

**Tourism as a Local Economic Development Strategy in Townships. Langa, Cape Town**



Author: Mokakose Maraka

Supervisor: Dr Cecil Madell

Dissertation presented as part fulfilment of the degree of Master of City and Regional Planning

In the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics

University of Cape Town

October 2023

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

2023/06/22

EBE/00241/2023

RE: Research Ethics Committee Project Approval Letter

Dear Limpho Mokakose Maraka,

Your application for ethics review of your project titled

An analysis of tourism based development as an appropriate local economic development strategy in addressing unemployment and poverty within Langa, Cape Town

has been reviewed and evaluated by the  
Engineering & Built Environment Committee.

You may proceed with your research project titled:

An analysis of tourism based development as an appropriate local economic development strategy in addressing unemployment and poverty within Langa, Cape Town

Please note that should:

- (i) any serious or adverse effects to participants occur and/or,
- (ii) aspect(s) of your current project change and/or
- (iii) any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project occur then you should immediately report this to the approving REC. You may be required to submit an amendment to this application, in order to determine whether the changed aspects increase the ethical risks of your project.

Based on the information supplied your application has been successful and is approved.

Please note the following additional conditions associated with this approval:

- (i) Approved, but please do consider whether any gatekeeper permissions may be needed, e.g. from the City Council Offices or representatives in Langa. For discussion with your supervisor.

Regards,

Engineering & Built Environment Committee.

## Declaration of Free Licence

" I hereby:

- (a) grant the University free license to reproduce the above thesis in whole or in part, for the purpose of research.
- (b) declare that:
  - (i) the above thesis is my own unaided work, both in conception and execution, and that apart from the normal guidance of my supervisor, I have received no assistance apart from that stated below.
  - (ii) except as stated below, neither the substance or any part of the thesis has been submitted in the past, or is being, or is to be submitted for a degree in the University or any other University.
- (iii) I am now presenting the thesis for examination the thesis for examination for the Degree of Master of City and Regional Planning

Name.....MOLAKOSE MAZAKA.....

Signature.....

Signed by candidate

**Name:** MOKAKOSE MARAKA  
**Student Number:** MBKLI M002  
**Course:** APG 5051Z

**Declaration**

I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.

I have used the .....Harvard..... convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this essay/report/project/..... from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

This ~~essay/report/project~~.....project..... is my own work.

I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

**Signature** Signed by candidate

**Date** 20/10/2023

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to send my deepest gratitude to those who have supported me throughout the journey of my dissertation in finally accomplishing it. Words cannot express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr Cecil Madell for his unwavering support and guidance throughout my dissertation journey, the participants at Langa who through their voluntary participation have contributed immensely to the data collection process, to my guide Mizoe who took time from his busy schedule in guiding me through Langa, my parents who have been my pillars throughout the journey guiding me emotionally towards completion of my dissertation.

## Abstract

According to Blakely (1989) local economic development is a process by which local government, community-based groups manage their existing resources to enter in a new partnership arrangement with the private sector or each other to create new partnership arrangements with the private sector to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in a well-defined economic zone. The primary goal of local economic development is the creation of business development and increase the variety of jobs. Township tourism has been a growing phenomenon representing attractions within impoverished areas. The growth of township tourism has been attributed to the prevalence of rich culture and history that presents a special interest or niche cultural heritage tourism that offers tourist an 'authentic' experience into townships (Booyens, 2021).

The commercialisation of township tours as leisure activities has led to the popularity of township tourism suggesting that there is a strong relationship between tourism and socio-economically marginalised people (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Regardless of the limited or inadequate provisions of infrastructure in townships these areas present strong attractiveness to the international market. South African townships represent a creative consumption focused economy, where the elements of culture and heritage encourage active learning and participation experiences, the development of cultural clusters and creative event (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). The benefits of township tourism to the wider market are greatly explored however of concern is to whether the locals are able to benefit from township tourism in creating employment opportunities and alleviating poverty. Hence the aspect of slum tourism referring to the voyeurism and marketing of slums (Franzel et al, 2015).

It thus becomes important in investigating tourism as an appropriate local economic development strategy within townships in an effort to understand if and how tourism-based development can be an appropriate local economic development strategy in alleviating unemployment and poverty in poor communities. The study draws from established literature and interviews using Langa in Cape Town as a case study in attaining the prerequisites for tourism to work within townships.

## Contents

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>The Main Research Question</b> .....	6
<b>The Aim of the Research</b> .....	6
<b>Research Objectives</b> .....	6
Research Methodology .....	7
<b>Chapter 2 Literature Review</b> .....	7
<b>International Perspectives</b> .....	7
<b>Tourism and Local Economic Development</b> .....	13
South African Experiences.....	16
Tourism Development in South Africa .....	23
Synthesis and Conceptual Framework.....	31
<b>Chapter 3: Case Study Research Methodology</b> .....	32
• Case study Method.....	33
• Motivation for Langa as case study .....	35
• Research Techniques and Analytical ‘Tools’ .....	35
<b>Chapter 4: Langa Case Study, Findings and Recommendations</b> .....	39
<b>Langa Location and Context</b> .....	39
<b>Tourism in Langa Township</b> .....	45
<b>Job Creation</b> .....	46
<b>Local Business Development</b> .....	50
<b>Local Skills Development</b> .....	52
<b>Economic Growth and Development</b> .....	53
<b>Recommendations</b> .....	56
<b>Chapter 5: Conclusion and Reflections</b> .....	59
<b>References</b> .....	62

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Globalisation has increased the mobility of goods, capital and labour imposing threats and opportunities to local regions (Rodriguez-Pose and Tijmastra, 2009). Globalisation has been one of the enforcers of changing planning approaches towards local and regional development (Rogerson, 2009). Due to globalisation, remote areas have been exposed to competition thus forcing localities and regions to react and adjust to prevailing economic conditions (Rogerson, 2009). One of the consequences of globalisation has been the emergence of new territorial structure, the alteration of links between structures leading to differences and complex socio-political landscape (Rodriguez-Pose and Tijmastra, 2009).

Local economies are therefore more fragile due to exposure from policies and processes formed at the international level that have expanded the global production systems and changing terms of trade (Rogerson, 2009). Moreover, poverty and unemployment remain as one of the major challenges of development within countries. Poverty is much more prevalent in developing countries accounting for 80% of the poor (Azunu and Mensah, 2019). Poverty is a multidimensional concept that is defined through other concepts such as growth, wellbeing, exclusion, empowerment and equity (Azunu and Mensah, 2019). As such, it entails a holistic approach encompassing people's level of economic growth (income levels) and other non-monetary aspects such as empowerment, participation and social well-being. The traditional top-down development strategies struggle within these environments and are inadequate for tackling the developmental problems, hence a need to shift or complement these strategies has become evident and local economic development strategies possess a way to overcome developmental problems of territories (Rodrigues-Pose and Tijmastra, 2009).

In an effort to reshape development planning, local economic development emerged with a new focus on planning towards a deliberate and planned transfer of resources away from the central state institutions, shifting the structures of governance and government (Rogerson, 2009). Within the context of South Africa, the economic trajectory is said to be unsustainable showing signs of stagnant economic growth, rising unemployment and high inequality rates (National Treasury, n.d). Unemployment in South Africa is 32.2% with the national poverty levels at 56.8% (Stats SA, 2023). Over the years there has been a shift in thinking and reducing poverty from the 'trickle down' approach to development that assumed that the poor would eventually benefit through increased economic growth (Azunu and Mensah, 2019). However, development thinking moved away from economic accumulation to incorporating the social, community and human flourish (Pieterse, 2010).

The notion of development can be traced back to the stages of industrialization and urbanisation through government interventions in support of economic development at various scales (Pike et al.,

2010). Pike et al (2010) further elaborates that international trends from the United States of America and Europe have shown great faith being put on the state to promote development and manage spatial inequalities. Historically, national income has been a significant measure of growth, where economic concerns were fundamental for progress (Pike et al.,2017). Blakely and Leigh (2010) add that although the source of growing inequality cannot be pin pointed to one particular aspect nonetheless it is a reflection of failure in economic development leadership, that is, failure to provide skilled labour force that can potentially attract advanced industries or support entrepreneurs who create new jobs that might grow into prominent firms that could promote local economy through the provision of incentives like infrastructure development as real foundations of economic development.

There have been numerous definitions of local economic development and observations that definitions differ with respect to context. Rogerson and Rogerson (2010) define local economic development as a territorial concept that aims to grow 'local economy' creating jobs by using locally sourced resources. Lukhele and Madzivhandila (2018) refer to local economic development as a process by which the public, business and non-government sector partners work collectively in improving conditions of economic growth and employment generation. While Pendrana (2013) relates to different strategies and issues and relationship that is between the private and public sector. Emphasising the territorial competition to attract labour and investment in creating competitive assets for local development. Traditionally local economic development has been centred around wealth creation (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Hence over the years the definition of local economic development has reflected economic growth within countries.

However, the notion of development consists much more than economic growth and it is important that other measures are included such as poverty, inequality and education (Seers, 1969). Seers (1969) states that in defining development, it is inevitable to not include the positivist view that is based on 'value judgement'. Thus, it is important to perceive it from the perspective of the country's trends in poverty, unemployment and inequality as a measure of development. Therefore, economic growth does not mean development, it thus becomes important to differentiate between economic growth and development. According to the World Bank (2006) the underlying purpose of local economic development is to build on the economic capacity of the local area for improved economic futures and quality of life through a collaborative process.

Similarly, Blakely and Leigh (2010) refer to local economic development as achieved through highlighting several elements. Establishing that economic development promotes an increased standard of living overtime and it may not necessarily refer to job creation but rather job creation that is able to provide earnings for full-time employment that is sufficient enough to lift individuals out of poverty. The better

standard of living is equated with the access of better goods and services. One other aspect is the reduction of inequality which is closely related to job creation. Reduced inequality ensures that certain groups or areas are not left behind in terms of economic development as compared to economic growth which is concerned with the cost of living (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Economic development has the opportunity to reduce inequality between economic and political units be it small towns or cities, rural or urban areas etc. Lastly, economic development encourages and promotes the efficiency and preservation of resource use.

The notion of sustainable use of resources and production is important in creating equality between the present and future generations (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). According to Blakely (1989) local economic development is a process in which the local government, community-based groups manage their existing resources through partnership arrangements with the private sector or each other in creating jobs and stimulating economic activity within a well-defined economic zone.

Over the years there has been a shift in thinking of local economic development, where new approaches have developed. In the global North there was growing advocacy of geographically balanced national development prompted by the redistributive Keynesian welfare state (Pike et al., 2016). Recently, there has been a shift towards sustainable economic growth leading to the rise of quality of life as being a significant factor in consideration in terms of local economic development. In South Africa local economic development became adopted as an approach to economic development and transformation (Houghton, 2016). The emergence of local economic development in South Africa is linked to the adoption of a developmental local government (Houghton, 2016; Ingle, 2014).

Prevalent debates that have emerged around local economic development in South Africa relate to whether it should assume a pro-poor or pro-market approach (Nel and Rogerson, 2016; Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018). From 1995 the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) was bestowed with the responsibility of developing a national framework for local economic development (Rogerson, 2011). There has been various legislation context for local economic development that had moulded its development overtime, these include but are not limited to the 1996 Constitution that recognises the significance of local government, the 1998 White Paper on Local Government establishing the 'developmental local government' and the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 establishing Integrated Development Planning as a necessary activity for the local government (Rogerson, 2011; Patterson, 2008). Local economic development within the South African context has assumed a 'top down' approach, the national government steered national policy intervention during the apartheid era (Rogerson, 2011). Post 1994 the promotion of local economic development initiatives gave prominence to the policy and planning aspect of urban and rural construction. The promotion of

local economic development tied with the need for South Africa's re-entry into the global economy, in an effort to accommodate forces of globalisation (Rogerson, 2011). This would attract international investment and enhance the private sector. An important impetus to local economic development in South Africa was the DPLG local economic development fund launched in 1999 as the national government's strategy to alleviating poverty (Patterson, 2008).

The fund introduced a project-based approach to local economic development, where respective municipalities were liable to apply to the DPLG for funding of projects such as cultural tourism initiatives, agricultural projects and business incubators or human resources programmes (Patterson, 2008; Rogerson, 2011). The funding led to the development of small unsustainable projects that eventually failed when the project funding ended (Rogerson, 2011). During this period there was lack of understanding in terms of what constitute local economic development and the capacity required for its implementation at the local government level (Patterson, 2008). Therefore, projects were approved without the necessary measures taken such as assessment of business plans and prior feasibility assessments (Rogerson, 2011). The projects were exclusionary in nature in terms of local business knowledge (Marais, 2010). The local economic development fund approach sought to fostering local economic development that had social focus rather than building competitiveness of locations (Rogerson, 2011).

The micro-level projects focus of South African local economic development was unsuccessful due to failure to promote sustainable development. Most of these projects were survivalist in nature and had no measurable impact on poverty reduction (Marais, 2010; Rogerson, 2011). Given the prevailing circumstances a new direction to local economic development was taken enforced by the 2006 Local Economic Development Framework (Patterson, 2008). Local economic development was not dependent on the government funding program but empowered local governments in creating conducive environment in terms of economic and social conditions to create employment opportunities. Municipality's role was to promote investment through provision of infrastructure and quality services (Patterson, 2008). Rogerson (2011) exerts that focus was on the competitive edge within the respective of cities', dominated by a market-led approach in achieving sustainable high growth rates. This approach was in tune with economic development in the North and Western Europe. Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban and Ekurhuleni were at the forefront of local economic development activities that promoted this type of approach (Rogerson, 2011). There was growing concern within these cities to the need to respond to situations of weak demand and micro-economic constraints on local productivity (Rogerson, 2011).

As a result, local reforms designed to promote local economies were promoted as an important focus of local economic development where notably other local economic development growth interventions have been innovated among which enhanced place entrepreneurship to knowledge based economic growth (Rogerson, 2011). The application of local economic development in South Africa's cities embraced a pro-growth strategy, although there are also welfare or pro-poor focus in strengthening the asset base of poor communities such as the expansion of the public works and support for urban cultivation (Rogerson, 2011). A new turn of planning, place based economic development has emerged in implementing strategic policies that are tailored to pursue economic development within the specific context (Rogerson, 2020). As such tourism as a place-based development thinking in South Africa has emerged with hopes of improving the local economic development.

There is a strong relationship established between tourism and the socio-economically marginalised people (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Poor areas have emerged as attractions for tourism. The notion of townships in South Africa is representative of its colonial and apartheid past (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). The formation of township is attributed to the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act which created exclusion through the enforcement of urban areas as exclusive "European spaces" in which the natives were not allowed (Philip 2014; Rogerson, 2018). Entrenched in the policy were the premise that Africans would be 'temporary sojourners' residing in segregated spaces (Rogerson, 2018). Over time the planning of townships was refined during the apartheid era as structures of political and economic subordination of the black population (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). In light of the unravelling events townships have grown as dormitory settlements characterised by minimum provisions of infrastructure, business development and dislocated from urban areas (Philip, 2014; Booyens and Rogerson, 2019).

From 1945 the municipal authorities in South African urban areas controlled the allocation of formal trading sites within township areas (Rogerson, 2018). The legislation restricted the development of formal trading businesses to businesses that provided daily essentials of living therefore, in 1977 formal businesses in townships took the form of general dealers, butchers, milk shops and fruit and vegetable shops (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). During the democratic transition in 1994 the spatial legacies of apartheid were still persistent, on the contrary, segregation of townships was exacerbated by the post-apartheid urban development policies that enrolled free public housing programme as an urban development strategy (Philip, 2014; Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Consequently, urban spatial divide has been entrenched in townships which have been exposed to limited spatial planning to enable local economic development. The absence or poor quality of economic infrastructure, locational disadvantages (distance from major economic activities and places of work) has inflicted on the prospects of local economic development in townships (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019).

Due to the established developments, there was interests around the 1990's of the potential for tourism development in townships (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Following the political transition, townships became accessible to tourists as a niche market for tourism (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). The nature of township tourism is centred around heritage and culture. There has been growing observations that economies of townships need to be revitalised as such the promotion of tourism driven local economic development in South Africa (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). There is a strong emphasise given to transforming townships into areas of productive activities hence the need to investigate tourism as an appropriate local economic development strategy within these are areas.

There has been extensive literature on tourism led local economic development, with concerns of tourism approach to local and economic development as providing employment and alleviating poverty from a regional, provincial and national level focused on the developmental state of government as constituting a pro- poor emphasis (Rogerson, 2010; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019; Rogerson 2016; Nel and Rogerson, 2016, Booyens, 2021; Lukhele and Matzivhandila, 2018). Other literature is within a qualitative lens in verifying correlation between economic growth and tourism within locales (Meyer and Meyer, 2015; Pendrana, 2013; Mbane and Ezeuduji, 2022; Goridzinai and Mdube, 2000). The study contributes to the established body of literature within the field of local economic development.

### **The Main Research Question**

Can tourism-based development as a local economic development strategy alleviate unemployment and poverty in poor township economies?

### **The Aim of the Research**

To analyse if and how tourism-based development can be an appropriate local economic development strategy in alleviating unemployment and poverty in poor communities.

### **Research Objectives**

- To develop an understanding of local economic development internationally and locally.
- To investigate if tourism led local economic development can create jobs, develop businesses and skills and entrepreneurship in townships.
- To recommend the pre-requisites for tourism development to work as an appropriate local economic development strategy in order to maximised benefits for local communities in townships.

## Research Methodology

The study follows a single case study method in providing a holistic analysis of the relevant case being Langa Township, which will allow for focused-based research within one area with relevance to the topic. The study is qualitative research with various methods consisting of primary and secondary data collection. In terms of the primary data collection interviews are to be conducted with the relevant stakeholders and community members with respect to their experiences with impacts of tourism as generating employment or improving the quality of life. In addition, observations will also be carried out in assessing the perceived interpretations of respondents. Maps of the area in terms of providing context will be drawn, while also mapping out the different activities relevant to the case. Secondary data collection in the form of reports or articles will also be assessed in responding to the research question and achieving the objectives. In carrying out the study, application for ethic approval was conducted and a formulation of a consent form for voluntary participation.

The purpose of the dissertation is to provide an analysis of tourism led development as an appropriate local economic development strategy in alleviating unemployment and poverty using Langa as a case study in Cape Town. The structure consists of the Chapter 1, Introduction which provides context with regards to emergence of local economic development, its aim and some of the strategies that were adopted internationally. Chapter 2 consist of the literature review on providing a clear understanding of International and South African experience with local economic development, trends and policies adopted over time within contested views as a pro market or pro poor strategy. The policy foundations of local economic development will provide a contextual base from which tourism led development will be analysed, what it entails and the enabling policy and preconditions that enforces tourism to create employment and alleviate poverty within poor communities.

Chapter 3, the research method will outline and motivate the chosen case study and techniques used, while also acknowledging the limitations of the research and some of the precautionary measures taken and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 provides the case study findings of Langa in exploring its tourism economy, in terms of its form and nature. Drawing from the previously explored international and local literature in contextualising the realities of tourism development. Chapter 5 Discussions and recommendations of the findings will be established followed by concluding remarks.

