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Intra-urban spatial differentiation of tourism: Evidence from Johannesburg, South Africa

Urban tourism is a growing focus for research in cities of the Global South. It is argued that the challenges of managing urban tourism require an improved understanding of the spatial structuring of tourism and tourist flows within the city context. The specific task in this article is to analyse changing intra-urban flows of tourism in Johannesburg, South Africa's most important city. The results show that different kinds of urban tourists engage with different urban spaces in the city. The Johannesburg study reveals that, although the spaces of leisure and business travellers to the city are closely intertwined, the flows of visiting friends and relatives are markedly different. Likewise, the spaces of international tourists are markedly different from those of domestic travel-

lers to Johannesburg. One striking observation concerns Soweto, an iconic attraction for international tourists visiting Johannesburg, which is dominated by domestic travellers mainly engaged in visiting friends and relatives. From a comparative international perspective, the spatial patterns of tourism flows in Johannesburg exhibit marked differences from those of urban tourism destinations in the Global North, with the most striking difference being that of the limited and weakened role of the inner city for tourism in Johannesburg.

Keywords: urban tourism, spatial structure, Johannesburg, South Africa

1 Introduction

Over the past decade, the phenomenon of urban tourism has become a significant component of the international tourism economy (Page & Connell, 2006; Ashworth & Page, 2011; Heeley, 2011; Pasquinelli, 2015). Kirk Bowman (2015: 135) goes so far as to describe urban tourism as “one of the star tourism segments”. However, Christopher Law (1991) points out that large cities have always been significant tourism centres because they traditionally attract large numbers of business travellers, visits to friends and relatives, and day trippers for cultural, sports or shopping activities. Overall, cities are multi-motivated travel destinations because people travel to urban centres for several purposes; namely, for business, entertainment and leisure activities, to visit friends and relatives or for personal matters such as health services (Law, 1991, 1993; Haywood, 1992; Ismail & Baum, 2006). Indeed, cities are multifunctional areas in that they simultaneously provide various functions for different groups of users; rarely are these facilities produced for or consumed by tourists exclusively, but instead by a whole range of users, including city residents (Law, 1993; Ashworth, 2012; Stepchenkova et al., 2015).

Despite their importance as destinations, cities often remain overlooked and unrecognised as major focal points for tourism development (Law, 1992; Ioannides & Timothy, 2010). Increasingly it is acknowledged that a high proportion of travel to major global cities is driven by the concentration of political and economic power in these areas rather than as a result of their assets for culture, leisure and entertainment (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Pasquinelli, 2015). “[C]ities that accommodate most tourists are large multifunctional entities offering a diversity of functions and spaces into which tourists can be effortlessly absorbed so that they become economically, socially and physically invisible to an extent that is not so in many other tourism spaces, such as beaches, spas or winter sports resorts” (Ashworth, 2012: 1). Costas Spirou and Dennis Judd (2014: 40) maintain that probably “the most important asset cities possess is their ability to achieve economies of scale and critical mass by bringing together different elements of tourism into overlapping or proximate spaces”.

Globally city policymakers and planners acknowledge now that the tourism sector can make a significant contribution to urban development and be a potential driver of urban change (Bowman, 2015; Pasquinelli, 2015). Gregory Ashworth (2012: 1) points out both the critical roles of tourism as a vehicle for urban economic development and a catalyst for local urban revitalisation and regeneration. Davorka Mikulić and Lidija Petrić (2014: 381) state that the idea of tourism as an urban development strategy emerged powerfully during

the 1980s, when many North American and European cities were experiencing factory closures and a deindustrialisation crisis that forced them “to look for alternative urban development strategies”. Accordingly, in response to the economic crisis many cities become interested and engaged in tourism’s potential for economic regeneration (Law, 1991, 1992; Page & Connell, 2006; Joksimovic et al., 2014). The rise of urban tourism is therefore inseparable from “the end of industrial age and the beginning of the postindustrial age” (Dumbrowska & Filalova, 2014: 6). As Law (1993: 1) remarks, “the large city as an important tourism destination came of age during the 1980s”. Almost a quarter century ago, Michael Haywood (1992: 10) could assert that tourism “has become recognised as one of many service industries that can breathe new life into cities including ‘difficult’ urban areas that seem to lack an appropriate tourism image, suffer from unfavourable social or economic factors or need infrastructural improvement”. More recently it has been observed in terms of policy discussions that “urban tourism has acquired a level of significance through its new found centrality in the processes of reinvention of cities under post-industrial, postmodern change and the related restructuring of urban economies and societies around consumption” (Williams, 2009: 208).

