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Prostorske razlike v turizmu znotraj mest: primer Johannesburga v Republiki Južna Afrika

Raziskave mest na globalnem jugu se vse bolj osredotočajo na mestni turizem, saj izzivi, povezani z upravljanjem mestnega turizma, zahtevajo boljše razumevanje prostorske zgradbe turizma in turističnih tokov v mestih. V članku so analizirani turistični tokovi v Johannesburgu, najpomembnejšem mestu Republike Južna Afrika. Rezultati kažejo, da različne vrste mestnih turistov uporabljajo različne prostore v mestu. Raziskava Johannesburga razkriva, da so prostori, ki jih uporabljajo prostočasni in poslovni turisti med seboj tesno povezani, tokovi obiskovalcev, ki v mestu obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike, pa so popolnoma drugačni. Poleg tega tuji turisti uporabljajo

tudi drugačne prostore kot domači. Pozornost vzbuja ugotovitev, povezana s predmestjem Soweto, ki velja za ikonično zanimivost in privablja tuje turiste, vendar v njem prevladujejo domači turisti, ki tam obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike. Prostorski vzorci turističnih tokov v Johannesburgu se močno razlikujejo od tokov na mestnih turističnih destinacijah na globalnem severu, pri čemer pri Johannesburgu najbolj izstopa omejena in oslABLJENA turistična vloga mestnega središča.

Ključne besede: mestni turizem, prostorska zgradba, Johannesburg, Republika Južna Afrika

1 Uvod

V zadnjem desetletju je pojav mestnega turizma postal pomemben del mednarodnega turističnega gospodarstva (Page in Connell, 2006; Ashworth in Page, 2011; Heeley, 2011; Pasquinelli, 2015). Kirk Bowman (2015: 135) ga opisuje celo kot »enega od glavnih turističnih segmentov«, Christopher Law (1991) pa ugotavlja, da so bila velika mesta vedno pomembna turistična središča, saj običajno privabljajo veliko poslovnih potnikov, ljudi, ki v mestu obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike, ter dnevne obiskovalce, ki se udeležujejo kulturnih prireditev in športnih dejavnosti v mestu ali pridejo tja nakupovat. Na splošno so mesta destinacije, na katere ljudje potujejo iz različnih razlogov: poslovno, za zabavo in prosti čas, da bi obiskali prijatelje in sorodnike ali zaradi osebnih zadev, kot so zdravstvene storitve (Law, 1991, 1993; Haywood, 1992; Ismail in Baum, 2006). Mesta so večnamenska območja, saj hkrati zagotavljajo različne funkcije različnim skupinam uporabnikov. Te funkcije so redko namenjene izključno turistom, saj jih uporabljajo najrazličnejši uporabniki, vključno z mestnimi prebivalci (Law, 1993; Ashworth, 2012; Stepchenkova idr., 2015).

Čeprav so mesta pomembne turistične destinacije, pogosto niso prepoznana kot ključne točke turističnega razvoja (Law, 1992, ter Ioannides in Timothy, 2010). Vse bolj postaja jasno, da velik delež ljudi potuje v največja svetovna mesta zaradi njihove politične in gospodarske moči, nakopičene na teh območjih, ne pa zaradi njihovih prednosti na področju kulture, prostega časa in zabave (Ashworth in Page, 2011, in Pasquinelli, 2015). »Mesta, ki sprejmejo največ turistov, so veliki večnamenski subjekti, ki ponujajo različne funkcije in prostore, v katerih se lahko turisti zlahka porazgubijo ter postanejo ekonomsko, družbeno in fizično nevidni v veliko večji meri kot v številnih drugih turističnih prostorih, kot so plaže, toplice ali zimska športna letovišča.« (Ashworth, 2012: 1.) Costas Spiro in Dennis Judd (2014: 40) ugotavljata, da je verjetno »najpomembnejša prednost mest njihova sposobnost doseganja ekonomij obsega in kritične mase, in sicer tako, da v prekrivajočih se ali bližnjih prostorih združujejo različne elemente turizma«.

Mestni oblikovalci politik in urbanisti po vsem svetu zdaj priznavajo, da lahko turistični sektor pomembno prispeva k razvoju mest in spodbudi spremembe v njih (Bowman, 2015, in Pasquinelli, 2015). Gregory Ashworth (2012: 1) opozarja, da ima turizem pomembno vlogo kot sredstvo mestnega gospodarskega razvoja ter katalizator lokalne urbane revitalizacije in prenove. Davorka Mikulić in Lidija Petrić (2014: 381) ugotavljata, da se je ideja o turizmu kot strategiji razvoja mest pojavila v 80. letih 20. stoletja, ko so se v številnih severnoameriških in evropskih mestih zapirale tovarne, kriza, povezana

z deindustrializacijo, pa jih je prisilila v »iskanje alternativnih strategij mestnega razvoja«. V odgovoru na gospodarsko krizo so se številna mesta začela ukvarjati s tem, kakšen potencial bi lahko turizem imel za oživitev gospodarstva (Law, 1991, 1992; Page in Connell, 2006; Joksimovic idr., 2014). Vzpon mestnega turizma je tako neločljivo povezan s »koncem industrijske in začetkom postindustrijske dobe« (Dumbrovska in Fialova, 2014: 6). Kot poroča Law (1993: 1), so »večja mesta kot pomembne turistične destinacije dozorela v 80. letih 20. stoletja«. Pred skoraj četrstoletja je Michael Haywood (1992: 10) ugotavljal, da je turizem »postal prepoznan kot ena od številnih storitvenih panog, ki lahko mestom vdihnejo novo življenje, vključno s težavnimi mestnimi območji, za katera se zdi, da nimajo ustrezne turistične podobe, na katerih prevladujejo neugodni socialni in ekonomski dejavniki ter so potrebna infrastrukturne izboljšave«. V zadnjem času se v političnih razpravah poudarja, da »se je pomen mestnega turizma povečal zaradi njegovega novo odkritega središčnega položaja v procesih ponovnega odkrivanja mest v času postindustrijskih in postmodernih sprememb ter s tem povezanega prestrukturiranja mestnega gospodarstva in družbe, ki temelji na potrošnji« (Williams, 2009: 208).

