is managed to avoid potential conflicts between secular tourists and pilgrims. They posit that special areas are set aside by the Church of All Nations in Jerusalem’s Garden of Gethsemane. But this may not necessarily befit the Moria case as part of the spectacle that could be the main tourism product is to see the layout of thousands of vehicles and organisational arrangements of millions of pilgrims in arrayed colour scheme and patterns. In Europe, best known religious attractions that are also important for pilgrimage shrines include Chartres Cathedral and the major basilicas of Rome. Specifically in Rome, the idea that tourists’ needs are to be respected is widespread, and is understood both by administrators and pilgrims (Nolan and Nolan 1992). The set-up at basilicas in Rome is almost similar to that in Moria given that secular tourists are, most often than not, interested in seeing the Mass as it takes place. Nolan and Nolan (1992) report that the Roman Catholic Church tries to keep track of religiously motivated visitors by recording such activities as written requests for divine aid amongst others. Somehow this demonstrates that benefits from having and accommodating secular tourists outweigh the managerial challenges of hosting them during religious events.
In sum any religious event whether attended by pilgrims or not, is a potential source for tourist attraction (Greenwood 1989; Smith 1983). If Zion City is to become a tourist attraction area, more collaboration between the church and the government and/or private sector is needed. From such collaboration, it can then be clear as to what the church is comfortable to be viewed by secular tourists, what times and days could be ear-marked for sight-seeing so that the spiritual exercises of pilgrims are not disturbed. Campaigns can then be done to pilgrims and leaders that it is normal and it makes both spiritual and business sense to have secular tourists during other segments of the gathering, just like in the case of basilicas in Rome.

8. REFERENCES


Gunlu E and Okumus F (2010). The Hajj: Experience of Turkish Female Pilgrims. Tourism in the Muslim World Bridging Tourism Theory and Practice, Volume 2


## Appendix 1  
### Documented Commercial Establishments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Commercial Establishments</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>R71 (Palaborwa/Savannah directions)</strong></td>
<td>Accomodation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fuel stations</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conventional Shops (Souvenirs, Food and Beverages):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Along the road</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping Mall</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawkers</td>
<td>8 (Empty structures/Stands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car washes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car fixing (e.g. towing services, tire mending)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>University Road (Mamotindane – Joins R71)</strong></td>
<td>Accomodation</td>
<td>0 (Mostly accommodation for Students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fuel stations</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conventional Shops (Souvenirs, Food and Beverages):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Along the road</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping Mall</td>
<td>0 (one inside but not directly on the main road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawkers</td>
<td>3 (all active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car washes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car fixing (e.g. towing services, tire mending)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soloman (First joins University road and then R71)</strong></td>
<td>Accomodation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fuel stations</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conventional Shops (Souvenirs, Food and Beverages):</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Along the road</td>
<td>1 (bakery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping Mall</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Hawkers</td>
<td>8 (Empty structures/Stands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car washes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Car fixing (e.g. towing services, tire mending)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Fuel stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1 (via Grobler Street then join R71)</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thabo Mbeki (joins R71)</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seshego (All days then joins R71)</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>Around Moria</strong></td>
<td>Houses in the campsite</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(Empty structures/Stands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car washes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(taken as part of fuel stations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car fixing (e.g. towing services, tire mending)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(taken as part of fuel stations)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

Focus Group Participant Demographic Criterion for Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Time:</th>
<th>Business Establishment:</th>
<th>Place:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your highest school qualification:</td>
<td>How long have you been in this business establishment:</td>
<td>I work in this business establishment for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Grade 6 and below</td>
<td>□ Less than 5 years</td>
<td>□ myself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Grade 7 – 12</td>
<td>□ 5 – 10 years</td>
<td>□ my employer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Professionally trained</td>
<td>□ More than 10 years</td>
<td>□ Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your age:</th>
<th>Your gender:</th>
<th>Your religion in a broad sense:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 16 - 25</td>
<td>□ Male</td>
<td>□ Evangelical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 26 - 35</td>
<td>□ Female</td>
<td>□ Pentecostal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 36 – 45</td>
<td></td>
<td>□ ZCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Above 46</td>
<td></td>
<td>□ Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participant talkativeness (tick where appropriate: High _____ Medium _____ Low _____)
16 September 2014,
Dear _______________________

Thank you for your willingness to participate in our focus group discussion. As discussed yesterday and on the phone, we would like to hear more of your ideas and opinions about socio-economic impact of the gathering in Moria on businesses and other surrounding communities. You will be in a group with about 7 other business agents from other or similar to your business establishments. Your responses will be anonymous and no name identifying you will be used. If anything, a pseudo name will be used. Lunch will be provided at the end of the focus group discussion.