Urban tourism is a broad and complex terrain for academic research. Ashworth (1992) conceptualises urban tourism and identifies three approaches towards its analysis; namely, urban tourism policy, the supply of tourism in urban areas and the demand generated by urban tourists. In a benchmark review of international scholarship on urban tourism, attention is drawn to its “intellectual health” and the consolidation of “a well-established quantum of urban tourism research” (Ashworth & Page, 2011: 2). Among an array of themes that have garnered recent scholarly scrutiny are tourism’s impacts on cities, destination development, the role of urban tourism in local economic restructuring and revitalisation, sustainability, the appearance of new forms of segmented visitor accommodation, festivalisation of urban spaces, the application of smart tourism and the competitiveness of urban tourism destinations, the role of innovative public policies, sustainability issues and the validity of applying theoretical constructs from evolutionary economic geography (see, e.g., Henderson, 2006, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b; Connelly, 2007; Rogerson, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d; Cudny, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2016; Heeley, 2011; Rogerson & Sims, 2012; Brouder & Ioannides, 2014; Mikulić & Petrić, 2014; Pandey & Rogerson, 2014a, 2014b; Bowman, 2015; Greenberg & Rogerson, 2015; Iwanicki & Dłużewska, 2015; Kim & Lee, 2015; Miller et al., 2015; Özdemir et al., 2015; Papadimitrou et al., 2015; Pearce, 2015; Przybylska, 2015; Stepchenkova et al., 2015; Zamfir & Corbos, 2015; Boes et al., 2016; Ismail & Rogerson, 2016; Gretzel et al., 2016; Roullet et al., 2016).

Greg Richards (2014) stresses that during recent times the issue of creativity has become increasingly critical for the successful development of urban tourism. With growing international competition, smart tourism cities have been moving towards adopting creative strategies in order to distinguish themselves from their competitors (Bowman, 2015). Another vibrant and distinctive thread of research in urban tourism surrounds the emergence and growing popularity of “slum tourism”, especially across urban destinations in the Global South (Rogerson, 2004, 2008b; Frenzel et al., 2012, 2015; Burgold & Rolfes, 2013; Frenzel, 2016). Although slum tourism is an increasing focus for international tourists, the residents of these slum tourism destinations are mainly engaged in domestic travel in terms of the patterns of discretionary mobility (Rogerson & Mthombeni, 2015). Overall, it is apparent that a range of different questions surrounding urban tourism and strategies for promoting cities as tourism destinations – including for creative tourism – are surfacing as critical themes in contemporary tourism scholarship in both the Global North and Global South (Ben-Dalia et al., 2013; Booyens & Rogerson, 2015; Bowman, 2015; Srikanth & Prasad, 2016).

As Law (1993: 21) observes, “tourism in cities has become and will remain an important topic for the management and planning of large urban areas”. Among others, Haywood (1992) contends that planners, developers and policymakers need a broad perspective on urban tourism so that the challenges it creates can be more readily identified and managed. This imperative is highlighted as especially significant by the appearance of a recent contribution to tourism scholarship by Cecilia Pasquinelli (2015), who identifies a potential “paradigm shift” in policy discussions surrounding urban tourism. The emergence of a paradigm change in writing about urban tourism is viewed as the direct outcome of “an end of cities’ honeymoon with urban tourism” (Novy, 2014). A body of critical research highlights the elitist character of much urban leisure tourism as well as “environmental, social and cultural issues such as congestion and usage of public goods, pollution and crime, structural issues impacting on the urban shape and triggering processes of identity commodification and gentrification, touristification and a reduction of the quality of urban life” (Pasquinelli, 2015: 4). In some European cities, such negative impacts of urban tourism have spawned the emergence of anti-tourism urban movements around claims for residents’ rights to the city (Füller & Michel, 2014; Novy, 2014). Nonetheless, these negative sentiments towards urban tourism are so far mainly confined to select cities in the Global North.

In this discussion, attention is turned to questions around urban tourism in the Global South; specifically, to South Africa’s leading economic city: Johannesburg (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2015). This article is a contribution to the vibrant albeit still

“immature field of research and practice” concerning urban tourism (Pasquinelli, 2015: 4), and in particular concerning tourism in the cities of the Global South. It addresses the need of urban planners and policymakers for an improved evidence base concerning the workings and dynamics of tourism in cities, including locational patterns and tourist flows within an urban region (see Kadar, 2013). In order to maximise the potential benefits of tourism to cities, one essential requirement is an understanding and evidence base concerning the spatial structure of tourism in cities. The specific task in this article is to interrogate the changing intra-urban patterns of tourism in Johannesburg, which exhibits a tourism economy markedly different from both the leisure-focused tourism economies of South Africa’s coastal destinations of Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth (Rogerson & Visser, 2007, 2011; Rogerson, 2013, 2015a; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014) and the differentiated profile of tourism revealed across South Africa’s second-order tier of cities (Rogerson, 2016). In common with trends in North America and Western Europe, in Johannesburg tourism was initially identified as a potential source of new job creation, economic growth and diversification in the 1990s, with major interventions implemented to support tourism development starting in 2000 (Rogerson, 1996, 2002, 2003, 2011). In particular, the planning challenge was in isolating and maximising Johannesburg’s competitive advantages for business tourism, shopping tourism and cultural/political tourism, including Soweto’s iconic status in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Two sections of material follow. The next section provides a contextual overview of international discussions and research about the spatial structure of urban tourism. Attention then turns to Johannesburg and an analysis of the intra-urban geographical differentiation of tourist flows.