Za akademske raziskave je mestni turizem široko in kompleksno področje. Ashworth (1992) je pri njegovem proučevanju opredelil tri pristope k njegovi analizi, in sicer z vidika politike mestnega turizma, turistične ponudbe na mestnih območjih in povpraševanja, ki ga usvarjajo mestni turisti. V primerjalnem pregledu mednarodnih raziskav mestnega turizma Ashworth in Page (2011: 2) opozarjata na njegovo »intelektualno zdravje« in združitev »velikega števila uveljavljenih raziskav s področja mestnega turizma«. Najnovejše raziskave se osredotočajo na najrazličnejše teme, kot so vplivi turizma na mesta, razvoj destinacij, vloga mestnega turizma pri prestrukturiranju in revitalizaciji lokalnega gospodarstva, trajnost, pojav novih oblik segmentiranih turističnih nastanitev, spreminjanje mestnih prostorov v festivalska prizorišča, uporaba pametnega turizma in konkurenčnost mestnih turističnih destinacij, vloga inovativnih javnih politik, težave, povezane s trajnostjo, in tehtnost uporabe teoretičnih konstrukтов razvojne ekonomske geografije (glej na primer Henderson, 2006, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b; Connelly, 2007; Rogerson, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d; Cudny, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2016; Heeley, 2011; Rogerson in Sims, 2012; Brouder in Ioannides, 2014; Mikulić in Petrić, 2014; Pandey in Rogerson, 2014a, 2014b; Bowman, 2015; Greenberg in Rogerson, 2015; Iwanicki in Dłuzewska, 2015; Kim in Lee, 2015; Miller idr., 2015; Özdemir idr., 2015; Papadimitrou idr., 2015; Pearce, 2015; Przybylska, 2015; Stepchenkova idr., 2015; Zamfir in Corbos, 2015; Boes idr., 2016; Ismail in Rogerson, 2016; Gretzel idr., 2016; Roullet idr., 2016).

Greg Richards (2014) poudarja, da zadnjem času vprašanje ustvarjalnosti postaja vse pomembnejše za uspešen razvoj mestnega turizma. Ob vse večji mednarodni konkurenci so pametna turistična mesta začela sprejemati ustvarjalne strategije, da bi se razlikovala od tekmecev (Bowman, 2015). Med zanimivimi in izstopajočimi temami raziskav s področja mestnega turizma izstopata tudi pojav in vse večja priljubljenost »turizma v slumih«, zlasti na mestnih destinacijah na globalnem jugu (Rogerson, 2004, 2008b; Frenzel idr., 2012, 2015; Burgold in Rolfes, 2013; Frenzel, 2016). Tovrstni turizem postaja vse privlačnejši za tuje turiste, medtem ko prebivalci teh destinacij z vidika vzorcev diskrecijske mobilnosti (ang. *discretionary mobility*) večinoma potujejo samo znotraj države (Rogerson in Mthombeni, 2015). Na splošno se najrazličnejša vprašanja, povezana z mestnim turizmom in strategijami za promocijo mest kot turističnih destinacij (tudi v okviru ustvarjalnega turizma), pojavljajo kot ključne teme sodobnih turističnih raziskav na globalnem severu in tudi jugu (Ben-Dalia idr., 2013; Booyens in Rogerson, 2015; Bowman, 2015; Srikanth in Prasad, 2016).

Kot navaja Law (1993: 21), je »turizem v mestih postal in bo tudi ostal pomembna tema pri upravljanju in načrtovanju velikih mestnih območij«. Haywood (1992) ugotavlja, da morajo imeti načrtovalci, investitorji in oblikovalci politik širok pogled na mestni turizem, da lahko zlahka prepoznajo in obvladujejo izzive, ki jih ustvarja. Ta zahteva je še posebej poudarjena v pred kratkim objavljeni raziskavi Cecilie Pasquinelli (2015), v kateri avtorica ugotavlja, da gre pri političnih razpravah o mestnem turizmu za morebitno »spremembo paradigme«. Sprememba paradigme v delih, ki obravnavajo mestni turizem, naj bi bila neposredna posledica »konca medenih tednov mest in mestnega turizma« (Novy, 2014). Številne kritične raziskave opozarjajo na elitistično naravo velikega dela pritočnega mestnega turizma ter na »okoljska, socialna in kulturna vprašanja, kot so prenatrpanost in uporaba javnih dobrin, onesnaženost in kriminal, strukturna vprašanja, ki vplivajo na mestno podobo ter sprožajo procese komodifikacije identitete in gentrifikacije, širjenje turizma in slabšo kakovost življenja v mestih« (Pasquinelli, 2015: 4). V nekaterih evropskih mestih so se zaradi tovrstnih negativnih vplivov mestnega turizma pojavila protituristična mestna gibanja, ki se zavzemajo za pravice stanovalcev do mesta (Füller in Michel, 2014, in Novy, 2014). Za zdaj pa so ta negativna mnenja o mestnem turizmu večinoma omejena na redka mesta na globalnem severu.

V tej razpravi je pozornost usmerjena k vprašanju mestnega turizma na globalnem jugu oziroma natančneje na Johannesburg, gospodarsko najmočnejše mesto v Republiki Južna Afrika (Rogerson in Rogerson, 2015). Članek prispeva k živahnemu, toda še vedno »nezrelemu področju raziskav in prakse«,

ki se nanaša na mestni turizem (Pasquinelli, 2015: 4) in še zlasti na turizem v mestih na globalnem jugu. Poskuša zadovoljiti potrebo urbanistov in oblikovalcev politik po izčrpnih podatkih o delovanju in dinamiki turizma v mestih, vključno z lokacijskimi vzorci in turističnimi tokovi znotraj določene mestne regije (glej Kadar, 2013). Da bi turizem imel za mesta čim večje potencialne koristi, je treba razumeti prostorsko zgradbo mestnega turizma in imeti na voljo dovolj ustreznih informacij. Cilj tega članka je proučiti spreminjajoče se vzorce mestnega turizma v Johannesburgu, katerega turistično gospodarstvo se izrazito razlikuje od turističnih gospodarstev obalnih destinacij v državi, kot so Cape Town, Durban in Port Elizabeth, ki temeljijo na pritočasnih dejavnostih (Rogerson in Visser, 2007, 2011; Rogerson, 2013, 2015a; Rogerson in Rogerson, 2014), ter od najrazličnejših vrst turizma v južnoafriških mestih drugega reda (Rogerson, 2016). Kot v Severni Ameriki in Zahodni Evropi je v 90. letih 20. stoletja turizem tudi v Johannesburgu sprva veljal za potencialni vir novih delovnih mest, gospodarske rasti in večje razvejanosti gospodarstva, pri čemer so leta 2000 začeli izvajati pomembne ukrepe v podporo turističnemu razvoju (Rogerson, 1996, 2002, 2003, 2011). Poseben načrtovalski izziv sta bila določitev in povečanje konkurenčnih prednosti Johannesburga na področju poslovnega, nakupovalnega in kulturnega/političnega turizma, vključno z ikoničnim položajem predmestja Soweto v boju proti apartheidu.