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

### International Perspectives

Globalization has been a major contributing factor to the socio- spatial dynamics of cities creating new spatial inequalities leading to segregation and spatial exclusion fostering new strategies of city building

intended to redefine citizenship in changing the terms of access to urban spaces, services and infrastructure (Shatkin, 2011). Owing to the fact that the analysis of cities is with reference to the westernised group of developed cities (Shatkin, 2006). Although the concept does lack a precise definition, Beall (2002) refers to a process or a set of processes that enforces transformation on the spatial organization with regard to social relations and transactions. Further adds that it is assess in terms of their intensity, extensity, velocity and impact in generating transcontinental or flows of networks and activity between regions in how they interact and exercise power. The definition is reflective of a neoliberal analysis based on the economic interpretations of globalization that celebrates a single global market and the principles of free trade and global competition (Beall, 2002).

An important driver of change within the context of local and regional development is globalization (Pike et al., 2006). Pieterse (2010) asserts that the process of internationalization of in trade and investment has simultaneously been accompanied by trends towards greater localization of economic activity and structures of governance. Beall (2002) refers to the development of North-South divide that was imposed by the adoption of policies prompted by the international financial and economic architecture which were in the forefront of global social inequalities as they encouraged weaker economies to cut costs through lowering costs and wages accompanied by longer working hours, deteriorating working conditions, reduced social security and increased informality. Shatkin (2006; 2008) argues that the function of cities as command-and-control centres of global capital with regards to multinational headquarters and producer service firms enforces a differentiated employment between professional jobs and low skilled serviced jobs in such cities leading to spatial polarization between low-income areas and centres of business and upper income residence and consumption. Asserts that many developing cities have been categorized by their economic function as hosts of global headquarters or public service firms.

Reference is made to Metro Manila, Bangkok and Jakarta to having achieved their world city status due to their role in coordinating and interpolation of their national economies into the global economy which is often at the centre of a large global city region (Shatkin, 2006). In addition, draws relation to the trends in various types of urbanism driven by entrepreneurial planning in establishing the commodification of land and implementation of urban redevelopment that results in a fragmented and polarised landscape where the wealthy benefit while the rest (minority) are excluded (Shatkin, 2011). These are characterised by public private partnerships in urban redevelopment and infrastructure development (Shatkin, 2011). The economic change has not only led to the emergence of world class urban space but also pressure from governments to adopt growth-oriented policies while international aid and lending organizational organizations explore frameworks and economic management that aim to ensure that countries repay their foreign debt (Shatkin, 2008). The state becomes an agent rather

than a regulator of the market (Roy, 2009). Such practices are designed to curb over-accumulation through investment in sites of value (Roy, 2009). Evidently a new form of urbanisation emerges of polycentric networks of cities and towns that are physically separated but functionally networked, forming clusters in one or more larger cities from which they able or share economic strength from a new functional division of labour (Lang and Knox, 2009). These metropolitan forms, until the 20<sup>th</sup> Century they are conceptualised in terms of their outcomes of competition for land and ecologic process forming around a dominant central business district and transportation hub (Lang and Knox, 2009).

According to Blakely and Leigh (2010) there are three general approaches to economic development emanating from the 1990's. The first approach involves past traditions to economic planning and advocates nationwide reindustrialization (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The approach not only does it advocates for tax incentives and national financing of infrastructure development in rebuilding the nation's industrial stock but also promotes the deregulation of labour in limiting the power of unions in shaping industrial actions specific to industrial trade and outsourcing of labour in lower wage areas. It reinforces international competitiveness, advocating for transformation from the old to the new industrial and commercial activities through federal intervention that would identify industries that had great potential in producing new jobs to compete in the global market and encourage them with appropriate investment and incentives (Blakely 1989; Blakely and Leigh, 2010).

The second approach takes an administrative view on incentives in economic development. (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The approach favours less government involvement in economic development and industry based on the premise that they have imposed regulation, special support systems and inconsistencies that contradict and restrict industrial, commercial policies and trade making the nation less competitive (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). This approach supports free market with the view that the deregulation of the labour market will give means of absorbing the unemployed groups within the nation (Blakely, 1989). Essentially if wages are at their natural level, then more jobs would be available for those who need work (Blakely and Leigh, 2010).

The third approach propose for a free market and government regulated policy perspective that does not solely aim at firms (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The approach is based on the misconception that what is good for the business is good for the community. There has been a wide range of tools that the state uses in enforcing policy and programs for the promotion of economic development and the pattern of these tools follow the five waves of economic development (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Post the second world war economic development had undergone a series of evolutionary changes that have shaped the way communities and people think about the future (Stimson and Stough, 2009). These changes are explored below. The neo-classical theory and Keynesian theory are the basis on which post World

War II policies were grounded where focus was on the capital, labour and production function (Stimson and Stough, 2009). The first phase is of industrial recruitment from the 1930's, economic development focus was on creating good business climate through tax abatements, loan packages, infrastructure and land development (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The phase was driven by two theoretical perspectives of a regional and community development drawing from international theory and firm behaviour theory (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The perspectives aimed to identify the cause of regional growth and development and how local efforts can impact this path. In addition, economic development potential was seen based on the locational export base (Blakely, 1989).

Characterised by directing of public funding to private sector firms in influencing their location marked what was known as the 'corporate welfare' (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). In the global North there were manifestations of public support for infrastructure and services, the provision of financial incentives in attracting investors to lagging regions and the formation of spatial planning systems (Pike et al., 2017). Although Keynesian economics generated the desired output in terms of improved employment and mitigating inequalities, there were limitations to the policy approach. The approach was criticized for promoting development in the region rather than of the region thus promoting 'branch plant economies' (Pike et al., 2017). The second phase of economic development shifted its focus from the implementation of various techniques and strategies to identifying the participants in the economic development process, benefits and motives.

There was a predominance of landholding in increasing the value of property and job creation in this instance was not increased by the participation of economic development practitioners but rather transferred between locations (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). By the late 1970's rising global competition together with stagnant world economy led to the dismissal of efforts in attracting businesses as the anticipated results of job creation and wealth were not being realised. The focus of master planning in setting goals and objectives within the mid 1970's embraced the principle of comparative advantage, where planning policies aimed towards achieving lowest production costs relative to competitors (Stimson and Stough, 2009). There were different interests involved between cities, the state and businesses, with cities and state advocating for employment and tax base while the firms sought for mobility to produce in places of lowest cost and highest profits (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). This phase was characterised by tools that included offering incentives to businesses that were losing their competitive edge and provided expansion loans and grants to firms with new markets that could expand locally or globally with new technologies (Blakely and Leigh, 2010).

The third phase of local economic development exhibited the entrepreneurial strategy representing a shift to developing new business in industry perceived to be high technological in nature (Blakely and

Leigh, 2010). These strategies ranged from the promotion of international trade, venturing into capital funds and small business development and more recently incorporating the creative class attraction and development schemes (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Furthermore, the aspect of equity emerged between the 1970's and 1980's to confront growing issues of inequality and redistribution. It induces new ways of examining the problem. One other aspect that emerged in the 1990's was the focus of using regional resources in support of specific industrial clusters of related firms and emphasis on building on the local capacity through education and training the local work force (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). According to Stimson and Stough (2009) globalization was also a contributing factor in the restructuring of regions where the nature of location of production resulted in specialisation and clustering evoking borderless or unrestricted movement between countries. Clusters provides commonalities and complementarities between institutions which enhances localised externalities and spillovers that could consequently improve their competitive advantage (Pike et al., 2016)

The fourth phase can be characterised as sustainable economic development, as this phase included the environmental sensitivity factor and responsibility to the quality of life (Blakely and leigh, 2010). The splurge of the capital market in the 1980's led to a significant shift focusing on sustainable development (Stimson and Stough, 2009). The notion of meeting present needs without compromising future generational needs informed sustainability in valuing the economic, social and environmental aspects (Greenwood and Holt, 2010). Sustainable economic growth led to the rise of quality of life as being a significant factor in consideration in terms of local economic development (Stimson and Stough, 2009). Equitable growth and fair distribution of economic development is at the forefront. It does not only emphasise self-sufficiency over the export-based growth but also infers on sustainable improvement to the quality of life to be achieved (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). It is observed that in most cases what is presumed to be good for the economy is automatically deemed appropriate for the society, in addition how economic development is conducted has inherent negative and positive impacts on society and environment (Blakely and Leigh, 2020). Stimson and Stough (2009) state that emphasis was put on less tangible or what they termed value factors which included efficiency, performance and qualitative attributes such as quality of life, human and social capital. Therefore, the sustainable economic development considers the entire range of economic development available and options where there is an appraisal of their individual impact and appraises those that represent well rounded benefits that include the social, economic and environmental benefits (Blakely and Leigh, 2010).

The last phase on economic development was characterised by two approaches in the 1990's being the market solutions and the promotion of metropolitans as regional strategies. Michael Porters (1998) competitive advantage was highly influential in this era (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). An areas competitive advantage is expressed as the increase in returns linked to the cumulative development processes and

the agglomeration of activities (Pike et al., 2016). Meaning that development can be enhanced through the strategic management and the corporate activities or value chains. The traditional top-down approaches are replaced by the promotion of development with respect to the economic potential and the competitive advantage of each space (Rogerson, 2009). Economic developers take the lead in identifying unmet demand, provision of government facilitation and financing and the encouragement of public-private partnerships for small firms and market developments (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). However, this phase has the potential to promote gentrification whereby the higher income residents return to enjoy newly revitalised urban areas and urban life thus displacing the poor to the declining suburbs that lack the necessary support systems like public transportation to give them access to the economy (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). States play a significant role in the implementation of this phase.

The premise of local economic policy approach should therefore not be concerned only with promoting economic growth, but also the reduction of inequality, the mobilization of resources in lagging areas in an effort to reduce territorial polarisation as well as the promotion of geographic uneven growth (Rogerson, 2020; Todes and Turok, 2018). Trends of regional development agencies in the UK have emerged with the promotion of place-based development. These agencies aim to secure growth and development of regions within England in an effort to also focus attention on endogenous factors and drivers of development (Bentley and Pugalis, 2014).

According to Blakely and Leigh (2010) the driver of the different phases is based on their definition of development. The notion of development dates back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, described then as sustained increase in income per capita (Pike et al., 2016). The traditional definition was reflective of wealth creation (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Development was focused on the economical dimensions and the extent to which capitalism had breached the social structures of localities, regions and nations. Development was characterised by social and geographical disparities which sparked social and political organisations against its injustices (Pike et al., 2016). During the subsequent years there has been international conflicts and depression further exacerbated uneven growth prompting for a top-down approach from the national state (Blakely, 1989; Pike et al., 2016).

Although there is nothing wrong in creating wealth and jobs, however equating economic growth to economic development is a mistake as the blind pursuit of economic growth can destroy the foundations of economic development (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). In defining what constitute economic development, three distinctive elements are highlighted by Blakely and Leigh, 2010. Firstly, they found that economic development establishes a minimum standard of living for all that gradually improves over time. The established minimum standard of living is translated into job creation that provides earnings for full time work that are high enough to lift the individuals out of poverty (Blakely and Leigh,

2010). Secondly economic development reduces inequality between demographic groups as well as spatially defined groups such as indigenous population as compared to in-migrants (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). Thirdly economic development encourages and promotes the use of resources and production in a sustainable manner (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). There needs to be an incorporation of sustainable goals if equality is to be achieved in preserving the resources for the benefit of present and future generations (Blakely and Leigh, 2010).

Therefore, in defining local economic development reference from the elements that are expressed are incorporated. Blakely's (1989) definition of local economic development emphasises endogenous development policies that explore the potential of local human, institutional and the physical resources of an area. This entails focussing on promoting local initiatives in the development process in order to create new employment opportunities and stimulate an increase in the economy. The definition explores job creation in providing employment, exploring the quality of the areas human resource and institutional thickness. This refers to the emphasis on the creation of appropriate institutions within locals for economic development (Beer, 2009).

### **Tourism and Local Economic Development**

The link between tourism and local economic development has received lot of perspectives internationally from urban to rural areas. Tourism has been a growing concern for economic growth and restructuring (Penrana, 2013; Saarinen et al., 2017). According to Li et al., (2018) tourism can be analysed from different perspectives, firstly from an economic perspective where tourism activities have an indirect and direct impact. The direct impacts include changes in sales, employment, tax revenues and income levels that are improved with tourist spending. The indirect impacts are observed with tourism related industries. Secondly, it can be analysed as it relates to the role of tourism in the accumulation of capital and alleviating poverty in terms of improving social welfare. Thirdly the allocation of resources in improving the tourism sector, maintaining tourism competitiveness. Lastly within the context of globalization, the relationship between foreign direct investment (FDI) and tourism (Li et ai.,2018)

Internationally there is evidence from growing literature on tourism as an important area of promoting national, regional and local economies .Tourism is being linked to various approaches of local economic development which includes the conventional approach emphasising investment promotion and growth, the community economic development approach relating to the well-being of communities and sustainable local economic development which encompasses notions of carrying capacity, balance and longer development (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). These approaches are embedded in policy development in the north (UK) that relates to theories of local economic development (Butler and

Rogerson, 2016). The distinctions highlight local economic development that stresses economic growth outcome, community based local economic development which is said to be influential when tourism is part of attempts at urban and rural regeneration and a progressive form of local economic development which the state, private sector cooperate for the objectives of sustainable growth. This approach supports local entrepreneurship (Butler and Rogerson, 2016).

Other growing literature is on proving the correlation between economic growth and tourism in the form of a tourism led growth hypothesis. The focus is on international tourism as being influential to a country's growth or development (Lee, 2020; Song and Wu, 2022; Santos and Vieira, 2020; Burgisser and Carlo, 2022; Wijijayanti et al.,2020; Ramao and Nijkamp, 2018). It is believed that through international tourism there is an increase in foreign direct investment (FDI), therefore improving the economic growth conditions of the destinations (Lee, 2020; Burgisser and Carlo, 2022). In China, through international tourism, there is improvement in the investment of physical capital and human capital due to the increase in competition among the domestic firms that supply goods and services (Lee, 2020). Song and Wu (2022) argue that in China tourism led economic growth is based on the classical theory of growth that is determined by the markets regulating demand and supply; the productivity of labour which is reflective of the efficiency of the labour market; and trade relations that determine the specialisation of the economy. Lee (2020) asserts that through tourism, there is an increase in benefits for the local businesses and labour employment, however these benefits to the local economy are dependent on the linkages to local businesses and communities. Lee (2020) concludes, however, that international tourism within China leads to leakages as foreign exchange generates minimal benefits when international tourists consume imported goods. While Song and Wu (2022) noted that further interrogation is required to investigate tourism development as contributing to the economic development, given that the meaning of development should include more than the quantitative measures.

In Europe tourism constitute the third largest sector, contributing significantly to economic growth (Burgisser and Carlo, 2023). In promotion of local development, tourism has been promoted in unlikely areas or localities with limited potential for attracting visitors in several urban centres of the United Kingdom (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). There is an emergence of extensive use of heritage attractions in reclaiming and regenerating redundant industrial spaces hence tourism provides leverage from tourism investment hence local authorities adopting such strategies that are tourism based (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). Santos and Vieira (2020) suggest that there is a significant interregional spillover effects which strongly enhance tourism's economic impacts, using Portugal as their case study. In addition, stating that the tourism sector is heavily dependent on the spatial and local factors not exclusively the resource endowments.

The uniqueness of an area is a determining factor with the competitiveness of territories from the perspective of resources and attractions, such as climate, culture and history, entertainment, while supporting factors such as infrastructure, accessibility and hospitality may increase their competitiveness (Romao and Neuts, 2017). Where an area's competitive advantage attracts foreign investment and firms in the local area, territories may themselves be regarded as resources from which firms get input and skills for activity (Pedrana, 2013). Through tourism activity, local areas can develop towards being tourism destinations which can then enhance the wellbeing and growth of the local communities. The spatial patterns of tourism activities play an important role in constituting to the formation of clusters diversity within the tourist region (Santos and Vieira, 2020; Ramao and Nijkamp, 2018). Therefore, spatial agglomerations of tourism activities are essential as the driver of regional tourism growth.

In Europe tourism supply is primarily by small firms and exhibit high seasonal variations in employment. The sector is viewed as a way which marginal localities can overcome their continuing stagnation of decline in an effort to reinvent these areas as 'post-productive' places (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). Suffice to say, that the social, physical and economic attributes provide a guide in the approach of local economic development strategy (World bank, 2006; Romao and Neuts, 2017). Smart specialisation is one of the innovative strategies in Europe that has been used to emphasise the importance of endogenous resources and intersectoral relations in an attempt to generate spill over-effect as a basis for development of place and knowledge based innovative strategies (Romao and Neuts, 2017). Complementary industries such as travel brokers, transportation, accommodation, food and beverage, amusement, culture and financial services are some of the identified industries that benefit from tourism (Meyer and Meyer, 2015).

Within the realm of developed economies, it is observed that tourism and leisure emerge as a potential driver of regeneration in economically disadvantaged localities (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). The significance of tourism in local development is highlighted with the restructuring of rural production system to include the production of new spaces for leisure particularly in marginalised peripheral regions of the global north. The adjustment and restructuring are associated with globalization in an attempt for localities to widen their economic base to add tourism as agricultural employment declines (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). For most of these communities' tourism is the last resort in rural or peripheral areas which are characterised by few resources to exploit from core areas by using what appeals to the broader market, through the idea of "wilderness" (Butler and Rogerson, 2009). Further referring to the sector as replacement activity using environmental resources. Nel and Rogerson (2016)

explain that similarly within the global south local economic development has shown potential in promoting local development and addressing social issues.

In the context of the global South Heritage tourism is an increasingly popular form of tourism across many destinations (Rogerson and Van Der Merwe, 2016). Culture and Heritage represent one of the growth markets in global tourism. In Sub-Saharan Africa there are several heritage sites in Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique and Tanzania to mention a few (Rogerson and Van Der Merwe, 2016). Frenzel et al (2015) refers to the emergence of slum tourism, categorised by the development of tourism within townships on the premise of providing an authentic experience to the tourist and experiences of township. Slum tourism is understood as the touristic valorisation of poverty-stricken urban areas of the global south (Frenzel et al., 2015; Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Slum tourism is organised through organised tours to deprived areas, rooted in the global South they are attributed to several social justice movements which appeared in Brazil and South Africa in the 1990's (Booyens and Rogerson, 2009). Internationally, the number of slum tourists flock to the favelas in Brazil and townships in South Africa or Dharavi, Mumbai in Asia.

### South African Experiences

The spatial and social economic inequalities have been a persisting challenge for South Africa and have increased over the years since apartheid (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). Local economic development has been a distinctive post-apartheid feature with its strong links with community development and socio-economic re-dress which are the pressing concerns of the national development strategy (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). The number of people living under severe poor conditions constitute 56% while, 32.2% increased unemployment (Stats SA, 2023) and a stagnant economic growth of 1.1% (Mbane and Ezeudji, 2022). Hence, the majority of the work force in poor communities are under serious threat of structural unemployment and living without access to basic utility services and commodities. Local economic development was introduced during the mid-1990's with the notion of developmental government (Rogerson, 2010; Nel and John, 2006). The notion of development local government embraces the commitment to working with citizens and groups within communities in meeting the social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of lives in a sustainable manner (Houghton, 2016). Over time there has been various shifts in policy and practice in the form of local economic development.

