From Slum Tourism to Slum Tourists:
Township Resident Mobilities in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Slum tourism is a growing topic in international tourism scholarship. Mainstream scholarship in slum tourism is dominated by research which investigates urban slums as destinations for international travellers mainly from the global North. Minimal acknowledgement is given to the role of these areas as potential source regions for tourism. This article addresses a lacuna in slum tourism scholarship around the discretionary mobilities of residents of the slum destinations made popular by the 'tastes' of international tourism consumers. The objective in this article is to broaden international slum tourism debates by shifting the focus away from South Africa's townships as destinations for tourism and instead to seek to excavate the role of these areas as tourist-generating areas. Findings are presented of an exploratory analysis of the forms of tourism or mobilities practiced by township residents in a small case study which was conducted in Katorus, Gauteng. It is argued the identified discretionary mobilities of Katorus residents provide insight into slum tourism locations which exhibit different practices of tourism to that of the culture of international tourists who undertake guided poverty tours of South African townships.

Keywords: slum tourism, township tourism, discretionary mobilities, Katorus, South Africa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Tourists have developed 'a taste for slums' (Dovey and King, 2012). In response, the phenomenon of so-termed 'slum tourism' is a burgeoning and controversial research arena in contemporary international tourism scholarship (Rolfes, 2010; Dovey and King, 2012; Dyson, 2012; Frenzel and Koens, 2012; Steinbrink et al. 2012; Frenzel 2013; Aseye et al. 2015; Frenzel et al. 2015; Holst, 2015; LeBaron, 2015; Sanyal 2015). Burgold et al. (2013: 101) maintain that whilst "research on slum tourism began to develop only 10 years ago, it has already become an established field". The activity of slum tourism "describes organized tours to deprived areas" (Frenzel, 2012: 49). At its heart is "the touristic valorization of poverty-stricken urban areas of the metropolises in so-called developing or emerging nations which are visited primarily by tourists from the Global North" (Steinbrink et al., 2012: 1). With the emergence of global slum tourism destinations the relationship between tourism and poverty is reconfigured as

tourism is no longer simply a vehicle to combat poverty but poverty is an attraction for tourism (Frenzel et al., 2015; Mekaway, 2015). This form of tourism based upon the guided 'poverty' or 'slum tour' initially became popular during the 1990s in Brazil as well as post-apartheid South Africa (Frenzel et al. 2012). Groups of (mainly) international tourists started to visit the *favelas* or the apartheid-engineered spaces of townships in order to observe and 'experience' people living in situations of poverty (Rolfes et al. 2009; Burgold and Rolfes 2013; Frenzel 2013).

Over the past two decades there has occurred an expansion and geographical spread of slum tourism with its establishment and growth in several destinations of the global South, including India, Philippines, Jamaica, Mexico, Egypt, Ghana, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The most recent estimates point to an annual number of over 1 million slum tourists. The vast majority, however, still are concentrated on touring either South Africa's townships or the *favelas* of Brazil. Accordingly, as captured by Frenzel et al (2015: 237–238) slum tourism is "a mass tourism phenomenon occurring only in few destinations and a niche form in a growing number of other destinations". Much controversy has been generated around the economic and social impacts of slum tourism (Durr, 2012; Steinbrink et al., 2012; Le Baron, 2015; Frenzel et al., 2015). For example, Dovey (2015: 8) considers that the growth of slum tourism suggests that "urban informality can be picturesque with elements of nostalgia and a quest for authenticity" and accompanied by "elements of the sublime, the shock of the real, a spectacle of hyper-intensive urbanity and an uneasy voyeurism". Morally charged debates surround the phenomenon of slum tourism with observers viewing it alternatively as philanthropic travel or the organised exploitation of poverty. Critics assert slum poverty tours are voyeuristic and in turning people's lives and miseries into a spectacle are inherently exploitative. Indeed, Rolfes et al (2009: 37) forward that township tourism in South Africa is analogous to 'social bungee jumping'.