V naslednjem poglavju je predstavljen kontekstualni pregled mednarodnih razprav in raziskav prostorske zgradbe mestnega turizma, nato pa se pozornost preusmeri na Johannesburg in analizo geografskih razlik v turističnih tokovih znotraj mesta.

2 Razlaga prostorske zgradbe mestnega turizma

Stephen Page in Joanne Connell (2006) poudarjata, da so za mestna območja značilne geografske koncentracije objektov in znamenitosti, ki so na primernih legah ter tako zadovoljujejo potrebe stanovalcev in tudi obiskovalcev. Ugotovitve kažejo, da »je prostorska razporeditev turističnih objektov na mestnih območjih posebna in raznovrstna« (Shaw in Williams, 1994: 207). Analiza prostorske zgradbe turizma v mestih je pomembna tema raziskav mestnega turizma, še zlasti ker so lahko njene ugotovitve v zvezi s prostorsko razporeditvijo pojavov uporabne pri načrtovanju mestnega turizma (Kadar, 2013, ter Li idr., 2015).

Definicijo pojma »mestni turistični prostor« je poskušal podati poljski geograf Stanislaw Liszewski (2014), ki meni, da sprva »mestnega turističnega prostora v smislu mestnega prostora, ki funkcionalno izstopa iz splošnega geografskega prostora, ni lahko prepoznati« (2014: 36). Za nekatere opazovalce sta turi-

stična dejavnost in turistična infrastruktura bistveni merili, na podlagi katerih lahko določen prostor opredelimo za turistični prostor. Zaradi tega mestni turistični prostor ni homogen ter ga morda lahko najboljše razumemo na podlagi raznovrstnih turističnih dejavnosti in njihovega vpliva na geografski prostor (Liszewski, 2014). V splošnem Liszewski (2014) loči pet vrst turističnega prostora, in sicer prostor raziskovanja, prodora, asimilacije, kolonizacije in urbanizacije. Na tej podlagi so Kotus idr. (2015) opravili uporabno analizo, s katero so določili faze dejavnosti zunanjega uporabnika mestnega prostora in tako nakazali dinamični (in ne statični) profil mestnih območij z vidika obiskovalcev. Opredelili so te štiri faze: 1. prevlada stanovalcev, 2. vstop zunanjega uporabnika, 3. sobivanje in sodelovanje in 4. nasledstvo.

Jasno je, da »mestni turizem po mestu ni enakomerno porazdeljen« (Dumbrovská in Fialová, 2014: 8). Več raziskovalcev ugotavlja, da se mestni turizem zgošča na natančno določenih območjih v mestu ali pa na različnih med seboj povezanih mestnih območjih, kot so nakupovalna središča, najbolj znane turistične točke, kulturne znamenitosti ali druge lokacije, ki ponujajo storitve, povezane s turizmom (Hayllar idr., 2008; Kotus idr., 2015; Pasquinelli, 2015). Eden od mogočih pristopov k razumevanju te prostorske razporeditve je, da si mestne turistične znamenitosti ali proizvode predstavljamo kot niz med seboj prepletenih vozlišč, grozdov in mrež, ki določajo »turistično mesto« (Shaw in Williams, 1994). S prostorskimi razsežnostmi mestnega turizma so se ukvarjale tudi raziskave, ki so proučevale vedenjske vzorce obiskovalcev in njihovo dejansko rabo turističnih objektov v mestih. Tovrstne študije so potrdile, da je največ potovanj večnamenskih ter lahko združujejo prostočasne dejavnosti z obiski prijateljev in sorodnikov. Razen manjšega števila raziskav »so geografi le redko proučevali prostor dejavnosti mestnih turistov« (Shaw in Williams, 1994: 210). S preučevanjem vedenjskih vzorcev mestnih obiskovalcev pa lahko odkrijemo podrobnosti o med seboj povezanih vozliščih in poteh, ki določajo »turistično mesto« (Kadar, 2014). V novejši analizi so Kotus idr. (2015) obravnavali gradnike mestnega turizma na podlagi njihovih funkcij in prostorske razporeditve. Turistično zgradbo mesta lahko opredelimo z vidika štirih vrst lokacij: »uvajalnih točk«, ki vodijo do mesta, »mestnih vrat« ali glavnih vhodov, »sidrskih točk« ali privlačnih krajev, ki spodbudijo ponovni obisk, in »mostov« med znamenitostmi, ki ponujajo priložnost za obisk »neodkritih krajev« v mestnem okolju.

V številnih raziskavah so bile lokacije mestnega turizma opredeljene in opisane kot »turistični okoliši«, »osrednja turistična območja« ali »turistični predeli (Getz, 1993; Hayllar in Griffin, 2005; Hayllar idr., 2008; Dumbrovská in Fialová, 2014; Pasquinelli, 2015). Geografska zgradba turizma v mestih se običajno razume z vidika ponudbe ter temelji na razpore-

jenosti izbranih znamenitosti in podpornih turističnih objektov (Li idr., 2015). Pogosto je glavni poudarek na porazdelitvi popolnoma določenega turističnega sektorja (najpogosteje nastanitvenega oziroma hotelskega sektorja). Za številne raziskovalce tvorijo »nastanitveni objekti osnovo turistične infrastrukture« (Svec idr., 2014: 1475). O lokacijski razporeditvi hotelov na mestnih območjih in odločanju glede hotelske gradnje je nastalo veliko teoretičnih prispevkov (na primer Ritter, 1986; Egan in Nield, 2000; Shoval, 2006; Yang idr., 2014) in empiričnih raziskav v mestih na globalnem severu (na primer Wall idr., 1985; McNeill, 2009; Shoval in Cohen-Hattab, 2001; Urtasun in Gutierrez, 2006; Shoval idr., 2011; Li idr., 2015), vse več pa tudi v mestnih okoljih na globalnem jugu (na primer Timothy in Wall, 1995; Oppermann idr., 1996; Bégin, 2000; Rogerson, 2012; Yang idr. 2012; Adam, 2013; Adam in Amuquandoh, 2013, 2014; Adam in Mensah, 2014; Rogerson, 2014a, 2014b). Ključni vplivi, s katerimi lahko razložimo prostorsko strukturo nastanitve, so med drugim povezani z lokacijskimi lastnostmi v zvezi z dostopnostjo, najemninami za zemljišča, prednostmi aglomeracij, spreminjajočo se ravno mestne gradnje in načrtovalskimi omejitvami (Bégin, 2000; Yang idr., 2012; Rogerson, 2014b; Li idr., 2015).

