

## The nexus between tourism and urban risk: Towards inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable outdoor tourism in African cities



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### ARTICLE INFO

#### Keywords:

Urban tourism  
Urban risk  
Sustainable cities  
Inclusive tourism  
Safe destination  
Africa

### ABSTRACT

Sub-Saharan Africa is set to increase its tourism sector in urban areas. However, its cities are also settings for numerous struggles over future developments coupled with excess urban risks. The nexus created by the relationship between urbanization, urban growth, urban governance, poverty and inequality, and ecological degradation is altering the sustainability of urban tourism in Sub-Saharan African cities. Inspired by the United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Goal 11; making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, this study critically analyses the linkages between risk, justice, inclusion, trust and power relations in urban spaces with the aim to strengthen tourism governance in Sub-Saharan African urban settings. Document analysis is adopted to draw evidence and critically analyse the sustainability of tourism in the three Sub-Saharan cities: Accra, Ghana; Johannesburg, South Africa; and Harare, Zimbabwe. The study reveals that tourism development in Africa is dominantly underpinned by neoliberal development strategies which threaten the sustainability of tourism in African cities. It, therefore, argues for good governance through strong sustainability institutions which strengthen the regulative mechanisms, processes and organizational culture which empowers local communities. Sustainable tourism approaches that are resilient centred have a potential to promote urban tourism in Sub-Saharan African cities.

### Management implications:

- Tourism development in Africa must follow an integrated approach where locals' needs are inculcated into the planning and broader tourism and industrial development.
- Poor governance by some African governments tend to lead to unsustainable tourism development in urban spaces as it creates nepotism, patronage, clientelism, corruption, lack of trust, political favouritism, and institutionalized crime which threatens physical urban spaces and with a high possibility of repelling tourists.
- Urban renewal is key to promoting sustainable tourism in dysfunctional urban environments that exclude the vulnerable and poor in the development process.

### 1. Introduction

The topic of urban tourism has been more concentrated in the

developed countries (Rogerson, 2002), it is only recently that researchers are gaining interest in studying this subject in the developing world (Booyens, 2010). In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), cities are hubs of economic development, even though they are setting of numerous developmental challenges (Fraser, Leck, Parnell, & Pelling, 2017), including tourism. An understanding of current trends and future sustainable tourism opportunities is therefore critical, but it should be complemented with the appraisal of risks (i.e. infrastructure deficits, population pressure) in SSA urban spaces. High urbanization in SSA comes with risk (commonly known as urban risk). For this paper urban risk relates to environmental hazards, poor local governance, inequality, social constraints and over-stretch of resources such as infrastructure and superstructure (Dodman, Leck, Rusca, & Colenbrander, 2017). This will entail that urban tourism policy framework for the region be designed that can assist to identify actors involved in reducing urban risks, and establishing of partnerships, collaborations and capacity building toward resilient cities within the African context. At

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the core of UN-HABITAT's New Urban Agenda, a 20-year international framework for sustainable urban development which builds on priorities identified in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, where risk and resilience issues feature (Fraser et al., 2017). For Africa and most part of the world, "the SDGs present the development community with an integrated approach to risk management that recognizes urban development as a driver as much as a solution for risk and loss, and vulnerability a threat to poverty eradication" (Fraser et al., 2017, p. 1). Critical to SAA, if properly planned, urban tourism has a potential to eradicate poverty, a rampant phenomenon in its cities, while at the same time reducing other urbanization-related risks (Robinson, 2006; Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson & Visser, 2007).

Urbanization is a multifaceted concept. It refers not only to population growth in towns/cities, but also the extent to which this growth is accompanied by structural shifts in the economy, employment, and social and political changes, including more people living in large, nucleated settlements (Awumbila, 2014; UN-HABITAT, 2016, pp. 1–147). Satterthwaite (2017) posits that a challenge with urbanisation in SSA is a rapid growth in population without the necessary governance structures in place to meet responsibilities and manage change. These challenges in the urban settings negatively affect tourism development (Awumbila, 2014; UN-HABITAT, 2016, pp. 1–147). UNDP (2015) notes that population growth in SSA cities is occurring in an expansive rather than compact form, leading to decreasing population densities and higher rates of land use change. This may imply altering lands earmarked for tourism and related development. In Accra, Ghana, for example, between 1985 and 2000, urban land cover propelled more than twice the urban population (Dodman et al., 2017). In general, it is estimated that the area in urban use in SSA will increase twelvefold between 2000 and 2050 (Angel, Parent, Civco, Blei, & Potere, 2011). According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2015), the population in urban areas is expected to double, with an estimated 1 in 3 persons residing in cities, and over 3 billion of the global population living in slumps by 2050. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is often regarded as the world's fastest urbanising region, its urban areas currently contain approximately 472 million people (Saghir & Santoro, 2018). The global share of African urban residents is projected to grow from 11.3 percent in 2010 to 20.2 percent by 2050 (Saghir & Santoro, 2018). There is a need for effective planning to mitigate the risks that affect tourism development (Fraser et al., 2017) since the sector is not immune to urbanization challenges.

Within this context, there is a need therefore to identify alternative ways to enhance tourism development in African cities. Inspired by the United Nations' 2030 SDG 11: making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable, this study critically analyses how sustainable tourism can be promoted in urban settings in Sub-Saharan Africa. There is growing literature on population shift between rural and urban areas, including spatial expansion of land cover (McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014; Musavengane, 2019). Yet there is minimal research into the interrelationship between urban risks and urban tourism development in SSA cities, and the implications of urbanization in achieving sustainable tourism.

This study, therefore, examines the relationship between urban risks and sustainable urban tourism. It seeks to explore the extent to which African urban areas can become more resilient and sustainable tourism destinations through 'good' governance to attain UN's 2030 SDG11. What are the challenges with building relationships between urban risks, sustainable urban tourism and SDG11? Tourism is regarded as a burgeoning field (Stevens, 2018; Tosun & Leininger, 2017) to an extent that it is not explicitly mentioned in the SDGs framework and limited effort has been exerted 'on the ground' to integrate it to SDG (Siakwah, Musavengane, & Leonard, 2019). This study, thus, serves as an important piece which combines urban risk, sustainable urban tourism, and SDG11 in an effort to interrogate ways to enhance 'good' tourism governance at local levels in African cities. Good tourism governance is

vital in realising the desired sustainable urban destinations in Africa. This said, this study will inter-alia discuss the concerns of risk, justice, inclusion, trust and power relations in tourism governance of urban spaces. It will feed into the wider governance framework of cities and facilitate the attainment of SDG11: making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Good tourism governance enhances the management of tourist destinations through synergistic and coordinated efforts by diverse actors within the tourism system (Siakwah et al., 2019; UNWTO, 2008). Little is known about the relationship between urban risk and tourism and it is not clear what factors contribute to inclusive and sustainable tourism in African cities. Understanding the link between urban risk and tourism will help to mitigate the negative effects of urban risks on tourism operations through good governance practices. This paper sheds new insights on social justice, trust and power-play issues in tourism governance in African cities.

Data for the study are drawn from existing policy and research documents on tourism, sustainability, and governance on Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This paper continues through discussing the theoretical underpinnings of urban development, urban risks and SDGs, methodological approach employed, and research findings and discussions are presented before making concluding remarks for governance and policy implications.

## 2. Tourism development and urban risks in Africa

### 2.1. The significance of tourism in Africa

It is acknowledged that tourism plays a significant role in the socio-economic development of local communities, hence it is sometimes regarded as a transformational force with substantial impact in the world (Musavengane & Matikiti, 2015; Musavengane & Simatele, 2016; Rogerson, 2015; Siakwah, 2018). Tourism generates both micro and macroeconomic benefits for African countries, but it is the macro-scale that has received the most attention from governments (Boakye, Otiob, & Frempong, 2013; Falt, 2016). According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTCC, 2017), globally in 2016, tourism contributed 3.1% directly to GDP, while providing 6 million net additional jobs in the sector. It further generated US\$7.6 trillion (10.2% of global GDP) and 292 million jobs, with 1 in 10 jobs created globally. In Africa, tourism directly contributed USD66.4bn to GDP (3.1% of total GDP) in 2016. In terms of employment in Africa, tourism directly generated 8,359,500 jobs in 2016, representing 2.6% of total employment (WTCC, 2017). In view of this increasing impact of the tourism industry in Africa, there are calls by development experts, policy makers and researchers for policy and practice shift in the sector which require critical re-assessment of sustainability within the industry (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Dredge & Jamal, 2015). Developing countries, including South Africa, Zimbabwe and Ghana have adopted sustainable tourism as one of the viable approaches to attain the SDGs (Musavengane, 2018; Siakwah, 2018).