As a whole Koens et al (2012: 232) assert that "slum tourism is a young, dynamic and expanding field of research". An international overview of the current state of the art of slum tourism recently has been furnished by Frenzel et al. (2015). The earliest investigations were case studies of the development and workings of township tourism in South Africa, of *favela* tourism in Brazil and of similar activities in India. Scholarly attention centred on whether this form of tourism exerts pro-poor impacts and therefore contributes to improve the poverty situation in slum areas (Rogerson, 2008; Booyens, 2010; Koens, 2012; George and Booyens, 2014; Mekawy 2015). Frenzel (2013: 117) makes clear that "slum tourism promoters, tour providers as well as tourists claim that this form of tourism contributes to development in slums by creating a variety of potential sources of income and other non-material benefits". Issues of entrepreneurship and small business development as well as the potential impacts of slum tours for re-imaging slum areas began to be investigated (Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Koens, 2012; Chege and Mwisukha, 2013; Frenzel, 2013; Steinbrink, 2013; Koens and Thomas, 2015). The representation of slums, resident perceptions of slum tourists,

gentrification, and the safety of tourists when visiting these poverty spaces are other research foci (Meschkank, 2011; Dyson, 2012; Magio, 2012; Kieti and Magio, 2013; George and Booyens, 2014; Holst, 2015; Sanyal, 2015). More recently, the reordering of urban space has been interrogated through the 'spectacle' of the slum analysed through the lens of 'worlding' in an innovative examination of Dharavi, Mumbai (Jones and Sanyal, 2015). In addition, Mekawy (2015) highlights the potential application of 'smart tourism investment' to crack the poverty cycle in slum tourism destinations in Egypt.

With a maturing of international research around slum tourism there has occurred a widening of the geographical range of slum tourism destinations as well as an expanded number of topics investigated in slum tourism scholarship (Steinbrink, 2012). In Africa most tourism research is rural-focussed so issues of slum tourism have appeared only recently on the scholarly agenda (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2011; Rogerson, 2012; Hoogendoorn and Rogerson 2015). Nevertheless, in South Africa several works have been produced on different facets of township tourism which has consolidated as a vibrant element of urban tourism product development and local economic development programming since the 1994 democratic transition (Rogerson, 2004a, 2008; Booyens, 2010; Harvey, 2011; Koens, 2012; George and Booyens, 2014; Rogerson, 2014a; Rogerson and Visser, 2014; Koens and Thomas, 2015). The objective in this article is to extend international and local debates around slum tourism by shifting the focus away from townships as destinations for tourism and instead to seek to excavate the role of these areas as tourist-generating areas (see Rogerson 2014b).

The findings are presented of an exploratory analysis of the forms of tourism mobilities practiced by township residents in a small case study which was conducted in Gauteng. Two further sections of material are provided. The next section situates the discussion as part of a new 'paradigm shift' which has arisen in response to the rapid rise of tourism within and from what Cohen and Cohen (2015a, 2015b, 2015c) stylize as 'emerging world regions' of the international tourism economy. The last section turns from slum tourism to slum tourists. The results are interrogated of research undertaken at Katorus which is part of the Ekurhuleni metropolitan area of Gauteng. It is argued the identified discretionary mobilities of Katorus residents provide insight into slum tourism locations which exhibit different practices of tourism to that of the culture of international tourists who undertake guided poverty tours of South African townships.

2. TOURISM TRENDS IN EMERGING WORLD REGIONS

In the emerging world regions of global tourism in Africa, Asia and Latin America an enormous expansion has taken place in recent years in the volume of tourism flows generated within and from these regions. Increases have occurred in long-haul international tourism but in particular marked expansion is recorded for domestic and regional tourism movements (Ghimire, 2001). This growth of

tourism-related mobility is inseparable from a number of factors including "overall increases in global population, urbanisation and the diffusion of a consumer culture that values travel-related consumption" (Hall, 2015: 8). Existing literature points to several key underpinnings for the rise of domestic tourism in the global South with comparisons drawn with the Northern experience in terms of the strong desire to travel among the urban middle classes, growing economic health of many nations, improvements in transport to facilitate improved mobilities, and of enhanced workers' benefits accompanied by upgraded tourist facilities and marketing (Ghimire, 2001; Gladstone, 2005). Among others the important studies by Cohen and Cohen (2015a, 2015b, 2015c) draw attention to the limited research and understanding of this burst of tourism from and within the world's emerging regions and of the epistemological, theoretical and comparative issues which it flags. Gladstone (2005) and Hall (2015) stress that much of our understanding of mobility is anchored upon a Western frame of reference rather than seeking to comprehend it from different geographical or cultural frames. Indeed, Gladstone (2005) calls for alternative formulations of tourism in relation to emerging world regions. It is stressed that as "most tourist typologies deal only with tourists from Western industrial societies, they are hard to apply in China, India, Iran, Mexico and other Third World countries where many travelers are pilgrims or temporary migrants and do not have the same motivations for travel as tourists from the United States, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Japan" (Gladstone, 2005: 7).