Na splošno mednarodne izkušnje kažejo, da mestni turizem ni sam po sebi dober ali slab, saj se njegove posledice nazadnje odvisne od »kakovosti turističnega upravljanja in osnovnih procesov« (Pasquinelli, 2015: 19). Zato je boljše razumevanje determinant in oblik prostorske zgradbe turizma v mestih ključno za zagotavljanje koherentnega načrtovanja, s katerim se lahko uspešno spopademo z izzivi razvoja mestnega turizma (Adam in Amuquandoh, 2013, ter Li idr., 2015).

3 Turistično gospodarstvo in prostorska zgradba turizma v Johannesburgu

Kot gospodarsko najživahnejše mesto Republike Južna Afrika je Johannesburg turistična destinacija že vse od konca 19. stoletja, ko je bilo mesto ustanovljeno kot rudarski tabor. V mestni politiki je bil turizem na splošno potisnjen v ozadje vse do obdobja po demokratični preobrazbi leta 1994, zaradi katere je bila gospodarska osnova mesta izjemno negotova. Leta 1980 se je začelo obsežno prestrukturiranje mestne gospodarske osnove. Ključna sprememba je bil prehod iz prevladujočega proizvodnega gospodarstva v vse večjo prevlado gospodarstva, ki temelji na finančnih storitvah, zavarovalništvu, trgovanju z nepremičninami in poslovnih storitvah (Murray, 2011). Trendi urbane rasti, ki temelji na storitvenih dejavnostih, so se okrepili po demokratični preobrazbi države (Rogerson in Rogerson, 2015). Turizem je postopoma postal eno o novih

gonil rasti storitvenega sektorja v Johannesburgu (Human Sciences Research Council, 2014).

Kot del širšega strateškega načrtovanja za preoblikovanje podobe mesta, ki jo je vlagateljem kvarila zaskrbljenost zaradi njegovega slabega slovesa na področju varnosti in kriminala, naj bi se turistični sektor začel spodbujati kot prvina, ki bi Johannesburgu pomagala postati »afriško mesto svetovnega merila« (Rogerson, 2003; Murray, 2011; Rogerson in Rogerson, 2015). Do začetka prvega desetletja 21. stoletja so oblikovalci mestne politike v Johannesburgu prepoznali turizem kot »potencialni ‚rastočič‘ gospodarski sektor in ga vključili v strateške ukrepe v okviru širšega prestrukturiranja mestne gospodarske osnove« (Rogerson, 2003: 135). Spodbujanje turizma naj bi poleg tega pomagalo izboljšati podobo Johannesburga kot naložbene destinacije (Rogerson, 1996).

Med turističnimi mesti po svetu je Johannesburg destinacija, v kateri turistični sektor velja za obetajoč vir novih delovnih mest in gospodarske vitalnosti, pri čemer je bilo izpeljanih že več ukrepov, ki naj bi spodbudili nove pobude za širjenje turizma (Rogerson, 2002, ter Rogerson in Visser, 2007). Johannesburg velja za »netradicionalno« turistično destinacijo, kar se kaže tudi v njegovi ponudbi turističnih dobrin in proizvodov (Rogerson, 2002, ter Rogerson in Kaplan, 2005). Mestna ponudba blagovnic in nakupovalno-zabavišnih središč (tudi igralnic) močno privlači obiskovalce iz iste regije ali drugih krajev po državi. Glavna nakupovalna območja so v premožnejših severnih predmestjih (v okolici Sandtona in Rosebanka), med katerimi so vodilna Sandton City, Montecasino in pred kratkim odprto nakupovalno središče Mall of Africa. Druge priljubljene zanimivosti, ki privlačijo domače prostočasne turiste, so še mestni živalski vrt, parki in botanični vrt v severnem predmestju ter tematski park Gold Reef City v južnem delu mesta. Za domače in tuje obiskovalce postaja vse privlačnejši tudi predel Maboneng v središču Johannesburga, kjer v nekdanjih zapuščenih ali razpadajočih skladišnih prostorih delujejo številni obrati s področja ustvarjalnih industrij (Gregory, 2016). Od leta 1994 poskuša mesto izboljšati svojo ponudbo kulturnih znamenitosti ter jo ponuditi domačim in vse bolj tudi tujim turistom. Med najpomembnejšimi so Constitution Hill in kulturna četrt Newtown v bližini središča Johannesburga, muzej apartheida zraven tematskega parka Gold Reef City in Liliesleaf, pred kratkim odprt muzej dediščine (Rogerson, 2002; King in Flynn, 2012; van der Merwe, 2013; Masilo in van der Merwe, 2016). Johannesburg je imel v zgodovini države glavno vlogo v boju proti apartheidu, zato so med tujimi turisti še zlasti priljubljeni ogledi Soweta, ki je bil prizorišče največjih protestov leta 1976. Po letu 1994 so se vse številnejši izleti v Soweto, ki so ga oglaševali kot revno turistično destinacijo oziroma slum, izkazali za velik poslovni uspeh lokalnih turističnih agencij, muzej Hectorja Pieterzona

pa je postal najprepoznavnejša znamenitost, povezana z bojem proti apartheidu (Rogerson, 2004, in Frenzel, 2016). Tuji turisti si v okviru izletov v revna predmestja radi ogledajo tudi četrt Alexandra na severovzhodu Johannesburga.

Johannesburg je gospodarsko središče in finančna gonilna sila Republike Južna Afrika ter priljubljena destinacija med poslovnimi turisti. Sandton Convention Centre je največji med kongresnimi centri v mestu, zaradi njih je Johannesburg privlačna destinacija tudi za kongresni turizem (Rogerson, 2005, 2015c). Drugi pomembnejši kongresni centri so v predelu Midrand, najpomembnejši med njimi pa je Gallagher Estate (Rogerson, 2002, 2005). Med glavnimi aduti poslovnega turizma v Johannesburgu je obsežna ponudba hotelov s tremi, štirimi in petimi zvezdicami in druge vrste poslovnih nastanitvev, ki so večinoma na območjih Sandton in Rosebank ali v njuni okolici (Rogerson, 2010, 2011a, 2014b, ter Greenberg in Rogerson, 2015). Z visokokakovostnimi specializiranimi zdravstvenimi storitvami v večjih bolnišnicah in klinikah, ki so večinoma v premožnejših severnih predmestjih, je Johannesburg privlačen za domače in tudi tuje zdravstvene turiste. Kot največje mesto države, v katerem živi 4,4 milijona ljudi, je seveda tudi pogosta destinacija za obiske prijateljev in sorodnikov.