It seems the traditional notion of sustainable tourism in Africa has focused largely on natural resources in rural settings (Mbaiwa, 2015), with a limited focus on urban communities as tourism hubs (Rogerson, 2002). Often, rural and urban areas are erroneously conceptualized as closed circuits and as unrelated by both national governments and international agencies (Dodman et al., 2017). Yet, such practice overlooks the critical linkages between the rural-urban spaces (Tacoli, 2006), and the dynamics in which this shapes risk (Dodman et al., 2017). First, there is no clear-cut spatial differentiation between rural-urban spaces as reflected in the peri-urban literature (McGregor & Simon, 2012). Second, there is a continual movement of people to and from urban areas, making them connected with their home villages. This includes both rural-urban migration (Tacoli, McGranahan, & Satterthwaite, 2015) and other complex movement patterns (Potts, 2010). Third, rural-urban spaces are intertwined economically and socially, hence the

**Table 1**

Urban population growth (annual percentage).

Source: World Bank, 2018.

	2000	2005	2010	2015	2017
Ghana	4.18	4.06	3.87	3.52	3.39
South Africa	2.32	2.10	2.054	2.17	2.02
Zimbabwe	2.52	0.73	1.43	1.97	2.14

significance of analysing the nexus of urban risks and related linkages on sustainable tourism in African cities.

## 2.2. Urbanization discourse in Africa

Urban areas are human settlements with large and high population density and built infrastructure (Satterthwaite, 2017). These areas are created through urbanization, a process of increasing infrastructure and a population shift from rural to urban centres (Klaufus & Jaffe, 2015; Zoomers, Van Noorloos, Otsuki, Steel, & Westen, 2017). Due to increasing population pressure in the urban areas (see Table 1), limited economic opportunities, inequalities, congestion, social vices, sanitation challenges and poor governance, tourism is partly advocated as a remedy to some of these challenges (Boakye et al., 2013; UNDP, 2015).

These years are chosen to show changes in 5 years interval. Indeed, we cannot be listing all the years since 2000, hence these years serve as samples for the general trends in population growth in the cities involved. In fact, although the table might show a seeming decline in urban population growth, this can mask the challenges facing these spaces. What is happening is there is limited investment in the urban space even though there is intense rural-urban migration that put pressure on limited existing social facilities in these spaces. Also, urban population growth are not even, with most capital cities like Accra, Harare, and Johannesburg experiencing more urbanization than other cities in the countries involved in this analysis. For instance, according to reports in 2013, the Greater Accra Region had the largest urban population of 90.5%, while the Upper West had the lowest 16.3%.<sup>1</sup>

However, despite the potentials of the sector in assisting addressing some of the challenges, including poverty reduction, tourism impacts are varied. It is suggested that the tourism industry has an inherent duality – positive and negative impacts (Boakye et al., 2013; Holden, 2005). For instance, while it contributes positively to foreign exchange, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment, it sometimes leads social vices and displacement of the poor from certain spaces, especially urban settings. It can lead to the displacement of the poor by (re)possessing their spaces to build tourism establishments and redesigns to improve the aesthetic of the environment instead of integrating them in a sustainable manner. For example, large, corporate, often multi-national chain hotels are adding to this unsustainable development and the eviction or removal of local urban populations. Swanson (2007) is right to postulate that revanchism, a situation where urban politics is driven by market-logics, anti-poor attitudes and aestheticism to attract international tourism and a zero policy on ‘undesirable’ behaviour in public spaces have often pushed and excluded marginalised groups of the city spaces (see Falt, 2016). This tends to criminalise poverty, and this resonates in Steinbrink’s (2012, p. 217) study on urban poverty, where townships are associated with crime, squalor, drugs, poor housing, segregation, and unemployment. There is the need to shift from criminalising the people to mechanisms of integrating them in a sustainable manner into the city spaces.

Some negative manifestation of crime in the urban space include a restriction on lifestyles, inferior quality of life and decreased

confidence. George (2003, p. 579) noted that ‘tourist’s fear of crime may be derived from several sources, such as their own experience of crime, discussions about crime with their friends and acquaintances, exposure to crime through mass media and perception of actual crime rates as well as their perceptions of police effectiveness at the destination’. Fear of crime or actual occurrence impact tourism destination centres. Criminologists believed that the fear of crime is often much larger than its occurrence, with the media fingered as the culprit in heightening the fear of crime (Allen, 1999). For the tourist, crime firstly suppresses demand, where crime levels hinder the demand for tourism, especially where news of deteriorating law and order is disseminated to would be tourists (Boakye, 2012; Levantis & Gani, 2000). Secondly, crime causes a shift in demand patterns at the destination, as the destination will be unappealing to tourists (Allen, 1999; Boakye, 2012).

Urban risks such as infrastructure deficits, population pressure, and poor service provision pose challenges to sustainable tourism development. In the absence of effective and accountable urban governance, it is not possible to tap the potential of cities. Some of the urban areas in Africa are facing a crisis, with negative implications where a substantial proportion of the populace live in areas with inadequate basic infrastructure (Satterthwaite, 2017). Thus, following Goldman (2011) and Watson (2014), Falt (2016) postulate that a spatial rationality based on land speculation is rife in the urban spaces. The concept of speculative urbanism captures shifts of urban governance where land speculation and dispossession become a core government business to create world tourism cities (Goldman, 2011). Watson (2009), thus portrays the current land use politics in Africa in terms of ‘clash of rationalities’, where the elites in the cities create ‘modernity’ and ‘order’ that conflict with an urban setting where the poor struggle to meet their daily needs. This rightly illustrates the discrepancies between government dreams and everyday life realities of the urban poor in developing economies, especially in Africa (Falt, 2016, pp. 468–469; Myers, 2015; Robinson, 2006). According to the UN-HABITAT (2016, pp. 1–147), the emerging future of cities depends on a way to plan and manage urbanization, and leverage how to transform the processes urban changes. Urbanization can be unsustainable and put people at risk by creating unnecessary costs and negatively affects the environment and livelihoods. Thus, urbanization should respond to the challenges such as inequality, insecurity, and unsustainable infrastructure expansion via good governance.

## 2.3. Urban tourism development and governance

Development experts and city planners understand that tourism can create positive economic benefits for urban communities (Booyens, 2010; Rogerson, 2002; Swarbrooke, 2000; Wei-Ching, 2019). In a globalized world where there are calls for global restructuring and deindustrialization, tourism offers opportunities for urban renewal (Law, 1996). Owen (1990) notes that tourism played a critical role in remoulding the images of some European cities that were thought to be unrepairable due to the complementarity of the sector with other activities. Law (2000) and Rowe and Stevenson (1994) attributed the vibrancy of European and American urban spaces to urban tourism centred planning. Thus, tourism-based regeneration has become a major phenomenon in the past three decades, as it has the potential to bring desired development in urban spaces (see Steinbrink, 2012; Swarbrooke, 2000). But the Global South still lags behind in attaining the desired sustainable tourism development in its cities (Steinbrink, 2012). In cities where urban tourism is taking place, it has focused much on poor urban settlements in the form of slum or township tourism (Booyens, 2010). Yet, “the new phenomenon of slum tourism in the Global South not only reminds us that tourism lives on what is novel and different; it suggests, at the same time, that new trends in tourism are never created out of nothing” (Steinbrink, 2012, p. 214). It is therefore critical to examine the nexus between tourism, urban risk and poverty to ensure good tourism governance.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/More-than-half-of-Ghana-s-population-live-in-urban-areas-276110>, accessed on 08/08/2019.