Cohen and Cohen's (2015a, 2015c) modified mobilities approach aims to address Eurocentricism. Specifically, it seeks "to create a platform for the comparison of Western tourism with that from the emerging regions" (Cohen and Cohen, 2015b: 68). It is observed this framework grasps "the richness and variety of tourism research on and from the emerging world" (Chen and Chang, 2015: 60). Across different societies of the global South domestic (and regional) tourism exhibit multiple origins with pilgrimages and visiting friends and relatives (VFR) often the most common initial variants (Cohen and Cohen, 2015a). In looking at tourism flows of emergent world regions useful distinctions can be drawn between formal and informal sectors of tourism (Gladstone, 2005; Rogerson and Letsie, 2013; Rogerson, 2015a). Cohen and Cohen (2015a) maintain that informal domestic tourism represents a modification of 'pre-modern' domestic travel. Arguably, informal sector travel is the leading component of domestic tourism across much of these emerging world regions, even though it is not always captured in official tourism data. Informal sector domestic travel embraces mainly the lower and lower-middle income strata of society and much of it comprises VFR travel which accelerated with rural-urban migration flows and the corresponding disruption of local family and social networks (Dick and Reuschke 2012; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014). Across the global South the appearance of new urban middle classes facilitated by greater automobility and available disposable incomes has been the driver for an upturn in more formal manifestations of domestic tourism. Among others Scheyvens (2007: 308)

highlights that with rising household incomes, the freeing-up of government regulations concerning internal population movements, the expansion of an urban-industrial workforce and the introduction of new labour rights legislation "there has been a significant growth in the numbers of middle-income earners in Third World countries, many of whom are keen to pursue more leisure opportunities". As shown in recent scholarly literature, the motivations for domestic travel can include pilgrimages, visiting friends and relatives, health, leisure, or business (Ghimire, 2001; Rogerson and Lisa, 2005; Scheyvens, 2007; Mariki et al., 2011; Kasim et al., 2013; Rogerson and Letsie, 2013; Madhavan and Rastogi, 2013; Cohen and Cohen, 2015a, 2015b; Rogerson, 2015a, 2015b).

It is maintained by Cohen and Cohen (2015c: 1) that the mobilities paradigm allows the merger of the study of tourism as conventionally defined "with local and transnational corporeal mobilities, such as pilgrimages, visiting friends and relatives (VFR) second-home commuting, and travel for education or medical treatment into a bundle of 'discretionary mobilities'". These discretionary mobilities represent "travel undertaken voluntarily with disposable income left after basic necessities of life have been covered" (Cohen and Cohen 2015c: 1–2). The concept of discretionary mobilities is viewed as especially important for the global South or emerging world regions. According to Cohen and Cohen (2015c: 2) domestic and regional forms of mobility "have received a relative lack of attention in the literature as compared to the study of long-haul international "Western" tourism". This reflection echoes the commentary of Scheyvens (2007) that domestic tourists of the global South are 'poor cousins' in tourism research. Cohen and Cohen's (2015a, 2015b, 2015c) innovative application of the mobilities approach furnishes a valuable platform from which to start charting pathways for research about tourism and tourists in the world's emerging regions. Their analysis highlights the utility of Gladstone's (2005) distinction between a formal and an informal sector of travel and tourism. Whilst acknowledging that these 'sectors' overlap in practice it is useful for slum tourism researchers to acknowledge the tourism informal economy which is defined as that part of the travelling public which typically does not make use of tourist-oriented means of transportation, accommodations and services (Cohen and Cohen, 2015a).