3.1 Metode

Kot v številnih drugih državah je tudi v Republiki Južna Afrika za potrebe načrtovanja gospodarskega razvoja razpoložljivost uradnih podatkov na poddržavni ravni omejena. Po demokratični spremembi leta 1994 se je kakovost razpoložljivih uradnih virov poddržavnih podatkov za načrtovalske namene v številnih pogledih poslabšala, saj se nekateri uporabni podatki o podjetjih ne zbirajo več (Rogerson, 2008a). Za krajevno usmerjen razvoj in gospodarsko načrtovanje na poddržavni ravni se zato vse bolj uporabljajo podatki raziskav in modeli, ki so jih razvile mednarodne in domače zasebne organizacije, zlasti IHS Global Insight in Quantec. Lokalne gospodarske podatke, ki jih zagotavlja IHS Global Insight, na široko uporabljajo nacionalna vlada in lokalne uprave po vsej državi kot pomoč pri oblikovanju javne politike in načrtovanju lokalnega razvoja (Rogerson, 2014).

Za turistični sektor v državi ni na voljo uradnih podatkov, na podlagi katerih bi lahko spremljali gospodarski prispevek turizma na ravni mest, zato se uporablja neuradna podatkovna zbirka IHS Global Insight. Ta južnoafriška podatkovna zbirka je del skupne platforme integriranih podatkovnih zbirk, znane pod imenom IHS Global Insight Regional eXplorer, ki ob pomanjkanju uradnih raziskav podjetij trenutno zagotavlja najuporabnejše podatke na poddržavni ravni, in sicer vse do ravni posameznih občin (pri večjih mestih pa tudi do ravni upravnih regij; IHS Global Insight, 2015b). Podatki se redno zbirajo

iz najrazličnejših (uradnih in nevladnih) virov, pri čemer se primarni podatki predelajo, saj se s tem zagotovi usklajenost različnih spremenljivk, z državnimi in poddržavnimi preveritvenimi preizkusi pa se zagotovi tudi usklajenost modela za merjenje gospodarske dejavnosti (IHS Global Insight, 2015b).

Za strokovnjake s področja turizma je lokalna turistična podatkovna zbirka Global Insight še zlasti dragocena, ker vsebuje podatke o turistični uspešnosti vseh občin v državi, in sicer podatke o številu turističnih potovanj glede na glavni namen potovanja, število nočitev domačih in tujih gostov, turistično porabo in prispevek turizma k lokalnemu bruto domačemu proizvodu. Iz te podatkovne zbirke lahko izluščimo podatke o turističnih potovanjih za obdobje 2001–2012 za vse lokalne, okrožne in metropolitanske upravne enote v državi, za nekatera največja mesta pa so ločeno na voljo tudi turistični podatki za njihove posamezne upravne regije.

Turistični model ReX skratka loči med dvema vrstama turistov (domačimi in tujimi), s čimer omogoča dostop do različnih podatkov in domnev na podlagi izvora potovanja (IHS Global Insight, 2015a). Model uporablja podatke raziskav o ponudbi turističnih storitev in povpraševanju po tovrstnih storitvah. Primeri tovrstnih raziskav, ki so se osredotočale na turistične ponudnike, so različne študije stopenj zasedenosti, ki jih objavlja južnoafriški statistični urad, v njih pa so anketirani vzorci lokalnih ponudnikov z vidika stopnje zasedenosti, skupne turistične porabe in števila opravljenih nočitev. Primeri raziskav na strani povpraševanja so različne ankete med gospodinjstvi in na mejnih prehodih, ki jih izvajajo ministrstvo za turizem (ang. *National Department of Tourism*, v nadaljevanju: NDT), južnoafriški statistični urad in druge organizacije. Skupno število potovanj lokalnih prebivalcev se meri na podlagi gospodinjstvih anket, zlasti turističnega modula splošne gospodinjstvene ankete državnega statističnega urada in ankete o domačem turizmu, ki jo med gospodinjstvi izvaja NDT. Za tuje obiskovalce se uporabljajo podatki, ki jih zbirajo južnoafriška turistična organizacija (South African Tourism), južnoafriški statistični urad in notranje ministrstvo, vključno z anketami na mejnih prehodih in letališčih.

Za geografsko razlikovanje podatkov se pri anketah na strani povpraševanja uporablja pristop od zgoraj navzdol, pri porazdeljenosti turističnih storitev na strani ponudbe pa pristop od spodaj navzgor (IHS Global Insight, 2015a). Za najnatančnejše podatke o geografski porazdeljenosti teh storitev na najnižji ravni (to je na ravni regij in lokalnih območij) so najprimernejše meritve na strani ponudbe. Z vidika vrst potovanj ločimo počitniška ali priložnostna potovanja, poslovna potovanja, obiske prijateljev in sorodnikov (OPS) ter druga potovanja (večinoma verske ali zdravstvene narave). Razporejenost počitniških oziroma priložnostnih potovanj se meri

Preglednica 1: Vloga Johannesburga kot turistične destinacije leta 2010

| determinante | delež (%) | mesto |
|---|-----------|-------|
| delež turistične porabe na ravni države | 11,8 | drugo |
| destinacija vseh turističnih potovanj na ravni države | 8,4 | drugo |
| delež vseh nočitev na ravni države | 8,6 | |
| destinacija potovanj domačih turistov | 6,9 | |
| delež nočitev domačih turistov | 6,1 | |
| destinacija potovanj tujih turistov | 15,3 | |
| delež nočitev tujih turistov | 14,7 | |
| destinacija priložnostnih potovanj | 9,2 | drugo |
| destinacija poslovnih potovanj | 16,8 | prvo |
| destinacija za OPS | 6,7 | drugo |

