

Stakeholder Perceptions of Crime and Security in Township Tourism Development

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Abstract

This paper examines by way of exploratory study the perceptions of residents and police on the effects of crime on township tourism. The study was conducted in Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Nyanga townships in Cape Town. Using a qualitative research approach, three focus group interviews, one in each township (a total of 18 participants), and semi-structured interviews with eleven police officials in the Cape Town townships yielded information to address the research aim. Thematic data analysis captured police officials' and residents' perceptions on which more conclusive research can be done. Residents and police perceive Cape Town townships as unsafe for tourism. Despite this, the study found that tourism does not contribute to crime but rather becomes a casualty of crime in these townships. High unemployment, lack of education, drug and alcohol abuse were identified as contributors to crime in the townships. One of the recommendations in this study is that the local tourism offices in Cape Town should encourage the unemployed township youths to go through an entrepreneurship training process such as business incubation to help them create and manage their own tourism businesses. Sponsorship to this effect, in terms of financial and technical support can be provided by private tourism sector companies in collaboration with local municipalities and public institutions.

Keywords: crime and tourism; resident perception; resident safety; resident security; township tourism

Introduction

Various authors (such as Abrahams, 2019; Dlomo & Ezeuduji, 2020; Nunkoo 2015; Nunkoo 2016; Nunkoo & Ramkisson 2012; Nzama & Ezeuduji, 2020a, b; Ramukumba, 2019; Strydom et al., 2019) posit that for several parts of the world; tourism creates employment, generates revenues for the residents, promotes cultural exchanges, improves infrastructure and acts as a vehicle for environmental preservation and protection. Scholars in South Africa have alluded to the many business opportunities created by tourism for tourism-related entrepreneurs (Ntshangase & Ezeuduji, 2020; Nzama & Ezeuduji, 2021; Tseane-Gumbi et al., 2019). The tourism industry is quite diverse, encompassing several forms of tourism such as adventure tourism, eco-tourism, cultural and heritage tourism, events tourism, sports tourism, and township tourism (Lin et al., 2022; Mbane & Ezeuduji, 2021; Mhlauli & Ezeuduji, 2022; Nkwanyana et al., 2016; Tichaawa et al., 2015; Wu et al., 2022). Township tourism has taken the cultural and historical form of tourism. Township tourism in South Africa depicts the anti-apartheid struggle (Rogerson, 2004); making townships to be unique from other areas of deprivation worldwide (Booyens, 2010). George and Booyens (2014) posit that township tourism in South Africa represents poverty tourism. According to George and Booyens, taking

visitors to areas of deprivation in townships is a type of poverty tourism. The development of township tourism in South Africa mushroomed since 1994; targeting foreign special interest tourists (Booyens, 2010). Mostly, township tourism products include cultural and heritage attractions, local arts and crafts, gastronomy, and historical insights about the destination (Mbane & Ezeuduji, 2021). Township tourism is perceived as an instrument of spreading urban tourism widely and equally as a local economic development tool (George & Booyens, 2014). However, Chili (2018) states that townships are confronted with safety and security challenges that are heightened by a lack of employment opportunities. Expatcapetown (2015) mentions that Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Langa townships in Cape Town earned a reputation of being the most dangerous areas in South Africa over the recent years. Van Graan (2016) adds that crime challenges in the country are a burden to the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the citizens of South Africa. Crime related offences in South Africa are committed by certain people within their residential areas (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2013/14). Marks et al. (2009) alluded to the local community's loss of confidence in the government's capacity (represented by SAPS) to respond to people's need for safety and security. As this paper is about the effects of crime on township tourism, the authors acknowledge that much township tourism research work in South Africa are dated and were mostly concerned with promoting township tourism, addressing its challenges, and exploring township tourists' needs and perceptions (see George & Booyens, 2014; Letwaba, 2009; Ramoliki, 2009; Rogerson, 2004; Visser, 2002). Hence these previous did not explore township tourism from the service provider perspective. This study, therefore, explores township tourism in South Africa, from the supplier perspective, using the resident perception lenses to assess tourism safety in Cape Town townships of Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Nyanga, areas known to attract significant numbers of tourists. It is equally important to investigate the perceptions and experiences of the South African Police Service regarding tourism and public safety in the study areas. The next section provides an overview of the literature that guided this study.