The discretionary mobilities of this informal economy are those of the working classes, the ordinary people and the marginalised rather than of the rising middle classes of the world's emerging tourism regions (Frenzel et al. 2015). The informal economy of travel and tourism is the largest component of domestic travel and tourism, less regulated and far less convenient than its formal sector counterpart (Hannam and Butler 2012). In many parts of the global South, however, this informal economy of travel extends beyond domestic tourism with much regional travel in sub-Saharan Africa assuming these characteristics (Rogerson, 2004b, 2014c, 2015a). It must be recognised therefore that key drivers of this informal economy are non-leisure forms of mobilities. Religious pilgrimage and travel for business purposes can be significant components of this informal economy in several emerging world tourism regions (Cohen and Cohen

2015a). Nevertheless, as a result of historical patterns of rural-urban migration as well as the persistence of circular forms of migration across much of the global South, the activity of visiting friends and relatives (VFR) emerges as the largest component of domestic informal travel as well as an important element of informal regional tourism (Rogerson, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d). The maintenance of 'translocal' households through the splitting and dispersion of family and social networks across urban and rural spaces is the foundation for rhythmic home trips by migrants many of whom organise household livelihoods to bridge the urban-rural divide (Dick and Reuschke 2012; Lohnert and Steinbrink 2005; Rogerson and Hoogendoorn, 2014).

3. FROM SLUM TOURISM TO SLUM RESIDENT MOBILITIES

In South Africa an enhanced understanding of the mobilities of township residents assumes special policy relevance in the wake of national government attempts to stimulate the economy of domestic tourism. A brief discussion on domestic tourism promotion leads into a case study examination of slum residents mobilities.

3.1 SHIFTING PATHS OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the apartheid period, domestic leisure tourism was a phenomenon dominated almost entirely by the country's white population which enjoyed the highest incomes, mobilities as well as access to leisure products (Rogerson and Lisa, 2005; Rogerson, 2015c). Only a minimal black leisure market existed as apartheid legislation prohibited or made unwelcome the use of tourism facilities by South Africa's black population (Rogerson, 2014b). Nevertheless, anchored upon the white domestic market, apartheid South Africa exhibited one of the strongest and most well-developed domestic tourism economies outside of the developed world (Koch and Massyn, 2001). By the 1980s, however, the first signs of changes in the racial composition of formal domestic tourism appeared as a result of the dismantling of racially-determined restrictions on access to tourist amenities and attractions. As a result of government initiatives pursued after democratic transition there has emerged in South Africa a substantial black middle class (Donaldson et al. 2013; Visagie and Posel, 2013). This caused the expansion in urban areas of a segment of black domestic leisure tourism that had begun in the 1980s and rapidly accelerated from the 1990s (Rogerson and Lisa, 2005). With democratic transition, after 1994 this rising black middle class enjoyed improved mobilities and began to be targeted for further expansion of the country's domestic tourism market.

Within the context of emergent world regions South Africa is one of few examples in which domestic tourism has emerged as a significant policy focus. Initiatives to nurture domestic tourism strengthened since democratic transition but have accelerated particularly since the early 2000s. National government has launched a number of measures to boost domestic tourism flows especially by black South Africans. In a speech delivered by the Minister of Tourism in 2004 the changing policy thrust was made clear.

For too long tourism in South Africa has been something that most South Africans have heard about, but had little first hand experience of. We must open up tourism to all South Africans. For too long our people have seen streams of visitors from Europe, Asia and other African countries flocking to our shores and experiencing, in a few days, more of our incredible country than most South Africans see in a lifetime. International tourists are important but local tourists are just as important. We want the people of communities like Langa to know the beauty of a Kruger Park sunset. We want the people of Chatsworth to experience the waters of our Atlantic Coast. We want families from Alexandra to walk the paths of ancient elephants in the Knysna forests…We want South Africans to travel more in our own country (Van Schalkwyk, 2004).