2 Interpreting the spatial structure of urban tourism

Among others, Stephen Page and Joanne Connell (2006) highlight that urban areas offer geographical concentrations of facilities and attractions that are conveniently situated to meet the requirements of both residents and visitors. It has been observed that “tourism facilities have distinctive and diverse spatial distributions within urban areas” (Shaw & Williams, 1994: 207). The analysis of the spatial structure of tourism in cities is an important research topic within urban tourism scholarship, especially because its focus on the ways in which phenomena are arranged in space has implications for urban tourism planning (Kadar, 2013; Li et al., 2015).

The conceptual definition of what “urban tourism space” is has been addressed by the Polish geographer Stanisław Lisze-

wski (2014). At the outset “it is not easy to identify urban tourism space, understood as urban space functionally standing out from general geographical space” (2014: 36). For some observers, the activity of tourism and tourism infrastructure are the essential criteria for designating a space as tourism space. This said, it is contended that urban tourism space is not homogenous and might be best understood based on the variety of tourism activity and its influence on geographical space (Liszewski, 2014). Overall, five types of tourism space are identified by Liszewski (2014); namely, exploration, penetration, assimilation, colonisation and urbanisation. Based on this foundation, Kotus et al. (2015) provide a useful analysis to determine stages in the activity of an external user in urban space and thus reflect a dynamic as opposed to a static profile of urban areas in terms of visitors. They defined the following four stages: 1) domination by residents, 2) entry by an external user, 3) coexistence and cooperation, and 4) succession.

It is apparent that “urban tourism is not equally distributed across the city” (Dumbrovská & Fialová, 2014: 8). For several observers, therefore, the phenomenon of urban tourism can be investigated as concentrated in well-defined areas within a city or in different interconnected urban areas such as shopping districts, iconic tourist sites, cultural sites or other locations that offer tourism-related services (Hayllar et al., 2008; Kotus et al., 2015; Pasquinelli, 2015). In understanding these spatial distributions, one potential approach is to conceptualise urban tourism attractions or products as a set of nodes, clusters and networks that are knit together and define the “tourist city” (Shaw & Williams, 1994). The spatial dimensions of urban tourism have also been approached in studies that have tracked visitor behaviour patterns and actual use of tourist facilities in cities. Such research has confirmed that the vast majority of trips are multifunctional and can combine, for example, leisure activities with visits to friends and relatives. It is argued that beyond a small number of investigations “geographers have rarely considered the activity space of urban tourists” (Shaw & Williams, 1994: 210). Through the pursuit of visitor behaviour patterns in cities, however, details can be revealed of the nodes and routes that thread together and demarcate “the tourist city” (Kadar, 2014). In a recent analysis, Kotus et al. (2015) conceptualise the building blocks of urban tourism according to their functions and spatial arrangement. It is maintained that the tourism structure of a city can be considered in terms of four types of location. These are “induction spots” leading to the city, “gates to the city” or entrance hubs, “anchor spots” or attractive places that trigger revisits and “bridges” between attractions that offer the chance to enter “undiscovered places” in the urban environment.

A number of investigations and approaches have identified and described the localisation of urban tourism in terms of

“tourism precincts”, “tourism business districts” or “tourism districts” (Getz, 1993; Hayllar & Griffin, 2005; Hayllar et al., 2008; Dumbrovská & Fialová, 2014; Pasquinelli, 2015). The geographical structure of tourism in cities is usually understood from a supply-side perspective and centred on the distribution of selected attractions and supportive tourism facilities (Li et al., 2015). Often, the focus is on the distribution of one particular sector of the tourism industry, most commonly the accommodation sector in general and hotels in particular. Many scholars view “the accommodation establishments to be the basis of tourism infrastructure” (Svec et al., 2014: 1475). Issues around the locational distribution of hotels within urban areas and decision-making about hotel development have attracted a rich set of theoretical contributions (e.g., Ritter, 1986; Egan & Nield, 2000; Shoval, 2006; Yang et al., 2014) as well as empirical research both in the cities of the Global North (e.g., Wall et al., 1985; McNeill, 2009; Shoval & Cohen-Hattab, 2001; Urtasun & Gutierrez, 2006; Shoval et al., 2011; Li et al., 2015) and increasingly also in the urban environs of the Global South (e.g., Timothy & Wall, 1995; Oppermann et al., 1996; Bégin, 2000; Rogerson, 2012; Yang et al. 2012; Adam, 2013; Adam & Amuquandoh, 2013, 2014; Adam & Mensah, 2014; Rogerson, 2014a, 2014b). Key influences that are isolated to explain the spatial structure of accommodation relate, *inter alia*, to location attributes surrounding accessibility, land rent, agglomeration advantages, the changing level of urban development and planning restrictions (Bégin, 2000; Yang et al., 2012; Rogerson, 2014b; Li et al., 2015).