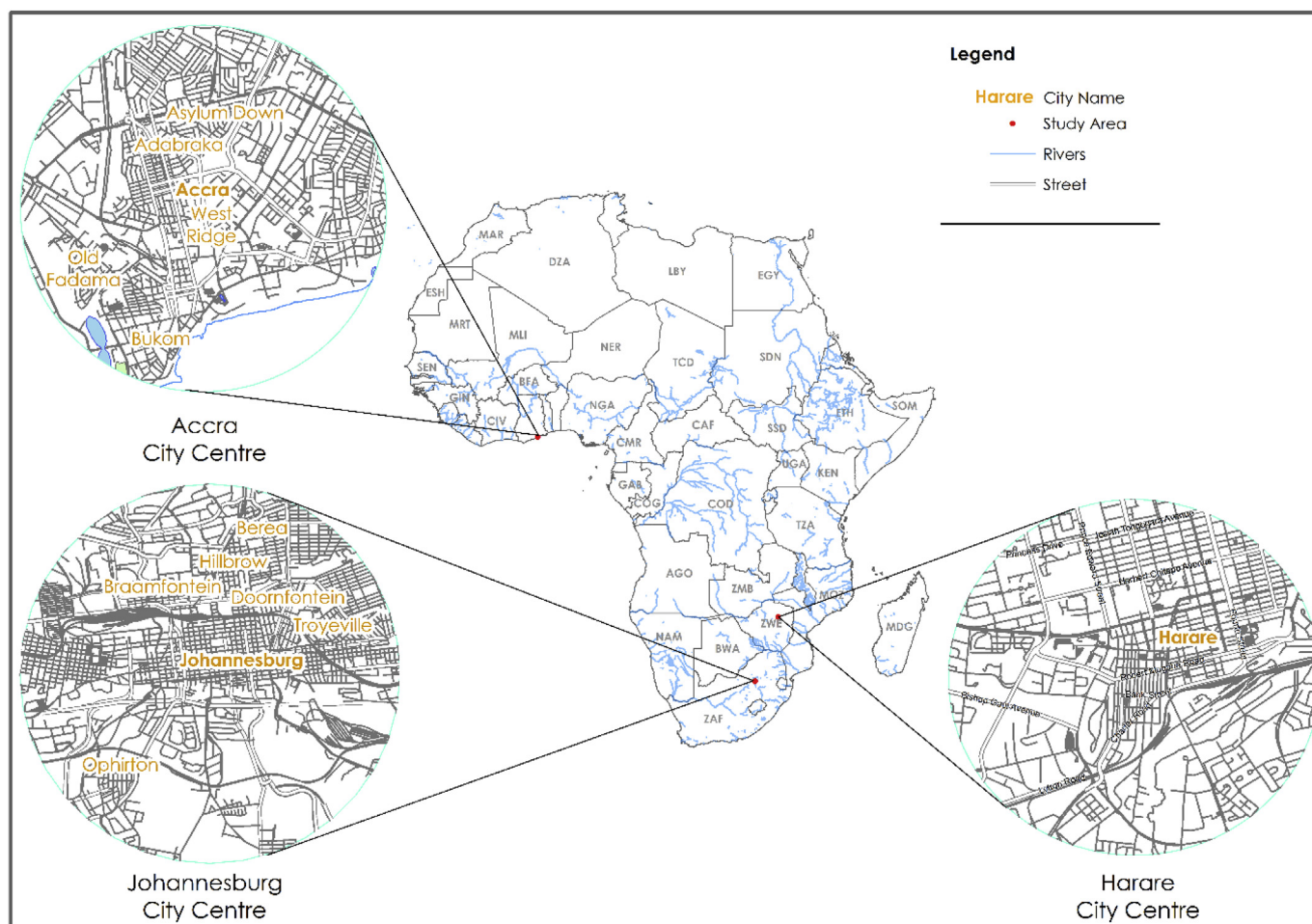


Fig. 1. Study sites: Accra, Ghana; Johannesburg, South Africa; Harare, Zimbabwe. Source: See Acknowledgements.

Governance as a concept has been variously defined (Jamal & Carmago, 2017; Nunkoo, 2017; Duran, 2013; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 1995). The OECD (1995) defined it in terms of how societies use and supervise political authority in managing its resources for socio-economic development; how benefits are distributed; and the nature of the relationship between the government and the citizenry. Duran (2013, p. 9) describes governance as the emergence of new forms of association and coordination, comprising varied stakeholders – government, private, and civil society actors, where there is a seemingly greater decision-making capacity and influence from non-governmental actors. Based on this, the government becomes more of the centre of the network for interactions, interdependence and cooperation among varied actors in the governance process. Besides governance being noted as an interaction among varied actors, other scholars identified justice as crucial for good governance practice, especially in the tourism industry (Jamal & Carmago, 2017). This relates to how tourism practitioners should be concerned with neoliberal driven tourism practices that prioritize profit over cultural values and social context in sustainable tourism.

Tourism governance should generally focus on three key issues: sustainability, responsibility, and pro-poor (Jamal & Carmago, 2017). Reduction of risks that may threaten the tourism sector can, therefore, be achieved in African cities through pursuing good tourism governance. The UNWTO (2008, p. 31–2) defines tourism governance as “the process of managing tourist destinations through synergistic and coordinated efforts by governments, at different levels and in different capacities; civil society living in the inbound tourism communities; and the business sector connected with the operation of the tourism

system.” In the context of this study, tourism governance and urban risk governance should work closely to attain the desired sustainable urban tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa. In its broadest and most meaningful sense, urban risk governance is understood as the institutions that affect the occurrence of risk, rather than the usual administering of disaster risk management (Fraser et al., 2017). Combined, tourism governance and urban risk governance will promote inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities and improve human settlements.

Definition of sustainable development is varied. It relates to tourism governance, distribution of tourism proceeds, impacts of tourism on the environment (natural and human). With regards to our paper, sustainable development comprises tourism development that meets both present and future needs within the urban space without necessarily ejecting the poor from these spaces, while at the same time being inclusive, resilient and recognizes justice, trust, social capital, and power relations as necessary in the tourism-poverty reduction nexus. SDG 11 aims to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Sustainable urban tourism should be inclusive, safe and resilient. It can be achieved through recognizing the pillars of social justice, trust, social capital, and power relations, as these are essential in the tourism-poverty reduction nexus (see Siakwah et al., 2019). This challenges the arguments that tourist infrastructure is the most crucial variable for tourism to have the needed impact. This view is supported by Scheyvens and Hughes (2019) who writes that, justice, trust, social capital, and power relations need to collaborate tourist infrastructure to ensure its meaningful impact on poverty. The lived experiences of the people, including that of the poor should be part of the tourism development. It is not only the emptied ‘beautiful’ spaces that should

interest tourists. Those spaces imbibe the lived experiences, aspirations and urban culture of the people. Policy documents and practices of government and agencies should include issues of equity, social justice, trust, and equal power relations in tourism development. Policies and practices should aim at providing drainage facilities, clean water, waste disposal facilities, security and other social services for the urban poor.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Methodological underpinnings

The study is set to examine the relationship between urban risks and sustainable urban tourism, and to establish the extent to which African urban areas can become more resilient and sustainable tourism destinations through 'good' governance to attain UN's 2030 SDG11. Document analysis is used to critically draw evidence in the three African cities: Accra, Ghana; Johannesburg, South Africa; Harare, Zimbabwe (see Fig. 1) and in order to facilitate the comprehension of the factors that constitute and underpin urban risk and sustainable tourism. The three cities are major tourist entry points into the respective nations, Accra and Ghana are Capital Cities, whereas Johannesburg is home to Africa's largest and busiest airport, Oliver Tambo (OR) International parties, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and houses a number of financial and investment institutions including Head Offices of many multinational companies. The three cities are therefore comparable to attain the aims of this study. These cities are chosen due to their different levels of economic development, governance, scales of urban risks and tourism development. According to the *Human Development Report (2016)* Ghana is ranked 139 and has a Human Development Index (HDI)<sup>2</sup> of 0.579, South Africa is ranked 119 and has an HDI of 0.666, whilst Zimbabwe is ranked 154 and has an HDI of 0.516. Thus, the three represents different development scales and make for interesting comparison using document analysis approach. Neuman (2011) notes that document analysis helps to compare cases easily, are less expensive and unobtrusive. Literature on sustainable tourism development in the three cities was reviewed. The criteria for inclusion include: (i) articles and reports with a focus on tourism development in Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe, (ii) development frameworks and urban risk factors, (iii) tourism governance and planning.

The review process of archival records involves a search for literature using the research search engines such as Scopus and Web of Science. Keywords such as 'tourism governance', 'urban risk', 'tourism planning', 'urban tourism', 'tourism development' and 'sustainable tourism' were inputted in the search engines, and an estimate of 1624 articles published between the year 2000 and 2018 was generated. In addition to this, web-based search engines such as yahoo, google, and google scholar was employed to search for recent reports on the topic. Further scanning of articles led us reviewing 52 articles which had empirical evidence on urban risk/tourism governance continuum. Other grey literature from the print media (e.g. newspaper articles, reports, and press conferences) were also engaged with to enhance understanding of urban risks in African cities in relation to tourism governance. A rapid appraisal and meta-synthesis of these pieces of literature resulted in the identification of emerging themes in urban risk/urban tourism governance continuum.

