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Urban leisure and tourism-led redevelopment frontiers in central Cape Town since the 1990s

Abstract

In the Global North, urban redevelopment through leisure and tourism interventions has been a keenly investigated research interface. These types of interventions, whether public, private, or in various combinations, have often led to the dramatic and extensive reworking of central city areas. Less attention has been focused on cities in the Global South – particularly Africa – that provide examples of how these processes of urban change manifest in this context. This investigation tracks the development of leisure and tourism-led interventions as central to the redevelopment of central Cape Town. It is shown how leisure and tourism development nodes developed, which in time consolidated into leisure and tourism urban redevelopment frontiers that have radically reworked Cape Town's central business district along with adjacent neighbourhoods. It is shown that urban redevelopment has come to spill over to ever larger parts of central Cape Town and (if not governed with care) risks rendering vast parts of the central city effectively exclusionary to most of the Cape Town population. On the whole, this investigation serves as a further instance to be heeded by other cities around the globe that aim to deploy leisure and tourism-led interventions as central or part of their central city redevelopment initiatives.

Key words: urban renewal; urban redevelopment; leisure; tourism; gentrification; Cape Town; South Africa

Introduction

In the Global North, urban redevelopment has been one of the key concerns of urban social science in both theoretical and empirically-based settings for a considerable time (Gotham, 2001; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; 2010). A range of different types of interventions both private and public, and often in combination, have been identified (Didier, Morange & Peyroux, 2013; McDonald, 2008). Many of these investigations have highlighted the role of leisure and tourism to create what Clark (2004, p. 1) styled "the city as entertainment machine" – linked interventions central to the often dramatic and extensive reworking of (particularly) central city areas transforming these spaces to cater to the needs of wealthy/wealthier cohorts of urban society (Florida, 2002; Merrifield, 2011). In addition, there is extensive literature on the positive and negative effects of leisure and tourism-led interventions in urban redevelopment discourse (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Lees et al., 2010). Less attention has been focused on cities in the Global South – particularly Africa – that provide insight into how these processes of urban change manifest in these contexts (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015).

This investigation tracks the development of leisure and tourism-led interventions as central to the redevelopment of central Cape Town over the past two decades. It is shown how leisure and tourism development nodes developed and, in time, consolidated into leisure and tourism urban redevelopment frontiers that have radically reworked Cape Town's CBD along with adjacent districts and neighbourhoods. It is shown that urban redevelopment has come to spill over to ever larger parts of central Cape

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Town and, if not governed with care, risks rendering vast parts of the central city effectively exclusionary to most of the Cape Town population. On the whole, this investigation not only aims to track the development of urban leisure and tourism-led redevelopment frontiers, but to serve as a cautionary tale for other African cities that aim to deploy leisure and tourism-led interventions as central or part of their central city redevelopment initiatives.