Overall, from international experience it should be understood that urban tourism is not good or bad *per se* because its consequences are ultimately contingent upon “the quality of tourism management and the underlying processes” (Pasquinelli, 2015: 19). Accordingly, an improved understanding of the determinants and articulation of the spatial structure of tourism in cities is central to ensure coherent planning that might address the challenges of urban tourism development (Adam & Amuquandoh, 2013; Li et al., 2015).

3 Johannesburg’s tourism economy and spatial structure

As South Africa’s most economically vibrant city, Johannesburg has always been a tourism destination since the city was founded as a mining camp in the late nineteenth century. This tourism was generally neglected in city policymaking until after the 1994 democratic transition, when the city’s economic base was in a state of flux. Starting in 1980, a major restructuring of Johannesburg’s economic base began to take place. The key change was a transition from the significance of the city’s manufacturing economy to the rising dominance of an

economy organised around financial services, insurance, real estate and business services (Murray, 2011). These trends towards a service-led trajectory of urban growth accelerated following the democratic transition (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2015). Tourism has progressively emerged as one of the new growth drivers for Johannesburg's service economy (Human Sciences Research Council, 2014).

As part of wider strategic planning for reimagining a city blighted for investors by concerns over its record of safety and crime, the tourism sector was targeted for promotion as an element to help make Johannesburg a "world-class African city" (Rogerson, 2003; Murray, 2011; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2015). By the early 2000s, Johannesburg city policymakers had identified tourism "as a potential 'sunrise' economic sector and designated for strategic intervention as part of wider restructuring of the urban economic base" (Rogerson, 2003: 135). Tourism promotion would contribute the added benefit of assisting in improving the image of Johannesburg as an investment destination (Rogerson, 1996).

In terms of international tourism cities, Johannesburg is a destination where the tourism sector has been viewed as a promising source of new job creation and economic vitality, with several campaigns carried out to drive fresh waves of tourism expansion (Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson & Visser, 2007). Johannesburg is best viewed as a "non-traditional" tourism destination, which is reflected in its range of tourism assets and products (Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005). For leisure travellers, the city's range of shopping malls and "shopertainment" complexes (including casinos) are major attractions for regional African visitors and domestic travellers. The major shopping areas are located in the city's plush northern suburbs (around Sandton and Rosebank) with Sandton City, Montecasino and the recently opened Mall of Africa as the leading destinations. Other popular attractions for domestic leisure travellers are the city's zoological gardens, parkland areas and botanical gardens in the northern suburbs and the Gold Reef City theme park in southern Johannesburg. A new emerging leisure focus for both domestic and international visitors is the Maboneng Precinct in inner-city Johannesburg, which is a cluster of creative industries that occupy formerly abandoned or degraded warehouse space (Gregory, 2016). Since 1994 the city has been seeking to upgrade and market its range of cultural and heritage sites to domestic and increasingly to international tourists. Among the most significant are Constitution Hill and the Newtown Cultural District, close to Johannesburg's inner city, the apartheid museum, which is next to Gold Reef City, and the recent opening of the Liliesleaf heritage museum (Rogerson, 2002; King & Flynn, 2012; van der Merwe, 2013; Masilo & van der Merwe, 2016). In terms of South African history, the city of Johannesburg assumed a

major role in the struggle against apartheid and in particular tours to Soweto – the focal point of the riots of 1976 – are attractions for international visitors. After 1994, the growth of township tours to Soweto, marketed as a poverty or slum tourism destination, have emerged as big business for local tour operators, with the Hector Pieterse museum becoming the iconic struggle site (Rogerson, 2004; Frenzel, 2016). Alexandra township in the northeast part of the city is a secondary focus for township tours by international visitors.

Johannesburg is the economic heart and financial powerhouse of South Africa and is a major attraction for business tourists. The Sandton Convention Centre is the largest of several conference centres that make the city an attractive focus for convention tourism (Rogerson, 2005, 2015c). Other significant conference centres are located in Midrand, with the Gallagher Estate the most notable (Rogerson, 2002, 2005). The core assets for Johannesburg's business tourism are the city's extensive cluster of three- to five-star hotels and other business accommodations, which are mainly concentrated in and around the Sandton and Rosebank areas (Rogerson, 2010, 2011a, 2014b; Greenberg & Rogerson, 2015). With high-quality and specialist health facilities in terms of major hospitals and clinics – mostly found in the wealthy northern suburbs – Johannesburg is a focal point for both domestic and international health tourists. Finally, as South Africa's largest city, the metropolitan area's population of 4.4 million makes Johannesburg an obvious destination for visiting friends and relatives.

3.1 Methodology

In common with many other countries, the availability of official sub-national data for economic development planning is limited in South Africa. In many respects, following the 1994 democratic transition the quality of available official sources of sub-national data for planning purposes declined because certain useful series data concerning businesses are no longer collected (Rogerson, 2008a). For place-based development and sub-national economic planning, increased reliance is therefore placed on research data and modelling frameworks, which have been developed by both international and local private sector research organisations, most importantly by IHS Global Insight and Quantec. In particular, it is observed that the local economic data provided by IHS Global Insight are widely used by national and local governments across South Africa to inform public policymaking and local development planning (Rogerson, 2014).