South Africa's National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) issued in 2011 is the current national strategic planning framework for tourism development in the country (Department of Tourism, 2011). Among its objectives is that of enhancing the contribution of domestic tourism. Within the NTSS domestic tourism is viewed as a high priority for strategic intervention in order to attain a 2020 target of boosting five million more domestic holiday trips than in 2009. A dedicated national domestic tourism growth strategy was released during 2012 by the Department of Tourism (2012). Significantly, this strategy was compiled against a backcloth of a post-2010 downturn in the numbers of domestic trips (Rogerson, 2015c). Through implementation of the domestic tourism strategy the Department of Tourism "expects to build a culture that will result in an increased awareness of tourism and its value for the country as well as an increase in community participation in the tourism sector" (Department of Tourism, 2012: 3). It was recorded in 2011 that the proportion of the adult population in South Africa that had taken a domestic trip was recorded officially as 44 percent (Department of Tourism, 2012). Research by South African Tourism suggested the biggest inhibiting factor to domestic tourism is affordability in terms of costs and low incomes (Department of Tourism, 2011: 22), the latter impacted by South Africa's emasculated economic performance since the 2008–9 global financial crisis. However, another barrier to domestic tourism is identified as so-termed 'lack of interest' in travel and the belief that tourism is "only for white people" (Mthente Research and Consulting Services, 2013: 89).

Outside of government's primary focus on leisure travel, however, there is considerable evidence of other forms of discretionary travel being undertaken by black South Africans. Recent research provides support for the existence of a substantial and long-established informal economy of both domestic and regional

travel and further suggests that the country's townships are potentially as much source areas as destinations for tourists (Rogerson 2014b, 2015d). VFR travel flows have mushroomed between urban township areas and rural spaces in South Africa, in particular the former so-termed Homelands or Bantustan areas. Arguably, to a large extent, this VFR movement is an historical legacy of the creation of South Africa's coercive labour system founded on migratory labour movements and the consequent geographical divide of translocal households between urban and rural home spaces (Rogerson and Hoogendoorn 2014; Rogerson, 2015d). With the perpetuation of this system of circulatory migration flows after democratic transition a high volume of VFR travel in South Africa has been maintained (Todes et al., 2010). Township residents are VFR tourists as they negotiate networks of taxis or public transportation in order to undertake trips to rural ''second homes'' (Hoogendoorn 2011). In addition, South Africa is characterised by hosting a number of religious pilgrimages which are pursued by members by African independent churches (Fairer-Wessels, 2007; Muller, 2013). At various periods of the year religious pilgrimages are responsible for large-scale movements of Black urban travellers to rural areas in order to visit sacred religious sites. The largest of these religious movements occurs to Moria in Limpopo province where approximately one and a half million pilgrims travel during the peak Easter -time pilgrimage (Muller, 2013). Further mobilities of slum tourists can be enacted for purposes of business and cross-border trading. The latter has been shown to be a vital aspect of the informal sector of business travel across Southern Africa (Rogerson, 2014c).

3.2   THE EVIDENCE FROM KATORUS, EKURHULENI
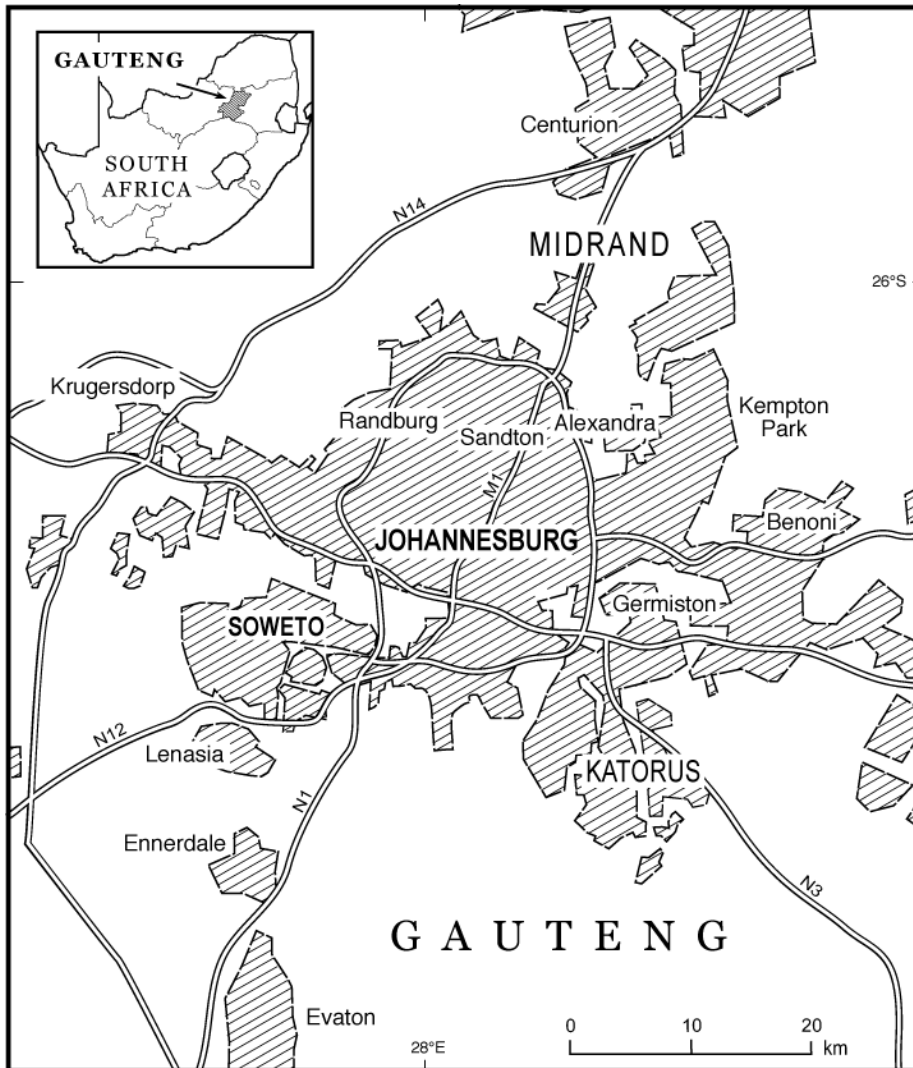
Figure 1. *The Location of Katorus (Source: Authors).*