Various policies and legislation have approved and been enacted in South Africa in pursuit of local economic development during the democratic era. The Restructuring Development Programme (RDP), the 1996 Constitution, the 1998 White Paper on Local Government and the 2000 Local Government Municipal Systems Act encourage local government advocated a 'pro-poor' approach to local economic

development (Nel and Rogerson, 2005; Rogerson, 2010; Binn and Nel, 2002; Meyer, 2014). The policies encouraged and called onto local government to pro-actively intervene in their local economies to create employment and reduce poverty in particular in townships. The South African Constitution of 1996 provides the foundations for the developmental model of the state, mandating local government with the responsibility for service delivery and socio-economic development in communities in terms of section 152 and 153 (Meyer, 2014). Section 152 part 2 enforces that municipalities must aim to support the objectives under section 152 (1) amongst which include social and economic development, in terms of their financial and administrative capacity (RSA, 1996). Section 153 of The Constitution (1996) expands on the developmental duties of municipalities to give priority to the basic need of communities through promotion of the social and economic development.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) strengthens the mandate of the constitution on local government that incorporated the economic development role of local government (Nel and John, 2006). The policy establishes local government's responsibility of creating a conducive environment for development (Meyer, 2014). The policy provides the definition of developmental government as one that is committed to work with the citizens and groups within the community to improve their quality of life and meet their needs in a sustainable manner (RSA, 1998). The policy establishes local government's responsibility of creating a conducive environment for development. The policy identifies two approaches in which local economic development can be promoted by local government in creation of jobs and boosting local economy. It calls onto the local government to take action into simplifying the municipal procedures and regulations for significant impact to be experienced within the local economy (RSA, 1998). In addition, the policy mandates the local government to provide special economic services, such as marketing or investment support in attraction of investors and small business support services (RSA, 1998). More so, in support of skills, information, networking, credit access and training.

During this period policy developments contradicted the country's macroeconomics strategy which was pro-market, evident by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996) Strategy (Nel and John, 2006). Various debates ensued as to whether local economic development should be a government led initiative in alleviating poverty or rather private sector driven in support of local businesses and increasing economic growth (Nel and Rogerson, 2016; Maraise, 2010). Hence the developmental role of government, that enforces municipalities as influencers of their local economies. Despite various efforts of local government involvement in project implementation the results were disappointing evident that there was disjuncture between economic forces and poorly planned efforts to create economically viable projects that lacked adequate skills or understanding of the market forces (Nel and John, 2006).

The GEAR strategy was followed by the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative in South Africa (AsgiSA) with the aim of accelerating economic growth through partnerships between the government, businesses and major stakeholders (HSRC, 2022). The year 2001 marked the promulgation of the Local Government Systems Act which obligated local governments to implement Integrated Development Planning as a component of Local economic development process (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). During this era local economic development sought a pro-poor development approach through community development projects (Maraise, 2010; Nel and Rogerson, 2016). The government introduced an LED fund, the projects were unsuccessful one the funding ended, due to their poor design, the exclusion of local expertise while being dominated by the public sector (Maraise, 2010). There seemed to be a slight shift that was not entirely pro-poor in focus, in 2006 the Department of Provincial Government (DPLG) released the Framework for Local Economic Development (2006) in the creation of inclusive and robust economies which reinforced the poverty response focus on local economic development (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). The framework provided an improved policy in terms of planning with regards to local and economic development emphasising the consolidation in local economic development activities and planning (Rogerson, 2010).

The late 2000 the national government developed the foundational guidelines for specific institutional arrangements and strategies that would guide local economic development through local government (Van der Waldt, 2018). The strategies-imposed marketing of local areas, investment support, assistance to small firms, land release etc in linking development with research training (Van der Waldt, 2018). Ultimately municipalities were able to decide particular strategies and their alignment with Integrated Development Plans.

The New Growth Path (NGP) (RSA, 2010) as a framework was later adopted and identified tourism as one of the six priority areas to job creation (RSA, 2018). The policy was adopted by the government as a framework in 2011 to stimulate discussions on the country's economic priorities (RSA, 2018) The NGP supports more labour absorbing activities indicated by the number and quality of jobs created growth with regards to the rate and labour intensity and composition of economic growth and equity (RSA,2010) The framework identifies six priority areas to job creation which is inclusive of tourism. Furthermore, the NGP asserts that infrastructure investment, development and maintenance is a key driver for job opportunities. Through the construction of new infrastructure, the operation of facilities and maintenance, creates 'multiplier effect' that is, the infrastructure programs can create jobs across the economy (RSA,2010). Within the tourism sector expansion of the tourism infrastructure and services, promotion of market campaigns, improvement of training and identifying employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for the youth, encouraging diversification and support for cultural

industries should be strengthened (RSA, 2010). In essence the policy enforces focus on areas that have potential to create employment opportunities and identifies tourism as one of the key focus areas in achieving the developmental state.

The National Development Plan (NDP) (RSA, 2012) later encouraged local economic development that creates more jobs while being inclusive and eradicating poverty by 2030 (RSA, 2018). The policy sets out to develop IDP's and local economic strategies or masterplans for diversifying the economy, encourage small businesses at the municipal level and develop inclusive township economies (RSA,2018). Many initiatives have been focused on small scale manufacturing, business support, skills development and institutionalization of mechanism facilitated through the state while in rural municipalities focus is on support for agriculture cooperatives, arts and crafts programs and advancement of the tourism sector (Houghton, 2016). The policy enforces infrastructure prioritisation and programmes that are centred around rural development and land reform.

The vision for the National Development Plan for 2030 is centred around five elements. Among which includes creating sustainable employment and economic growth and promoting employment absorbing industries which is inclusive of the service sector (RSA, 2012). The policy further does respond to economic transformation as way of broadening opportunities for South Africans especially those previously disadvantaged (RSA, 2012). It emphasises the importance of raising employment, reducing poverty and inequality and raising the standards of living and education, in essence transforming ownership of the economy. The NDP is complemented by the New Growth Path (NGP) 2010 in an effort to lowering the costs within the economy as they prohibit employment growth and creating more challenges for the poor (RSA, 2012).

However, the Department of Trade and Industry channelled local economic development towards a pro-market strategy encompassing Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in different parts of the country (Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018). The approach is concerned with attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through incentives such as tax rebates and reduced financial rewards in locating in specific identified areas (Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018). This approach is in tune with the economic base theory in terms of export base influencing local economic development through investment of firms from outside, while also maintaining a location theory approach in terms of locational analysis (Lukhele and Matzivhandila, 2018).

In essence local economic development in South Africa has been adopted with the conceptualisation that it entails and utilises aspects of maximising the comparative advantage of localities, which is inclusive of the local business environments, building local skills, the development of clusters (small to

medium enterprises) and institutional thickness (Houghton, 2016). Leading trends in local economic development in South Africa are channelled towards infrastructure development in support of economic growth, responding to unemployment and support to SMME's, skills development and the informal economy in the improvement of employment and capacity of local economies (Houghton, 2016). Businesses have reported that local economic development has become a municipal led community-based strategy, which is reflective of the partnership formation and business support that is prominent within South Africa (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). Moreover, within the advent of place marketing and entrepreneurialism the establishment of development agencies targeting investment promotion and facilitation has been endorsed, for instance the Western Cape investment and trade promotion agency in Cape Town that actively promotes foreign direct investment, export for local market and tourism support in fostering economic growth (Houghton, 2016).

Other policy developments include the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) 2013 Act adopted by the government amended in 2013, facilitates black economic empowerment through meaningful participation of black people in the economy (RSA, 2018). The policy promotes the creation of a conducive environment that allows for the acceleration of SMME's, cooperatives, youth and Broad-Based Economic Empowerment Enterprises and provide a broad range of business support (RSA, 2013). The policy acknowledges that the youth unemployment constitutes a higher percentage to the broader total unemployment, therefore, promotes participation through enhancing entrepreneurship and youth owned enterprises (RSA, 2018). The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 aims to address inequalities from systemic exclusion of black people in the economy (RSA, 2018).

Closely related to transformation is the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act of (SPLUMA) 2013. The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act was enacted as a framework for inclusive, developmental, equitable and efficient spatial planning (RSA, 2018). SPLUMA (2013) does not only emphasise land use concerns but also introduces strategic and practical instruments applicable for land use within the different spheres of government, this also includes developmental principles and spatial development frameworks among others (RSA, 2018). SPLUMA principles include spatial justice which advocates for development of spatial redress through improved access to and use of land and the development of spatial development frameworks and policies that enforces inclusion of persons and areas that were previously excluded, emphasis is put on informal settlements and former homeland areas that are characterised by poverty and deprivation (RSA, 2013). The principle of spatial sustainability relates to the promotion of development that is within the means (fiscal, institutional and administrative) of the country and also considers costs with regard to infrastructure provisions and social services in land development (RSA, 2013).

This may lead to efficiency and resilience whereby land developments optimise the resources and infrastructure, minimise negative financial decisions, improve social and economic impacts therefore creating flexible spatial plans, policies and land use management systems that can lead to sustainable livelihoods in communities that are likely to suffer impacts of economic shocks (RSA, 2013). Lastly the principle of good administration where all spheres of government ensure an integrated approach to land use and land development within policies and legislation and procedures that are set to inform and empower members of the public (RSA, 2013). As such SPLUMA provides a gateway at the regulatory level in response to local economic development challenges that are land related (RSA, 2018). Often land use issues can create barriers to creating an enabling environment in which enterprises can flourish however the reduction of “red tape” processes can create conducive environment (RSA, 2018).

The current National Framework for Local Economic Development (2018) is based on market fundamentals and emphasises the role of the three spheres of government in each of the policy objectives (RSA, 2018). The vision for the framework is to promote competitive, sustainable, diverse, innovation driven and inclusive local economies that are conducive to live, work and maximise local opportunities, address local needs while using local resources in a sustainable manner and expanding local capabilities (RSA, 2018). The vision supports local economic development that is an adaptive and responsive process, enforcing collaborative efforts between the government, public sector, communities and non-governmental organisations in working together to create conditions of inclusive economic development that is knowledge driven, generates employment, skills development, attracts investment, enhances the local image and generates local revenue in improving local future and the quality of life (RSA, 2018).

Within the National Framework for Local Economic Development, one of the strategic objectives enlisted on sub-section 1.6.1 is to fight against poverty, inequality and unemployment, focused on the youth and to enhance the quality of life for all citizens (RSA, 2018). Sub-section 1.6.4 further adds support for local economies in realising and building their economic potential, diversity, levels of employment and the creation of decent work for communities (RSA, 2018). The objectives therefore maintain that the role of local economic development is to create jobs, develop local business in creating inclusive and competitive economies. The policy further stipulates under section 1.7 the core policy pillars is set to build diverse and innovative-driven economies (RSA, 2018).

The framework under section 7.2 elaborates on the current institutional landscape for local economic development. Sub-section 7.2.3 under the local government level acknowledges that local economic

development is driven by municipalities as well as Local Economic Development Agencies (LEDA's). Sub-section 7.2.4 enforces that LEDA's role is to address local economic development at the municipal level and provide a focused and specialist approach to economic development (RSA, 2018). LEDA'S are independent bodies that support local economic development (RSA, 2018). The framework outlines from a contextual perspective the strategic outlook where locally embedded forms of development can be generated. The framework established some of the priority areas and presents a tool for strategic coordination and planning in guiding implementation that enhances a shared understanding of local economic development in South Africa.

There had been general debates on local economic development whether it should take a pro-market approach or pro-poor approach (Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018; Nel and John, 2006). In October 2001 there was a release of a local economic resource book for municipal officials by the DPLG that sparked the debates due to its pro-poor interventions in drafting of project business plans (Nel and John, 2006). The pro-poor local economic development focussed primarily on the support and the development of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME's) as community-based development projects that will have a direct impact on the reduction of poverty. In contrast the pro-market approach emphasised the competitive environment for economic sectors, entrepreneurs, SMMEs and large businesses through institutional support, advice, networking and incentives (Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018; Nel and John, 2006). One other approach within South Africa has been transformation, aimed at increasing economic opportunities for historically disadvantaged South Africans. The need for economic redress to correct the social imbalances and racial divisions of the past has been a priority of the government's agenda since apartheid (Mofokeng et al, 2018). The rationale for introducing such an imperative was the prevalent economic disparities and entrenched inequality that characterised South African economy, which thus acted as a deterrent for economic growth, economic development, employment creation and poverty eradication (Rogerson, 2004). Thus, creating an inclusive growth is fundamental to South Africa's economic growth strategy.

Developments of local economic development overtime led to a private sector institution, Urban Foundation developing a pro-market policy document on local economic development that encouraged public-private development forums which laid the basis for partnership driven local economic development (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). Some South African authors note that local economic development requires the need to form partnerships, resource mobilisation and job creation in the improvement of a particular territory (Nel and Rogerson, 2007; Rogerson, 2010).

The transition from apartheid government to democracy has exposed South Africa to influences of globalisation and a decentralised system of both local and provincial (Madzivhandila and Musana,

2020). Local economic development has been known as a cross cutting participatory process involving the private and public sector within a specific locality (Van der Waldt, 2018).

### Tourism Development in South Africa

There has been debates on the inclusiveness of tourism development as essential in the promotion of pro-poor approaches in promoting local development (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). Inclusive growth cuts across all sectors of the economy, low- and middle-income economy, in reducing inequality (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). Within the respect of tourism, the aspect of inclusion is discussed with respect around its potential to contribute to the United National Millenium Development Goals (MDG's) (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). Inclusion being one of the core principles of the sustainable development. The argument is thus that tourism development can be inclusive and assist in the reduction of poverty under the preconditions of contribution from a broad array of stakeholder contribution in creating opportunities and sharing benefits (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). Inclusion can thus be understood as the involvement of the marginalised or less powerful groups in the production of tourism and the sharing of benefits of tourism (Butler and Rogerson, 2016). Local communities have control on the endogenous assets in terms of building local social capital. Suffice to say, their engagement in tourism activities promotes the investment of activating local social capital and making the areas attractive for tourists (Butler and Rogerson, 2016).-

The poor are confronted with multiple barriers excluding them from participation from the economies of tourism such as lack of capital, education and business skills (Butler and Rogerson, 2016) Moreover, leakages that occur due to lack of local capacity to provide the necessary skills, food and other supplies demanded by the industry. For instance, tourism development in Dullstroom revealed positive economic and social benefits for residents living within the township. It provides evidence of creation of jobs fostered through tourism development not only in quantity in comparison to low-skilled jobs, but also quality in terms of offering stable income (Butler and Rogerson, 2016).

South Africa has adopted knowledge-based policies in order to catch up economically and improve its competitiveness (Booyens, 2016). For many places, tourism has become the central point for economic growth and development, for example in the Western Cape where it is considered as the key growth sector. The service sector, which has strong links with tourism, has expanded in recent years in relative and absolute terms as compared to South Africa's traditional economic drivers such as agriculture and mining (Booyens, 2016).

The growth in tourism is attributed to the shift towards a service driven economy in South Africa and these trends are reflected within the Western Cape where regional economic growth is driven by the service sector (Booyens, 2016). The service sector within the Western Cape province leads with a 65% contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) (RSA, 2021). Therefore, due to South Africa's development challenges linked to historical inequalities, unemployment and poverty; policy initiatives such as the South African Reconstruction and Recovery Plan focused on stimulating equitable and inclusive growth (RSA, 2020). The plan aims to address challenges of low investment level and growth that has been experienced within South Africa's economy and the widening inequality gap that persists. Thus, it presents an opportunity to build on an inclusive economy but requires a capable state and involves reconstruct and transformation with the aim to build a sustainable, resilient and inclusive economy. Tourism is identified to support the recovery and growth as one of the priority interventions (RSA, 2020).

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) plays a key role in local planning thus informs the basis of integration within the municipal level (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019). Several engagements have been initiated by the government of South Africa in redressing the racial patterns of ownership and entrepreneurship in the tourism sector (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019). The government introduced various opportunities for engagement involving small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) in tourism while also supporting wider objectives of transformation and inclusion. These initiatives have been geared towards addressing the exclusion of marginalised groups in tourism sector. These include the Tourism Enterprise Partnership (formerly known as the Tourism Enterprise Programme) which aids SMME's with skills development, market access and business support advice (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019).

The National Department of Tourism launched its own dedicated SMME support programmes with the hope of ensuring the sustainable development and growth of the tourism sector, strengthening the competitiveness of tourism destinations and facilitating inclusive participation and job creation (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019). Koens and Thomas (2015) added that the development of small businesses makes it possible for the locals to participate economically and take control over the development of tourism, further evoking self-reliance and dynamism in different economic circumstances. Emphasising that the ownership of small businesses is a key feature in economic development due to its characteristic to diversify sectors. Other Interventions include the establishment of tourism business incubators to support start-up entrepreneurs. These incubators are essential for transforming the sector in making it inclusive and accessible to new entrants. However, there are views that unsustainable projects were funded, that failed when the funding came to an end (Kontsiwe and

Visser, 2019). These policy initiatives seek to transform tourism local economies by increasing the participation of black entrepreneurs. Rogerson and Rogerson (2019) explained that in some cases, small towns in South Africa, such as Overstrand in the Western Cape, are exclusively dominated by white entrepreneurs.

The National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) (2016-2026) vision advocates for inclusivity and leveraging on South Africa's competitive edge in the tourism industry. This would materialise through increasing the direct contribution of the sector to the economy through partnerships, research based collaborative planning and the implementation of agreed priority action (RSA, 2016). The strategic pillars of the policy include broad based benefits. This particular pillar enforces inclusivity through empowerment of those previously marginalised in communities (RSA, 2016). The policy supports the BBBEE policy in terms of transforming the industry with regards to ownership, management and control, skills development, enterprise and supplier development and the socio-economic development.

Further advocates for a broad base to increased benefits of tourism to be experienced. For transformation to occur within the tourism sector, those previously marginalised need to be included with regards to ownership, management and control, skills development, enterprise and supplier development and socio-economic development on enterprises within the tourism sector (Abrahams, 2019). Essentially a transformed sector incorporates communities and benefits from tourism growth. The aspect of ownership and skills are critical for a transformed sector reinforcing empowerment (Abrahams, 2019) In terms of ownership attention needs to be given to access to markets and distribution, access to finance and the reduction of red tape (Abrahams, 2019). With regards to skills emphasis is on the relevant skills acquired to ensure employability or youth employment programs and internships (Abrahams, 2019).

### **Transformative Tourism**

The tourism sector has shown results of opportunities and support for transformation (Rogerson and Sixaba, 2021). As such, the advancement of SMME's has been critical in achieving transformation (Abrahams, 2020). Through SMME's, black owned and black controlled enterprises presented key strategic components that would be promoted (Abrahams, 2020). Rogerson and Sixaba, (2021) explain that the tourism sector structure organization can be categorised in a way where at the top operations are run by large enterprises responsible for South Africa's leading hotels, travel and tour agencies, transportation etc. The middle is represented by groups of established, predominantly white owned small tourism firms that operate various establishment either for travel, touring, restaurants or bed and breakfasts. The lower level is the black-owned tourism economy characterised by a mixture of formal

and informal micro tourism enterprises. It is at this level where the focus of transformation and institutional support is focused (Rogerson and Sixaba, 2021).