For the tourism sector in South Africa, no official data are available to monitor the economic contribution of tourism at the city level, and the unofficial database provided by IHS Global

Insight is therefore relied on. This South African tourism database is a subset of IHS Global Insight Regional eXplorer, which is a consolidated platform of integrated databases that, in the absence of official establishment and enterprise surveys, currently provides the most useful data at the sub-national scale, including down to the municipal level (and, for major cities, even at the level of the administrative region; IHS Global Insight, 2015b). Data are collated regularly from a wide range of sources (official and non-government), with the primary data reworked to ensure consistency across variables and by applying national and sub-national verification tests in order to ensure that the model is consistent for measuring business activity (IHS Global Insight, 2015b).

For tourism scholars, the local tourism database of Global Insight is particularly valuable because it contains details of the tourism performance of all local municipalities in the country with regard to the number of tourism trips differentiated by the primary purpose of trip, overnights by tourist origin (domestic or international), calculation of tourism spending, and the contribution of tourism to the local gross domestic product. From this database information can be extracted for the period from 2001 to 2012 relating to tourism trips as differentiated for all local, district and metropolitan units in the country. In addition, for some of the country's largest cities a further disaggregation of tourism data can be accessed from the IHS Global Insight for administrative regions of cities.

Briefly, the ReX tourism model is anchored on two different paths for foreign and domestic tourists, allowing different data and assumptions to be accessed based on origins of travel (IHS Global Insight, 2015a). The model draws on data from studies on both the supply of services to tourists and those focused on the demand for services by tourists. Examples of the former supplier-focused investigations are various occupancy rate studies published by Statistics South Africa that survey samples of local establishments in terms of various occupancy rates, total spending and numbers of overnights sold. Examples of demand-side studies are various household and border surveys carried out by the National Department of Tourism (NDT), Statistics South Africa and other organisations. Measurement of total trips by local residents is done through household survey data, especially Statistics South Africa's General Household Survey (tourism module) and the Domestic Tourism Survey, which is complemented by household data collected by NDT. For foreign visitors, use is made of data from South African Tourism, Statistics South Africa and the Department of Home Affairs, including surveys at border posts and airports.

In terms of the geographical disaggregation of data, use is made of both a top-down approach for questions posed in demand-side surveys as well as a bottom-up approach for the supply-side

distribution of tourism services (IHS Global Insight, 2015a). For the most accurate geographic distribution at a lower scale for regions and local areas, the supply-side measures are deemed most appropriate. In terms of travel, a differentiation was made between holiday/leisure trips, business trips, travel by visiting friends and relatives (VFR), and other (mainly religious or health) travel. Essentially, holiday or leisure trips are distributed using the spatial distribution of accommodation establishments with different weightings for foreign as opposed to domestic travellers. For business travel, trips are distributed according to the share of establishments providing business services per geographical unit and recognising that local business tourism is more sensitive to economic activity levels in areas whereas foreign business tourism is more sensitive to types of accommodation that suppliers make available in the region or locality. For VFR travel, trips are distributed according to numbers of non-household members that are present in each household as measured in various census subsets; for domestic tourists, the distribution of local non-household members is used, whereas for international tourists the distribution of non-local non-households is applied. Further detailed information about the construction of the tourism database is available from IHS Global Insight (2015a, 2015b).

3.2. Results and discussion

The results of the analysis of the IHS data for Johannesburg and its administrative regions are discussed now. A brief overview of Johannesburg's tourism economy is given before turning to the intra-urban spatial patterns of tourism in the city.

Table 1 shows Johannesburg's significant position within the South African tourism economy. By 2010, Johannesburg accounted for an estimated 11.8% share of national tourism spending, which ranked it as South Africa's second-most-important tourism destination behind Cape Town. In terms of the purpose of trips, Johannesburg is South Africa's financial capital as well as a major locus of corporate headquarters, and it thus emerges as the country's leading destination for business tourism and the second-ranked city for leisure trips as well as for VFR trips (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014; Rogerson, 2015b, 2015c). In terms of international trips, the largest share in the Johannesburg tourism economy is travellers from sub-Saharan Africa with cross-border shoppers/traders drawn to the city mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Malawi (Rogerson 2011, 2013). For visitors from these and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Johannesburg is a major shopping mecca and is often described as Africa's Dubai. Nevertheless, with respect to the lucrative market of long-haul international tourism, Johannesburg is of lesser importance in South Africa because the city is primarily a gateway and only a short-stay destination compared to Cape

Town, which is an iconic locality for international long-haul travellers to South Africa (Rogerson & Visser, 2007). For Johannesburg’s international long-haul travellers, an important growing component is represented by the “slumming” tourism experience of township tours to Soweto (Frenzel, 2016).