In order to further understand the mobilities and the particular cultures of travel of South African township residents it is necessary to undertake empirical forays amongst those communities in which there is an investigatory void. Attention turns now to present findings from exploratory research which was pursued in Katorus (Figure 1) the largest township of Ekurhuleni in Gauteng province, South Africa's economic heartland.

Ekurhuleni is an extended metropolitan area which is situated east of Johannesburg. It was constituted as a unified entity only after South Africa's municipal elections of December 2000. Ekurhuleni is one of South Africa's newest metropolitan areas and was formed from the settlements known as the East Rand and Far East Rand. Unlike other newly constituted metropolitan areas of South Africa, Ekurhuleni does not represent the extension of an existing city. Instead, it was an artificial administration entity born out of the amalgamation of several long-established towns, namely the six East Rand centres of Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Edenvale, Germiston and Kempton Park which merged with

the three Far East Rand centres of Brakpan, Nigel and Springs. During the apartheid period the townships areas of East and Far East Rand were sites of violence, political mobilisation and struggle (Bonner and Ndima, 1999; Barolsky, 2005). As is richly documented by Bonner and Nieftagodien (2012) these areas made a unique (yet little acknowledged) contribution to the ultimate collapse of apartheid and the introduction of democracy in South Africa.

Table 1. *The Tourism Economy of Ekurhuleni.*

Indicator	Performance
Destination of Total tourism trips 2012	2 858 661
Proportion of trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	13.5 percent; 4th ranked metropolitan area
Tourism Spend (R1000 Current Prices) 2012	R 10 229 769
Proportion of tourism spend of South African metropolitan areas, 2012	11.5 percent; 5th ranked metropolitan area
Total bednights 2012	11 715 423
Proportion of bednights to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	12.9 percent; 5th ranked metropolitan area
Destination of Total domestic trips	1 137 146
Proportion of domestic tourism trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	12.1 percent; 5th ranked metropolitan area
Destination of International Tourism Trips	692 813
Proportion of international tourism trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	16.7 percent; 3rd ranked metropolitan area
Destination of Total Leisure tourism trips	365 489
Proportion of leisure tourism trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	11.0 percent; 5th ranked metropolitan area
Proportion of business tourism trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	13.3 percent; 3rd ranked metropolitan area
Destination of Total VFR tourism trips	1 004 336
Proportion of VFR tourism trips to South African metropolitan areas, 2012	14.5 percent; 3rd ranked metropolitan area

Source: Global Insight data.