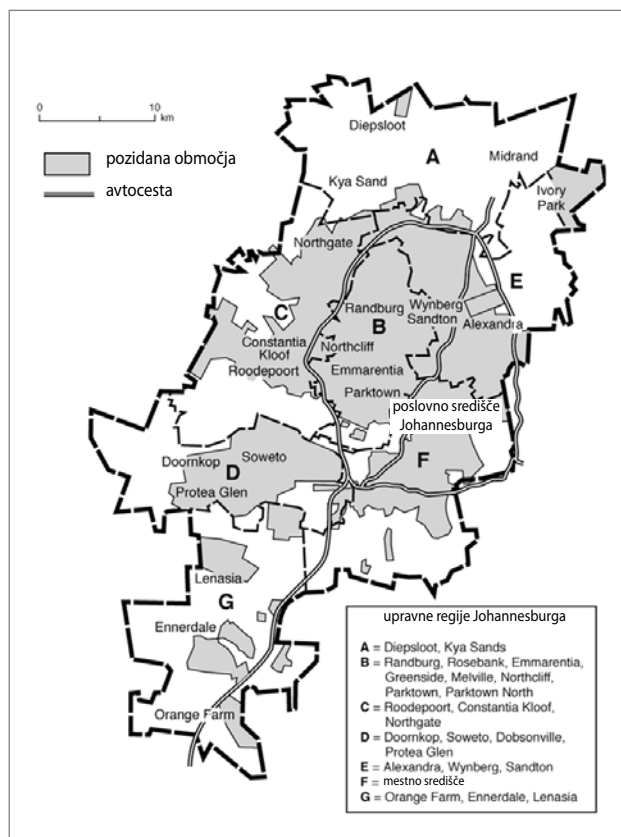
Vir: izračun na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

na podlagi prostorske razporejenosti nastanitvenih objektov, z različnimi ponderji za tuje in domače turiste. Pri poslovnih potovanjih se porazdeljenost meri z deležem objektov, ki ponujajo poslovne storitve, na geografsko enoto, ob upoštevanju, da na lokalni poslovni turizem bolj vpliva stopnja gospodarske dejavnosti na določenem območju, na tuji poslovni turizem pa vrsta nastanitve, ki je na voljo v določeni regiji ali kraju. Razporejenost potovanj, ki vključujejo OPS, se določa glede na število oseb v posameznem gospodinjstvu, ki niso njegovi člani, kot se meri v okviru popisov prebivalstva; pri domačih turistih se meri razporejenost lokalnih nečlanov gospodinjstva, pri tujih turistih pa razporejenost nelokalnih gospodinjstev. Več informacij o strukturi turistične podatkovne zbirke je na voljo v publikacijah in na spletni strani IHS Global Insight (2015a, 2015b).

3.2 Rezultati in razprava

V nadaljevanju so predstavljeni rezultati analize podatkov IHS za Johannesburg in njegove upravne regije, pri čemer je najprej podan kratek pregled njegovega turističnega gospodarstva, nato pa so opisani še prostorski vzorci turizma znotraj mesta.

Iz preglednice 1 je razviden pomemben položaj Johannesburga v turističnem gospodarstvu Republike Južna Afrika. Leta 2010 je njegov delež v skupni turistični porabi na ravni države znašal 11,8 %, zaradi česar je bil druga najpomembnejša turistična destinacija v državi, takoj za Cape Townom. Z vidika namena potovanja je Johannesburg finančna prestolnica države in sedež številnih podjetij, zato velja za vodilno poslovno turistično destinacijo v državi, hkrati pa je tudi druga najpogostejša destinacija za priložnostna potovanja in OPS (Rogerson in Rogerson, 2014, in Rogerson, 2015b, 2015c). Največji delež tujih gostov je iz podsaharske Afrike, pri čemer največ



Slika 1: Upravne regije Johannesburga (vir: avtorja)

čezmejnih nakupovalcev in trgovcev prihaja iz Zimbabveja, Mozambika, Lesota, Svazija, Zambije in Malavija (Rogerson 2011, 2013). Za obiskovalce iz teh in drugih držav podsaharske Afrike je Johannesburg prava nakupovalna Meka in pogosto ga imenujejo kar afriški Dubaj. Na donosnem trgu mednarodnih potovanj na dolge razdalje pa je Johannesburg na ravni države manj pomemben, saj se v nasprotju s Cape Townom, ki velja za ikonično destinacijo za tuje turiste iz oddaljenih krajev, uporablja predvsem kot izhodišče in destinacija za kratkotrajne postanke (Rogerson in Visser, 2007). Za mednarodne potnike na dolge razdalje postaja Johannesburg vse zanimivejši zaradi turizma v slumih, v okviru katerega se organizirajo izleti v Soweto (Frenzel, 2016).

V podatkovni zbirki IHS Global Insight so za mestno občino Johannesburg podatki o turističnih potovanjih na voljo za vseh sedem uradnih upravnih regij (glej sliko 1). Analiza podatkov na strani povpraševanja za leti 2001 in 2011 pokaže prostorsko zgradbo turističnega gospodarstva mesta.

Iz preglednic 2 in 3 je razvidna izrazito neenakomerna geografska porazdeljenost mestnega turističnega gospodarstva, pri čemer izstopa več pomembnih ugotovitev. Z vidika ocenjene turistične porabe se več kot polovica skupne turistične porabe v Johannesburgu zgošča v samo dveh regijah v mestu:

v regiji E (Sandton) in regiji B (območje Rosebank-Randburg). Leta 2001 je njun delež v skupni turistični porabi znašal 51,7 %, do leta 2011 pa se je povečal na 53,3 %. V teh regijah je bila zabeležena tudi največja absolutna rast števila turističnih potovanj med letoma 2001 in 2011 (preglednica 3). Prevlada regij Sandton in Rosebank je močno povezana z dejstvom, da je na tem območju veliko visokokakovostnih hotelov, trgovin, restavracij in zabavišnih kompleksov, tam pa imajo sedež tudi številna podjetja, v Sandtonu je tudi mednarodni kongresni center (Rogerson, 2002, 2013). V jeziku mednarodnih turističnih strokovnjakov bi ti območja lahko poimenovali »turistični okoliš« ali »turistični predel«. Tretja najpomembnejša regija Johannesburga z vidika turistične porabe je mestno središče (Inner City), ki je do začetka 90. let 20. stoletja veljalo za jedro mestnega turističnega gospodarstva (Rogerson in Kaplan, 2005). V začetku 90. let je začelo pospešeno propadati, podjetja pa so se začela seliti v predmestja, kot sta Rosebank in nastajajoče osrednje poslovno središče v Sandtonu (Murray, 2011). Kljub nekaterim pobudam za prenovo mestnega središča se je njegov delež v skupni turistični porabi med letoma 2001 in 2011 s 17,2 % zmanjšal na 15,1 %. V primerjavi z drugimi mesti po svetu se z vidika oslabiljenega položaja mestnega središča kot turistične destinacije prostorski vzorci turističnih tokov v Johannesburgu razlikujejo od tistih v številnih severnoameriških in evropskih mestih, kjer so »turistična in zgodovinska« območja v središču mesta pomembne turistične destinacije.