The government has since promoted the growth of black owned tourism SMME's through numerous initiatives that encompass entrepreneurship, tourism business incubators and expanded support and commitments that maybe direct or indirect in an effort to reduce constraints experienced by the emerging tourism entrepreneurs (Rogerson and Sixaba, 2021). According to Abrahams (2020) Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) allows for firstly, those that were previously marginalised by the system which are black people to have ownership and control of the existing and new enterprise. Secondly, BEE perpetuates new black enterprises, enforces black engagement and black empowerment. Thirdly, it further increases opportunities for black people to hold higher positions such as executive or as senior managers of enterprises. Fourthly, there is increased ownership of land, productive assets, access to infrastructure and the acquisition of skills. All these are essential in leading to increased income levels of black people and consequently reducing the inequality disparities (Abrahams, 2020; Rogerson and Sixaba, 2021).

The diversification of tourism offers a wide selection of services, activities and experiences (Booyens, 2021) There has been various projects involved in the development of clusters in the development of precincts as tourist attractions. For instance, the development of Vilakazi Precinct in Orlando West (Booyens, 2021). Moagi et al., (2021) and Abisuga-Oyekule and Muchie (2020) have identified arts and crafts as one of the cultural significant enterprises that have economic value to the marginalised in tourism industries. The exploration of economic opportunities within the handicraft sector creates economic opportunities and livelihood especially for people with low level of skills. Fostering entrepreneurial activity is essential for controlling socioeconomic issues associated with growing poverty (Abisuga-Oyekule and Muchie, 2020). Abisuga-Oyekule and Muchie (2020) further asserts that through entrepreneurship there is individual engagement in creating employment opportunities. Tourism's ability to foster small businesses or enterprises and promote entrepreneurship within these areas, results in communities having direct impact on their local economy.

One other aspect relates to street vending as prevalent within tourism industries. It encompasses the selling of physical products such as foods, newspaper, clothes, art and crafts (Moagi et al., 2021). Some of these industries may not be necessarily tourism related such as shoe-shining, car washing and hair cutting. Marginalised groups venture into street vending due to ease of access, low entry and its small scale (Moagi et al., 2021). Vilakazi street in Soweto is a practical example with its extensive foot and vehicle traffic has promoted micro-enterprises such as anchored specialised arts and crafts street vendors that contributes to the informal economy (Booyens,2021; Moagi et al., 2021). Similarly in Cape

Town cultural and craft centres have emerged such as the Shack Theatre and Makukhanye Art room in Khayelitsha (Booyens, 2021).

Other supporting services and activities such as Airbnb accommodation, art and food experiences, artisan coffee shops, restaurants such as streetside bakeries, for example in Khayelitsha, Cape Town have clustered together (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019; Booyens, 2021). The diversification of township tourism shows the presence of creative tourism within the area.

### **Leverage Municipal Assets**

The role of government has become important in improving tourism as a driver of local economic and social change (Rogerson, 2020). In accordance with the Local Government Municipal Act of 2000 municipalities are to promote local economic growth through local use of resources in improving the quality of life of communities (Dlomo and Tseane-Gumbi, 2017). Local municipalities in South Africa capitalise on immovable municipal assets to support development of local tourism. Immovable assets consist of tangible assets such as land, water resources and fixed structures such as bridges, houses, office buildings and roads (Dlomo and Tseane-Gumbi, 2017). Leveraging on municipal assets is essential to promote tourism and local economic development in South Africa as the government, private sector and communities can work collectively in managing these assets eventually contributing toward the diversification of tourism within the area (Dlomo and Rogerson, 2021; Dlomo and Tseane-Gumbi, 2017). A study conducted in Eastern Cape in the King Sabata Dalindyebo Local Municipality (KSDM), revealed the potential for tourism through the deployment of municipal assets in Mthatha and Coffee Bay which represents major attractions for leisure visits (Dlomo and Rogerson, 2021). Other examples of tourism assets within the municipality include the Nelson Mandela Museum, Mthatha museum, art centres, beaches, sports fields, town halls which are vital for tourism development in the municipality.

However, local municipalities are faced with the challenge of managing these assets therefore in practice the private sector plays an active role in economic growth and poverty alleviation within a locality (Kontsiwe and Visser, 2019). The emergence of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) has played a significant role in the delivery and maintenance in a cost-effective manner of public infrastructure and services in leveraging their expertise and sharing of risks to the private sector (Rogerson, 2020). PPP's present an investment opportunity for the local municipalities in the local entrepreneurship (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). PPPs are encouraged as major solution to expanding infrastructure gap within poor communities as they are able to relieve the finance constraints on government for the provision of infrastructure and promotes transparency (Rogerson, 2020). Moreover, the benefits of such partnerships on the private sector allow for a competitive return on investment and promotion of small

to medium micro enterprises (SMME's) (Rogerson, 2020). This relates to the promotion of black entrepreneurs as a government policy objective.

Local municipalities Play an important role in terms of the social and economic development of local communities, it is through entrepreneurship that these developments can be realised. Entrepreneurship is not only essential for human development but also it acts as a catalyst of underdeveloped areas (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). Diversity can be achieved through several models of entrepreneurship. Localities without proper infrastructure and services can pose challenges to entrepreneurs within the local municipalities it thus important that the local municipalities realise their roles in enforcing entrepreneurship (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). Due to the prevailing conditions of unemployment and poverty within most townships, this presents opportunities for the local municipalities to engage with such challenges through entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs can improve access to essential products, services and infrastructure improvements (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020).

There is a need for the local municipalities to act as coordinators for entrepreneurship development. The coordination is inclusive of events and other activities that may improve the entrepreneurial culture of the communities (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). These activities may include but are not limited to capacity building workshops and training, empowerment programmes, resource redistribution (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). Local municipalities need to take on a facilitative role through the inclusion of infrastructure development and facilitating access to resources for potential entrepreneurs (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). The idea is to create an enabling environment for doing business. For instance, the access to resources such as land can be facilitated through resource use planning and improving zoning regulations (Madzivhandila and Musana, 2020). The mixture of land use can further diversify the local economy.

### **Community Based Tourism**

Community based tourism (CBT) has been promoted as way of enabling development that meets the socio-cultural needs of local communities through tourism products (Strydom et al., 2019; Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2017)- not in reference list. Mc Call and Mearns (2021) considers CBT as tourism activities or enterprises that benefit the local community through participation. Two aspects are highlighted within the definition which are community participation and sustainability of the sector. For sustainable tourism, there needs to be improvement within host communities. Community based tourism is known for its impact on the social and economic survival of the marginalised communities (Strydom et al., 2019)- ditto. For benefits to be realised by the marginalised through CBT there are certain preconditions

that need to be enforced. The provisions of infrastructure, physical/ natural and cultural tourism assets, market access and marketing are necessary (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2017)

One other aspect that promotes Community Based Tourism is that it enforces empowerment and self-reliance of the minority groups within communities (Mc Call and Mearns, 2021). Therefore, CBT enables improved standard of living and quality of life for the locals through tourism industry. Community based tourism is thus a tool that integrates the general concept of sustainable development (Strydom et al., 2019). The implication is that, when implementing community-based tourism projects that rely on outside investment, the management of such projects should occur in such a way that eventually leads to being maintained without the investment support (Strydom et al., 2019). Moreover, these projects that are promoted are based on sustainable principles (Mc Call and Mearns, 2021).

Economic empowerment is realised when the tourism industry is beneficial to the social fabric and further extends to other developmental projects in the area (Mc Call and Mearns, 2021). Community based tourism projects receive funding from the Department of Small Business Development, Department of Tourism and Department of Environmental Affairs through their poverty alleviation grant (Strydom et al., 2019). In most cases the projects are small in scale, run by the community through the assistance of nongovernmental organisations (NGO's) (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2016). Partnerships can eventually develop from community-based tourism projects, either temporary or long term in nature depending on capacitating and empowering communities to gain independence and bargaining power in relation to external entities (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2019).

In terms of capacity building Dodds et al (2016) asserts that education and training is critical, and they should include hospitality and tourism management at the community level while also incorporating general business skills such as marketing, communication and finance. Capacity building provides communities with the necessary tools to become self-reliant in facing the competitive market (Dodds et al., 2016). In other instances, complementary training such as craftsmanship production and English language skills are required (Dodds et al., 2016). This form of tourism is characterised by local control for development, the inclusion of the community in planning, equitable benefits and the incorporation of resident values. In addition, the nature of community-based tourism could be formal or informal with focus on the domestic or international market (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2016).

However, there are specific challenges that can occur within Community Based Tourism where specific power relations and implementation between the CBT actors and the external entities should be considered, such that ownership and control is maintained at the local level (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2017). The lack of homogeneity and diversity of interests within the involved stakeholders and the

community can create challenges (Setokoe, 2020). Despite the challenges, tourism of this natural has been grounded on the ability to benefit host communities through community development initiatives, capacity building, local control and local enterprise development, poverty alleviation and the materialization of sustainable development.

### **Township Tourism**

According to Booyens (2021) township tours emerged as a rare commodity for high profile and leisure visitors in South Africa with focus on the lifestyle of Africans liberated from colonial and apartheid rule. Over the years it has gained popularity as a booming industry in incorporating programmes as drivers of local economic development. Otherwise referred to as 'slum tourism' it involves tours in impoverished areas with rich history to the area (Hoogendoorn et al., 2019). Further, heritage does not just comprise of 'historic and artistic' aspects but also the culture value and identity. It has evolved into a type of special interest or niche cultural heritage tourism that offer education and entertainment by the locals to the tourist (Hoogendoorn et al., 2019).

The commercialisation of township tours as a leisure activity has led to the introduction of cultural tourism (Booyens, 2021). Suggesting that there is a strong relationship between tourism and socio economically marginalised people (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019; Hoogendoorn et al., 2019). Although there are limited provisions of tourism infrastructure in townships, these areas present strong attractiveness to the international market (Booyens, 2021; Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Meyer and Meyer (2015) highlighted the uniqueness of tourism as a sector inclusive of culture, natural attractions or other aspects that draws people and its employment potential within the context of local economic development. Drummond et al., (2021) identifies intangible aspects such as tradition and customs that are valued inheritances from the past that have been intergenerational that contribute to heritage tourism. Further asserts that through heritage tourism jobs, local incomes and tax revenues can be generated by local communities. As such, the uniqueness of an area is vital depending on the heritage attractions to appeal to a unique market. Maximising on the regions assets for cultural heritage is becoming essential as a tourism product.

South African townships are characterised as exhibiting creative consumption focused economy. The elements of culture are embedded within township tours consisting of shebeens, jazz venues, chef markets and dancing shows to mention a few, further creating job opportunities for the locals (Booyens, 2021; Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Hoogendoorn et al., (2019) with reference to Soweto at Vilakazi precinct explains that an investment in the anti-apartheid struggle heritage sites has contributed to numerous festivals and events, food markets and craft breweries and adventure tourism like bungee

jumping and helicopter rides. These draw locals and international visitors which indicate a growing leisure economy in Soweto.

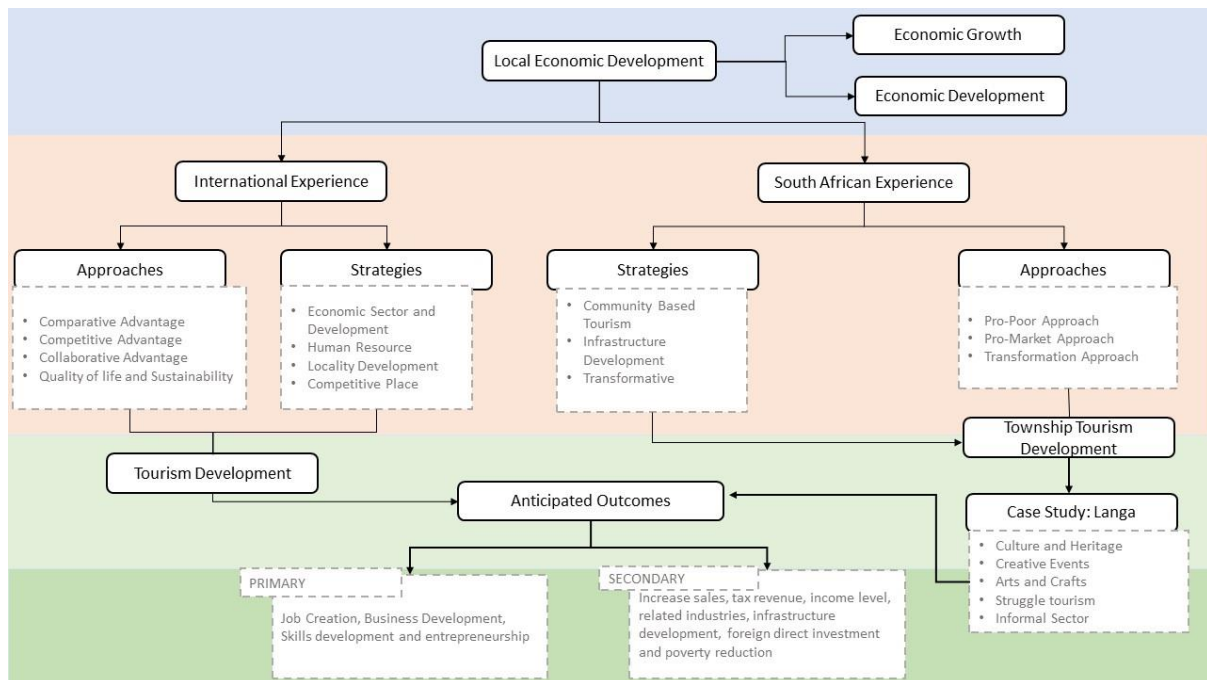
Evidently South Africa performs well in non-technological innovation where townships have represented a creative consumption focused economy (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). In essence culture becomes the basis of creative economy through active learning and participation experiences, the development of cultural precincts and creative events centred around tourism (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Townships tend to focus on creative tourism on music arts and crafts and local cuisines. With reference to Soweto, book festivals, food festivals, theatre performances and art and craft markets are a practical example.

### Synthesis and Conceptual Framework

Township tourism have emerged presenting opportunities within the tourism market through their rich history and culture that could potentially influence income generation within impoverished areas whereby the local residents are able to use the historical and cultural prospects of the area to their advantage in improving their local economies. However, township tourism does present an opportunity for 'slum tourism' whereby the tours afford visitors a sense of satisfying their own sense of adventure under the guise of contributing to the local economy (Hoogendoorn et al.,2019). Nonetheless they represent a key investment area for development of local economic development. In addition, within the aspect of transformation can be realised within townships through community-based tourism as it offers benefits not only to those in the tourism sector but also includes programmes for development enforcing empowerment and capacity building. Municipalities in this instance play a key role in developing partnerships or enforcing strategic collaborations and promoting bottom-up strategies in promotion of inclusivity be it through the provision or management of municipal infrastructure in support of local resources in diversifying the local economy and self-reliance.

The research follows the established conceptual framework presented below. Local economic development is explored in terms of economic growth versus economic development. This forms the basis of analysis in understanding international experiences with local economic development as compared to South African Experiences. The difference between economic development and economic growth forms the basis of the argument. International experiences of local economic development are then explored in understanding the approaches and the strategies that have been established and how the established approaches or strategies have evolved over time in then inform tourism development in the same context. Similarly, from the South African context the approached and strategies that influence the development of tourism is expressed. The expressed strategies are further analysed within

Langa as a case study to determine as to whether the strategies do influence job creation, business development, skills development and entrepreneurship and ultimately growth and development.



**Fig 2.1 Conceptual Framework**

Within the context of South Africa, the strategies within the sector are derived from established literature which then serve as assessment criteria in reaching the anticipated outcomes. The conceptual framework forms part of the structure of the study in reaching the desired objectives and answering the main research question.

### Chapter 3: Case Study Research Methodology

Gaber (2020) states that the type of method used influences knowledge about the empirical reality. Further adding that data provides planning research insights into the reality of the study. Complex characteristics of reality can be organised into two types of data, qualitative and quantitative. On the one hand, quantitative data requires research methods that are good at capturing data and the shared population characteristics together with the general patterns for an entire study. On the other hand, qualitative data requires research methods that permits the researcher to ask exploratory and descriptive questions (Gaber, 2020).

The study fits within the qualitative method of data as it is quite explorational in terms of analysing tourism-led local economic development as a strategy that can achieve outcomes such as jobs creation, local business development, skills development and entrepreneurship. Qualitative data are said to be holistic, assume a dynamic reality and encompass single case studies (Gaber, 2020). Further asserting

that, qualitative research approach does not ask precise questions but rather questions that focus on the process and how things work. Among its unique qualities, through qualitative data it observes and captures activities not easily quantifiable and also brings forefront issues that were unexpected (Gaber, 2020).

- Case study Method

In support of the research, the method used is a single case study method. Focus on a single case study allowed for the devotion of careful attention to the specified case (Yin, 2004). In addition, permitted for a holistic analysis with relevance to the particular case. Yin (2004) asserts that the case study method is appropriate when it comes to research that addresses an explanatory or descriptive question in relation to “how” within this instance tourism-based development as an appropriate local economic development strategy with respect to economic development in poor communities, is explanatory in inquiry of “how” and “why”. It is also important as one gets to illuminate a particular situation for an in-depth, first-hand understanding on it.

The case study method has assisted in exploring in terms of direct observation as compared to derived data. In defining a case study Flyvberg (2011) explains that it encompasses an intensive analysis of an individual unit that stresses development factors in relation to the environment. As per the definition case study method comprises of more detail, richness, and variance about the specific case. Case studies are context dependent and draw from the specific case (Flyvberg, 2011). Context dependent knowledge forms the basis of epistemic knowledge and allows one to gain expertise within a specific case (Sandercock, 2003). Thus, the study draws from the context of Langa in developing an understanding of tourism within townships, results drawn from the single context being Langa can be used to infer on other townships. Flyvberg (2011) notes that knowledge and context are at the core of expert activity where such knowledge can be gained through case study as a research method.

In this instance, to further understand the topic at hand, the utilisation of case study informs for knowledge on the issues that lie within the focus of the study and better understanding gained through analysis. Flyvberg (2006) asserts that case study produces the type of knowledge that research has proven necessary for people to develop from beginners to virtuous experts. This is enabled by the closeness of the case study to real life situations creating multiple wealth information. They provide a nuanced view of the reality creating concrete experiences drawn from the proximity to the studied reality (Flyvberg,2006).

Although, the research method presents its strengths there are some limitations that are presented by the case study method. One of the limitations is related to biasness towards verification, which is

understood to confirm the researchers pre-conceived notions (Flyvberg, 2006 and Flyvberg, 2011). Maintaining that the bias toward verification is not a type of phenomenon related to case study in particular, however it is a fundamental human characteristic (Flyvberg, 2006). This deficiency of the case study and other qualitative methods gives more room for the researcher's subjective and arbitrary judgement therefore, seen as less rigorous than quantitative and hypothetico-deductive methods.

The critique is proven to be a misunderstanding as case studies close into specific issues and that in itself presents their own rigor as compared to other qualitative methods (Flyvberg, 2006). Case studies allow for the testing of views derived from literature analysis that are directly linked to the phenomena as it unfolds. However, most researchers report that their preconceived views, assumptions, or concepts were rather proven wrong and were compelled to revise their hypotheses or essential points (Flyvberg, 2011). Concluding that case study method forces upon "falsification", as such it is not the question about verification but of falsification that characterises the case study (Flyvberg, 2006). To overcome this limitation, it is important to clarify the purpose of conducting the research.

That is, understanding and learning about the phenomenon that is under study and thus placing oneself within the context of the study to gain knowledge. One other misguided view is that one cannot generalize on the basis of a single case study (Flyvberg, 2006 and Flyvberg, 2011).