In economic terms historically, the urban settlements of East Rand and Far East Rand were gold mining centres well into the 1970s when they attracted large

numbers of migrants from other parts of South Africa and beyond (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2001, 2012). The demise of gold production issued forth processes of structural economic change which accompanied the rapid growth of industrial activities. This fast growing region became South Africa's manufacturing heartland. Despite a shakeout of the manufacturing economy and considerable job losses which occurred during the 1990s and 2000s the industrial sector remained at the core of Ekurhuleni's economy. As part of a diversifying services economy tourism is a growing element in the local economic base. Indeed, Ekurhuleni is one of South Africa's most significant, if little recognised, tourism destinations (Rogerson 2014).

Rogerson and Rogerson (2014) argue Ekurhuleni is a non-traditional tourism destination with important strengths in particular for business tourism and VFR travel. Table 1 shows important indicators of the tourism economy of Ekurhuleni and in particular highlights its significance as a metropolitan tourism destination. Several points are of note. First, in terms of absolute numbers of trips the Ekurhuleni tourism economy is dominated numerically by domestic rather than international trips and in terms of purpose of trip is massively dominated by VFR travel. Second, in terms of relative significance, however, Ekurhuleni emerges most strongly as a destination for international travel which is explained by both the location in the metropolitan area of the O.R. Tambo airport, South Africa's largest airport and international gateway and the popularity of Ekurhuleni as a destination for cross-border African shopper/traders. Three, the relative significance of Ekurhuleni both as a destination for business travellers as well as for VFR travellers is evidenced from Table 1.

It is within this understanding of Ekurhuleni' s tourism base that the focus narrows now to examine Katorus which comprises the three sub-townships of Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus. Indeed, Katorus (sometimes also referred to as Kathorus) is an umbrella name for these three townships which have an intertwined history (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2001; Barolsky, 2005; Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2012). The destiny of Katorus to large extent has been impacted by the political, social and economic transformations reshaping urban South Africa during the twentieth and the twenty-first century including segregation, apartheid and rapid urbanisation flows. The initial development of Katorus was boosted by massive migratory flows for which the region was ill-prepared and resulted in squalid living conditions and considerable hardship (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2013). By the 1990s the population of Katorus was bursting at its seams with an estimated population of one million which equated to half of the total population of East Rand. As chronicled by Bonner and Nieftogodien (2012) decades of brutal social engineering left deep scars on the urban fabric with isolated and decaying townships, destitute shack areas, overcrowded migrant hostels and a landscape of informal settlements with squalid standards of living. By the 1980s the single-sex hostels of Katorus housed a population of approximately 468 000 migrant labourers who most of them visited their families in rural areas from time to time as well as receiving occasional visits from friends and family resident in rural

areas (Bonner and Ndima, 1999: 3). During the 2000s the economic world of Katorus was impacted negatively by deindustrialization and most recently by South Africa's economic downturn since 2008.

In seeking to understanding township resident mobilities in this area of Ekurhuleni, during 2014 semi-structured interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of forty township residents of Katorus. The interviews were collected in four different zones of Katorus namely Zonkizizwe Extension 3, Spruitview, Buyafuthi hostel, and Vosloorus hostel. Purposeful sampling was used across these four different spaces of Katorus which were selected to reflect the different characteristics of this complex and sprawling township area. Spruitview is a relatively high income formal residential area where the majority of well-off Katorus residents may be found. By contrast Zonkizizwe Extension 3 is a low income informal settlement that recently has been proclaimed as a residential area. The two hostels of Buyafuthi and Vosloorus represent legacies of the apartheid area of settlement construction as they are hostel dwellings built for sheltering circulatory migrants who would be working in the mines, factories and construction sites of Ekurhuleni or nearby Johannesburg. The aim in this exploratory analysis was to use research interviews to collect travel profiles for the previous year of residents of these four areas in order to build up a sketch of their tourism mobilities.

Table 2. *Key Findings for Katorus as a Whole.*

Indicator	Finding (n=40)
% Residents who had engaged in tourism in previous year	90 percent
Main purpose of travel	39 percent VFR travel, 28 percent religious pilgrimage, 17 business, 17 leisure
Domestic or international travel	64 percent domestic, 36 percent international (regional)
Forms of Accommodation	69 percent friends and relatives, 22 percent guest house/bed and breakfast, 8 percent hotel

Source: Author Survey.