The themes were developed around the urban risk themes, including: poverty, security, poor governance, inequality, insecurity, sanitation, limited social amenities and overstretch of infrastructure and superstructure. This process enabled us to discover, acknowledge, and

<sup>2</sup> Each year, the United Nations Development Programme publishes its HDI, ranking all the world's countries according to life quality of its inhabitants. Major parameters include global access to education and health services, longevity and equal income opportunities.

check implicit assumptions to ensure accuracy, and informed decision-making. Thus, this facilitated the examining of the dynamics of power, privilege, hegemony, and hierarchical structures that inform sustainable tourism processes and systems in African cities. In the discussion and analysis section; indigenous perspectives, ethics of care, and radical eco-socialism ways were explored to facilitate and inform inclusive, safe and sustainable tourism development in African urban spaces.

#### 3.2. Overview of case study areas: Progress toward sustainable tourism development

##### 3.2.1. Ghana

Ghana's Tourism Act 2011 established the Tourism Development Authority (TDA) to regulate the industry and to provide for related matters, and to promote the sustainable development of tourism internationally and within the country (*Ghana Tourism Act 2011*). The TDA's functions included taking appropriate measures for the safety and security of consumers; ensure pro-poor, sustainable and responsible tourism; ensure collaboration with other public, private and international agencies; and establish standards, guidelines and codes of practice in carrying on or running a tourist enterprise and attractions (*Ghana Tourism Act 2011*, p. 3). In 2013, the *Ghana National Tourism Development Plan (2013–2027)* also identified that while oil and gas, cocoa, gold, and diamonds economic activities are important, tourism has increasingly become critical in employment generation and poverty reduction in Ghana.

In Ghana, the main urban areas vibrant tourism activities are Accra (the national capital), Kumasi (cultural hub), Cape Coast (historical heritage centre), and regional capitals. These are the main tourist sites besides natural sites scattered across Ghana. There are challenges in Ghana's urban space. For instance, Accra's expanded built environment and population are a recipe for increased flood risk and related impacts (*Atanga, 2016; Rain, Engstrom, Ludlow, & Antos, 2011*). *Rain et al. (2011, p. 8–9)* report that Accra experienced an average population growth rate of 4.3% over the years and the spatial expansion of the city from 1900 to 2010 has led to the development of slums. Accra with a total population of 4.3 million people in 2016 from 2 million in 2000, and like other cities in the developing world is faced with challenges, including flooding (*Atanga, 2016; Songsore et al., 2009*). This expansion of the cities spatially and population wise implies that most wetlands and watercourses are converted to residential land use, while open drains are filled with waste that disrupts the flow of water and causing water-borne diseases (*Atanga, 2016; NADMO, 2012*). Societal changes tend to increase risk in urban centres, including loss of shorelines and heritage sites (*Addo, Walkden, & Mills, 2008*).

As a country, Ghana is experiencing rapid urbanization due to population increases and more people moving to the urban centres. This changes in demographic distribution has implications for urban tourism. In 2019, Ghana's population is estimated to be 30 million. The country's urban population (% of total) was at its highest over the past 56 years 54.68 in 2016, while its lowest value was 23.25 in 1960.<sup>3</sup> In 2018, 56% of Ghana's population is urbanized.<sup>4</sup> Greater Accra has a population of about 5 million even though it is one of the smallest regions in Ghana. According to reports in 2013, the Greater Accra Region had the largest urban population of 90.5%, while the Upper West had the lowest 16.3%.<sup>5</sup>

Unemployment Rate in Ghana averaged 5.41 percent from 1991

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.indexmundi.com/facts/ghana/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS>, accessed on 08/08/2019.

<sup>4</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/sp.urb.totl.in.zs>, accessed on 08/08/2019.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/More-than-half-of-Ghana-s-population-live-in-urban-areas-276110>, accessed on 08/08/2019.

until 2017, reaching an unparalleled high of 10.40% in 2000 and a record low of 2.20% in 2013, 2.30% in 2016 and 2.40% in 2017.<sup>6</sup> This data on Ghana appears mask the reality of people often looking for employment opportunities in Ghana, especially the youth. Other data show that More than 1.2 million persons from 15 years and older are estimated to be unemployed, representing the total unemployment rate of 11.9%, according to the Labour Force Survey Report.<sup>7</sup> Unemployment in the urban areas are also high as more people move into those spaces in search for non-existing jobs in Ghana.

### 3.2.2. South Africa

South Africa emerged in 1994 as a new democratic state with a history of racial and environmental oppression. The African National Congress (ANC) rise to power was seen as new forms of governance to address inequalities of the past. Unfortunately, since attaining democracy, poor governance by the new ruling party has not assisted in addressing many of the urban risks challengers experienced by vulnerable citizens exposed to inequalities and unemployment. Fig (2005) notes that regulatory functions of the state in *Post-Apartheid South Africa* are fairly well developed, Malherbe and Segal (2001) highlight that government institutions have not actively and publicly monitored corporate governance. This has not been surprised since national liberation was achieved in an era when market forces and neo-liberal ideology, were globally dominant (Barchiesi, 2004). Neoliberalism has seen the new democratic state engage in macroeconomic policies that have increased urban risks for vulnerable citizens (i.e. poor housing, unemployment, crime, xenophobia, lack of water, waste and sanitation facilities) (Leonard, 2017). This has witnessed the ANC's ability to mobilize support from the poorest strata of the population come under pressure (McKinley & Veriava, 2004).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a bottom-up model adopted by the ANC before the new democracy and aimed to alleviate poverty, address the massive shortfalls in social services across the country and improve the standard of living and quality of life for all South Africans characterized by equitable economic growth. According to Marais (1998), the RDP was rejected in favour of macroeconomic policies and neoliberalism, betraying the ANC's core constituency, the working-class poor. Because social development is assigned the burden of addressing poverty and unemployment the poor are unable to integrate into the current processes of national economic expansion. Neoliberalism has actually increased inequality and has not achieved the necessary economic gains, with developing countries (like South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Ghana) witnessing a sharp economic downturn (IMF, 2016), with Standard and Poors Global rating agent downgrading South Africa's credit rating to full junk status in November 2017 (Donelley, 2017). As one way to address issues of poverty and unemployment, governments *National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) (2016–2026)* has as one of its growth pillars to use tourism to address poverty and to position South Africa as globally recognised tourism destination brand. This includes the responsibility of the destination in the distribution of economic benefits, and the inclusion of black South Africans in the tourism economy. The *National Development Plan (NDP) 2030* planning document also notes tourism as one of the pillars that needs to be further developed to address unemployment and poverty. This was reinforced during the President's *State of the Nation address (2019)* when it was noted that there is a need to expand the tourism sector to create direct jobs, with potentially two million more jobs in food and agriculture, construction, transport, retail, and the creative and cultural industries by 2030. Using tourism

as a strategy to address inequalities can create economic development and tourism jobs (Rogerson, 2015). Unfortunately, tourism has not as yet been a robust strategy for economic development in the country, especially in townships, with unemployment still remaining high despite an increase in tourism employment since the new democracy. The results of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) for the first quarter of 2019 indicate that the official unemployment rate increased by 0.5 of a percentage point to 27.6% compared to the fourth quarter of 2018. The working-age population increased by 149,000 in the first quarter of 2019. Of the 20,3 million young people aged 15–34 years, 40,7% were not in employment, education or training - an increase by 1,8 percentage compared to the fourth quarter of 2018 (Statistics South Africa, 2019).

### 3.2.3. Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is endowed with a number of tourist attractions and resources which makes it a key player in the tourism industry. However, as noted by Manwa (2007), as many Sub-Saharan countries, Zimbabwe has over-emphasized and relied on nature tourism and neglect other forms of tourism. It is only recently, in 2014 since 1980, when Zimbabwe earned independence from minority white rulership that a National Tourism Policy was developed through the Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality "to facilitate the delivery of high quality, sustainable tourism products and services that contribute to the economic development of Zimbabwe" (NTP, 2014, p. 15) with the aim to "develop a tourism sector that meets the requirements and expectations of the market, while contributing to the social and economic well-being of all Zimbabweans in a sustainable manner through relevant policy interventions" (NTP, 2014, p. 15). NTP states that the government will facilitate the development of other forms of tourism including, township tourism (which can be referred to as urban tourism). This notion is in accordance with Christie and Compton (2001) suggestion, that African governments should play a leading role in developing tourism products through regulatory frameworks that ensure tourism sustainability, poverty alleviation, and social inclusion.