As a reminder, the date and time for the focus group discussion is 17 September 2014, 10am at ________________. If you need directions to the focus group discussion or will not be able to attend for any reason please call Tondani on 0159628711

Sincerely,

Members of the NDT-UNIVEN Research Collaboration on Impacts of Religious Tourism
### Appendix 4

**Questions for a Focus Group Discussion on Impacts of Religious Tourism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Engagement Question:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. As a business person, what basically comes to your mind when see the Moria gathering approaching?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exploration questions:**

| 2. What is your view about ZCC gathering in relation to your business? |
| 3. If there was no gathering in this place, would you locate your business here? |
| 4. What type of business depends on the gathering? |
| 5. What social impacts do you think the gathering is having? |

**Exit Questions:**

| 6. Is there anything else you would like to say about all what we have discussed? |
Appendix 5
Focus Group Introduction and Ground Rules

WELCOME
Thank you so much for agreeing to be part of the focus group. We appreciate your willingness to participate.

INTRODUCTIONS AND PURPOSE OF FOCUS GROUPS
The University of Venda in collaboration with the National Department of Tourism is conducting a study on the religious site Moria.

This research project aims to determine the socio-economic impact of the ZCC gathering on the local communities within a 50km radius of the church site. The study does not in any way intend to survey the activities of the church.

We need your input and ask you to share your honest and open thoughts with us.

GROUND RULES
1. We would really be happy to have you to do the talking, most of the time.
   We would like everyone to participate.
   Only one person talks at a time.
   I may call on you if I haven't heard from you in a while.

2. There are no right or wrong answers
   Every person's experiences and opinions are important.
   Speak up whether you agree or disagree.
   We want to hear a wide range of opinions.

3. Confidentiality is assured
   What happens in this room stays here.
   We want you to feel comfortable sharing when issues that come up without fear.

4. We will be tape recording the group
   We want to capture everything you have to say.
   We don't identify anyone by name in our report. You will remain anonymous.
Appendix 6

Consent to participate in Focus Group Discussion

You have been asked to participate in a focus group discussion on a study on religious gathering impacts conducted by the University of Venda in collaboration with the National Department of Tourism. The information learned here will be used to inform the National Department of Tourism and its stakeholders on policy and business options that may benefit Limpopo Province. You can choose whether or not to participate anymore before we start now, or to stop at any time after we have started. The focus group will be recorded, but none of your responses will be linked either to your name or identity in anyway in the reports to be developed. Therefore we assure you of anonymity.

I understand this information and agree to participate fully under the conditions stated above:

Signed: ___________________________________ Date: ________________________________
Appendix 7

Analysis on Excel

1. Session 1 Group Discussion Analysis
2. Question 2: What is your view about ZCC gathering in relation to your business?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Code</th>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Power Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;During Nkaposi it’s very busy, especially on Sundays&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;We go to provide services to the players during Nkaposi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A &amp; B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I sell accessories to the players, yes it’s a way during the Nkaposi, my sales increase&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;Good creates a hype...that triggers sales from non ZCC members&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A &amp; D</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;There is an observed relation...moreover ZCC prefer no park&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;I am here to sell with or without Nkaposi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Synthesized focus group data on Question 2

First synthesis

Unconventional business below Nkaposi’s

Ensemble

From outside the business that are part of the business around the market, despite indications especially from the consultations and conversations, food and beverage agents that there is no relation between the Nkaposi and business sales, most have reported sales

Improvements in their business during this period. The benefits from Nkaposi sales reported to occur indirectly due to ripple effect that accompanies increased activities within the 40km radius.