This limitation depends on the case one is speaking to and how it is chosen. Carefully chosen cases are essential for the generalization of the study. Yin (2004) asserts that generalizations from case studies reflect on the substantive issues of interest and logical inferences. And adds that one needs to do a case study screening procedure for a viable case study. Flyvberg (2011) refers to choosing cases that lie on the two extremes comprising of "most likely" or "unlikely" of situations. Therefore, it would be at the researcher's best interest in selecting cases that are atypical. Within this instance Langa does fall within the most likely area for the development of tourism led local economic development, given the apparent tourism attraction that occurs within the township. In addition, case study method is ideal for generalizing using the type of test mentioned earlier of 'falsification' which in social sciences forms part of critical reflexivity (Flyvberg, 2011).

He also relates case study method with the identification of 'black swans' due to its in-depth approach, which relates to the revision or the rejection of an observation that does not fit within the proposition. Further asserts that formal generalization is not a singular method by which people gain and accumulate knowledge, therefore lack of generalization does not mean that it cannot contribute into the collective process of knowledge accumulation within a given field (Flyvberg, 2006). In summary, there is a need to openly acknowledge the strengths and the limitations of case study research. Similar to different

scientific methods within the natural sciences, social science research methods fill different needs and situations for investigating topics (Yin, 2009). As a research method, case studies are used in multidisciplinary research, owing to the fact that the method allows investigation to retain a holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events (Yin, 2009).

- [Motivation for Langa as case study](#)

Although ideas and policies maybe imported from different context, the context case in this study being Langa, Cape Town, South Africa will be used as a case study in terms of analysis and deductions. Langa as a case study has a distinct evolution and historical aspect that presents opportunities of tourism industry that is booming in the area. The area represents the oldest township in Cape Town (Ndzumo et al.,2021). It is through its rich history and culture that tourism industry is gaining prominence. It thus represents an atypical case of exploring tourism led development. The tourism industry in Langa seems to attract local and international tourist drawn from its rich history and culture. Due to its evolution the study area has created a unique opportunity for tourism industry for the locals especially the poor. Due to these characteristics, it presents atypical successful case of tourism which can be argued that if township tourism does not achieve the anticipated outcomes, then there is a less chance of it being successful in poor neighbourhoods.

In terms of data availability Langa is well documented as such allowing for the acquisition of such data for the purpose of research. Langa is located approximately 10 kilometres south-east from Cape Town's city centre thus making it accessible for the purpose of the study. The unit of analysis of the research question were the individual households and then the poor community residents within the context of township in South Africa. As Yin (2009) states that the manner in which the research questions are formulated, informed the identification of the unit of analysis.

- [Research Techniques and Analytical 'Tools'](#)

Yin (2004) states that unlike other methods, case studies are not limited to a single source of data collection. There are benefits that are accrued from multiple sources of evidence. Triangulation or establishing points of converging lines of evidence is important in making finding as robust as possible (Yin, 2004). For this to occur two or more independent sources may point to the same set of facts. Hence a multiple set of data collection methods will be utilised. Primary and Secondary sources of data will be utilised. The research will utilise reports, documents, site visits, observations and semi-structured interviews for data analysis.

Interviews as a research technique has been approached from a multitude of perspectives (Roulston et al, 2003). There are various genres of interviews that have been identified, such as, individual interviews, focus groups interviews, oral history interviews and the ethnographic interviews. These may take the form of structured, semi-structured or open ended. Interviews are said to be reality constructing, meaning making occasions whether recognised or not (Roulston et al, 2013).

The purpose of interviews is to understand the lived experiences of other people and the meanings attached to these experiences (Seidman, 1991). Roulston et al (2003) further elaborates that interviews ensure the construction of meaning making. For the purpose of this research, it is to draw meaning from peoples lived experiences in terms of the impact of tourism within the aspect of creating jobs and human assets. Interviews offer the interviewer and interviewees an opportunity to co-construct data for the purpose of research (Roulston et al, 2003). It provides meaningful engagement for learning. The following are the type of role players that were interviewed for the study.

Role Player	Description	Code
Private sector official	Non-government organisation	RP1
Tour operator	Tour guide	RP2
Public Official	Public official	RP3
Business Organisations	Owners of local businesses	RP4
Community Based Organisation	Informal sector	RP5
Beneficiaries	Local micro business owners and entrepreneurs	RP6

**Table 3.1:** Role Players Interviewed

The interviews were conducted with stakeholders and also the community members of Langa in getting a well-rounded perspective in terms of the implications of the promotion of tourism within the area. Snowballing was used in establishing the role players to be interviewed for the study. Yin (2004) refers to triangulation in making findings robust as possible, this being the intention in having different sources of information. The respondents' answers were supplemented with data from secondary sources in strengthening their responses or showing disparities. Yin (2004) further asserts that triangulation works when the most desired convergence occurs, that is when two or more independent sources corroborate

the same events. This is important as it provides confidence in concluding what transpired. The sources of information within the aspect of triangulation will not be limited to verbal evidence but inclusive of reports and academic articles also inclusive of mapping and observations.

However, there are challenges with this research technique, such as distractions caused by unexpected participant behaviour (Roulston et al 2003). In the case that distractions occur, such as the participant eating, being late or having noise in the background, ignoring the distraction is important to avoid drawing focus on the interview. Roulston et al (2003) asserts that it is advantageous for researchers to examine their own assumptions and limit contribution to the interaction. Referring to 80/20 or 90/10 ratio where the researcher has lesser input.

Observations is another technique that will be used. According to Madanipour (1996) urban areas are studied with regard to their morphology, generalisations that develop from the character and intensity of land use together with spatial interactions. In studying the science of form, referred to morphology it encompasses the systematic study of shape, structure, plan and functions of the built urban fabric, hence in this instance observation of the functions on the different tourist areas will be explored in assessing the changes and the different land use and interactions within the space, building from derived literature. The interest rests on tourism development within the area on how it unfolds spatially in terms of type business development, major attractions and other amenities present.

One other technique will be the use of maps. Maps are instruments in the constructing and construing of lived spaces (Corner, 1999). Further asserting that mapping is a collective enabling tool. For the purposes of the study maps will be used to spatialise the study area with respect to its location and trends in poverty and unemployment within the area since the introduction of tourism development in the study area. Although mapping is easily mistaken with tracing its agency lies in discovering the new and representing the past or present (Corner, 1999). This trait is important in a world where it is becoming difficult to imagine and create anything outside the normative. Moreover, the abstractness of maps, devices such as the scale, orientation, projection reveal the artificial geographies unavailable to the human eye.

Corner (1999) contends that mapping precedes planning as it is assumed that maps are objective in identifying and making visible the terms around which a planning project may be rationally developed, evaluated, and built.

### Ethical Considerations

An ethical approval was first acquired to carry the study in terms of protecting the rights of respondents. Before the research is undertaken, application for ethical approval was undertaken. The primary obligation of scholars, students and researchers is to treat participants as subjects so that their work is of high standard and scholarly integrity (Anthropology South Africa, 2005). Participants need not to be treated as objects of research or a means to an end (Anthropology South Africa, 2005; Halse and Honey, 2005). However, its equally important to be respectful to the participants. It is critical to consider the character of research and its implications and impacts to the participants, especially those that have limited power. Halse and Honey (2005) further add that defining the research population becomes an act of category construction that carries intellectual and moral implications. That is to say that defining the audience is the first steppingstone that informs consciousness of moral decorum.

The consent form indicated that participation in the study is voluntary and at no point should the responded feel obliged to participate. Clarifying that there are no negative implications in the case when they chose to not participate, and they are free to withdraw from the study at any point they wish to. The expectations from participants were expressed beforehand in terms of the type of interview being conducted (face-to-face) and the general highlight of the questions to be addressed by the study. There were no foreseen of unforeseen risks associated with the study and the terms and conditions with sharing and use of data collected were explained with reference to the POPI Act (Protection of Personal Information).

An additional consent form for the purposes of recording interviews was attached. Informed consent is said to be central to research ethics, it assumes the transparency of social and psychological reality, enabling researchers to provide full and accurate information (Halse and Honey, 2005). Halse and Honey (2005) further add that consent needs to be voluntary and non-coercive and that this precondition also considers the sensibility of the information. Furthermore, consent on taking notes and recording the session of the interview will be established. I am aware that participants have the right to withdraw their support for the research to refuse to participate at any given point and therefore it is my duty to remind them of this right should they feel uncomfortable during research.

With respect to protecting respondents, the research does not intent to disclose the identities of the respondents, offering anonymity and the data collected will be securely stored on a computer with a password, as a way of creating confidentiality. Before conducting an interview, respondents will have to consent to being part of the study.

## Chapter 4: Langa Case Study, Findings and Recommendations

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the findings of the case study, Langa in relation to the sub-themes derived from the literature review and captured in the Conceptual Framework. With regards to the aim of the study the following objectives were established. To develop an understanding of local economic development internationally and locally, which has been answered by the established literature. For this section attention will be drawn on investigating if tourism sector within Langa impacts on job creation, local business development, local skills development and entrepreneurship and ultimately contribution to economic growth and development. For which recommendations will be made for tourism development to work as an appropriate local economic development strategy in order to realise benefits for the local communities in townships.

### Langa Location and Context

Cape Town plays a huge role in the regional economy. The CoCT generates a gross geographic product of R300 billion, regarded as the second largest urban economy in Southern Africa (CoCT, 2018). The service sector is the dominant sector constituting of 76% of the economy (CoCT, 2018). The economic growth projections predict an increase of 3.2% driven by construction, business service and transportation and communications (CoCT, 2018). In terms of unemployment there are an estimated 440 000 citizens unemployed constituting an unemployment rate of 23% within the municipality (CoCT, 2018). The City of Cape Town MSDF (2018) further predicts that the economic growth forecast for the medium-term will be sufficient to absorb the skilled workers affected by other sectors, nonetheless the lack of improvement in educational outcomes may have a significant impact on growth in relation to employment prospects for unskilled workers.

Cape Town's space economy consist of urban nodes that are interconnected and inter-dependent where most of the city's firms and formal jobs are clustered (CoCT, 2018). These urban nodes clusters are characterized by a mixture of land uses and activities at convenient and accessible points (CoCT, 2018). The informal economy is more adaptable of spatial location and requires high number of potential customers and has mutual relations to the formal economy (CoCT, 2018). In terms of the tourism sector, tourism is not only regarded as the cornerstone of the local economy among other sectors but also valued for its contribution to Cape Town economy as a job intensive industry (CoCT, 2020). Visitors are drawn to the CoCT because of its natural beauty in terms of landscape, beaches, wine routes, Mediterranean climate and tourist famous attractions such as the V&A Waterfront, Robben Island and Table Mountain, to mention a few (MERO Report, 2022). Suffice to say, leisure activities and nature-based tourism thrive within the CoCT. For the past 10 years the sector has contributed between 2% and 3.5% annually to the local economy and directly sustained 3% and 5% of jobs within the city (CoCT,

2020). As of current the industry employs around 45,000 people directly and indirectly, tourism is regarded as the economic sector with the best growth and employment potential in Cape Town (CoCT, 2020).

From a national perspective South African Tourism aims to position South Africa as an exceptional tourist and business events destination that offers value for money, quality tourist experience that is diverse and unique (RSA, 2022). In realising the vision, the mission is to market South Africa both internationally and domestically in increasing the volume of tourists and the value they add to the economy through an integrated tourism marketing strategy, promotion of South Africa as a world class business events destination, facilitate outstanding service delivery oriented to quality assured tourism experiences and enhancing participation and collaboration (RSA, 2022). Similarly, WESGRO as one of the primary agencies for tourism in Cape Town, its vision is to help the Western Cape become one of the world's leading regional economies (RSA, 2022). The mission of the agency is to help facilitate growth of the economy of the Western Cape on a sustainable basis that ensures that employment opportunities for a broad range of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers is achieved (RSA, 2022).

In essence, the mission is to facilitate the attraction and retention of direct investment in Western Cape, Facilitate the growth of exports, to position the province globally as a competitive and sustainable tourism destination, facilitate the link between business and government decision makers and provide service excellence in all business support functions (RSA, 2022). Within the local context Cape Town Tourism (CTT) similarly draws from the South African tourism vision and WESGRO, their focus is on to rebuild visitors confidence in both domestic and international markets and keep Cape Town on top (RSA, 2022) Cape Town Tourism is the supportive voice of the local tourism industry in Cape Town in fostering collaborative, innovative and inclusive solutions within the tourism sector (RSA, 2022).Cape Town Tourism has the most influence in promotion of township tourism and promotion of township businesses and other local businesses within Cape Town's tourism destinations.

The City of Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is centred around spatial transformation of the city. The vision for the city is on building partnerships in creating an inclusive, integrated and vibrant city in addressing the legacies of apartheid, rectifying existing imbalances and avoid the creation of new structural imbalances in the delivery of services through transit-oriented development (CoCT, 2018). The transit-oriented development allows for the diversification and densification around public transport network and nodal points (CoCT, 2018). The rationale for spatial transformation is due to the city's challenges with the spatial, economic and fiscal consolidation from increased reliance on informality and environmental stresses. As such the municipality finds it essential to focus resources

inwards in support of intensification and prioritise investment for sustainable job generating economic growth (CoCT, 2018).

The municipality's objective is thus a precondition to realising the spatial development goals that is inclusive of poverty reduction and improving spatial equity and access. Spatial transformation seeks to create more opportunities for people in connected areas and reduce the formation of new low-income communities on the periphery of the city (CoCT, 2018). The City has established four primary spatial transformation areas, where Langa falls under the urban inner core areas. The urban inner core is driven by the principle of spatial targeting investment driven development (CoCT, 2018). The desired spatial outcomes for these areas are inward growth and productivity, diversification and densification of land use, service upgrading, local economic development and poverty alleviation and maximising job creation and economic potential among others (CoCT, 2018). One of the city's spatial strategies under sub section 5.3.1 is to plan for employment and improve access opportunities. The framework acknowledges that the vision is linked to creating sustainable employment generating economic growth (CoCT, 2018). It thus becomes important that certain aspects are realised for this strategy which incorporates the creation of 'job-rich' investment for integrated, sustainable communities through maintaining existing infrastructure and facilitating economic growth and responding to the spatial needs of the economic sectors that are attracted to operate in Cape Town (CoCT, 2018).

The Table Bay District technical report (2012) and Table Bay District SDF (2021) echo the same sentiments as the municipal SDF (2018). The reports aim to address unequal spatial structures and creating a more inclusive development. This is done through advocating for access to services and facilities in previously disadvantaged areas (CoCT, 2012). The Table Bay District Plan (2021) identifies urban support areas, defined as areas faced with challenges that include but not limited to infrastructure failure and service delivery, high socioeconomic need for coordination among projects and programmes.

Hence some of the transformation priorities within these areas, which is inclusive of Langa are human settlement projects as Langa is said to be quite vulnerable (CoCT, 2021). In terms of arts and cultural projects these projects aim to improve the use of public space and provide opportunities for the community (CoCT, 2021). In the case of Langa there is an outdated Langa SDF (1999), which pretty much expresses the same development. Langa Tourism is not well explored in development within the SDF's on how it can further improve business development within the area. Langa falls within the Table Bay District within the municipality of Cape Town (Fig. 1 below). The district is further divided into 4 sub-district areas whereby Langa falls within the Greater Eastern Area (Fig. 2 below). Figure 2 provides somewhat of a local area plan of Langa where the Athlone power station is identified as one of the catalytic projects to stimulate economic development within Langa.

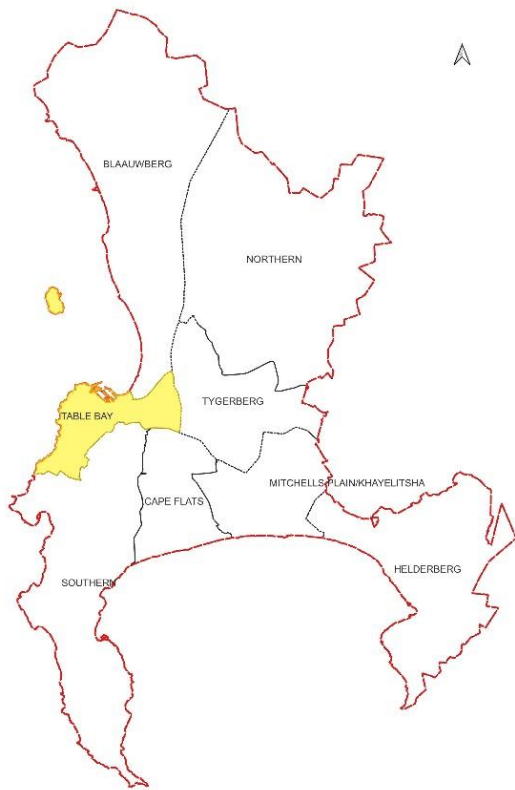


Fig. 4.1 Municipal District Map  
Source: QGIS

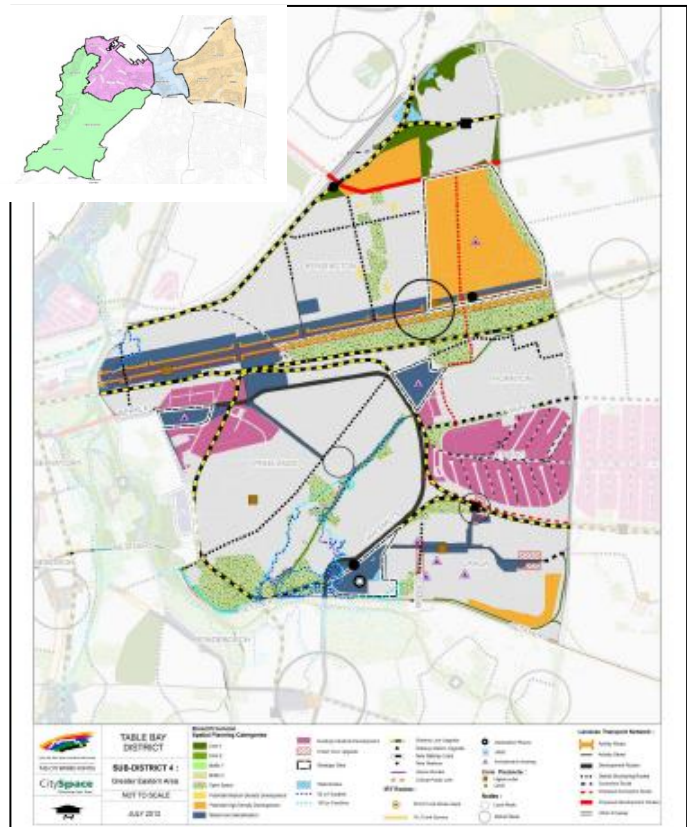


Fig. 4.2 Sub-Strategy 4 Map  
Source: Table Bay Technical Report (2012)

Langa is one of the oldest townships in Cape Town, within the Western Cape Province. It is located 12km from Cape Town’s central business district consisting of predominantly black people (RSA, 2014). The township covers an area of 300 hectares (Langa SDF, 1999). Figure 4.3 below represents the locational map of Langa. From the southern side the area is bounded by the N2 and the M7 or Vanguard drive demarcates the eastern side, while on the north is the railway line and the M17 or Jan Smuts drive is on the western side (RSA, 2014). Access to Langa is limited to two access points, the N2 and M7, that lead into the freeway and railway station (Langa, SDF, 1999). The urban form and structure of Langa isolate the area and this results in the commercial facilities to be focused inwards and only serving the local

people (Langa SDF, 1999). Consequently, this impacts on the viability of economic activity in Langa and its potential for growth and development.