Furthermore, the ruling party, Zanu-Pf (Zimbabwe African National Unity-Patriotic Front) developed the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim Asset): towards an Empowered Society and a Growing Economy, aiming to achieve the set objectives between the period October 2013–December 2018. To signify the importance of the tourism industry which has made a total GDP contribution of USD1.1bn, 81% of GDP in 2016 and accounts for USD 0.1bn investment or 4.3% of total investments (WTTC, 2017). The Zim Asset identified three strategies for enhancing tourism diversification; revival of Community-based Tourism Enterprises (CBTEs), implement training programmes for communities through Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty Programme (ST-EP) and benchmarking tourism products. The ST-EP emerged as a result of an earlier WTO programme code-named 'Liberalisation with a Human Face' in partnership with UNCTAD whose focus is on promoting international trade (Scheyvens, 2007). However, the fruits of the NTP are yet to be realized in Zimbabwe's main urban areas such as Harare and Bulawayo.

Zimbabwe's HDI value for 2017 is 0.535 which places it in the low human development category, where it is ranked 156 out of 189 countries and territories. According to the latest census, Zimbabwe's urban population is projected to grow from 4.3 million in 2012 to 6.5 million in 2032, and its rural population to grow from 8.8million to 13.7million during the same period (Zim Stats, 2015). In general, these projections suggest that there will be no urbanisation in the country in the next two decades as the percentage of the population living in urban areas will remain stagnant at 33 (Zim Stats, 2015). However, key government services and head offices of many organisations are located in Harare, and less development is done in other cities, if compared to other African countries, in particular, South Africa. "The population of Harare Province is projected to increase from 2.1 million in 2012 to 3.2 million in 2032, giving an average annual population growth rate of 2.0

<sup>6</sup> <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/unemployment-rate>, accessed on 08/08/2019.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.myjoyonline.com/business//March-26th/more-than-12-million-people-in-ghana-are-unemployed-report.php>, 2017, accessed 08/08/2019.

percent during the projection period” (Zim Stats, 2015, p. 36). Unemployment rate in Zimbabwe is arguably high, and varies from the point one calculates it, due to lack of formal statistical data. Due to the dilapidated state of the economy due to political problems since the year 2000, including land reform, continual disputed election results and 2017 coup, other sectors are of the opinion that 90% of Zimbabweans are unemployed in the formal sector. The majority, including many Degree holders are in the informal sector as vendors or alike trades (BBC, 2017). In his twitter message, the leader of the main opposition party, MDC, in the country, Nelson Chamisa noted that “at the heart of economic meltdown is politics. Simply a crisis of governance can't be fixed by mere text book approaches, number crunching, financial gymnastics and statistical engineering. Fixing politics is fixing the economy in Zimbabwe” (Chamisa, 2019).

#### 4. Toward Sustainable Development Goal 11 in Sub-Saharan Africa cities

United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11; making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable explicitly lobby for sustainable urban settings. The target indicators for SDG 11 include, to ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums; provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all; enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management; strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage; significantly reduce disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations; provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces; and support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning.

In light of the above SDG indicators, this section presents the findings and discussions toward attaining sustainable development through tourism in Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The discussion is structured according to the major emerging themes from the data obtained from the literature in the three countries, Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

##### 4.1. Urban population and tourism-space

Urban risks that pose challenges to tourism development in Ghana comprise population increases, inadequate social services, safety/crime (security), limited economic opportunities and inequalities, sanitation and environmental challenges and governance (Falt, 2016; Smith, 2001). Over the past 30 years, the desire for modernization, satisfaction of increasing human material and social needs, and speculation and commodification of the urban spaces engineered by neoliberal policies have been rife in Ghana. These are altering the social, political, economic and structure (built environment), with associated risks in the urban areas. Falt (2016) posits that the displacement of the urban poor in Accra via forced eviction is underpinned by multiple rationalities – neoliberal market-oriented policies and social desire of clean and beautiful surroundings. Neoliberal spatial rationalities in urban development schemes impact and attract research and policy attention where concepts like speculative urbanism and urban revanchism illustrate the new tendencies of urban transformation across Africa (Falt, 2016). Urban revanchism elucidates how urban politics are driven by market-logics and anti-poor attitudes and aesthetics construct and reconstruct (new) patterns of socio-spatial segregation globally (Falt, 2016, p. 466; Smith, 2001). This is happening in Ghana where locals are sometimes evicted from spaces they previously occupied for redevelopment and promotion of urban tourism, risking the lives of the urban poor. Leonard (2018) notes that even the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in its 2016 World Economic Outlook report, notes that neoliberalism

has not necessarily been successful but has actually increased inequality and has not achieved the necessary economic gains.

Moreover, Manjengwa, Matema, and Tirivanhu (2016) points that, urban poverty is prevalent in Harare due to economic turmoil in the country, believed to have begun during economic structural adjustment in the early 1990s and propelled by the political sanctions culminating in the economic crisis of 2004–2008. The Government of National Unity (GNU) formed in 2009 stabilized the economy, however, the macro-economic benefits (including tourism) have been slow to be realized at micro-level and poverty is still high (Manjengwa et al., 2016). The end of GNU in 2013 further destabilized the country and it is assumed that unemployment is more than 90% and most people tend to rely on informal trade, for example, parallel or black-market money exchange which further results in poor circulation of money in the formal market. Poverty is characterized by having urban slums; limited access to productive assets; having poor health, education, and social capital capacity; and susceptible to chronic ill diseases (Chronic Poverty Research Centre [CPRC], 2005). Furthermore, the centralization of services in the capital, Harare has resulted in high urbanization which intensified poverty and poses a constraint to infrastructure, which has not been repaired for over 10 years. Harare infrastructure, in particular roads, drainage and hospitals have dilapidated and pose threat to sustainable tourism development (Manjengwa et al., 2016). We, therefore, argue that with proper urban planning, poverty, poor services, poor infrastructure and destroying of wetlands can be avoided. Tannerfeldt and Ljung (2006) posit that unplanned urbanization often leads the poor to live in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions without clean water, solid waste collection and poor drainage. Thus, urban tourism planning is critical to realise sustainable tourism in Zimbabwe cities.

Similarly, for South Africa, urban risks that pose challenges to tourism development include, inadequate service delivery provision, increase in population pressure, safety and crime, sanitation and environmental challenges and lack of government support for local tourism development to name a few. Surrounding population increase in urban areas, South Africa is urbanising at a rapid pace with 64% of South Africans living in the country's urban centres. The country has a much higher level of urbanisation than China (at 54%), India (at 32%), and Nigeria (at 47%) (Brand South Africa, 2016). The Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2019) notes that the urbanization rate of South Africa will rise to a further 71% by 2030 and by 2050, eight in ten people will be living in urban areas, thereby increasing the demand for basic infrastructure. According to the World Population Review (2019) for Johannesburg specifically, the city's population for 2019 is estimated at 5,635,127 million and has grown by 650,323 since 2015, which represents a 3.11% annual change. The City of Johannesburg will have a population increase of about 66% in the next 30 years and is projected to grow to 6.5 million by 2040.

In many cases townships emerge in urban areas and outside the Central Business District (CBD) providing an option for cheap accommodation for both locals and foreigners, but not without difficulties. For example, urban townships are characterised by high numbers of households living in poverty, hunger, unemployment, low income families, poor living conditions, informal dwellings, a lack of housing and sanitation, environmental problems, limited access to municipal service delivery, high crime rates and drug addiction amongst the youth (Breetzke, 2018). Focusing on the urban township of Alexandra, Mabotja (2012) stated that the increasing unemployment rate in the area is disturbing, as sixty percent of the economically active population is not permanently employed. Although the Alexandra Renewal Project was introduced in 2001 by the government to improve the living standards of people, the population has been growing rapidly and in an unplanned manner. Clearly, there is an urgent need for efficient government intervention to consider proper planning in relation to future development and the intervention of tourism initiatives to contribute to job opportunities for urban citizens. In countries where tourism may be viewed as an economic industry, it has enhanced

economic growth by providing much-needed employment, foreign currency exchange, development capital and injected foreign investment and enhanced the economy (Blakeman, 2015). Thus, tourism planning and development with an infusion of tourism initiatives for urban citizens will be beneficial to solve some of the pressing development challenges to enhance urban sustainability.