Earlier instances of leisure and tourism-led urban renewal

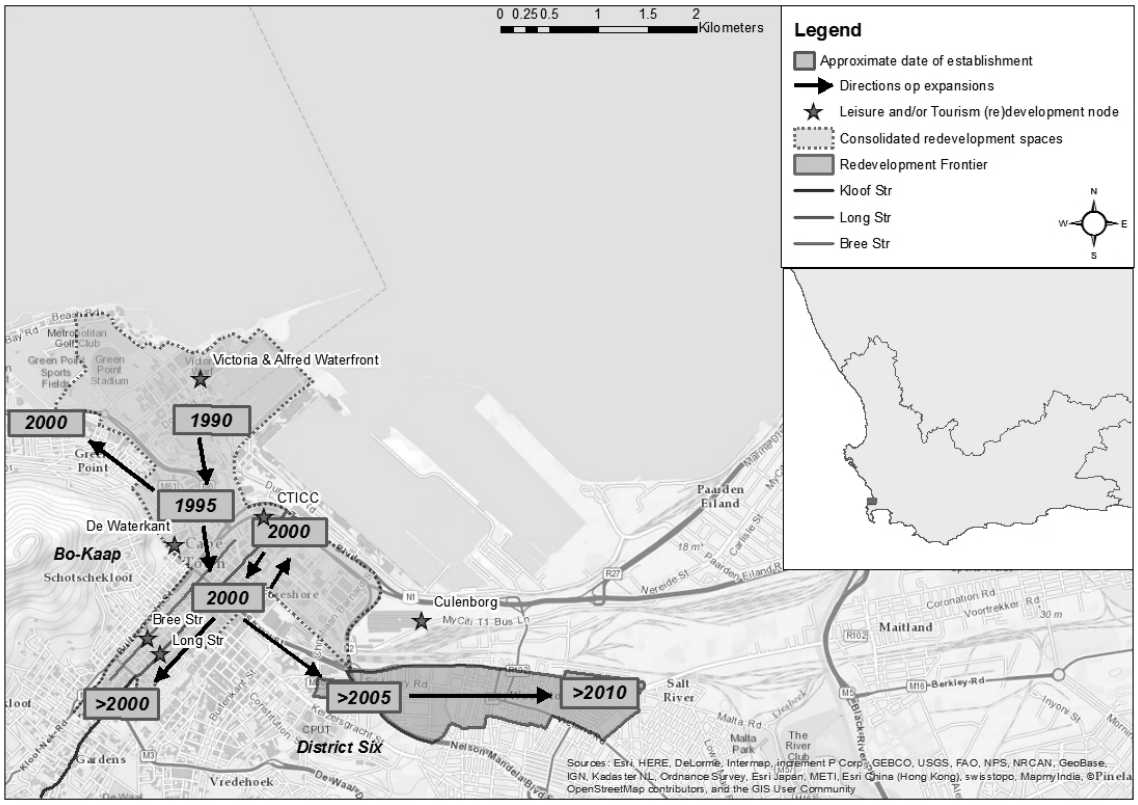
Prior to the 1980s, research on urban tourism and its links to urban redevelopment discourse was fragmented and not recognised as a distinct field of research and of limited interest to, for example, mainstream urban geographers, sociologists, as well as urban and regional planners (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p. 1). Economic restructuring during the 1970s hit many cities in the developed world hard – not least their central business districts (Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010). By the 1980s, many American and European cities' stagnant CBDs' economies prompted various spheres of government to seek alternative development strategies (Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010). Key among those strategies were the deployment of leisure and tourism as a developmental driver (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Gotham, 2005). Over the past three decades, an extensive literature has developed in which the link between leisure and tourism-led renewal has been outlined. Ashworth & Page (2011, pp. 1–2)) note that urban tourism has become an extremely important, worldwide form of tourism; it has, however, received a disproportionately small amount of attention from scholars of either tourism or of the city – and despite its significance, its role and impact on a range of different spheres of urban life. The impact of urban leisure and tourism was, for the most part, successfully deployed in a number of American and European cities but initially less so in developing world contexts – least of all, Africa. In South Africa, one city – Cape Town – has been the most proactive in harnessing the developmental outcome of leisure and tourism to address inner city decay. The successes of these interventions elsewhere in the world (depending on one's analytical perspective – see Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 1989) provided some general pointers towards a new development strategy for Cape Town, mainly framed by leisure and tourism activities during the 1980s, and underlying much of contemporary Cape Town's central city development trajectory.

The CBDs of all South Africa's major cities started to decline because of the sharp increase in suburban economic node development from the 1970s (Beavon, 2004; Dewar, 2004; Didier et al., 2013; Rogerson & Rogerson, 1999). Capital flight was evident by the early 1990s, although differentially so in different spatial contexts, particularly with regard to residential living. Johannesburg, for example, experienced unprecedented levels of fear of crime linked to escalating crime rates, and overcrowded physically deteriorated buildings (Didier et al., 2013, p. 124). In Cape Town, the inner city was smaller in extent and residential population – around 55,000 inhabitants, as opposed to some 200,000 in Johannesburg's high density residential buildings – and fewer derelict high-rise residential buildings. Residential squatting opportunities were limited in Cape Town and the inner-city was abutted by well-established middle and upper middle class neighbourhoods at least on the western edge of the CBD (Didier et al., 2013, p. 124). Nevertheless, central Cape Town was experiencing urban blight, institutional capital flight, and increasingly avoided by the middle classes. However, plans to arrest further decline were already underway by the mid-1980s (Dewar, 2004; Pirie, 2007) with commentators such as Dewar (2004) pessimistic about Cape Town's CBD being any different from other South Africa cities – blight would be the future trajectory of the Cape Town CBD – but it was not the be the case.