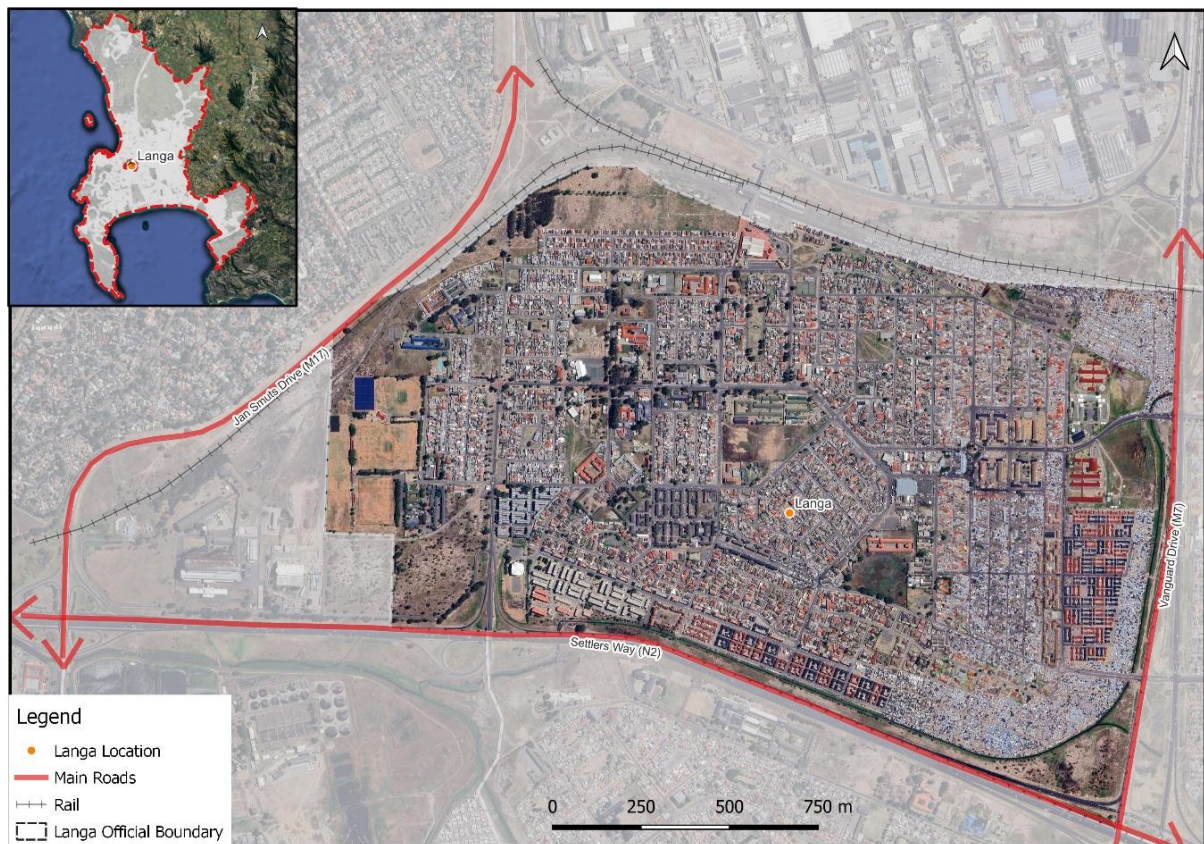


Fig. 4.3 Location Map of Langa  
Source: QGIS

Langa was established in the 1920's as a dormitory township for black migrant workers and thus have a strong anti-apartheid struggle and cultural history reflecting the evolution of the presence of Africans in the urban areas in South Africa (Ndzumo et al., 2021). The cultural and heritage significance of Langa does not only lie within the strong socio, political and historical significance of the area but also translates to the architecture, individual spaces and places as a whole that collectively informs its landscape or design which aimed to control the movement of migrant people within the area (Orton and Clift, 2009).

The booming heritage industry within Langa is a manifestation to the relevance of its history locally and internationally (Orton and Clift, 2009). Due to the rapid expanding Cape Town, over the years, the city's growth has absorbed Langa into the urban area making it well situated within the metropolitan area (LangaSDF, 1999). Figure 4.4 below represents the land use zoning within Langa, the predominant land use within the area is residential, single residential to be precise. As previously stated, this is the reflection of its origin during apartheid famous as a dormitory township for black African people. There are a few land-use that represent general industrial 1 and 2.

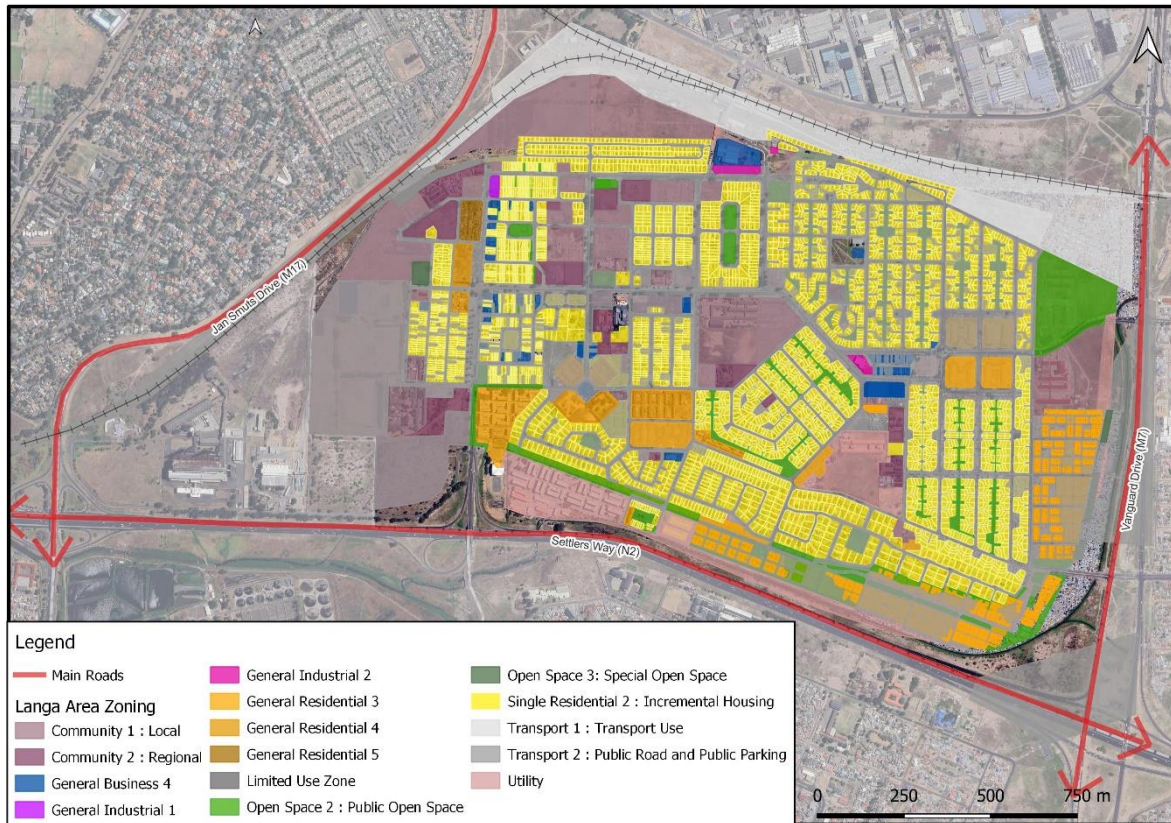


Fig. 4.4 Langa Area Zoning Map  
Source: QGIS

Its physical characteristics is strategically located outside of the city centre, near the industrial plants of Epping, enclosed by the railway line and freeway resembling typical of South African townships that were developed to accommodate the black labour force (Langa SDF, 1999). Langa is highly populated with a population of 52 401 consisting of mostly residential units (Huysamen et al., 2020). The majority, 50.7% of the population is formally employed, however a large number of the population is still unemployed (40.2%) (Statistics SA, 2011).

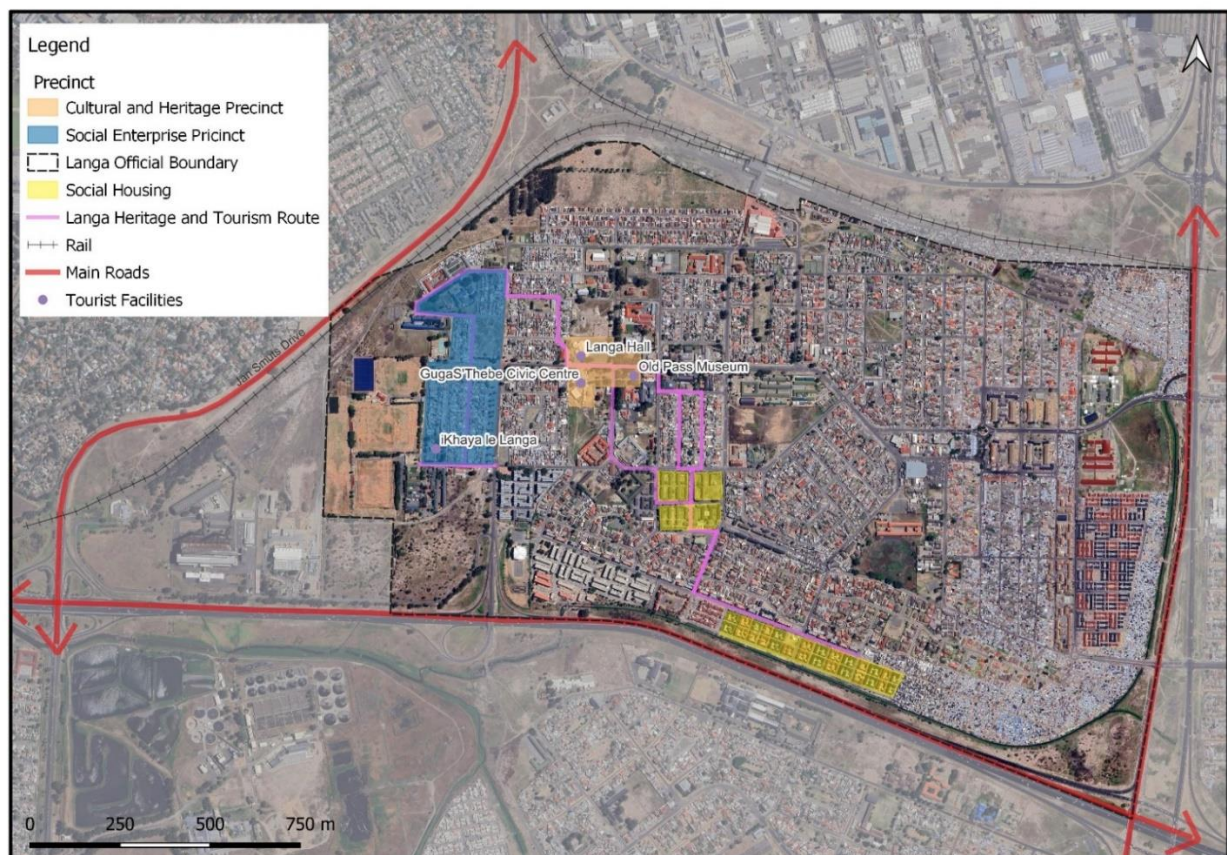
Langa’s monthly median income is R4 167 (SARS Western Cape Data, 2023). Although the data presents formal businesses there is an unrecorded informal business that occur within the area. The demographics of the population of Langa consists of a working age (15-64) of 71.7% although this percentage maybe reflective of a population that completed matric (20 years and above) constituting 33.1% (Stats. SA, 2023).

Langa was formally constituted as a township and officially opened on 10 September 1927, at the time it had 2200 barracks for men and women, a market, administration office and a house for the

superintendent (CoCT, 2013). Over the years there has been resistance in Langa due to housing that is deemed inadequate and the politics of location that lacked connection to the city, increasing the cost of living (CoCT, 2013). The protests transpired due to the exclusion of Africans to work and services and has influenced the economic development of the township over time. 66.3% of Langa represents residential 18,6% is social facilities, 9,8% social space, 3,5% rail, and road and 1.8% as commercial (Yacithe, 1998). Langas space economy similarly to Cape Town is characterised by the cluster of economic activities around the central node being the transportation interchange (Langa Taxi Rank). Langa represents where businessmen, musicians, sportsmen and political figures lived, records the experiences of people who lived through the system and their resistance to political oppression (RSA, 2014). The business development around the area is a mixture of formal and informal economic activity, with the informal economic activity drawing from the formal businesses as they pull in the traffic.

### Tourism in Langa Township

Figure 4.5 represents the tourism amenities Map of Langa and the heritage and tourism route. There are two precincts that have been identified within Langa as the social enterprise precinct Langa Quarter



and the famous cultural and heritage precinct centred around Gugas'Thebe civic centre. Gugas'Thebe is regarded as the local centre where tourism developments are centred. Next to the civic centre is the old pass court which has been turned into a museum for tourism purposes and the Langa community hall. The Gugas'Thebe civic centre provides an Artscape for the display of crafts and art. The nature of

township tours within Langa begin at the civic centre in King Langalebalele Street formerly known as the Washington street, then follows into Lerotholi street, joining Rhodes Street through the social housing developments towards the informal settlements on the western side.

The heritage route may differ with respect to the guide operator and the needs of the tourists. The major focus of Langa tourism is centred around guided tours whereby tourists are guided through the places of interest within the township in experiencing Langa's heritage and history.

### Job Creation

The City of Cape Town Economic Growth Strategy (2013) aims to stimulate opportunity through an enabling economic environment where investment is promoted, and jobs can thus be created. Some of the core areas of intervention are zoning, spatial planning and regulation, provisions of infrastructure, general utilities etc (CoCT, 2013). There is a relationship that is established between infrastructure development and the promotion of economic growth. The City of Cape Town Municipal Development Framework (SDF) (2018) promotes spatial transformation through area-based planning with the aim of channelling resources in support for intensification and prioritising investment in creating sustainable jobs. The objective of realising a spatially transformed areas is influenced by the reduction of poverty and improving equity and accessibility among other reasons thus enabling a transit-oriented development (TOD) (CoCT, 2018).

The City's (MSDF) (2018) identifies five categories of spatial transformation areas, Langa falls within the urban inner core which constitute 17% of the geographical area. The inner core area's desired land use outcome encompasses a diverse and dense area with current and future public transportation infrastructure provisions (CoCT, 2018). Within this area, the priority is given to capital infrastructure projects and programs, hence the Athlone power station is identified as a primary node and thus prioritised in terms of local area development (CoCT, 2018).

The City of Cape Town inclusive Economic Growth Strategy (EGS) (CoCT, 2021) further identifies the establishment of public private partnerships in order to spark dialogue between the government and the private sector in promoting conducive conditions for business growth and the creation of jobs. It

Fig. 4.5 Langa Amenities Map  
Source: QGIS

enables stakeholder to engage in defining problems and overseeing the implementation of necessary reforms.

Hence in Langa, the non-for-profit organisation and social enterprise iKhaya le Langa established by Tony

Elvin developed the Langa Quarter in collaboration with the local community, non-governmental organisations and the government (Massey, 2020). In an interview with one of the beneficiaries and board members of iKhaya le Langa stated that where the facility's location used to be a primary school that was transformed into a centre for lifelong learning (RP7). The respondent elaborated that the organisation promotes community development through social enterprise in support of entrepreneurship. The basic premise of a social enterprise according to the founder of iKhaya le Langa focuses on people, planet and profit, in essence creating sustainable opportunities (RP7). The founder of iKhaya le Langa noted that the organisation will be celebrating its 10<sup>th</sup> year anniversary as a centre for innovation and entrepreneurship (RP1).

He further clarified that the organisation focuses on Langa's strengths which is tourism which brings in a significant amount of revenue through tourists for locals (RP1). The role of the organisation is to formalise businesses within Langa in an effort to reduce the stigma centred around townships as only suitable for informal economic activity (RP1). One of the benefactors of iKhaya le Langa expressed that the facility provides a space where they can showcase their products thus exposing them to the tourist market. The respondent elaborated that he's been painting since 2006 and the facility has enabled him to have a safe working space for his paintings and to showcase his artistry and generate income (RP6).

The organisation creates an opportunity for the locals, promoting community-based tourism in regulating income that comes from the tourism sector. The founder of iKhaya le Langa further asserted that in applying the PPP (people, planet, profit) principle a social enterprise precinct was developed, made up of 207 houses zoned for tourism and hospitality related businesses (RP1). The Langa Quarter materialised in an effort to develop an enterprise that would support the 350 houses that are within the area (Massey, 2020). The Langa Quarter draws from the area's rich history, culture, jazz music as leverage in developing the area with street cafes, music avenues and art galleries (Massey, 2020; Booyens and Rogerson, 2018; 2019). The Langa Quarter, known as the social enterprise precinct, expands over 13 street and was officially launched in September 2013 (Massey, 2020). The Quarters' role is to facilitate employment, decrease poverty and as well as enhancing the existing assets within Langa, while also empowering the community as a way of achieving 'responsible' tourism through promotion of enterprise developments and social cohesion (Massey, 2020).

The Quarter promotes homestay hotels, the focus is on the accommodation sector, some of the homestays were able to graduate to Air bnb's and it have become a booming business in the area due to tourism, asserted one of the board members and beneficiary of iKhaya le Langa (RP7). He also explained that the difference between homestays and Air bnb is while the former received some form of assistance as a start-up from the organisation and later graduated to the later when the host is

equipped with the skills to run the business successfully and meet the requirements to register on the Air bnb as a host (RP7). In May 2015, the local community members, iKhaya le Langa and the residents of Langa Quarter were able to obtain land use rights that permitted development of small business opportunities such as restaurants and guest houses within the precinct (Massey, 2020). The initiative widened the scope in terms of the permitted zoning scheme activities to take place within the area, through the rezoning of 207 homes for hospitality and tourism purposes (Booyens and Rogerson, 2018). This in turn allowed for accommodation to be provided by the locals for tourists as a means of generating income (Booyens and Rogerson, 2018). Various forms of accommodation included the development of bed and breakfast establishments, and this stimulated other projects such as the Langa Quarter Homestay Hotel (Massey, 2020). The hotel is able to generate significant amount of income for the households (RP7). Airbnb accommodation has been a growing phenomenon in Langa attracting local as well as international tourists.

The Langa Quarter hosts various events such as the Langa Summer Market which offers a township retail experience incorporating live entertainment jazz by the local musicians (Massey, 2020; Booyens and Rogerson, 2018). According to Massey (2020) the market provides an opportunity for over 40 stalls selling local food cuisine, arts and crafts. This event further prompted the development of an open street market initiative where King Langalibalele Drive formerly known as the (Washington Street) is closed off so that locals and visitors can cycle, skate, explore and connect over the space (Massey, 2020). A further development includes the Langa township Art and Gallery (Langa TAG) that enhances the township experience through art over 10 homes on Rabusane Street as permanent gallery spaces (Massey, 2020). The existing high wall serves as an exhibition space for street art. Over the years the space has induced competition between local artists from the community and the wider Cape Town area in displaying their work on the wall (Massey, 2020).