#### 4.2. Poverty and pro-poor tourism

Poverty in the urban setting is one challenge that confronts tourism development in Ghana. Oteng-Ababio and Arguello (2014) argue that inadequate recognition of urban poverty (the *raison d'être* of slum) means many continue to be exposed to health risks, with residents battling poor living conditions and limited access to urban services like education, water, and sanitation. Thus, while urbanization is critical for economic growth, poverty reduction, and long-term sustainable development (Awumbila, 2014), it comes with challenges for the urban poor. While urbanization presents some opportunities, greater independence and fewer economic and cultural constraints, it is associated with wealth inequalities. The peri-urban problems demand a multifaceted solution, including subjective issues like vulnerability, social exclusion, urban governance and power relations. Urban poverty assessment needs locally driven analyses to understand the political economy of risk – how risks are constructed and amplified, by what, and by whom (by their actions or omissions), and who are most at risk (Satterthwaite 2006). There are gender inequalities in working and living conditions, and societal abuses and poverty that affect women disproportionately (Oteng-Ababio & Arguello, 2014).

Tourism development can pose risk to the poor in the urban settings due to the demolition of existing structures for new ones and the displacement that accompany such processes (Oteng-Ababio & Arguello, 2014). In one of Ghana's urban centres, especially Accra, arguments and prepositions are often advanced to justify demolition by national and local institutions/actors, with CSOs and the media emphasising spatial rationalities – rooted in the power of speculative urbanism and urban redevelopment as foremost driving factors (Falt, 2016). Other reasons included hygiene, immoral behaviour and urban renewal—a dream of Ghana becoming a global tourism magnet (Falt, 2016, p. 478). The decision to evict the people from aspects Accra's space is often associated with disease-prone nature - cholera spreading from 'unhygienic' neighbourhood to other areas and negatively affecting development. Urban renewal—global tourism hub discourse often underpins the eviction of locals from urban spaces in Ghana (Falt, 2016). The Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts (MOTCCA), in the name of tourism development, proposed that areas originally occupied by the poor, deriving their livelihoods from these spaces can be transformed into tourism enclave. According to the proposed plan, most urban centres in Ghana are to be transformed into modern tourism destinations in the next 20 years (Ghana National Tourism Development Plan, 2013–2027). The renewal and (re)development of urban areas can make Accra and other urban centres in Ghana beautiful and increase their globally attractiveness.<sup>8</sup> However, Yankholmes (2013) argues that some residents in Accra prefer an appropriate scale of tourism.

As Accra, Harare demolished people's houses and vendor shops in 2005 in the name of restoring sanity (Manjengwa et al., 2016). Demolishing of people's residential areas in the name of 'sanitization' opposes the ethos of sustainable tourism development. Aesthetic tourism or good views should not supersede the livelihoods of the populace. Harare remains the key central city where many business activities take place, thereby attracting many people from rural areas and other cities. Due to escalating poverty, some poor people were given land out of desperation or for political reasons by local authorities or Zanu-Pf officials and erected vendor shops and market stalls which

were demolished in 2005 through a clean-up exercise code-named Operation *Murambatsvina* (dirty removal) (Kamete, 2017; Musoni, 2010). The operation left many people homeless and without means of sustenance posing more sanitary and crime risks to the poor. To ensure sustainable development, as opined by Satterthwaite (2006), it is important to understand the phenomenon of political economy (see Ghana section for details). Especially in a country where unemployment is believed to be over 90% and many rely on informal trade, it is important to embrace informal businesses as the norm and integrate them into sustainable urban tourism frameworks for Harare. Thus, giving us an opportunity to map possible avenues for sustainable tourism development.

The South African National Tourism Sector Strategy (2016–2030) and NDP for 2030 clearly posit that tourism is significant as an economic growth and development tool, and that positive macroeconomic and microeconomic impacts can emerge from tourism development, particularly for the previously disadvantaged. These economic growth impacts include tourism's contribution towards GDP, support for SMME growth, and the creation of job opportunities, especially in urban areas (Findley & Ogbu, 2011). Despite this policy initiative there is still much work to be done to promote pro-poor tourism and deal with many of the unsustainable challengers as noted in the preceding section so as to create a more inclusive and environmentally considerate tourism development, where poverty alleviation, job creation and SMME development is considered important for the benefit of host-community residents (Butler, 2010). Rogerson (2015) notes that for South Africa there is still a need for tourism to be further integrated with other important local economic activities by linking tourism with development and poverty alleviation which often results in pro-poor benefits, whereby the most marginalised people also enjoy some form of benefit in their communities. In places like Johannesburg and Cape Town, most of the tour firms in the townships operate on little capital and often use mini-buses to transport tourists from the cities into the townships. However, in terms of numbers, there are more SMMEs now than there have been in the last ten years, and the formation of township-based tourism associations has improved and enhanced the potential of these companies (Butler, 2010). Despite this, there is still much work to be done on education and skills development for sustainable tourism (Kaplan, 2004). There is thus a huge need to provide training, including for women, the disabled and the youth in order to enhance the benefits of sustainable tourism.

#### 4.3. Security of the urban spaces and tourism

Security of the urban spaces and tourist sites is a challenge to tourism development in Ghana, where fear, feeling and actual insecurity are hindering tourist attraction into the country. Boakye (2012) observed that in Ghana, tourists felt most unsafe at attraction sites compared to accommodation and open spaces. Tourists do not inevitably equate security to the existence of uniformed personnel, instead, they conceive (in)security within the triple framework of space, order and professionalism. The fear of crime and vulnerability by tourists varies meaningfully with socio-demographic variables, especially gender and age, where women and the elderly feel most insecure (Boakye, 2012). There are varying propensities for diverse crimes to happen to diverse tourists within the same geographical spaces (Holcomb & Pizam, 2006). Security is an imperative determinant of a destination's attractiveness (Sonmez & Graefe, 1998). Hence, tourism destinations endeavour to showcase themselves as 'heavens' (Boakye, 2012). Reasons for crime in tourist areas, especially the urban setting, including tourists' appearance – where they appear wealthy than the locals, behaviour and language barriers, and type of environment. There are potential vulnerabilities because tourists are likely to encounter unfamiliar settings and rely on relatively unknown people for services (Boakye, 2012). Some negative effects of crime in the urban space are the restriction on lifestyles and inferior life quality. George

<sup>8</sup> Interview, MOTCCA, December 2017, Accra, Ghana.



(2003, p. 579) noted that tourist's fear of crime may be derived their experience, discussions, exposure through the mass media and perception of crime and perceptions of policing at the tourist destination. Fear of crime on a tourist leads to shifting in demand patterns (Boakye, 2012), while the negative image of a destination diminishes appeal to tourists (Allen, 1999). Even verbal abuses make destinations uncompetitive. In Ghana, it is noted that tourists perceive verbal abuse as a sign of hostility and an indication or 'statement of hatred' and a 'warning not to return' to tourism destination (Boakye, 2012).

Furthermore, Harare (also known as 'Sunshine City') has gradually lost its sunshine view due to challenges mainly encountered by countries going through economic and political challenges. The most notable challenges include poverty, poor infrastructure, congestion and poor urban planning. Specific urban risks in Harare that pose challenges to tourism development include urban sprawl, increasing population, institutionalized crime, poverty and inequalities, sanitation, and political, environmental and governance challenges. What appears to be an institutionalized crime is a drawback to a peaceful environment in Harare, regardless the peacefulness of the Zimbabwean populace. When one who is mandated to halt crime appear to commit it 'in the name of bringing order' where can tourists and citizens run to? Zimbabweans are generally peaceful and accommodating people and that on its own attracts tourists into Zimbabwe urban areas as criminal elements are very minimal compared counterpart cities in the region like Johannesburg (Kamete, 2017). However, the Zimbabwe Republic Police – Traffic Unit seems to have become an enemy to Harare motorists (including tourists). It became a norm for traffic officers to solicit and force motorists to pay spot fines for unfounded or intangible faults on the car or wrong driving (subjective to police officers). This cultivated a culture of disobeying among very peaceful drivers which left them with no option except to drive-off with high speed whenever they see a police roadblock. Police actions cascaded into the use of hand-held spikes to force motorists to comply to 'orders', but this further led to the death of many pedestrians who were hit by kombi (taxi) drivers. This is a risk to tourists who would love to visit Harare CBD.