Najmanj pomembna območja Johannesburga z vidika turistične porabe vključujejo revnejše, pretežno črnske predele regije D (Soweto) in regije G oziroma »skrajnega juga«, ki obsega predel Orange Farm, v katerem prevladuje ta neformalna poselitev in velika revščina. Revna črnska območja lahko najdemo tudi drugod, na primer Diepsloot v regiji A (Midrand) in Alexandra v regiji E. Turistična poraba je na splošno najbolj omejena v najrevnejših predelih Johannesburga. Skupni delež regij D in G znaša samo 9 %. Na omejeno turistično porabo v Sowetu vpliva nizek delež tujih turistov, ki se odločijo tam prenočiti, saj jih večina raje izbere enega od številnih hotelov ali penzionov v severnih predmestjih Johannesburga (Rogerson, 2014a). Hoteli in penziona prevladujejo na večini območij regij E in B. Na slabo razvitost turizma v regiji G je pred kratkim opozorila raziskava mestne občine Johannesburg, v kateri so ugotovili, da ima regija G, ki je v najjužnejšem delu mesta, »zelo omejene turistične storitve in proizvode, nekaterih turističnih elementov pa sploh ni« (Grant Thornton, 2008: 148). Poleg tega je tudi dostop »do tega območja zelo omejen, gostinske dejavnosti, kot so prenočišča, formalna priprava in dostava hrane ter restavracije, pa pravzaprav ne obstajajo« (Grant Thornton, 2008: 148). Zaradi tovrstnih ovir je bilo povečanje turističnih potovanj med letoma 2001 in 2011 v regiji G med vsemi območji v Johannesburgu najnižje (preglednica 3).

Preglednica 2: Skupna turistična poraba v Johannesburgu na regijo in leto

| leto/regija | 2001 | | 2011 | |
|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | 1.000 ZAR (tekoče cene) | delež (%) | 1.000 ZAR (tekoče cene) | delež (%) |
| 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 |

Opomba: Za regije glej sliko 1.

Vir: lastni izračuni na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

Preglednica 3: Johannesburg – razlika v skupnem številu turističnih potovanj, 2001–2011

| leto/regija | 2001 | | 2011 | | neto razlika |
|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| | število | delež (%) | število | delež (%) | |
| 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 |

Opomba: Za regije glej sliko 1.

Vir: lastni izračuni na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

Preglednica 4: Delež regij v skupnem številu turističnih potovanj v Johannesburg glede na namen potovanja

| leto/regija | 2001 | | 2011 | | 2001 | | 2011 | |
|-------------|-----------------------|------|--------------------|------|------|------|------|--|
| | prostočasna potovanja | | poslovna potovanja | | OPS | | | |
| 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 | | |

Vir: lastni izračuni na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

Dodatni vpogled v različne prostorske vzorce turizma v Johannesburgu dajeta preglednici 4 in 5, v katerih so podatki o skupnih turističnih potovanjih iz preglednice 3 predstavljeni z vidika prispevka vsake regije k mestnemu turističnemu gospodarstvu glede na namen potovanja (prosti čas, poslovni namen, OPS ipd.) in izvor turističnih tokov (tuji ali domači turisti). Za boljše razumevanje prostorske zgradbe turizma v Johannesburgu preglednici razkrivata številne zanimive ugotovitve. Prvič, regiji Sandton in Rosebank, v katerih je turistična poraba najvišja, sta destinaciji z največjim deležem prostočasnih in poslovnih potovanj. Pri prostočasnih potovanjih njun delež znaša 60 % vseh prostočasnih potovanj v Johannesburg, pri poslovnih potovanjih pa 50 %. Med letoma 2001 in 2011 se je

Preglednica 5: Delež regij v skupnem številu turističnih potovanj v Johannesburg glede na izvor turistov

| leto/regija | 2001 | | 2011 | |
|-------------|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| | tuji turisti | | domači turisti | |
| 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 |

Vir: lastni izračuni na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

Preglednica 6: Delež turističnih potovanj v posamezno regijo glede na namen potovanja

| leto/regija | 2001 | 2011 | 2001 | 2011 | 2001 | 2011 | 2001 | 2011 |
|--------------|-----------------------|------|--------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| | prostočasna potovanja | | poslovna potovanja | | OPS | | drugo | |
| 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 |

Opomba: Vrednosti v poševnem tisku kažejo višji delež v regiji kot v celotnem mestu.

Vir: lastni izračuni na podlagi podatkov IHS Global Insight

Preglednica 7: Delež turističnih potovanj v posamezno regijo glede na izvor turistov

| leto/regija | 2001 | 2011 | 2001 | 2011 |
|--------------|---------------|------|----------------|------|
| | tujni turisti | | domači turisti | |
| 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 |

Opomba: Vrednosti v poševnem tisku kažejo višji delež v regiji kot v celotnem mestu.

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njun delež poslovnih potovanj povečal skladno z zmanjšanim pomenom regije F oziroma mestnim središčem (preglednica 4). Drugič, najnižji delež prostočasnih in poslovnih potovanj imata najrevnejši regiji (Soweto in »skrajni jug« Johannesburga). Skupni delež prostočasnih potovanj regij D (Soweto) in G (»skrajni jug«) znaša manj kot 4 %, njun delež poslovnih potovanj pa se je v proučevanem obdobju manjšal in do leta 2011 padel na 7,7 % (preglednica 4). Tretjič, geografska porazdelitev OPS je popolnoma drugačna kot porazdelitev prostočasnih in poslovnih potovanj. Pri prostorskih vzorcih potovanj v Johannesburg v okviru OPS prevladuje Soweto, v katerega pripotuje skoraj 30 % vseh tovrstnih obiskovalcev, najnižji delež tovrstnih potovanj pa je značilen za regijo C (Rodepoort).