Literature review

Crises and disasters such as crime, pandemics, food safety problems, extreme weather conditions, economic downturns, natural disasters and terrorism are some of the influences that may negatively affect the tourism industry globally (Adam, 2015; Amir et al., 2014; Kiliçlar et al., 2017). In South Africa, before the COVID-19 pandemic, the most common negative factor affecting tourism is crime (Mbane & Ezeuduji, 2021). The Western Cape Government (2016) alluded that crime in South Africa negatively affects the physical and emotional well-being of people and businesses. It thus has the potential to obstruct economic expansion, investment, wealth collection, and to disrupt social and economic prosperity.

Township tourism in South Africa

Township tourism in South Africa is mostly about visiting symbolic struggle sites associated with apartheid era, situated in areas having socio-economic challenges, and in turn experience how people (mostly Black South Africans) live in townships (Booyens, 2010). Over the years, townships became spaces of leisure consumption in the context of urban tourism (George & Booyens, 2014). However, George and Booyens (2014) state that township tourism invoked several debates around ethics and has received international criticism. In South Africa, township tourism is regarded as a poverty relief strategy for these areas and it is also an instrument for local economic development and ensuring that the benefits of urban tourism are spread more widely (George & Booyens, 2014). Rogerson (2004) states that employment and business opportunities are offered by township tourism such as accommodation provision, tour guiding, food and beverage services, and local entertainment. Nonetheless, George and

Booyens (2014) state that local entrepreneurs, who organised township tourism, faced various challenges that include limited skills, access to finance, weak product base, and fierce competition from established, predominantly white-owned tour operators who have earlier entered the market.

Township tourism, and crime in Cape Town

Koens and Thomas (2015) estimated that 20-25% of international tourists that travel to Cape Town engage in a township tour; resulting in 300 000 visitors annually, making township tours to be among the popular attractions in Cape Town. Another scholar, Bartlett (2014) opined that 1.8 million of travellers that visit Cape Town each year embark on a township tour. Although Cape Town is celebrated as one of the most popular destinations in the world, the city has been experiencing an escalation of criminal activities, and this becomes a threat to its image as a world-class tourist destination (George, 2010). Koens and Thomas (2015) concur that townships are confronted with high levels of unemployment and poor living conditions that are accompanied by high levels of crime. According to Chili (2018), the Cape Flats (a township) in Cape Town are notorious for gangsterism, crime, substance abuse and violence against women and children. However, Koens and Thomas (2015) argue that tourists are hardly victims of criminality in townships even though crime is high; it is the residents and small business owners that consistently fall victims to muggings and burglary. These scholars (Koens & Thomas) equally argue that insecurities in the townships are caused by a lack of efficient law enforcement due to lack of power (electricity), corruption, and highly disorganised disposition of townships.

According to Expatcapetown (2015), township areas such as Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Nyanga remain the most dangerous according to murder statistics. More so, burglary, robbery, and theft of private property are among the most reported crimes in these township areas. Dolly (2017) reveals the crime statistics in Nyanga township (281 murders in 2017, 279 murders in 2016; home robberies were 16.1% of reported crimes in 2017); Gugulethu township (136 murders in 2017, 184 murder cases in 2016). Some of these reported murders include the case of Tiny Elizabeth Themani, a domestic tourist, who was killed in Gugulethu for her cellphone (Dano, 2014); the alleged kidnapping and subsequent murder of Anni Dewani, a British honeymooner whilst in Khayelitsha (George & Booyens, 2014); and the murder of Amy Biehl, an American exchange student, in Gugulethu (George & Booyens, 2014). Brown (2015) states that a crime or murder towards a tourist can be devastating to countries that rely on tourism as an economic driver, based on media squalls that frequently follow such occurrences. Ragavan et al. (2014) add that tourists' choice of a destination is based on limited knowledge hence they rely on media or social groups as the source of information about a destination prior to visiting. Thus, destinations need to ensure that their visitors will have a safe and secure stay (Amir et al., 2015). It is imperative that tourism destinations are cognisant about safety related issues in their areas so to promote and sustain their tourist numbers.