The IHS Global Insight database provides information for the City of Johannesburg that differentiates tourism trips at the level of the seven official administrative regions of the city (see Figure 1). An analysis of this database for 2001 and 2011 provides a demand-side profile that shows the spatial structure of Johannesburg’s tourism economy.

Tables 2 and 3 show the marked geographical unevenness of the urban tourism economy. Several important points can be observed. In terms of estimated tourism spending, over half of total tourism spending in Johannesburg is concentrated in only two regions of the city; namely, region E (Sandton) and region B (the Rosebank–Randburg area). In 2001, these two areas accounted for a 51.7% share of total tourism spending and rose to 53.3% by 2011. These two regions are also the areas of Johannesburg that recorded the largest absolute growth in numbers of tourism trips between 2001 and 2011, as shown in Table 3. The dominance of the Sandton and Rosebank areas is inseparable from the clustering of high-quality hotels, shops, restaurants and entertainment, their roles as locations for business headquarters and, in the case of Sandton, the presence of an international convention centre (Rogerson, 2002, 2013). These areas would be styled as “tourism precincts” or “tourism districts”, using the language of international tourism scholars. The third-most-significant region for tourism spending is Johannesburg’s inner city, which historically was the heart of the city’s tourism economy until the early 1990s (Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005). Starting in the mid-1990s, the inner city experienced an accelerating decline and the flight of businesses to suburbs such as Rosebank and the emerging new CBD of Sandton (Murray, 2011). It is noted that between 2001 and 2011, despite some initiatives for regeneration, the share of the inner city in total tourism spending fell from 17.2 to 15.1%. From an international comparative perspective, the weakened position of the inner city as a tourism destination distinguishes the spatial patterns of tourism flows within Johannesburg from those of many North American or European cities, in which the “tourism and historical” areas of the inner city are the major destination zones for tourists.

The areas of Johannesburg that are the least important for tourism spending are the lower-income and mainly Black settlement areas of region D (Soweto) and region G, which is the “Deep South” and includes Orange Farm, a major area of informal settlement and severe poverty. It should be noted that there are other areas of poor Black settlement, such as

Table 1: Johannesburg’s role as a tourism destination in 2010.

Determinants	Share (%)	Rank
Proportion of national tourism spending	11.8	Second-ranked city
Destination of national total tourism trips	8.4	Second-ranked city
Share of national total overnights	8.6	
Destination of domestic tourism trips	6.9	
Share of domestic tourism overnights	6.1	
Destination of international tourism trips	15.3	
Share of international tourism overnights	14.7	
Destination of leisure trips	9.2	Second-ranked city
Destination of business trips	16.8	First-ranked city
Destination of VFR trips	6.7	Second-ranked city

Source: Calculated from IHS Global Insight data.

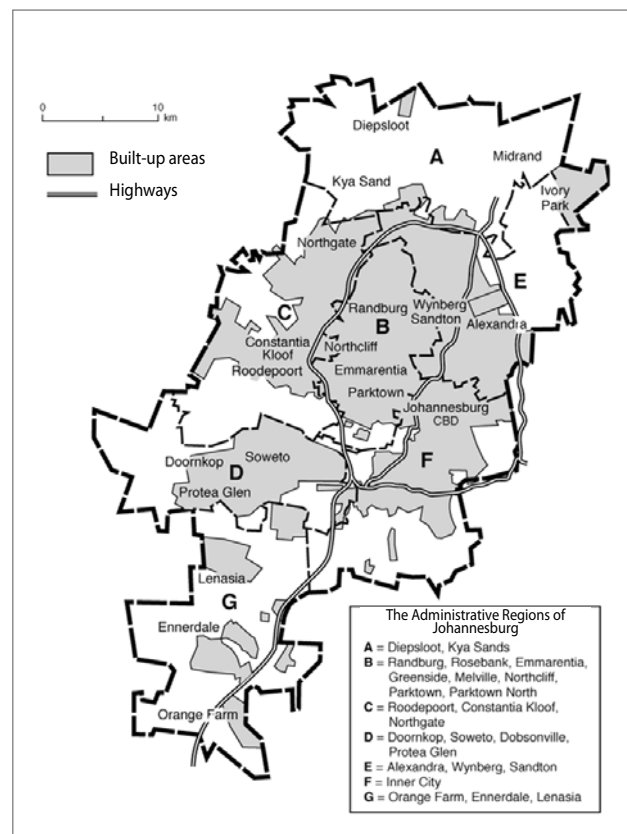


Figure 1: Administrative regions of Johannesburg (source: authors).

Diepsloot in region A (Midrand) and Alexandra township, which is part of Region E. Overall, however, tourism spending is most constrained in the poorest areas of Johannesburg. Regions D and G combined account for only nine percent of tourism spending. The limited tourism spending that occurs

Table 2: Johannesburg total tourism spending by region and year.