Na splošno te ugotovitve razkrivajo podobo tokov različnih vrst turistov na različna turistična območja v Johannesburgu, kar podpirajo tudi rezultati, predstavljeni v preglednici 5, ki se nanašajo na delež posameznih regij glede na izvor turistov. Tri najpomembnejša območja za tuje turiste so Sandton, Rosebank in mestno središče, v katera pripotujejo skoraj tri četrtine vseh

tujih turistov. V Sandtonu in Rosebanku so prestižni turistični nastanitveni objekti, za katere se odločajo tuji turisti iz oddaljenih krajev po svetu in tudi vse več premožnih obiskovalcev iz podsaharske Afrike (Rogerson in Kaplan, 2005). V primerjavi z vzorci potovanj tujih turistov v Johannesburg so tokovi domačih turistov bolj razpršeni po mestu. Soweto je glavna destinacija domačih turistov, ki tam večinoma obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike. Ta ugotovitev izstopa, saj se turizem v Sowetu običajno povezuje s pojavom turizma v slumih, pri katerem prevladujejo tuji turisti (Rogerson, 2008b, in Frenzel, 2016).

V preglednicah 6 in 7 so prikazani relativni deleži turističnih tokov v posamezni regiji glede na namen (preglednica 6) in izvor potovanja (preglednica 7). Na podlagi teh podatkov lahko dobimo dodaten vpogled v prostorsko zgradbo mestnega turizma v Johannesburgu. Prvič, glede na namen potovanja so prostočasna in poslovna potovanja glavna gonilna sila turističnega razvoja v Sandtonu in Rosebanku, medtem ko potovanja v okviru OPS prevladujejo v drugih regijah Johannesburga. Najvišji delež turistov, ki obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike, je značilen za regiji G (»skrajni jug«) in D (Soweto); v regiji G znaša ta delež celo 87 % (preglednica 6). Drugič, glede na izvor turistov v Johannesburgu prevladujejo domači turistični tokovi, pri primerjavi tega deleža v posameznih regijah in na ravni celotnega mesta pa se izkaže, da regiji G in D močno izstopata z vidika nadpovprečnega deleža domačih turistov, medtem ko sta regiji B in E najpomembnejši za tuje turiste (preglednica 7). Z drugimi besedami: domačih turističnih potovanj, med katerimi prevladujejo OPS, je največ v najrevnejših predelih Johannesburga (v nerazvitih nekdanjih nebelških predmestjih in predelih z neformalno poselitvijo).

Analiza preglednic 6 in 7 razkrije, da sta regiji Sandton in Rosebank najpomembnejši za tuje turiste ter prostočasna in poslovna potovanja, medtem ko domači turisti in potovanja v okviru OPS prevladujejo v Sowetu in na »skrajnem jugu«. Rezultati analize potrjujejo, da različne regije Johannesburga delujejo kot različni turistični prostori za različne skupine mestnih turistov.

4 Sklep

Z mestnim turizmom se ukvarja vse več mednarodnih raziskav (Ashworth in Page, 2011; Ashworth, 2012; Bowman, 2015; Pasquinelli, 2015; Zamfir in Corbos, 2015), saj izzivi upravljanja mestnega turizma zahtevajo boljše razumevanje prostorske zgradbe turizma in turističnih tokov v mestih. Raziskave turističnih mest na globalnem severu sicer kažejo, da težko govorimo o obstoju posebnega »mestnega turističnega prostora«, raziskave tem, povezanih z mestnim turizmom, pa postajajo vse pomembnejše za politiko številnih mest na globalnem jugu, ki so prepoznale potencial turističnega sektorja kot vira gospodarske rasti in novih zaposlitvenih možnosti. Johannesburg je južnoafriško mesto, v katerem so bile sprejete politične pobude za podporo vloge turizma v gospodarskem razvoju mesta. Predstavljena raziskava je ena od redkih, ki so proučevale prostorsko zgradbo turističnih tokov na eni od destinacij na globalnem jugu. Rezultati analize prostorskih razsežnosti mestnih turističnih tokov v vodilnem mestu Republike Južna Afrika razkrivajo tri vrste mestnih turistov, ki uporabljajo različne urbane prostore v mestu. Študija Johannesburga kaže, da so prostori, ki jih uporabljajo turisti v okviru prostočasnih in poslovnih potovanj, med seboj tesno povezani, medtem ko so vzorci turistov, ki pridejo v mesto obiskat prijatelje in sorodnike, izrazito drugačni. Izkazalo se je, da v Sowetu, ki sicer velja za ikonično zanimivost in privablja tuje turiste, močno prevladujejo domači turisti, ki tam običajno obiščejo prijatelje in sorodnike. Treba je poudariti, da se prostorski vzorci turističnih tokov v Johannesburgu izrazito razlikujejo od tokov na mestnih turističnih destinacijah na globalnem severu, pri čemer pri Johannesburgu najbolj izstopa omejena in oslABLJENA vloga mestnega središča v turističnem razvoju mesta.

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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.

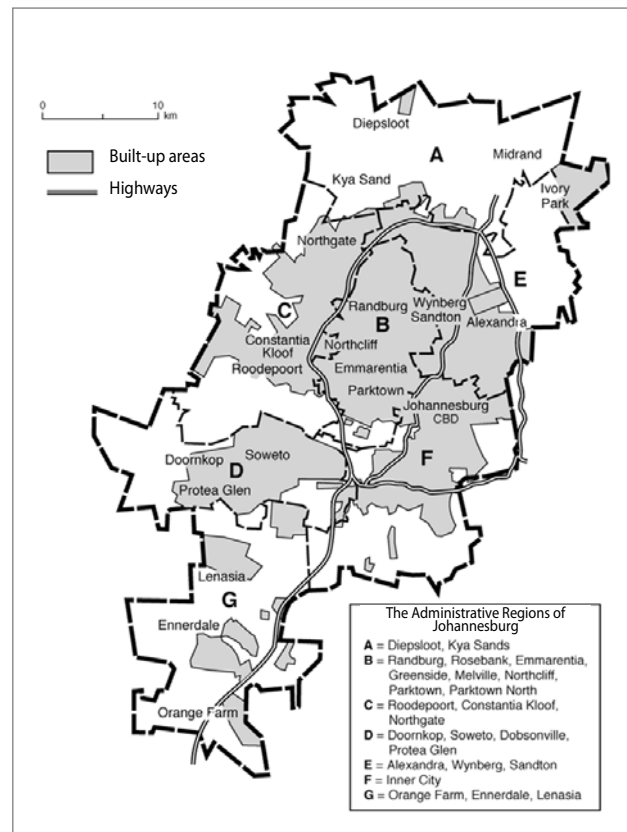


Figure 1: Administrative regions of Johannesburg (source: authors).

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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