Theories of crime in relation to tourism

In explaining the relationship between tourism and crime, Mehmood et al. (2016) posit that routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and crime hotspot theory (Block, 1995) may be used. Routine activity theory points that economic and social circumstances can influence the victimisation rate and overall crime. This theory sees the occurrence of crime based on three elements; 1.) suitable target, 2.) motivated offender and 3.) the capable guardian. Routine activities theory stipulates that offenders do make conscious choices of whether or not to commit a crime on the basis of their access to a suitable target and the presence or lack of

presence of capable guardianship who may bring repercussions to the offender. It went further to explain that suitable targets, and also capable guardians, may be human or non-human, and the capable guardians may be formally organised (such as law enforcement) or informal (such as neighbours and civilians). The susceptibility of a target to crime action is dependent on how well it can be taken and concealed and this is equally related to its value relative to its concealability. The crime hotspot theory relates to specific locations and places that provide opportunities for the occurrence of possible crimes as well as an opportunity to escape after the occurrence of crime (Mehmood et al., 2016). Also, the crime pattern theory (Boba, 2005) posits that a crime involving an offender and a victim (or target) may only take place when the activity spaces of both the offender and the victim cross paths. In clear words, crime can occur if a given area provides the opportunity for crime and if it exists within an offender's awareness space.

These theories did not discriminate between a tourist and a resident as a victim of crime. A victim of crime can be either a tourist or a resident in a tourism destination. Tourism provides opportunities for the occurrence of possible crimes on both the tourist and the resident, and it may be easier for the offender to escape after the occurrence of crime, if he or she is a resident of the area in which tourism takes place. The presence of capable guardian (law enforcement agents, neighbours and civilians) may deter the offender from committing a crime, if the offender perceive the capable guardian effective in bringing repercussions to the offender. Corollary, the confidence in police or community policing effectiveness may affect the visitor decision to visit a particular tourism destination based on the perception of guaranteed safety. It has become common knowledge that gaining control of safety in a tourism destination requires collaboration of police, residents and tourists in a tourism destination. Ezeuduji and Nkosi (2017) addressed the need to improve safety and security in South African tourism destinations through effective police presence and community policing. The residents are active stakeholders in their tourism development and management, as the destination's negative image and low tourist receipt will affect them adversely (Mlambo & Ezeuduji, 2020).

Maintaining law and order in South Africa

In South Africa law and order are enforced by the South African Police Service (SAPS). However, SAPS is not solely responsible for safety related issues in the country. South Africa, along with many African states have adopted a hybrid form of security maintenance measures. According to Cross (2016), a hybrid form of security maintenance is an approach that blends practices and sources of authority derived from tradition, state policing, sub-ward local governance communities, and structures. A wide range of non-state policing initiatives are common in South Africa at local levels (Van Graan, 2016). These include street committees organised by politicised youth, community policing, traditional courts usually run by community elders, neighbourhood patrols and watches (Marks et al., 2009). Although this may be the case, Marks et al. (2009) criticised the SAPS as contextually inappropriate for community policing in South Africa. Nonetheless, Rummens et al. (2017) argue that police in these societies have a database that contain crime data, and this can notify about current and future crime trends and patterns that can allow predictive policing.