The development of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) in the late 1980s represented the establishment of the first leisure and tourism redevelopment on the fringes of Cape Town's CBD. The advent of successful international waterfront redevelopments in the 1970s and 1980s led to increasing interest in the Cape Town docklands as a site of new economic growth (Ferreira & Visser, 2007). Following the neo-liberal turn of the global North (Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010), commercial development and privatization were perceived as desirable ways of developing state and municipal land, not least lots of land adjacent to economically and physically degraded central business districts (Ferreira & Visser, 2007). From an economic point of view, the historic part of the Port of Cape Town had become underutilized as a result of changing shipping technology and harbour expansion. By the early 1980s, the original Dock's Offices, Cape Town's first power station, warehouses, and numerous smaller Victorian buildings had all suffered years of insensitive and inadequate maintenance and industrial use. The general environment reflected the limited concerns of a working harbour, although the fabric of the granite quay walls, timber wharves and jetties provided one of the most romantic settings in the city (De Tolly, 1990). A committee was established in 1985 to investigate the potential for greater public use of harbour areas. This resulted in the Burggraaf Committee Report in 1987, which proposed that the historic docklands around the Victoria and Alfred Basins be redeveloped as a mixed-use area focusing on retail, tourism, and residential development within the context of a continuing operation of the working harbour. The South African Cabinet accepted the recommendations in full in June 1988. Public sentiment was, however, negative when the V&AW Company was formed and work started in 1989 (Van Zyl 2005, p. 1).

The V&AW underwent a number of development phases (Ferreira & Visser, 2007). The first phases (Pierhead in 1995, Portwood Ridge in 1996, Amsterdam Battery in 1997, and Alfred Marina in 2000) were all completed before formal urban renewal plans such as the Cape Town Partnership started their work (see below). By the late 1990s, the precinct was an established leisure and tourism node catering to the mainly leisure and tourism needs of local, national and international visitors through a range of "shoppertainment" options (Van Zyl, 2005). In opposition to the national trends, large capital investments were made in this area adjacent to a still struggling CBD. The contrast with similar locations in other South African cities could not have been starker – but certainly captured the imagination of how central urban spaces could be transformed. The V&AW was a property investment exception in South Africa, now drawing 24 million leisure seekers (26% international, 58% local and 16% domestic) to the fringe of the CBD in ever larger numbers. In the wake of the success of the V&AW a number of similar Waterfront developments mostly unsuccessful, were undertaken in places such as Bloemfontein (Loch Logan) and Johannesburg (Bruma and Randburg waterfronts). In addition, the V&AW now comprises 123 hectares of retail, office, and residential space. Its nominal contribution of GDP is over R33.4 billion and its cumulative contribution since 2002 is R223.7 billion (De Villiers, 2016). Among the most expensive residential property in South Africa is to be found in the V&AW precinct, its extremities having now formed a redevelopment frontier of urban renewal abutting the CBD to the South and De Waterkant to the West. Development in these areas is continuing unabated. Land for further redevelopment is starting to run out. Indeed, these initial redevelopment nodes have consolidated into redevelopment frontiers, which have come to abut the northern fringes of the CBD, and the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC) and moving east towards the Culemborg district (Borraine, 2010) (Figure 1).

Figure 1
Trajectory of redevelopment frontier in central Cape Town



Source: Authors survey.

Two other leisure and tourism interventions, one totally privately-led and another a public-private partnership abutting the northern reaches of the CBD would follow in the 1990s – De Waterkant as a gay village for leisure and the CTICC as a conference tourism node.

During the late 1980s, the very same processes of urban blight in the CBD that predated the development of the V&AW played a central role in the relocation of Cape Town's gay leisure scene from the CBD to a then slowly gentrifying neighbourhood of De Waterkant (Visser, 2003a). Gay leisure seekers initially, and later gay tourists from elsewhere in South Africa, and even later international gay visitors (Visser, 2003b) led to the development of Africa's first gay village and a rapid intensification of gentrification of the area. In addition, by the mid-1990s many of the residential properties – and in large part owing to the area's close proximity to the V&AW – were being used as second homes and let as tourist accommodation (Visser, 2004). During the mid-2000s, De Waterkant became emblematic of gay villages seen in many American and European cities (Rink, 2008; Visser, 2014a). The popularity of the area opened up towards the fringes of the core parts of De Waterkant and started to spill over in all directions, leading to the creation of a creative industries hub focused on design, business, and advertising, and popular among both hetero- and homosexual leisure seekers, tourists and workers (Visser, 2014a). By 2010, however, the neighbourhood was losing its gay appeal as ever larger numbers of heterosexual tourists started to frequent the area. In addition, large-scale institutional capital started to move in. The second homes owners, and at first mainly used by gay men and then international tourists more generally, became essentially part of a neighbourhood-sized hotel initially managed by

the tourist accommodation business, Village and Life (Visser, 2004; Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2015). The development of the first phase of the Cape Quarters lifestyle centre and its expansive extension necessitated the demolition of most of the gay leisure facilities and the relocation of a few bars and or clubs' gay leisure spaces towards the periphery of the precinct on the V&AW end of De Waterkant in Corbin Street. The area is now one of the key nodes for the Cape Town design and filming industries, along with selective high-end retail. The leisure and tourism-led redevelopment frontiers of the V&AW and De Waterkant have now converged (Visser, 2014a), but so too with another tourism development node: the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC).