The key findings from the survey concerning township resident mobilities are given on Table 2. Five points are observed. First, is the high proportion of sampled township residents who participated in some form of tourism in the previous year. It is revealed that only 10 percent of the sample did not undertake a tourism trip with the major reason given that of poverty and cost considerations of travel. Second, the findings from this small sample correlate with national findings about the primary importance of VFR travel for urban black South Africans. Those who travelled during the festive season spent more than seven days at their destination

and almost all of the respondents stated that they travelled also to visit their families in some weekends during the year to attend funerals, family rituals, weddings and other significant celebrations. Three, the results stress the critical importance also of religious pilgrimages for township dwellers and the fact that business travel is of equal importance to that of leisure travel. Indeed, as a whole, the importance of pure leisure travel is much less significant for township dwellers in the case of Katorus than other discretionary mobilities. Four, the study disclosed the unsurprising result of the dominance of domestic as opposed to international travel. This said, the research captured considerable regional (international) travel to surrounding African countries by residents of Katorus. Of particular note was VFR travel back to Mozambique from residents in informal settlements and significant international business trading flows by townships residents who were engaged in cross-border trading with Mozambique. Finally, the study results confirm wider national findings that only a small segment of black urban tourists use paid forms of accommodation (Rogerson 2015c). In the limited Katorus sample nearly 70 percent of tourism trips were accounted for by accommodation which is provided by friends and relatives.

Table 3. *Key Findings: Different Geographical Areas of Katorus.*

Indicator	Finding
Overall Mobilities of Residents	Only a proportion of the hostel dwellers reported no forms of tourism. In formal residential and informal settlement all the sample participated as tourists.
Purpose of Travel	Highest proportions of VFR travellers are in hostels and informal settlements; leisure travel mainly concentrated in formal residential area; business travel primarily from informal settlement; pilgrimage travellers from all areas.
Domestic or international travel	International and domestic VFR travel from hostels and informal settlements; international business travel from formal residential and informal settlement; domestic leisure mainly from formal residential areas
Accommodation	Low income hostel and informal settlement residents all in unpaid accommodation; only paid accommodation is from residents of formal accommodation.

Source: Authors survey.

Table 3 seeks to tease out broad patterns and differences between residents of the higher income formal residential area (Spruitview) with those of the lower income informal settlement (Zonkizizwe Ext 3) and hostel dwellers (Buyafuthi and Vosloorus). It discloses a number of instructive findings. First, it confirms that the

vast majority of township residents participate in tourism, albeit not in traditional leisure forms of tourism. The discretionary mobilities of township residents, at least from evidence of Katorus, are dominated by VFR travel and pilgrimages. In particular, dwellers of the low income informal settlements and hostels are important VFR travellers both domestically and to surrounding countries (Mozambique and Lesotho). Second, in terms of leisure travel this emerges as a domain of residents of only the higher income areas of Katorus, namely residents from the formal residential areas such as Spruitview. Indeed, the interviews disclosed that the more affluent residents of Spruitview are most immersed in leisure tourism activities and more aware of different tourism products than lower-income township residents. Here in Spruitview the young working individuals(mostly in white-collar service jobs) with small families tended to travel more for leisure purposes and had visited several destinations around South Africa including Cape Town. Finally, in respect of business travel the survey captured both formal and informal kinds of business tourism. In terms of formal travel this was mainly participation at domestic conferences and workshops by residents in the higher-income areas; by contrast informal cross-border trading was a practice of residents of informal settlements and involved business travel to Mozambique.

4. CONCLUSION

Mainstream scholarship in slum tourism is dominated by research which investigates urban slums as destinations for international travellers mainly from the global North. Minimal acknowledgement is given to the role of these areas as potential source regions for tourism. This article addresses a lacuna in slum tourism scholarship around the discretionary mobilities of residents of the slum destinations made popular by the 'tastes' of international tourism consumers. On the international stage Brazil's *favelas* or South Africa's townships are the core slum tourism destinations albeit they have been little explored as tourist-generating regions. Recent calls have been made for the systematic study of tourists from 'emerging world regions' (Cohen & Cohen 2015a, 2015b) which would encompass slum tourism destinations. This analysis of 'township tourism' in South Africa reveals the importance of rethinking the research agenda of slum tourism of widening it to incorporate an understanding of the mobilities of slum tourism residents (Rogerson 2014b). The results confirm the existence of a markedly different culture of travel by township residents which tourism scholars of the global South need to engage with through more detailed empirical investigations.

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