Residents' participation in tourism

For a tourism destination to be competitive, a synergy between key tourism stakeholders is paramount, based on the industry's multifaceted nature. Relevant stakeholders of the tourism industry include but are not limited to residents, service providers (businesses & government departments), and tourists (Nkemngu, 2015). The residents are regarded as the most important element of sustainable tourism development and without their support the tourism industry will

collapse (Šegota et al., 2017). Arguably, the commercial, socio-cultural, physiological, political and economic sustainability of the tourism industry are dependent on the support from destination residents (Hanafiah et al., 2013). The tourists visit a destination and appreciate being cherished and welcomed in the visiting destination. Therefore, residents play a pivotal role in providing quality experience for tourists and maintaining the sustainable tourism development concept (Woosnam et al., 2018). Most importantly, the support for tourism by residents enables a safe environment where tourists are collectively protected by residents in their areas. In the next section, we discuss the methodological approaches used in this research.

Study design and methods

This study on the perceptions of residents and police on the effects of crime on township tourism is exploratory in nature, requiring much probing into underlying views, beliefs, meanings and feelings (Choy, 2014; Creswell, 2017; Veal, 2011). Focus group and semi-structured interviews of participants (Longhurst, 2003), offered the researchers adequate flexibility and at the same time guided the participants to respond to in-depth questions related to the research purpose. In this research, a non-probability sampling method known as purposive sampling was employed to select study participants till data saturation was reached. Three focus group interviews, one conducted with six participants in each township (a total of 18 participants), namely the townships of Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Nyanga in Cape Town; and semi-structured interviews with eleven police officials in these Cape Town townships yielded information for data analysis to address the research aim. We interviewed four police officials in Gugulethu, three police officials in Khayelitsha and four police officials in Nyanga. The researchers sought consent from the relevant research stakeholders' gatekeepers (South African Police Service and local ward councillors) before the study was carried out. For the semi-structured interviews, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) issued by SAPS Head Office, which the researchers signed, ensured adherence to guidelines provided by SAPS. Upon receipt of the permit to collect data in Cape Town Townships Police Stations from the Head Office; the researchers liaised with Station Commanders of all three police stations and permission was granted to collect the data. The Station Commanders scheduled interviews and identified Police Officials to participate in the study. Regarding the focus group interviews, the local ward councillors of each of the three townships issued a permission for the study to go on, on behalf of the residents. However, individual permission was sought from each of the study participants before they were interviewed. The lead researcher's institution issued ethical approval of the study.

At the Gugulethu Police Station, the interviews were held with two Captains and two Sergeants. In Khayelitsha, the interviews were held with two Captains and one Sergeant. In Nyanga, the interviews were held with one Captain and three Sergeants. All the Police participants have between six and twenty years of work experience in these townships.

Focus group interviews with township residents had a total of eight females and ten males. Each group had both gender represented. The females aged between twenty-five and forty-five years old; whereas, the males ranged between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five years old. The majority of this study's participants (residents) were indigenous in these townships; while the others relocated from elsewhere to settle in these townships, about six to ten years ago.

The researcher sought additional permission to record the interview sessions (focus groups and semi-structured interviews) using an audio-recording device and all the study participants gave consent for the recordings. After the interviews, verbatim transcripts of the interviews were generated, and manual thematic analysis of the data collected was done through coding themes and sub-themes that emanated from the study, as they are linked to the

research aim (Ezeuduji & Rid, 2011; Krippendorff, 2013; Quinlan et al., 2015). Bryman et al. (2014) posit that thematic analysis method aims at systematically calculating the frequency of certain words, phrases, ideas, or concepts which occur within the text to provide meanings and identify common themes within the research findings. This study therefore created themes based on the frequency of responses (not commonly recorded [NCR] – mentioned once or twice, commonly recorded [CR]– mentioned between three to four times, very commonly recorded [VCR] – mentioned more than four times). Not commonly recorded themes or sub-themes are not discussed in this paper. These themes and sub-themes were synergised for succinct reporting of study findings (Mhlauli & Ezeuduji, 2022). The findings are presented in the next section.