The founder of iKhaya le Langa further added that the social precinct aims in developing black spaces that are clean, green and safer given that Langa is a township (RP1). The work promotes volunteering in cleaning and creating green spaces (RP1). The initiative also known as the sustainable streets uses a digital currency in rewarding volunteers working in collaboration with the local shops to allow for transactions. Therefore, by completing micro tasks such as cleaning the streets/ greening the streets/ baby-sitting the volunteers can be able to buy toiletries or food thereby empowering them in an effort to lift them out of poverty (RP1). This initiative was quite sustainable during the COVID pandemic and as such there are further discussions as to how it can be improved (RP1). He added that he is passionate about townships even though they are quite fragile and such programmes demonstrate sustainability.

There are future plans to develop the area into a fully functional visitor centre with state-of-the-art facilities such as wi-fi access, formal market square and business suit and conference room within the iKhaya le Langa Centre (Massey, 2020). Although there have been various delays, future plans of the social precinct are to connect it to the heritage precinct GugaS'Thebe, asserts the founder of iKhaya le Langa (RP1). He expressed the need for the connection to be established as he feels that there is a predominance of gatekeeping within the industry where tourism is focused around GugaS'Thebe and not the broader Langa. Therefore, the connection will allow the precinct to draw from the tourism anchor being the heritage precinct.

Township tours are a growing phenomenon in Langa, where half-day trips have emerged as tours through the township (Rolfes, 2009). Most of the tours commence at the District Six Museum in the CBD with scheduled stops in townships inclusive of Langa (Rolfes, 2009; Pirie, 2019). The tours incorporate elements of history and culture s and visits to the local pre-schools for entertainments such as dancing or singing performances, visits to markets, local taverns and private homes (Rolfes, 2009; Pirie, 2019). Pirie (2019) asserts that beer tasting in Langa and visits to the local herbalists are quite popular. Through guided tours the locals gain a form of employment within the tourism sector. Guided tours are somewhat formalised in Langa as it requires registration which requires renew after every 3 years as one of the tour guides explained (RP2). Registration is done through the Western Cape Government under the Department of Economic Development and Tourism for one to be a certified tour guide. Most of the tour guides work with tour agencies that are not owned by the locals and there seems to be a monopolising of the industry by a certain tour agency (RP2).

There is no standard amount that is charged for conducting tours as one respondent who is a tour guide claimed (RP2). The tour guides have different rates that they charge more so the rate depends on whether one is a local tourist or an international tourist. Most of the guides rely on township tours as their primary source of income, the respondent added (RP2). He stated that on average a tour takes 1-3 hours depending on the type of tour the clients wish to experience. On average a minimum of 2-3 tours can be booked. However, guided tours are not a regular activity as some days there may be no tours available. In an interview with the councillor of Langa, he pointed out that tourism within Langa is seasonal and has its peak months especially within the summer months and the heritage month whereas during winter months there may be an irregularity of tourists within Langa (RP3).

The case study findings reveal that there are benefits of job creation that are developed by the tourism industry in Langa. There is not a strong promotion of SMME's by the municipality with regards to infrastructure development in further boosting job creation within the area. Tourism in Langa is driven by entrepreneurship where the locals generate income from street vending, craftsmanship and food

stalls, sale of art and bead work. Some of the jobs in township tourism present a sustainable amount of income, whereas income other jobs are occasional and unreliable. There are efforts of formalisation of tourism jobs such as the registration of all tour guides and the re-zoning of houses around the Langa Quarter area so that they can be operate as fully functional homestays and Air bnb's. Sustainable job creation is an important aspect for local economic development as it speaks to the quality of work and reliability of income available within the area. The municipal efforts in collaborating with the community is centred around GugaS'Thebe, However, there are efforts by the City to remove "red tape", that is, unnecessary, administrative procedures in the iKhaya le Langa precinct order to provide favourable conditions for job creation.

### **Local Business Development**

As establishment or growth of small medium and micro business is essential as a local economic development strategy in developing a healthy local economy (Blakely, 1989). The City of Cape Town MSDF (2018) spatial strategy 3 relates to the planning of employment and improving access to economic opportunities, for which the sub-strategy is to promote inclusive growth, shared economic growth and development. The policy statements for the materialization of the mentioned strategies are support for investors through provisions of improved information, cross sectional planning and the removal of red tape. This strategy strengthens the municipality's role in creating an enabling environment for the realisation of inclusive economic opportunities. The founder of iKhaya le Langa, respondent explained how the City of Cape Town assisted with plans to developing the Langa Quarter. The respondent mentioned the strip that the Langa Quarter was to be established had to be rezoned to allow for the development of Airbnb's and homestays and other forms of businesses within the area (RP1).

However, there were problems encountered with the original plan as the social precinct layout stretched over two different wards (wards 51 and ward 52) and this presented challenges as inadequate corroboration between the wards slowed down the development of the social precinct (RP1). Hence, as stated by the respondent the layout plan had to be altered by drawing a connection to the GugaS'Thebe cultural/ heritage precinct, and thereby aiding the potential of the success of the Langa Quarter. The tourism industry has also provided an opportunity for SMME's to operate in the Lang Quarter inclusive of coffee shops, drinking taverns/ bars (Shebeens), hair salons, craft markets and local takeaway outlets (Massey, 2020).

The City of Cape Town MSDF (2018) policy statement, land use policies and mechanisms support the development of small businesses either formal or informal. This was evident in an interview with the founders of Langa Bicycle hub, which they described as the home of mobility and public space. They emphasised that their business represents buying and repairing of bicycles, bike tours and bike deliveries (RP4). Their business focus is on the use of non-motorised transport through bicycles in

collaboration with the Western Cape Government, CoCT, private sector and non-governmental organisations.

Their business was influenced by the tourism in Langa, and their area of operation is located in one of the municipal facilities being the Langa training centre (RP4). Negotiations with the municipality are currently under way to allow the business to manage the training Centre in exchange for usage of the space (RP4). Currently the business is run from ship containers that were transformed into an office and bike storage areas on the training centre site. There is a mini-bike track for practice and entertainment.

One of the City's policy statements under the sub-strategy is to strengthen and improve access to the existing business nodes through area-based interventions which are aimed at gearing local assets and removing constraints (CoCT, 2018). The Department of Economic Development and Tourism (WCG, 2023) through its SMME Booster Fund hosted the Langa Bicycle Empowerment Network (BEN) early in July 2023. BEN was prompted by the DEDT'S Economic Action Plan that advocates for funding in enabling township-based businesses to flourish (RSA, 2023). Among the local benefactors were iKhaya le Langa, represented as the host area and the Langa Bicycle hub. New bicycles were supplied to various businesses being Cloud deliveries and Langa pump track initiative in support of their business (RSA, 2023). The respondents from Langa bicycle hub did mention that they do get resource funding from such initiatives (RP4). The BEN initiative also prompted skills development for the local business, as respondents of the Langa Bicycle hub expressed that there were trainings held for their staff members through bike mechanic training. This was essential for their business as they dealt with bikes, and it was an essential skill to learn that comes handy for the staff.

In line with the spatial transformation vision of the City's MSDF (2018) which promotes intensification and diversification along a network spine, Washington street/ was recently renamed the King Langalebalele Street. The route identified for strategy as it links to the Langa taxi rank which is an identified node. In terms of the local node the GugaS'Thebe cultural and heritage node is a one stop shop area for tourists and business development is promoted. The GugaS'thebe art and cultural civic centre hosts various entrepreneurs that are able to present their work through the centre and thereby exposing them to the tourism market. The centre is able to attract tourists together with the Old Pass Museum.

However, although there is a mixture of formal and informal business along the main route, there is an emergence of informal business development that is formed around Lerotholi road, that attracts tourism. The type of businesses on this street ranges from art galleries to coffee shops and fast-food retail outlets. According to one respondent, the sheep heads are the area's most popular dish, and this delicacy attracts local and foreign tourists to the area (RP3). However, the municipality does not provide

any form of assistance to the informal businesses or channel any form of development along this route (RP3). According to one of the head committee members of the informal traders, the municipality does little to assist the informality along the tourist routes they are more concerned with the former Washington street area (RP5). They expressed that often the police may come and harass them because they are unregistered, even though they have pointed out that they are not interested in being registered (RP5).

The respondent added that over the years there have been meetings and workshops that have not been fruitful in assisting informal traders in terms of empowering them, nonetheless the traders are persistent in advancing their businesses (RP5). Not all local business benefit directly from tourism but those trading in the food and arts benefit the most, the respondent asserted (RP5).

The GugaS'Thebe civic centre acts as an anchor for the development of businesses adjacent to the area as this presents the first stop for visiting tourists. The centre is able to house various artist and entrepreneurs for selling of crafts and art products, giving them exposure to the market and frontage for their business products. iKhaya le Langa on Bhungu street does a similar initiative by providing workspaces and shop fronts for the tourist to buy local artistic products that ranges from arts and crafts to food products. In essence economic clusters have developed around these centres, although there is more diversity of businesses around social enterprise as compared to the heritage and cultural precinct.

### **Local Skills Development**

Skills development is one major aspect of the development of township or local economies. The City of Cape Town Municipality in collaboration with iKhaya le Langa developed the Langa Tourism Readiness Programme. The purpose of the program is to upskill the locals on how to approach the tourism industry such that they are able to benefit (CoCT, nd). The programme offers courses that would benefit the locals who are interested in the tourism industry. Some of the outcomes of the programme include developing different and high-quality products, services and supporting local businesses so that the amount of money spent by tourists in Langa can be increased (CoCT, nd). In addition, providing the local businesses and organisations with the necessary skills to be competitive.

The programme was hosted at iKhaya le Langa as the facility has an open community space for such initiatives. According to the respondent iKhaya le Langa the programme was also able to recruit a total of 15 facilitators from which 8 were from Langa (RP1). The facilitators were provided training by the city as well as trauma counselling. After completing the program, the facilitators would be able to operate as tour guides. However, after the facilitators passed their respective short-term course there were no agencies to absorb them into the workspace (RP2). In an interview with one of the tours guides they

noted that the programme included a guide facilitation short course that allowed them to visit Robben Island and District Six among other places (RP2). Therefore, because of the Department of Tourism and Industry (DTI) the registration process, they are able to conduct tours anywhere in South Africa. Although such programmes are important, the respondent mentioned that some form of formal education is also a prerequisite to being a tour guide, explaining that he attended the Cape Academy of Guiding School in order to qualify as a tour guide (RP2).

There are after school programmes for those interested in tourism business. These programmes are held at GugaS'Thebe centre where a group of artisans have come together to pass on the skill acquired. Similarly, in iKhaya le Langa the program is run to harness the skills of the students within a creative space.

### **Economic Growth and Development**

In terms of the contribution of township tourism within Langa to economic growth and development, there are various results established. Township tourism in Langa relies heavily on international tourists as the main contributors to the sector. According to WESGRO tourism research overview (2023), the year 2023 experienced an increased number of visitors in the Western Cape since 2019 accounting for 469 854. The Western Cape holds the highest share of tourist arrivals who intended to experience culture and or heritage tourism activities (WESGRO, 2019). According to one of the respondents, culture and heritage are the main tourist attractions in Langa due to its rich history as one of the oldest black townships in Cape Town. The Western Cape development agency WESGRO is charged with the mission to facilitate growth of the economy in a sustainable manner and thus create employment opportunities within the tourism sector (WESGRO, 2021). However, there is limited exploration by the agency as an area for potential contribution to growth of the tourism sector.

In a study conducted on domestic tourist and international tourists by Cape Town Tourism (2022), historical sites and heritage locations accounted for 2% and 3.7% representing the lowest percentage of points of interest for tourists. In interviews some of the respondents said that Langa does rely on international tourists and believe that they are the target market in terms of the culture and heritage within the area. This has over the years led to the formation of businesses and enterprises that are centred around tourism be it craftsmanship, bed and breakfasts, tour guiding and art as one of the respondents expressed. Although some of the businesses have proven at times to be unsustainable due to the irregularities of the turnout of tourists to the area. The respondent explained that during the summer there is a high turnout of tourists resulting in tourism businesses booming within the area. For some such as the tour guides and the crafters cannot solely depend on tourism driven income due to its inconsistencies

One of the tour guides mentioned that most of them are freelancers and they are not fully employed by a particular agency. It was further highlighted that the agencies themselves retain a higher share of the payment, the guides then depend on smaller dividends. From observation the tourism sector depends on the expenditure of the tourists in buying the local products and at times donations from tourists. Networks are an essential element within the sector, not only networks formed between the local businesses but also connections with travel agencies, hotels and tour agencies. These connections allow for constant business support within Langa. A respondent mentioned that retaining these connections is important for business referrals. There seems to be a weak linkage between the tourism industries related industries such as transportation. The tourist come with their own transportation they hardly use the public transport in some instances they come with tour buses. There are collaborations with other non-governmental organizations. The respondents at the Langa Bicycle hub mentioned that they work closely with one organisation called Lucha Lunako. The organisation is a youth development organisation that assist in building relations with employers in implementing the YES (Youth Empowerment Programme) programme. The employees at the bicycle hub are under this program in collaboration with the organisation, the respondents proclaimed.

Nonetheless, a respondent mentioned that the tourism sector within Langa is planned in a way that is not inclusive for benefit from the community. Stating that it is centred around GugaS'Thebe cultural centre which is concerned more around the history and the art aspects of tourism. The GugaS'Thebe area according to the respondent is the nicer part of Langa but the other parts which also gain traction in terms of the tours there is not much investment. Moreover, concerns were raised that there are no efforts from the municipality to formalise the industry in other parts of Langa. Apart from the cultural and heritage precinct most of the businesses around Langa is informal in terms of street vending and shops. Most of the informal traders do claim that they are not interested in the formalisation of their businesses because they do not see the benefits of being formalised.

From the presented findings, there is not enough evidence that shows that there is a substantial contribution that the tourism industry makes towards economic growth and development, even though Langa is well situated in terms of benefiting from the tourism that occurs in Cape Town. It is apparent that the area has visitor attractions that is presented through its deep culture and history. Therefore, the area is meaning tourism destination and have products of interest within the township tourism market. However, the market is regulated by the municipality, and it unfolds in a manner that directs development only around the cultural and heritage precinct. It creates a monopoly of the sector around the precinct, thus negates the potential dynamism of tourism within the Langa, with its broader and more rich heritage.

Looking at the tourism value chain, there are direct and indirect benefits from the tourism sector. Some of Langa's tourism assets do benefit directly from tourism, such as accommodation, handcrafts, the culture and heritage assets. However, there is not much diversification of the economy as other tourism aspects are not included that may also be tourism related. Hence the potential multiplier effect of tourism, where increase demand and production in other sectors are stimulated, is not witnessed. This is an important aspect for economic growth and development as the tourism sector could have a broader impact on the growth of the local economy. Although township tourism does promote local spending and therefore generate jobs and stimulate business development, Langa is heavily dependent on the amount of tourist anchored by the other famous attractions that are outside of Langa such as the Table Mountain and Robben Island to mention a few. These attractions are one of the main activities that draw international and domestic tourism.

In relation to efforts made by the development agency, WESGRO, focus is on Cape Town and there is little evidence in promoting township tourism from a provincial Scale, hence tourism promotion in Langa is dependent on word-of-mouth advertisement from the previous tourists. WESGRO does acknowledge that there are capacity constraints and lack of coordination between the multiple municipalities. However, from the regional scale Langa is promoted by Cape Town Tourism as one of the safest tourists' destinations with regard to township tours. Township Tours to Langa are promoted and advertised with local businesses on the Cape Town Tourism page. The tourism sector is also a collaborative effort for its success within Langa. The creation of enterprises such as the social enterprise, iKhaya le Langa has enabled the sector to thrive. The sector seems to be dependent on outside support be it non-governmental organisation to its success. The aspect of community-based tourism where the locals are empowered in running and ownership of the sector seems to be within a limited aspect. Ownership is within the guise of individual businesses for instance bed and breakfasts and entrepreneurship, the sector is driven by the municipality and heavily influenced by the municipality. This presents a problem as development is channelled where it is not required by the locals but rather where the municipality perceives as being appropriate, such as the Athlone power plant being identified as a destination area and further development being advocated for, because of its role to the city

Other Organisations such as Lucha Lunako have been at the forefront in implementing the Youth Employment Service (YES) programme. The programme is able to support youth employment and skills development in linking them with employers. In terms of being broad based, the sector within this particular instance does promote youth employment. In addition, there is a general employment creation around the industry although some of the employment may not be sustainable in providing a sustained income generation. In terms of tax revenue, there is not much contribution made by township tourism to taxes given that the majority of local businesses is informal and thus unregistered. The

increase in sales varies within the type of business. For the businesses that benefit directly from tourism there is an experienced increase in sales however this maybe related tourism peak seasons, hence there are irregularities within the sector.

## Recommendations

The presented findings provide a narrow view as to the impact of tourism development within townships with respect to job creation, local business development, skills and entrepreneurship and ultimately economic growth and development. Township tourism as established presents a niche market for the exploration of cultural and heritage tourism. Whereby places with such rich cultural and heritage background present opportunities for transformation of the sector through local economic development in realising employment opportunities or job creation, the development of businesses, skills and entrepreneurship and ultimately economic growth and development. Townships provide an authentic experience that depict real experiences which are of interest to tourists (Briedenhamm and Ramchander, 2006). With reference to the literature in chapter 2, there are various themes that have been identified which will be analysed in terms of their applicability within the context. The purpose of this section with reference to the third objective, is to provide recommendations on the pre-requisites for tourism development to work as an appropriate local economic development strategy in maximising benefits for local communities in townships.

- **Local Assets (Culture and Heritage)**

Culture and Heritage are an important component of township tourism in the realisation of local economic development. Due to growing trends in producing knowledge intensive goods and services in developing countries, South Africa's policies have also adopted to transform the economy into a knowledge-based economy hence the emergence of creative industries from the national level to the local level (Gregory, 2016). The premise of creative tourism is culture which constitute as a resource in the creative economy (Booyens and Rogerson, 2019). Drummond et al., (2021) refers to heritage tourism representing tangible (buildings, monuments, historical sites) and intangible (traditions and customs) developmental tools for locals. Optimizing Tourism development must therefore be a priority for policy development in realising creative industries and heritage tourism.

The results therefore reveal that the cultural resources present within townships create pathways for benefits through the creative industry as locals are able to engage in craftsmanship and arts, township tours either in the form of bicycle tours or walking tours, and food cuisine thus promoting entrepreneurship and local business development of micro enterprises within communities. Townships tourism allows for creative expressions of culture, which can result from the formation of precincts linked to culture and heritage influencing place making planning and development (Booyens and

Rogerson, 2019). Ownership of space is thus enforced where community members are empowered as direct or indirect beneficiaries of the space. The clustering of facilities observed from the study suggest that there is diversification of developments improving further the business development within townships.

In addition, the presence of local area plans may influence strategies adopted at the local level, having an impact on national policy development thus affecting strategies adopted locally. The lack of an updated local area plan within the case study has influences sort of a 'top down' approach on how the local economy is developed.

- **Community Based Tourism**

Tourism has been attributed to the promotion of growth, employment and community development in alleviation of poverty, thus, community-based tourism has been known to enhance community development within countries (Giampiccolli et al., 2014). In addition, CBT advocates for the participation of the local communities in the development process from the conception phase of the plan to the implementation (Setokoe, 2020; Giampiccolli et al., 2014). From the established results, the involvement of NGO's has proven fruitful in establishing the principles of community-based tourism (CBT) in materialising local community development projects. Although as one of its strategy imperatives, the tourism development framework of Cape Town (2024) does include generating of community involvement in terms of benefits and support through two strategies, among which one includes the community tourism engagement program with 2 program activities. Firstly, through launching a Cape Town school initiative fostering awareness of the tourism sector in terms of its opportunities and secondly, launching a tourism employee ambassador initiative in an effort to solicit support from tourism employees to become tourism ambassadors in demonstrating the importance of tourism to their fellow communities (CoCT, 2022).