Proof Question #1

In our business, it’s a normal day that is, we are mostly busy during the day or you can see. In the morning, we see our children go to school and pupils work so they different work places, and for the afternoon and evening, same pattern, same routes. However during Nkaposi its every business, especially at weekends, we tend to be extremely mobile throughout the day. That’s good for business, and I believe you can imagine if you are in the picnics..."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field Observer Name</th>
<th>Surname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel Station ID</th>
<th>Date [ ]</th>
<th>Time [ ]</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of all motorists pouring fuel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of ZCC motorists pouring fuel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fuel Station 3

Fuel Station 4

Without
With
Appendix 10

Comparing the Saayman et al (2014) - Northwest University (NWU) - and University of Venda (Univen) Studies on the ZCC Church

(1) Objectives
The main objective of the NWU study was to determine the economic value of the ZCC annual pilgrimage in Limpopo province as a regional economy, from the pilgrims’ spending perspective (demand side), while the Univen study attempted to determine the impact of the same annual ZCC gathering on commercial/business activities such as accommodation, transport establishments, and surrounding local communities within a 50 kilometer radius of the church site at Moria (supply side).

(2) Methodologies
The data for the NWU study was obtained by administering a structured questionnaire to pilgrims in order to estimate the magnitude of pilgrims’ spending on various items including accommodation, food, transport and souvenirs (religious items). The pilgrims’ expenditure on these items were then used to determine the economic impact of the ZCC pilgrimage on the Limpopo regional economy using the provincial Social Accounting Matrix (Limpopo SAM) to generate multipliers. The Univen study employed a variety of methods including the Observation method as well as Focus group and individual discussion approach, to observe and record major commercial business activities and collect qualitative data for the study.

(3) Discussion of Findings of the two Studies
The findings from both studies concur that one of the most important businesses in tourism value chain i.e. that of formal accommodation (e.g. B&Bs, Lodges and Hotels) do not benefit at all or at best minimally from the ZCC gathering. Univen’s research team’s observation and focus group discussions found low levels of patronage in the formal accommodation establishments during the gathering. This finding collaborated the findings of the NWU study which found that expenditure on accommodation constituted only 6 percent of the average total pilgrim expenditure of R365.508 during the gathering (Saayman et al, 2013:410). This finding seems unexpected, for a gathering that attracts more than a million pilgrims annually. The lack of patronage of formal accommodation establishments and the low level of expenditure by pilgrims on accommodation during the gathering have been attributed to the Church’s stringent rules which requires that pilgrims stay at the church site during the gathering. To meet this requirement, accommodation at the site in the form of tents are provided (rented out) by the church, while many other pilgrims sleep in buses and taxis on site.

It is from this major finding (from both studies) that the Univen study proposed a recommendation aimed at using the gathering to attract secular tourists who are more likely to use formal accommodation, restaurants and other commercial services and products in the tourism value chain. Our study recommended the identification, and establishment of a strategic viewing point on the mountains surrounding the church site from where secular tourists can view the proceedings and activities without disturbing the conduct of the pilgrimage. This has to be done through the collaboration between the church and government/or private sector.

The findings of the NWU study indicate that the average spending by pilgrims is low, due among
others, to the fact most of the pilgrims to the ZCC gathering are low income earners. As a consequence the study estimated that the pilgrimage generated R400 million additional income for the Limpopo regional economy in 2011, a figure which is significantly lower than other comparable pilgrimages discussed in the literature including Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca and Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Looking at issues from the supply side of the ZCC gathering, the Univen study found that the ZCC church is a major supplier of goods and services during the pilgrimage, including church branded items such as uniforms, badges, tea, petroleum jelly, tents as well as provision of bus service to ferry people between Polokwane city and Moria. In addition the church owns a mill, a clinic and a school which is open to the public. The church therefore is not only a supplier of spiritual food, but also contribute to employment, education and health in the surrounding local communities.

Another significant finding of the Univen study is that the ZCC gathering give rise to spending that goes beyond the purchases by pilgrims. First, it was revealed in our study that the gathering provides the opportunity for local non-pilgrims to incur expenses which they would not necessarily have incurred in the absence of the gathering. These include local residents spending to service their vehicles at service providers such as car mechanics who move their businesses closer to the gathering site to take advantage of increased potential demand for their services from the travelling pilgrims. Secondly, the study observed that the frequency with which non-ZCC members of the local community used the services of fuel stations doubled during the pilgrimage weekend.

This increased spending by the local residents during the ZCC gathering is what we term as the ripple-purchasing (extra demand) effect from non-pilgrims i.e. purchases by other members of the community that may not have taken place in the absence of the gathering. This finding challenges researchers to go beyond the multiplier effect (based only on pilgrim spending) when attempting to investigate the impact of religious gathering on local communities.