Findings and discussion

Residents' general perceptions of tourism development

The majority of participants from Khayelitsha and Gugulethu indicated the importance of having tourists in townships based on economic benefits such as entrepreneurial opportunities and job creation including those that are employed by such businesses (see Ramukumba, 2019; Strydom et al., 2019) (VCR). This result is in line with Rogerson (2004) that tourism presents economic opportunities (business start-ups & employment) in townships. Other scholars in South Africa have also alluded to the many business opportunities created by tourism for tourism-related entrepreneurs (Ntshangase & Ezeuduji, 2020; Nzama & Ezeuduji, 2021; Tseane-Gumbi et al., 2019). Nonetheless, the study found that few people in the townships benefit from tourism; these are people who own tourism-related businesses in these areas (VCR). These results are in line with Koens and Thomas' (2015) finding that, the income benefits stimulated by tourism in townships remain limited to certain groups. The study found that the beneficiaries of tourism businesses are those in art and craft, the tour guides, and those that operate as owners of guest house, pubs, grills (shisanyama), restaurants, and cafés. The individuals that pursued tourism in these areas viewed the tourists' visits in townships as opportunities. These findings agree with the findings of Giampiccoli et al. (2016) that even though the tourism industry has substantial economic gains; it is struggling to succeed in its developmental aims as it is highly criticised for low participation of residents. About half of the participants argued that having tourists in the townships tend to increase the cost of living. However, this claim was disputed by the other half of the participants who argued that having tourists in townships does not change anything in their lives; it is having artists (music & actors) that increases prices. The study found that when local or international artists are hosted by a certain tourism business (shisanyamas or pubs & café's) entrance fees are charged and prices for items (food & beverages) become expensive (VCR).

Residents' perceptions of the effects of crime on township tourism

When the participants were asked about the possible causes of crime in their areas and how it affects tourism, similar themes emerged. Seemingly, crime is very common in townships (VCR). There are three key aspects that are interrelated and identifiable as the main causes of crime in townships. These are high level of unemployment, drug addiction, and lack of education (CR).

Unemployment was reported to be prevalent in these communities, and this usually leads to high drug abuse (CR). According to the participants, drug abuse was associated with the desire of 'killing time', frustration and boredom reduction strategy. Lack of education also appeared to be among the causal factors of unemployment. During the interview, an argument arose between participants regarding lack of education as an unemployment factor. Most participants mentioned that some criminals in townships have obtained some level of

education; they have university degrees and high school matriculation certificate, while some are dropouts from colleges and universities (VCR). The frustration of not finding employment after a long while has led this group to experiment with drugs as a coping mechanism; resulting to delinquent lifestyle. The delinquent lifestyle includes ‘quick money schemes’ to sustain the drug habit (crime activities). Drug addiction is said to be the driving factor of townships’ gangsterism (VCR). Nevertheless, the unfriendly entry requirements into the labour market were identified to be among the causes of high unemployment among graduates in these townships (CR). Participants mentioned that the minimum entry requirement for a graduate job in the labour market is a university degree with two-years’ work experience.

The unequal nature of the education system in South Africa emerged as a major contributing factor towards the lack of education in townships (CR). Participants posit that the advantaged children who live in suburbs have access to the Internet, computers and other devices in their schools (e.g., smart boards and tablets), adequate infrastructure and resources, and sufficient food. It is a different situation for the disadvantaged children in the understaffed townships’ schools who have inadequate infrastructure, lack resources such as textbooks, learn in large classes (more than 70 learners per classroom), have not eaten for the day, and have few computers (if the school has any). Children who went to more resourced schools find it easier to get employment than those from less privileged background. The latter have social structures with social complexities such as being nurtured in aggressive environment, high level of difficulty to access good quality basic education and higher education, inadequate financial resources, high level of unemployment, etc. These results are aligned with the routine activity theory that people get involved in criminal activities based on their social structure (Mehomood et al., 2016).