Year/region	2001		2011	
	ZAR 1,000 current prices	Share (%)	ZAR 1,000 current prices	Share (%)
A	822,459	10.9	2,384,396	11.8
B	1,666,589	22.1	4,833,749	24.2
C	820,116	10.9	2,057,412	10.3
D	535,051	7.1	1,411,391	7.1
E	2,227,342	29.6	5,813,218	29.1
F	1,295,820	17.2	3,010,283	15.1
G	160,847	2.1	473,948	2.4

Note: For regions, see Figure 1.

Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

Table 3: Johannesburg: change in total number of tourist trips, 2001–2011.

Year/region	2001		2011		Net change
	Number	Share (%)	Number	Share (%)	
A	205,894	10.7	379,284	12.5	173,390
B	308,716	16.0	558,960	18.4	250,244
C	202,327	10.5	306,126	10.1	103,799
D	362,462	18.8	471,652	15.5	109,190
E	379,909	19.7	638,234	21.0	258,418
F	323,687	16.8	483,625	15.9	159,938
G	143,606	7.5	203,361	6.7	59,755

Note: For regions, see Figure 1.

Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

Table 4: Share of each region in total trips to Johannesburg by purpose.

Year/Region	2001		2011		2001		2011	
	Leisure		Business		VFR			
A	12.5	12.9	11.0	12.9	10.1	12.5		
B	24.6	26.0	21.4	23.4	10.3	11.7		
C	9.0	9.6	11.3	12.8	10.7	8.5		
D	3.1	3.3	8.5	6.2	29.2	27.0		
E	35.7	34.5	25.5	27.3	11.4	11.5		
F	14.9	13.5	20.6	15.9	15.5	15.8		
G	0.3	0.3	1.6	1.5	12.8	12.9		

Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

Table 5: Share of each region in total trips to Johannesburg by origin.

Year/Region	2001		2011	
	International	Domestic	International	Domestic
A	10.9	12.1	10.7	12.7
B	19.4	23.1	14.8	15.5
C	10.7	10.0	10.4	9.0
D	11.0	11.8	21.8	20.8
E	24.2	26.9	18.1	17.4
F	21.3	23.3	15.2	15.0
G	3.4	1.9	9.0	9.6

Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

in Soweto is impacted by the small share of international tourists that choose to stay overnight in the township and instead prefer accommodation in the major clusters of tourist hotels or bed-and-breakfasts in Johannesburg's northern suburbs (Rogerson, 2014a). These form the majority of areas in Regions E and B. The underdevelopment of tourism in Region G was highlighted by a recent investigation for the City of Johannesburg. It was argued that Region G, the southernmost part of Johannesburg, is "significantly limited with regards to tourism related activities and products, with some tourism elements completely absent" (Grant Thornton, 2008: 148). Furthermore, it was observed that accessibility "to the area is very limited and hospitality activities i.e. accommodation and for-

Table 6: Share of trips to each region by purpose.

Year/Region	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
	Leisure		Business		VFR		Other	
A	26.4	25.4	18.1	23.6	47.8	45.3	7.7	5.7
B	34.8	34.6	23.3	29.0	32.6	28.7	9.3	7.7
C	19.5	23.4	18.8	29.0	51.6	38.0	10.1	9.6
D	3.7	5.2	7.9	9.1	78.6	78.6	9.8	7.1
E	40.9	40.3	22.6	29.7	29.3	24.8	7.2	5.2
F	20.1	20.7	21.5	22.7	46.8	44.8	11.6	11.8
G	0.9	0.9	3.8	5.1	86.8	87.3	8.5	6.7
Johannesburg	22.6	24.5	17.5	22.8	50.6	45.8	8.3	6.9

Note: Figures in italics show a higher share in the region than for the city as a whole.
 Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

mal catering and restaurants are basically non-existent” (Grant Thornton, 2008: 148). These constraints on tourism led to the fact that Region G had the lowest net expansion of tourism trips of any part of the city during the period between 2001 and 2011 (Table 3).

Further insight into the differentiated spatial patterns of tourism within Johannesburg is given in Tables 4 and 5. These two tables detail total tourism trips as given in Table 3 and present the contribution of each region to the city’s tourism economy in terms of the purpose of the trip (leisure, business, VFR or other) and the origin of tourist flow (whether an international or domestic trip). To help understand the spatial structure of tourism in Johannesburg, Tables 4 and 5 offer a number of instructive points. First, it is evident that the two regions of Sandton and Rosebank, which are responsible for the highest tourist spending, are the destinations within Johannesburg accounting for the greatest shares of both leisure and business trips. For leisure trips, these two regions record 60% of trips to Johannesburg, and for business they are responsible for 50% of trips to Johannesburg. Between 2001 and 2011, the two regions’ share of business trips expanded alongside a corresponding decline in the importance of region F, the inner city (Table 4). Second, with regard to leisure and business trips, the two poorest regions (Soweto and the Deep South of Johannesburg) account for the lowest share. When combined together, regions D (Soweto) and G (Deep South) record less than 4% of leisure trips and a falling share of business trips, which was 7.7% of total business trips in 2011 (Table 4). Third, a completely different geographical distribution of trips is shown for VFR travel as opposed to leisure or business trips. The spatial patterns of VFR travel to Johannesburg are dominated by Soweto, which is responsible for nearly 30% of VFR travel. By contrast, region C (Roodepoort) is the least significant region in Johannesburg for VFR travel.