It is a reality that crime in South Africa poses a threat to tourism development and can also hinder the development of sustainable pro-poor tourism. The President in his *State of the Nation address (2019)* also highlighted the need to safeguard tourists from crime. Mengich (2011) for example, explains that townships are often characterised by a lack of security and crime-ridden. Tourist becomes reluctant to visit townships and other urban tourists sites because of the lack of safety and security, which is a vicious circle as then the opportunity for a sustainable tourism disappears and with it the potential to contribute to the economy and communities. However, there is a need to involve citizens and community members in tourism development (e.g. local labour and/or service providers). For example, Durr and Jaffe (2012) note that by taking tours in Alexandria, visitors are given the best opportunity to experience the township, converting insecurity and unfamiliarity into adventure and pleasure. However, the township of Alexandria is taking positive steps to combat crime and ensure safety for both residents and tourists. Life (2013) notes that the community is playing a key part in the deterrence of crime in Alexandria. Increasing amounts of people are offering their services as volunteers to patrol the streets of Alexandria at night, and the community is also recognizing the importance of working with the government to solve the ongoing crime. According to Ferreira and Harmse (2000) generally, there is an urgent intervention need by the South African government and policing to be stepped up in tourist areas, with plans needed to be devised on preventing the build-up of large crowds at a few holiday destinations.

#### 4.4. Tourism governance in urban spaces

The concept of governance is inadequately conceptualized (Fukuyama, 2013) and therefore pose a challenge of adequately measuring quality of governance in the tourism industry. Rothstein and Jan

(2008, p167-168) note that the problem of defining governance is exacerbated by existing definitions which are either "extremely broad, or they suffer from a functional slant or deal only with corruption" thus rendering them weak and generally irrelevant or inapplicable. In an attempt to be more precise, Fukuyama (2013, p350) went on to define governance as "a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not". In the context of Zimbabwe case study, we adopt this definition as the legitimacy of the current Zanu-pf government is questionable by many following blood-shed run-off elections in 2008 (de Jager & Musuva, 2016) and the forced resignation of Robert Mugabe through military intervention code-named 'Operation Restore Legacy' (ORL).

The ORL saw the appointment of Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa (ED hereafter) as the new Zimbabwean President in terms of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. On the 30th of July 2018, harmonised elections were held in Zimbabwe, and ED was declared the winner by the Constitutional Court, following filing of election petition by the mainstream opposition party leader, Movement for Democratic Change-Alliance, Nelson Chamisa who claim to have won Presidential election with at least 56% (2,6 million votes). In his first speeches in office, ED has positioned himself as *mutungamiriri vevanhu* (people's president), meaning he will be realistic and in-touch with issues affecting people and industries, including tourism and will be impartial and open to discussion. This is coherent to Rothstein and Jan (2008, p165) who defined good governance as "the impartiality of institutions that exercise government authority". The term impartial embodies the norm of the 'ought to treat equally principle', where one is not moved by personal or special preferences (Rothstein & Jan 2008). This is key for inclusive tourism to be realized in Zimbabwe urban areas where corruption is high and partisan distribution of resources is a norm. Impartial governance rules out the acts of nepotism, patronage, clientelism, corruption, discrimination, political favouritism, and in doing so counters radicalism and populism (de Jager & Musuva, 2016). However, when the ruling party (Zanu-Pf) 'captures' the state, the needs of the party and few elites tend to supersede the interests of the public. 'State capture' is a risk to sustainable tourism development and reverses economic, environmental and social gains of communities and the country as it degenerates into and propels inequality, unfair and unsustainable practices. It can open a number of risks such as institutionalized crime which is far a threat to sustainable tourism development compared to other forms of crime explained in previous sections. Heinrichs and Schuster (2016) note that, depending on how it is perceived and executed, institutionalization has the potential to enhance or derail sustainability efforts. We argue that the institutionalization of sustainability understood as the systematic application of the regulative approaches of sustainability in government structures, processes, organizational culture and the behaviour of personnel is a critical *prerequisite* for successful sustainable tourism development. It appears there is lack of sustainability institutionalization in tourism development in Harare due to seemingly 'state capture' of the government institutions by the ruling political party (Zanu-Pf) and the elite. For example, change of land use (Murungweni, 2013) to pave way for tourism development without following due diligence or by 'capturing' the institutions such as Environmental Management Agency (EMA) and Harare City Council that give permits to proceed with development is regarded as unsustainable (Financial Gazette, 2017). Sustainability institutionalization which empowers communities should be promoted in Harare to ensure sustainable tourism development as ignoring environmental concerns creates an unsustainable climate for the growth of tourism (see Heinrichs & Schuster, 2016).

In Ghana, challenges with urban tourism included translating macroeconomic gains into micro-benefits, displacement of the poor from urban spaces due to neoliberal policies, security, and poverty and inequality. Investments in tourism over the past three decades in Ghana as a means of diversifying the economy is characterized by mixed economic, social and human impacts. While there are some indications

of impressive macroeconomic gains in Ghana from the tourism sector, it does not translate into communal and individual gains (Boakye et al., 2013). Indeed, where theoretically it is expected that visitors' presence with increases spending will translate into enhanced business and revenue generation (Boakye et al., 2013; Mitchell & Ashley, 2007), it is difficult to translate this into meaningful local outcomes. In Ghana, Boakye et al. (2013, p. 134) noted that tourism is expected to stimulate economic growth and poverty reduction) via (1) infusing new demand for local goods and services, and (2) generation of demand for other goods and services that tourism businesses depend on. At the macroeconomic level, tourism performance in Ghana conforms with Mitchell and Ashley (2006) argument that tourism can have a favourable macroeconomic impact on developing countries. Micro-level benefits of the tourism sector, however, have been limited in Ghana. Thus, while the macroeconomic impact has mostly been remarkable in Ghana, it is problematic translating them into visible development outcomes, such as poverty reduction and improved social services (Boakye et al., 2013). The developmental outcomes of the tourist trade are however disaggregated. For instance, the Cape Coast-Elmina townships that form some of the most visited tourist destinations in Ghana has little for the locals to be proud of. This is consistent with an argument that tourism has done little to better the livelihoods of inhabitants of tourism-rich areas (Boakye et al., 2013; Teye, Sönmez, & Sirakaya, 2002). Koutra and Edwards (2012), Sonne (2010) noted low host community capacities, while Adu-Febiri (1994), Konadu-Agyemang (2001) ascribed the situation to the broader tourism political economy of Ghana.

Despite a democratic transition in 1994, South Africa exhibits poor governance and enforcement of regulations which is impacting on sustainable tourism development. Due to poor governance, poor citizens are still demanding basic social services with a lack of adequate attention on securing sustainable tourism. For example, the lack of government response to address community concerns has seen social movements emerge surprisingly quickly during the new democracy (Ballard, Habib, Valodia, & Zuern, 2005). Some have been directed against one or another policy of the government, e.g. trade union opposition to macroeconomic strategy to engage with trade liberalisation and pursue economic growth as the mechanism for promoting social justice (Ballard et al., 2005). Other struggles include demonstrations by residents in Soweto against water privatisation in 2003, supported by the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee and the Anti-Privatisation Forum to name a few (Naidoo, 2005). According to Beall, Gelb, and Hassim (2005) democratic consolidation in South Africa is not yet complete since appropriate institutions have not yet been established in state and society to resolve social fractions. Democratic consolidation involves not only building a new state, but also new interfaces between state and society. It is thus proposed that tourism can be a vehicle that can assist in building such interfaces between the state and society to solve some of the developmental challenges in society. However, government support for tourism businesses and education and awareness about the importance of tourism will be required for tourism to become a pillar to address poverty, unemployment and crime.