The participants expressed strongly that tourism does not cause crime in townships (VCR). However, based on the high crime rates in townships due to social ailments in these communities; tourists and residents become victims of crime in these areas. The participants equally stated that townships are infested with crime hotspots. In most cases, tourists become targets of crime if they are at the crime hotspot during unfavourable periods (VCR). Also, at times some tourists would venture into different parts of the township without a guide in the area. This leads to the tourist falling victim to crime. However, based on the authors’ knowledge, it is not common to find tourists wandering around the township. The tourists in these townships are mostly visiting in groups and are accompanied by a tourist guide during the day. The times that most tourists are seen in these townships are during the day; where crime is minimal as there are visible police checkpoints and patrols. These findings agree with Koens and Thomas (2015) that tourists are hardly targets of crime in township; it is the local residents and businesses who are regularly subjected to crime.

Residents’ perceptions on safety issues in townships

Participating residents expressed their fear of criminals in these areas (VCR). They stated that criminals are usually high on drugs, therefore, have the capacity to do anything to harm their victim. The results suggest that both residents and tourists are victims of crime in townships. These findings confirm Mawby’s (2015) assertion that areas of deprivation in cities have high levels of crime and are home to large numbers of offenders and victims. Crime rate in Cape Town townships has been growing at an alarming rate. The residents, however, blame the SAPS for their inefficiency in combatting crime, thus criminals remain in the community (VCR). Marks et al. (2009) pointed to the local community’s loss of confidence in the government’s capacity (represented by SAPS) to respond to people’s need for safety and security. The participants explained that criminals in these townships get incarcerated for a short period, and thereafter come back to the community (CR). When these criminals come

back to the society, they seek revenge on any person that alerted the police about their criminal engagements, through torture and at times murder. Thus, residents blame the SAPS for sharing whistle blower details with criminals. Based on this situation, residents remain silent about criminal activities in the community for the fear of losing their lives or being victimised. The participants explained that the criminals in these areas were once members of the society that used to abide by the societal values and norms. However, as they grew older, they associated themselves with delinquent behaviour (CR). Usually, the delinquent behaviour starts very small without being noticed but eventually heightens and become visible to society. Chili (2018) states that townships are confronted with safety and security challenges that are supported by a lack of employment opportunities. The next sub-section discusses police officials' perspectives on the safety of residents and tourists in these townships.

Police perceptions of crime and public safety in townships

Ezeuduji and Nkosi (2017) addressed the need to improve safety and security in South African tourism destinations through effective police presence and community policing. However, the residents are active stakeholders in their tourism development and management, as the destination's negative image and low tourist receipt will affect them adversely (Mlambo & Ezeuduji, 2020). Police participants in Khayelitsha and Nyanga pointed out that the townships are not safe for both tourists and residents alike (CR). The participants described the festive season (December holidays) as the peak crime period in the townships (CR). This is due to high crowd volumes during the festive seasons in the areas accompanied by heavy drinking and partying. On the contrary, police participants in Gugulethu pointed out that this township is safe for both residents and tourists (CR). The police in Gugulethu however mentioned that crime in this area is high during weekends, in evenings and late at night during weekdays. The main reason for the assurance of safety from Gugulethu police participants was based on the high levels of police service patrols and resources to maintain safety during the day in this area. Generally, alcohol abuse was described as the main contributor to the high crime rate during weekends (CR). The most commonly reported crimes in townships, in general, are hijackings, house robberies, street robberies, malicious damage to property, particularly 'smash and grab' (this is the breaking of the car window during a traffic jam or while the cars stop at the traffic lights; the perpetrator then grabs any valuable item/s within their reach such as cell phones, bags, laptops among others); while the Gender Based Violence (GBV) assaults and murders that normally happen indoors are experienced on a daily basis (VCR). All the police officials who participated in the study equally expressed that tourism does not cause crime in townships but the tourists can become easy targets as they are not familiar with the area (VCR). Rummens et al. (2017) state that crime does not happen randomly; but tends to be concentrated in time and space – 'crime hotspots'.