Overall, these findings reveal a picture of the flows of different kinds of urban tourists to different tourism spaces of Johan-

Table 7: Share of trips to each region by origin.

Year/Region	2001	2011	2001	2011
	International		Domestic	
A	27.2	36.6	72.8	63.4
B	32.5	47.3	67.5	52.7
C	27.4	44.4	72.6	55.6
D	15.6	16.2	84.4	83.8
E	32.9	48.3	67.1	51.7
F	34.0	41.4	66.0	58.6
G	13.9	10.7	86.1	89.3
Johannesburg	26.9	37.8	73.1	62.2

Note: Figures in italics show a higher share in the region than for the city as a whole.
 Source: Authors' calculations from IHS Global Insight.

nesburg. This conclusion is reinforced by the results presented in Table 5 of the share of different regions in terms of tourists of different origin. The three most important areas for international travellers are Sandton, Rosebank and the inner city, which account for nearly three-quarters of international trips. The Sandton and Rosebank areas provide clusters of upmarket tourist accommodation that is targeted at both international long-haul travellers to South Africa as well as an increasing stream of affluent visitors from sub-Saharan Africa. The inner city is a hub for the activities of cross-border tourists/shoppers from neighbouring countries in southern Africa (Rogerson & Kaplan, 2005). In comparison to patterns of international tourist trips to Johannesburg, the domestic tourist flows are more dispersed across the city. Soweto is the leading focus for domestic travellers, which are those primarily engaged in VFR travel. This is a striking finding given that Soweto tourism is usually associated with international visitors participating in the phenomenon of slum tourism (Rogerson, 2008b; Frenzel, 2016).

Finally, Tables 6 and 7 show the relative share in each region of tourist flows with regard to different purposes (Table 6) or origin of travel (Table 7). Several further insights into the spatial

structure of urban tourism in Johannesburg are revealed. First, in relative significance of purpose of travel, for the Sandton and Rosebank areas leisure and business tourism clearly emerge as the major drivers for these areas' tourism development. In contrast, in other regions of Johannesburg the largest number of trips are accounted for by VFR travel. Most notably, in the cases of both regions G (Deep South) and D (Soweto), there is a very high proportion of VFR tourists, reaching 87% in the case of region G (Table 6). Second, in terms of the origin of the trip, across all of Johannesburg domestic tourist flows are greater in volume than international tourist trips. Nevertheless, comparing the share in the region to that of the city as a whole, it emerges that regions G and D are substantially "over-represented" in terms of domestic tourism, whereas regions B and E are the most significant for international tourists (Table 7). In other words, total domestic trips – which are dominated by VFR travel – are concentrated in the poorest regions of Johannesburg, mainly township areas and zones of informal settlement.

Overall, from an analysis of Tables 6 and 7, a close relationship is observed between the Sandton and Rosebank nodes as most significant for international, leisure and business tourism, whereas Soweto and the Deep South are the spaces of the city most dominated by domestic tourists and VFR travel. Once again, the analysis confirms that different regions of Johannesburg function as different kinds of tourism space for different groups of urban tourists.

4 Conclusion

Urban tourism continues to generate growing international scholarship (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Ashworth, 2012; Bowman, 2015; Pasquinelli, 2015; Zamfir & Corbos, 2015). The challenges of managing urban tourism require an improved understanding of the spatial structuring of tourism and tourist flows within the city context. However, the notion of a distinct "urban tourism space" is contested from existing investigations conducted in tourism cities of the Global North. Research on urban tourism themes is of increasing policy concern in many cities of the Global South, especially because the potential is acknowledged for the tourism sector to be a source of economic growth and a driver for new job opportunities. In the South African case, the city of Johannesburg is an example of policy initiatives being enacted to support the role of tourism in urban economic development. This study is one of only a small number that have sought to examine the spatial structure of tourist flows in a Global South destination. The results of this analysis of the spatial dimensions of urban tourism flows in South Africa's leading city reveal that different kinds of urban tourists engage with different urban spaces in the city. The

Johannesburg study shows that, whereas the spaces of leisure and business travellers to the city are closely intertwined, the patterns of VFR travellers are markedly different. In addition, the spaces of international tourists are different from and more concentrated than those of domestic travellers. Indeed, what emerges is that Soweto, an iconic attraction for international tourists visiting Johannesburg, is massively dominated by domestic travellers mainly engaged in visiting friends and relatives. Finally, it should be reiterated that the spatial patterns of tourism flows in Johannesburg exhibit marked differences from those of urban tourism destinations that have been documented in the Global North. The most striking difference is the limited and weakened role of the inner city for tourism development in the case of Johannesburg.

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