The policy development of the municipality is towards the advent of research and development, although that maybe important in terms of innovation, the element of transformation within the sector becomes imperative such that the locals get the most benefit out of engagement. Transformation within the sector requires more than a compliant culture and the kind of innovation that presents visible results to improve the majority of South Africans (Abrahams, 2020). It thus, is important to advocate for inclusive growth that meets the needs of the people in an equitable manner. The sector having been identified as critical for the transformation of the economy (Abrahams, 2020), it is through community-based tourism that townships can further job creation, township business, skills and entrepreneurship. The recommended approach to CBT should be strengthening collaborative effort with the local communities with the assistance of an external agent as a facilitator of the process. The facilitation

approach relinquishes the powers from an external body to the local committees in terms of advancing their goals and development visions (Giampiccolli et al., 2014). Within this instance not only is ownership and operation of initiatives promoted enforcing the broad-based empowerment of the local communities but also the inclusion of the locals in decision making. Results from the study further show that beneficiaries of developmental projects within townships can occupy decision making positions through engagement from non-governmental organisations.

The role of the external facilitators as advisors can provide network opportunities and capacity building inclusive of skills training (Giampiccolli et al., 2014). In this instance the community becomes proactive through self-regulation and management of tourism. The enforcement of collaborative initiatives between the local government and non-governmental organizations can further encourage small township businesses (Koens and Thomas, 2026). There have been various collaboration initiatives within the case study suggesting that collaboration between NGO's, municipalities and the private sector is important in creating favourable conditions within townships. These relationships can affect capacitating the community members in skills development creating a positive outlook and potential in community-based tourism.

From the study, it is evident that the element of culture and heritage has influenced the formation of guided tours within the township. Booyens (2021) refers to the commercialisation of township tours as a leisure activity to cultural tourism. In terms of tour guiding, this becomes the entry point of tourist within townships, hence the role of the municipalities and the DEDT should not only be on the registration of tour guides but rather forming strong relationship with the private sector to absorb the guides on a full-time basis not part time.

- **Leverage on Municipal Assets/ Infrastructure**

Government Plays an Important role through provisions of infrastructure or local assets that can be utilised for the promotion of township tourism. Capitalising on local municipality's immovable assets is quintessentially for the development of township tourism as a local economic development strategy (Dlomo and Tseane-Gumbi, 2017). The results show that townships may use municipal assets in attracting development of micro enterprises thus diversifying the local economy through the development of precincts. The formation of clusters is activated by provisions of infrastructure that creates a conducive environment for micro-businesses.

However, the study also reveals that channelling development on a specific precinct may result in selective development of the industry and control. Relinquishing powers from the local communities in ownership of the industry. More so when it comes to the management of the assets, municipalities lack the capacity to manage their infrastructures within townships. As such, it becomes important to engage

the local communities either through promotion of SMME's or public-private partnerships in the management of such facilities. In this instance there is direct impact on the diversification of local businesses as well as job creation within the locality.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion and Reflections

The purpose of the study was to analyse if and how tourism-based development can be an appropriate local economic development strategy in alleviating unemployment and poverty in poor communities. Therefore, the main research question was to understand whether tourism-based development as a local economic development strategy can alleviate unemployment and poverty in poor communities. In answering the main research question objectives were developed as a guide. The first objective was to develop an understanding of local economic development internationally and locally. As such chapter 1 provided an overview of international development and local economic context, South African development and economic context and township development and economic context.

Globalization has influenced approaches towards local and economic planning. Areas are exposed to competition and has enforced these localities and regions to react to the prevailing economic conditions (Rogerson, 2009). These localities are characterised by high levels of unemployment and poverty rates. Poverty encompasses various aspects such as growth, wellbeing, exclusion, empowerment and equity (Azunu and Mensah, 2019) it thus becomes imperative to adopt a holistic approach that encompasses not only the monetary values but the social aspects as well. Disparities between economic development and economic growth were assessed in defining local economic development. Although income growth has been used as the traditional measure of economic development, the concept of development encompasses much more than monetary value (Blakely, 1989). Seers (1969) states that the trends in a country's poverty, unemployment and inequality rate should also count in measuring development.

The definition of local economic development should reflect aspects of standard of living referring to job creation, reduced inequality and sustainable development (Blakely and Leigh, 2010). The aspect of sustainability and quality of life are important as they have enforced new approaches to local economic development sparking debates about pro market and pro-poor approaches (Nel and Rogerson, 2016). Tourism has emerged showing prospects of improving the lives of the marginalised through township tourism. Chapter 2, as the literature review provided international experiences of local economic development establishing that local economic development emerged in the northern countries, United states and Europe as a response to unequal development and decentralised government policies. Various approaches have been highlighted with different strategies enforced that have tourism led local economic development. Tourism has been linked to the conventional approach of local economic

development, emphasising investment promotion and growth and the community development approach that relates to wellbeing of communities and sustainability (Butler and Rogerson, 2016)

Within the South African context similarly there are debates that have sparked as to whether local economic development should embrace a pro-poor focus or a pro-market focus. The pro-poor local economic development embraced the support of SMME's as community-based projects funded by the municipality (Nel and John, 2006). While the pro-market approach emphasised competitive environment for economic sectors, entrepreneurship, institutional support to SMME's and large corporate businesses, networks and incentives and tax rebates (Lukhele and Madzivhandila, 2018). Various waves and policy features are established where local economic development seems to have been channelled towards infrastructure development in support of economic growth responding to unemployment and support to SMME's, skills development and the informal economy in an effort to create jobs and capacitating local economies (Houghton, 2016).

South Africa has adopted knowledge-based policies in order to catch up economically and improve its competitiveness (Booyens, 2016). Therefore, tourism has been attributed towards a service drive economy with innovation through creative industries (Booyens, 2016). Tourism is said to facilitate inclusive participation and job creation (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019). Tourism has further shown support for transformation through the advancement of SMME's in promoting Broad Based Economic Empowerment (BBEE) (Rogerson and Sixaba, 2021). Further there is diversification of services and activities and experiences that the tourism sector offers, that is the development of clusters promotion of art and craft micro enterprises, street vending and other cultural significant enterprises that have an economic value (Booyens, 2021). Various themes have been explored throughout the South African experience such as the use of municipal immovable assets as anchors of township tourism activities, formation of public private partnership as a solution to the management and provisions of infrastructure (Rogerson, 2020).

The provisions of infrastructure can also promote community-based tourism in achieving sustainable development within township economies. Community based tourism highlights participation and sustainability within the tourism sector, it also enforces empowerment within the local participators in ownership of economic development projects (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2017). Improved quality of life is realised through community-based tourism and capacity building of the locals. Capacity building allows communities the necessary tools to become self-reliant in facing the competitive market (Dodds et al., 2016). The aspect of township tourism in South Africa is characterised by a focus on impoverished areas with rich history and cultural value (Hoogendoorn et al., 2019). Townships are of special interest as they present a niche market that offers educational and entertainment by the locals (Hoogendoorn

et al., 2019). Therefore, the commercialization of township tours as a leisure activity has emerged highlighting the uniqueness of townships (Meyer, 2015). Townships exhibit a creative consumption focused economy.

Chapter 3 elaborated on the case study research methodology used that the study fits within the qualitative method of data inquiry using a case study method. The research utilised primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources relate to Semi-structured interviews, observation and site visits and the secondary sources as reports and documents. For the purpose of the study interviews were conducted with various role players in getting their perspectives. Ethical approval was acquired to carry the study. Chapter 4 reveals the results of the study and recommendations are made that township tourism should be in the form of community based, leverage on the municipal assets and be linked to the local assets of township being the culture and heritage.

One of the limitations of the study was the inability to interview stakeholders such as the municipality due to the lack of ethical clearance from the stakeholder that required a lengthy process.

## References

- Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005. Ethical guidelines and principles of conduct for anthropologists. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 28(3-4), pp.142-143.
- Azunu & Mensah. 2019 Local economic development and poverty reduction in developing societies the experience of the ILO decent work project in Ghana. *Local Economy*. 2019.Vol 34(5) 405-420.
- Beall, J. (2002) Globalization and social exclusion in cities: framing the debate with lessons from Africa and Asia, *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(1), 41-51
- Bentley & Pegalis. 2014. Shifting paradigms\_ People-centred models, active regional development, space-blind policies and place-based approaches
- Blakely, E and Leigh N (2010). *Planning Local Economic Development. Theory and Practice*. Sage Publications
- Booyens, I., 2021. The evolution of township tourism in South Africa. In *Tourism, change and the global South* (pp. 151-166). Routledge.
- Bürgisser, R. and Di Carlo, D., 2023. Blessing or Curse? The Rise of Tourism-Led Growth in Europe's Southern Periphery. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(1), pp.236-258.
- Butler, G. and Rogerson, C.M., 2016. Inclusive local tourism development in South Africa: Evidence from Dullstroom. *Local Economy*, 31(1-2), pp.264-281.
- Corner, J. (1999). *The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention*. In D. Cosgrove (Ed.). *Mappings*. London: Reaktion.
- Dlomo, T.O. and Rogerson, C.M., 2021. Tourism and Local Economic Development in King Sabata Dalindyebo Local Municipality, South Africa: Stakeholder Perspectives. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism, and Leisure*, 10(1), pp.145-164.
- Drummond, J., Drummond, F.J. and Rogerson, C.M., 2021. Latent opportunities for heritage tourism in South Africa: Evidence from Mahikeng and surrounds. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 10(5), pp.1591-1609.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstanding about Case-study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12(2): 19—245
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case Study. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Fourth Edition. London & New York: Sage: 301—316.
- Gaber, J. & Gaber, S. (2007). *Qualitative Analysis for Planning & Policy: Beyond the numbers*. Chicago: APA Planners Press.

Garidzirai, R. and Nguza-Mduba, B., 2020. Does tourism contribute to local economic development (LED) in the City of Cape Town Municipality? A time series analysis. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 9(1), pp.1-13.

George, R. and Booyens, I., 2014, December. Township tourism demand: Tourists' perceptions of safety and security. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 25, pp. 449-467). Springer Netherlands.

Greenwood, D. T. and R. P. F. Holt (2010). *Local Economic Development in the 21st Century. Quality of Life and Sustainability*. New York

Halse, C. & Honey, A. (2005). Unravelling Ethics: Illuminating the Moral Dilemmas of Research Ethics. *Signs*. 30(4): 2141—2162.

Houghton, J. (2016). (Regional and) Local Economic Development Themes in Contemporary South African Cities. *Local Economy*. Vol 31(1-2) 42-56

Huysamen, M., Barnett, J. and Fraser, D.S., 2020. Slums of hope: Sanitising silences within township tour reviews. *Geoforum*, 110, pp.87-96.

Ingle, M.K., 2014. Building blocks for small town local economic development (LED) in South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*, 49(2), pp.474-484.

Knight, J, & Rogerson, CM (eds) 2018, *The Geography of South Africa : Contemporary Changes and New Directions*, Springer International Publishing AG, Cham. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [27 October 2023].

Koens, K. and Thomas, R., 2015. Is small beautiful? Understanding the contribution of small businesses in township tourism to economic development. *Development Southern Africa*, 32(3), pp.320-332.

Kontsiwe, N. and Visser, G., 2019. Tourism as a vehicle for local economic development in small towns? When things go wrong: The case of Aliwal North, South Africa. *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites*, 27(4), pp.1334-1346.

Lang R & Knox P L (2009): The new metropolis: rethinking megalopolis. *Regional Studies* 43(6): 789-802.

Le Heron, R., 2009. Globalisation'and 'local economic development'in a globalising world: Critical reflections on the theory-practice relation. *Theories of local economic development: Linking theory to practice*, pp.93-111.

Lee, C.G., 2021. Tourism-led growth hypothesis: International tourism versus domestic tourism- Evidence from China. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 23(5), pp.881-890.

Lukhele, T. and Madzivhandila, T., 2018. The dilemma between the pro-market and the pro poor local economic development approaches in the democratic South Africa: Theoretical perspective. *Local Economy*, 33(8), pp.877-888.

Madanipour, A. (1996). *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process*. New York: John Wiley & Sons

Maharaj & Ramballi. 1998. *Local Economic Development Strategies in an Emerging Democracy\_ The Case of Durban in South Africa*. *Urban Studies* Vol 35.

Massey, R., 2020. Urban renewal in South African cities. *Urban Geography in South Africa: Perspectives and Theory*, pp.265-282.

Mbane, T.L. and Ezeuduji, I.O., 2022. Local Resident Safety in Cape Town Township Tourism. *African Journal of Development Studies*, 12(2), p.249.

Meyer, D.F., 2014. Local economic development (LED), challenges and solutions: The case of the northern Free State region, South Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(16), p.624.

Mitra, S.K., 2019. Is tourism-led growth hypothesis still valid? *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 21(5), pp.615-624.

Moagi, T.J., Ivanovic, M. and Adinolfi, M.C., 2021. Business challenges of arts and crafts street vendors at key tourist attractions in Soweto, South Africa. *African Journal of Hospitality Tourism and Leisure*, 10(1), pp.85-101.

Ndzumo, P., Spencer, J., Muresherwa, G. and Dube, C.N., 2021, May. Cape Town's township tourism: A case study of Langa. In *ICTR 2021 4th international conference on tourism research* (p. 415). Academic Conferences International.

Nel & Rogerson. 2016. The contested trajectory of applied local economic development in South Africa. *Local Economy*. Vol 31

Nel E and L John, (2006). The evolution of local economic development in South Africa, in Pillay U, Tomlinson R and Du Toit J (eds), *Democracy and Delivery: urban policy in SA*, HSRC Press, Pretoria, Chap 9.

Nel, E. and Rogerson, C.M., 2007, June. Evolving local economic development policy and practice in South Africa with special reference to smaller urban centres. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 18, pp. 1-11). Springer Netherlands.

Nel, E. and Rogerson, C.M., 2016. The contested trajectory of applied local economic development in South Africa. *Local Economy*, 31(1-2), pp.109-123.

Nel, E.L. and Rogerson, C.M., 2005. Pro-poor local economic development in South Africa's cities: policy and practice. *Africa insight*, 35(4), pp.15-20.

OECD/Mountford, D. 2009. *Organising for local development: the Role of local development agencies*. Summary Report. Working Document

- Oluwayemisi A. Abisuga-Oyekunle and Mammo Muchie (2020). Handicraft small enterprises as an instrument for rural economic growth and poverty eradication. *Problems and Perspectives in Management*, 18(4), 25-36. doi:10.21511/ppm.18(4).2020.03
- Pedrana, M., 2013. Local economic development policies and tourism: An approach to sustainability and culture. *Regional Science Inquiry Journal*, 5(1), pp.91-99.
- Philip, K., 2014. A history of townships in South Africa. *Economics of South African townships: special focus on Diepsloot*, pp.31-49
- Pieterse, J.N., 2010. *Development theory*. Sage.
- Pike, A., A Rodriguez and J Tomaney (2011) *Handbook of Local and Regional Development*, London: Routledge. DA 338.9HAND
- Pike, A., Rodríguez-Pose, A. and Tomaney, J., 2016. *Local and regional development*. Routledge.
- Pike, A., Rodríguez-Pose, A. and Tomaney, J., 2017. Shifting horizons in local and regional development. *Regional studies*, 51(1), pp.46-57.
- Rogerson & Rogerson. 2010. Local economic development in Africa\_ Global context and research directions. *Development Southern Africa*
- Rogerson, C.M. and Rogerson, J.M., 2019. Tourism, local economic development and inclusion: evidence from Overstrand Local Municipality, South Africa. *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites*, 25(2), pp.293-308.
- Rogerson, C.M., 2009. Strategic review of local economic development in South Africa. *Final report submitted to Minister S Shiceka of Department of Development Planning and Local Government (DPLG). Commissioned by DPLG and GTZ*.
- Rogerson, C.M., 2010. Local economic development in South Africa: Strategic challenges. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(4), pp.481-495.
- Rolfes, M., 2010. Poverty tourism: theoretical reflections and empirical findings regarding an extraordinary form of tourism. *GeoJournal*, 75, pp.421-442.
- Romao, J. and Neuts, B., 2017. Territorial capital, smart tourism specialization and sustainable regional development: Experiences from Europe. *Habitat International*, 68, pp.64-74.
- Roy A (2009): The 21st century metropolis: new geographies of theory. *Regional Studies* 43(6): 819-830
- RSA, 2017. National-Tourism-Sector-Strategy (NTTS) 2016-2026a.
- RSA, 2018. National Framework for Local Economic Development; creating Innovative Driven Local Economies
- RSA, CoGTA. 2018. The National Framework for Local Economic Development. Creating Innovation-driven Local Economies

- RSA. (2022) Municipal Economic Review Outlook Report
- RSA. (2023) Statistics South Africa
- RSA. 2013 Black Broad Based Economic Empowerment Act
- RSA. 2013 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
- RSA.,2019. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth and Competitiveness. Towards an Economic Strategy for SA.
- Sandercock, L., 2000. When strangers become neighbours: Managing cities of difference. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1(1), pp.13-30.
- Santos, L.D. and Vieira, A.C., 2020. Tourism and regional development: a spatial econometric model for Portugal at municipal level. *Portuguese Economic Journal*, 19(3), pp.285-299.
- Seers, D., 1969. The meaning of development.
- Shatkin, G. (2007) Global cities of the South: emerging perspectives on growth and inequality, *Cities*, 24(1), 1-15
- Shatkin, G. (2008) The city and the bottom line: urban megaprojects and the privatization of planning in Southeast Asia, *Environment and Planning A*, 40 383-401
- Shatkin, G. (2011) Coping with actually existing urbanisms: the real politics of planning in the global era, *Planning Theory*, 10(1), 79-87.
- Snyman, S.L., 2012. The role of tourism employment in poverty reduction and community perceptions of conservation and tourism in southern Africa. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(3), pp.395-416.
- Song, H. and Wu, D.C., 2022. A critique of tourism-led economic growth studies. *Journal of Travel Research*, 61(4), pp.719-729.
- Stimson, R.J. and Stough, R.R., 2009. Regional economic development methods and analysis: Linking theory to practice. *Theories of local economic development: Linking theory to practice*, pp.169-193.
- Todes, A. and Turok, I., 2018. Spatial inequalities and policies in South Africa: Place-based or people-centred. *Progress in Planning*, 123, pp.1-31.
- Tomaney, J., 2010. *Place-based approaches to regional development: global trends and Australian implications*. Sydney: Australian Business Foundation.
- Turok. 2019. Cities as platforms for progress: Local drivers of Rwanda's success. *Local Economy*.Vol 34(3) 221 – 227
- World Bank. 2006. *Local Economic Development: A Primer Developing and Implementing Local Economic Development Strategies and Action Plans*. Swinburn et al.
- Xiao, Yu & Watson, Maria. (2017). Guidance on Conducting a Systematic Literature Review. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

Yin, R. K. (2004). *Case Study Methods*. COSMOS Corporation

Yin, R.K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.