Police procedures, responsiveness, and reliability

This study found that the responsiveness and reliability of police services regarding reported cases are dependent on the police procedures and many other factors. Firstly, should a person file a case, it gets allocated to the detective services' section for further investigation. However, case solving was said to be dependent on the availability of exhibits, footage or leads that can be further investigated. The challenge that emerged in such cases is that residents do not want to disclose information (VCR). Secondly, reliability is also dependent on proper crime scene management where detectives collect gun cartridges (in the event of shooting), fingerprints, footage, witnesses, forensic items like the presence of a dead body among others. The follow-up process by detectives is dependent on such information; updates are constantly given to clients if they remain contactable. However, follow-up and update are critical in ensuring

reliability in solving cases. An interesting result was that the police participants expressed that SAPS has police officials who are corrupt (CR). This behaviour (corruption) interferes with police work in these townships. The corruption of some police officers were said to be associated with behaviours that include receiving bribes from criminals and sharing intelligence (whistle blowers, record tearing among others) with or for criminals. It is such behaviour that place residents at the risks of being killed or threatened by criminals; this then disrupts with law enforcement in these townships. As such, communities do not want to partake in reporting crime or being on the witness protection programme (CR).

Challenges faced by police in executing their work in the townships

Marks et al. (2009) alluded to the local community's loss of confidence in the government's capacity (represented by SAPS) to respond to people's need for safety and security. The study found that police officials of Coloured and White racial groups reported language as one of the challenges in combating crime in these areas (CR). Some police participants pointed out that language is sometimes a problem between the police and the elderly residents as there are always misunderstandings when they communicate using the English language. However, younger residents seem to communicate better with the police in English.

Inadequate infrastructure when accessing the informal settlements areas in the townships, was described to be among the hindering factors to service delivery from the police (VCR). Access to informal settlements emerged as the greatest policing challenge in the townships mainly because of poor road infrastructure, improper house numbering, and street and house lighting to access complainants or perpetrators. Some police officials reported that they sometimes park their vehicles far away from informal residence and enter the area on foot. Moreover, the houses and 'shacks' in informal settlements are not properly numbered which makes it difficult to identify the correct house/shack where work must be done (CR).

This study also found that police officials in these areas are also confronted with lack of resources in their stations (VCR). The lack of resources as reported by police officials pointed to various issues such as shortage of staff members, limited vehicles, and drivers. The lack of human resources and vehicles is said to be detrimental to police visibility. Police participants also reported the lack of partnership between stakeholders including residents (CR) to be among the challenges faced by police.

Resident involvement in combating crime in the townships

The residents are regarded as the most important element of sustainable tourism development and without their support the tourism industry will collapse (Šegota et al., 2017). Residents are involved in combating crime in their areas through community policing forums, neighbourhood watch, street committees and general reporting of unlawful acts in the community. This is reported by Marks et al. (2009) and Van Graan (2016). Community policing forums, neighbourhood watch and street committees play a major role in keeping townships safe. The study observed that residents are responsible for reporting crime and this is key for policing in townships.; however, the results show that residents are not participating enough in reporting criminal activities in townships (VCR). Police participants stressed the importance of reporting criminal activities irrespective of if it is done by family members, relatives, or acquaintances. Also, results show that police and other stakeholders such as the justice system organise workshops on combating crime. However, residents do not attend, especially the youth (VCR). The police participants also expressed that residents fear reporting and standing as a witness in court against other residents although there is a witness protection provision for them (VCR). In some areas of the townships, vigilantism is prevalent (CR). Therefore, police participants express that residents need to refrain from such vigilante activities and allow the law to take its

course (CR). The participants also advised that residents need to refrain from purchasing stolen goods in the townships (CR).

Police perceptions of their morale and motivation to combat crime

Morale and motivation emerged from this study as important factors in the fight against crime in townships (VCR). The study reveals an interesting equilibrium in relation to the numbers of those who agree and those who disagree that police are motivated to work in townships. Some of the participants indicated that the question of motivation is rather a personal issue that varies from person to person (CR). Their key argument however is that the job of policing should be a calling rather than a mere job to bargain on. In this regard, an individual should be self-motivated and be generally positive to survive the working conditions. Participants in the Nyanga township reported high rate of absenteeism during the December period. The demotivation to work at the Nyanga police station during the festive season is said to be due to work burn-out (CR). As a result, members of the police are constantly absent and always filing for sick leave. It is mentioned (CR) that during the holiday periods police officials are always booked in to work and they have no time-off with their families hence the high number of sick certificates. These sick leave bookings are described as tactics by police members to get some time-off with their family members. Absenteeism can be detrimental to policing as residents will experience poor service due to staff shortages. In the same vein, in Khayelitsha, low motivation has been attributed to the harsh treatment of police officers by their seniors, if a police member does something wrong or is accused of misconduct.