#### 4.5. Sustainable urban tourism development potential

Besides poverty, infrastructure and transport challenges in Ghana, both urban and rural spaces negatively impact tourism development. Inadequate transportation; poor road networks to tourist sites, accommodation, restaurants, and rest stops are noted problems (Frimpong-Bonsu, 2015). Deichmann and Frempong (2016) scrutinize the motivations for and obstacles to international tourism in Ghana, especially Accra, Kumasi and Cape Coast, three major tourist destinations. This part argues that tourists are attracted to Ghana's rich culture and natural environment, including the UNESCO sites – the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum, and Kakum and Mole National Parks. Yet, cumbersome visa acquisition challenges and mobility within Ghana, particularly poor public transportation systems and

road infrastructure pose risks to tourism development (Deichmann & Frempong, 2016). While recognizing security concerns, Owusu-Frimpong, Nwankwo, Blankson, and Tarnanidis (2013) noted that an overwhelming penchant for amenity-rich urban centre accommodations and access to good transportation are important for tourism development. As noted elsewhere by Papatheodorou (2000), transport costs and tourism prices are some of the main consideration for efficient tourism development. Dolnicar (2005) catalogued five major risk factors that impede tourism development – political risk, property loss, sickness, natural disasters, and planning risk (including unreliable transportation services). Another challenge in tourism development is the provision of security. Boakye (2012) posits that providing security for tourists is imperative for destinations, and Ghana ignoring such obligation will lose out on the keen competition for revenue from tourism globally. Conceptualization and provision of security can differ, but it is better to seek tourists' perspective on how they theorized security. In Ghana, tourists' perceptions of safety can be organized around the three-pronged platform of privacy, orderliness, and professionalism. Privacy concerns how tourists are perturbed by hustlers (vendors and beggars). Orderliness connotes the availability of well-laid out procedures for accessing tourist sites, and professionalism denotes the availability and efficiency of tourism intermediaries such as tour guide at the sites (Boakye, 2012). Johns (1999) identifies orderliness and professionalism as key indicators for tourism product quality. This study however also posits that security should be conceptualized from people's response to security threats to tourists. Thus, tourists feel much safer if bystanders will come to their aid when attacked, instead of them watching unconcerned.

Turning to South Africa, as mentioned, sustainable tourism has been identified as an important sector that can assist in addressing poverty and unemployment in the country. As one example, the City of Johannesburg has excellent potential in its contributions to sustainable urban tourism through the local economic development and urban cultural heritage tourism. The Maboneng precinct located on the south-eastern section of Johannesburg's city centre was transformed into a crime-ridden area to one of the places to go to. The project was designed to create a mixed-use creative hub with the creative community playing an important role in urban regeneration (Bainbridge, 2013). Since project implementation, the sidewalks have been cleaned and tree-lines have been formed creating a well-maintained area (Pitman, 2013). This has resulted in creating a more integrated and interconnected community. Despite some challenges with integrating some extremely poor community groups, it has in many ways created its own small niche local economy (Murtag, 2015). Another example of the potential for sustainable urban tourism is in Braamfontein. Since 2004, urban renewal has led to the change in the look and feel of parts of Braamfontein. Commercial developers began a number of redevelopment projects, renovating old buildings for commercial and residential use. This urban development has created jobs, given opportunities to first-time business owners, established inner-city Johannesburg as a cultural mecca, and in essence, created a microcosm of the 'rainbow nation' (Gwata, 2014). However, similar to Maboneng, there have been challenges for residents. A lack of facilities to support residential use, such as a day-care centre, and primary and secondary schools has resulted in families moving to more developed areas. For both the Maboneng and Braamfontein projects it seems that poor planning has not resulted in all local residents being included in the development paradigms. The above examples suggest that for sustainable tourism to occur, there is a need for better integration of local residents into local tourism development frameworks and that tourism projects must have the support of all local residents and whom should ultimately benefit from urban tourism initiatives.

Harare CBD is currently not a tourist zone. In light of the historical background of Zimbabwe, the CBD in particular, First (1st) Street should have been developed and marketed as a destination or attraction on its own. First Street was the epitome of Harare's cleanliness and

beauty, and prior to independence black Africans were not permitted in the vicinity. Developing it and marketing it without excluding existing vendors will be a sustainable pro-poor tourism approach. However, due to political and economic actors coupled with poor urban planning, the city has degenerated into an unplanned vendor and heavily congested zone. Furthermore, since the disputed elections in July 2018, Harare has witnessed two riots or protests which led to the death of many civilians at the hand the Zimbabwe Defence Forces. Such incidences repel tourists as they regard such places as 'high' risk zones, as they will be unsafe. Schveyens (2007, p 243) defines pro-poor tourism as "an approach to tourism which seeks to bring a wide range of benefits to the poor, including social, environmental and cultural benefits in addition to economic benefits". Furthermore, in light of the NTP (2014), promoting pro-poor tourism in urban areas will help to diversify tourism products. To promote pro-poor tourism development in high-density areas of Harare, NTP and Zim-Asset policies and approaches have to integrate political economy to understand how to grow tourism in Harare and other cities in Zimbabwe. Spaces like Mbare and Highfield are possible areas for sustainable tourism development. Mbare Musika (market) is a long-existing pre-independence agricultural market where many buy and sell products and board buses to various rural areas. The main urban risks which will be encountered in developing Mbare as a tourist destination include crime (stealing) and poor roads. It is important to note that, local traders should be integrated into the development process and avoid demolitions of poor people houses in the name of tourism – instead, tourists will greatly appreciate existing and original features, as opposed to some developmental ideologies - 'new, is beautiful and attractive'. In line with SDG 11, the Harare guess points to the need of having inclusive tourism governance that incorporates the poor to realise sustainable urban tourism.

## 5. Conclusions: critical synthesis of sustainable tourism in Sub-Saharan African cities

In light of the United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Goal 11; making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable; the study critically examined the dynamics between sustainable tourism and urban risk in Ghana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. There are several areas where this study makes an original contribution to good tourism governance in African urban spaces. First, the study revealed that the idea of tourism development in Africa has been underpinned by neoliberal development strategies which often leads to the exclusion of local citizens in development frameworks but rather excluding the most marginalised from integrating into tourism planning. We argue that this is a wrong notion of development. Falt (2016) theorizes that the forceful displacement of the urban poor is underpinned by multiple rationalities – neoliberal market-oriented policies and social desire of clean and beautiful surroundings. Urban revanchism as used in this paper elucidates how urban politics are driven by market-logics, anti-poor attitudes and aesthetics construct and reconstruct (new) patterns of socio-spatial segregation (Falt, 2016; Smith, 2001) which negatively affect the urban poor in Africa.

Second, the study further highlights that governance approaches tend to be neo-liberal thereby ignoring alternative inclusive tourism development approaches which tend to exclude the poorer from participating in tourism trajectories. We argue that the participation of all stakeholders is critical regardless of their social class and local citizens must be included in development discussion from the onset. Good governance is reflected by the government's ability to develop and implement rules, and to provide required services (Fukuyama, 2013). Third, the study revealed that poor governance by some African governments tend to lead to unsustainable tourism development in urban spaces as it creates nepotism, patronage, clientelism, corruption, lack of trust, political favouritism, and institutionalized crime which threatens physical urban spaces and with a high possibility of repelling tourists. To enhance good tourism governance, we argue for sustainability

institutionalization which strengthens the regulative mechanisms, processes and organizational culture.

Fourth, urban renewal has been identified for promoting sustainable tourism in dysfunctional urban environments that exclude the vulnerable and poor in the development process. Moronste (2010) argued that urban renewal can stimulate economic growth and create opportunities for inclusive development. As Thwala (2006) noted, the aim of urban renewal is to improve livelihoods; create a clean healthy living environment; reduce crime and violence and to upgrade and create additional affordable housing, especially for the urban poor. Sustainable tourism, that is resilient conscious (viewing the urban poor as part of the solution to sustainability) can assist in alleviating poverty and unemployment across Africa. Resilience appears to be the missing link among sustainable tourism developers, policymakers, and tourism researchers so as not to focus only on the macro-gains but the micro benefits of tourism.

Fifth, there are some varying gaps between policy and practice in the tourism sector in Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Tourism development must follow an integrated approach where locals' needs are inculcated into the planning and broader tourism and industrial development in Ghana. Although urbanization is highly associated with poverty in the Global South, it also provides opportunities for escaping it as well. Even where urban poverty and slums are growing problem, these challenges must be addressed through integrated approaches at the local level (Awumbila, 2014). UN-HABITAT (2010) advocates for pro-poor programs in cities that provide better living conditions, as well as education, training, jobs, and access to social services. Within the resilient framework, Urbanization is viewed as a positive force underpinning profound social, political and economic transformation. Tourism development should not lead to displacement and marginalization of the poor from spaces they originally occupied, instead of they should be incorporated in a sustainable manner into the development process where they are not classified and treated as unwanted others whose presence mar tourism development of tourism. Economic activities that promote capital accumulation, anti-poor attitudes, and land speculation and creates patterns of socio-spatial inequalities in Sub-Saharan's urban space should be addressed. It is only then that urbanization and tourism may provide opportunities for escaping poverty.

## Acknowledgements

The Authors would like to thank Eric Ndava for developing the Map.

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