Conclusions

Currently, the impact of crime in township tourism is not alarming; tourists become casualties of crime due to high crime in these areas. This implies that tourism in townships does not cause crime. However, it is worth noting that during the festive season, ‘visiting friends and relatives’ (VFR) in townships significantly grow. The high volume of travel results to an increase in the crime rate in these townships, as perpetrators perceive visitors to have money due to the prevalent heavy drinking and partying in townships. The issue of crime needs to be attended to as it has the potential to severely affect township tourism with spillovers to other forms of tourism (urban & rural). High crime statistics may severely impact negatively on tourism receipts, especially as a crime case against tourist attracts media attention that may lead to townships to be declared as unsafe destinations for tourism. The demand to visit townships may be lost if tourists become the target of crime. Hence, strategies of rehabilitating townships from societal ailments (unemployment, lack of education, drug & alcohol abuse) are needed in these communities. These will support the creation of sustainable and safe township communities; and at the same time help township tourism and tourism businesses to gain competitive advantage in the national tourism marketplace.

Management implications

This study, therefore, proposes five approaches to rehabilitating these tourism spaces so to create a guaranteed safe visit to townships for both locals and tourists. These rehabilitation approaches are namely; 1.) The National Department of Tourism should influence the Department of Police to revise policies that will severely punish police officers that receive bribes, work with drug dealers and other criminals, break the code of conduct in police private information including sharing of information of whistleblowers among others. This will motivate residents to trust the SAPS in the country. 2.) The National Department of Tourism should influence the Department of Police to craft and implement revised strategies to motivate the police officials working in townships, with the participation of the servicemen. This will

help curb the lack of motivation from police officers and reduce the support of criminal acts. 3.) The National Department of Tourism should influence the Department of Social Development to create rehabilitation centres in townships aimed at assisting the idling youth in these tourism spaces. The idling youth in townships need to be kept engaged with programmes that will foster their employability skills training and development. Such engagement of youths in these areas will bring positive contributions in these tourism spaces so that they may be able to capitalise on business opportunities when they emerge. The rehabilitation centres will also need to develop programmes that will equip ex-prisoners with business-related activities to be integrated positively into society and this will help their feelings of belonging once again into the society. This will prevent them to go back to gang-related activities and substance abuse. 4.) Many graduates find themselves unemployed upon completion of their degrees (see Ntshangase & Ezeuduji, 2020); this at times leads this group into finding themselves involved in criminal activities as means of survival. Therefore, the unemployed youths should be encouraged by the local tourism offices to create their own businesses and go through an entrepreneurship training process such as business incubation. This can be sponsored by private tourism sector companies in collaboration with local municipalities and public institutions, such as universities and colleges. It should be aimed to support the creation and growth of young businesses, giving them necessary financial and technical support. 5.) Residents need to stop supporting criminal activities and those that do not condone such criminal acts need to stop vigilantism. A community awareness programme can be used to drive this process, through the help of township community leaders and change agents in collaboration with the local municipalities and the local police.

Study limitation and further studies

The non-probability sampling approach adopted in this study does not give an equal chance to all members of the research population to participate in the study. This limits the generalisation of findings. Hence, this study's findings refer to the study areas (Gugulethu, Khayelitsha & Nyanga) at the time the research was conducted. Further studies of this nature can be conducted in the other townships in South Africa where tourism is significant in the local economic development. By so doing, results' comparisons can be made which will support the development of a national framework for sustainable tourism development in South African townships.

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