The Cape Town International Convention Centre Company (Convenco), is the holding company of the CTICC, formed in 1999 through collaboration between the City of Cape Town, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape, and the business sector. The primary objective was to diversify the Cape Town tourism product by delivering a world-class international convention centre in Cape Town that would provide meeting, convention and exhibition services and facilities for local and international organisations and their guests. It was envisaged by the Convenco co-founders that the CTICC would have a sustainable positive impact on the economic and social development of Cape Town, the Western Cape and South Africa as a whole. Since its establishment a whole convention precinct has developed linking to the V&AW, and the precinct itself hosting no fewer than twelve top-end business hotels and linking up with the lower reaches of the De Waterkant development frontier.

The redevelopment of central Cape Town

At first, it has to be noted that tourism, particularly international tourism, came to impact central Cape Town by the mid-1990s. Whereas local Capetonians and South African nationals mainly avoided the CBD and visited the V&AW, the international tourist engaged the CBD. There were, however, a concentration of sites, such as Green Market Square, Parliament, Company Gardens and a number of museums that held appeal (Pirie, 2007). This was recognised by a range of role-players both in the tourism sector and those engaged in more traditional economic activities. In this respect, local governance structures played a central role in providing the necessary regulatory framework for the re-imagination of the CBD and its function(s). What is important to note is that already existing leisure and tourism functions underpinned the further expansion of redevelopment interventions in the CBD itself (Pirie, 2004; Visser & Kotze, 2008).

In July 1999, the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a non-profit management agency, was established, comprising representation from the City Council, the Cape Metro Council, the South African Property Owners Association, private businesses and their representative organisation (see Borraine, 2010). The CTP's brief was to lead and manage the regeneration of Cape Town's central city and promote it as a destination for global business, investment, retail, entertainment and leisure, launching Cape Town into the global arena. The former CEO is reported as having stated that "we are building a globally competitive city for residents, investors and visitors to enjoy" (Lemanski, 2007, p. 451) – (note: residents to enjoy in terms of leisure; visitors to enjoy in terms of tourism). The footprint of neo-liberal localisation was apparent as these sentiments fall within the rubric of the city as "entertainment machine" (Clark, 2004) as a drawcard for competitive investment capital. A critical 'moment' marking the creation of neo-liberal localisation is reflected in the CTP's major projects – the Central City Improvement Districts (CCID) – the first established in November 2000 an area equivalent to the old CBD (Miraftab, 2007). The additional revenue, raised by the CCIDs through property-owners in the area being levied a supplementary rate, has been used to great effect to 'clean up' the city in terms of crime (including permanent security managers, private security officers, mobile patrol vehicles, mounted patrol officers,

parking marshals, and a CCTV network co-operating with public law enforcement agencies), as well as refuse removal, making the city a more attractive place in which to invest and/or locate businesses (Miraftab, 2007; Pirie, 2007). There are currently 17 CIDs – and, as noted by Didier et al. (2013, p. 128), in predominantly formerly white residential areas of the inner city. In the nearly two decades of the CCID's operation, Cape Town's central district has undergone dramatic transformation with massive private investment including upgrades, new developments and new lease agreements as new types of businesses have flocked to the city's central spaces along with more traditional banking and government service functions. In total, more than R35 billion (approximately US$2.5 billion) has been invested in an area no larger than 4 square km since 2000. Indeed, an exhaustive survey by Pirie (2007) indicates the density and massive spatial scope of this 'turn around'. This is a significant change from the late 1990s era when businesses and residents were fleeing the decaying and crime-ridden CBD that had become dominated by street-hawkers and vagrants (Lemanski, 2007, pp. 451–452). The success of the CTP has fanned out in the creation of new operational CCID precincts in and around the city in Gardens, Green Point, Sea Point, Oranje-Kloof, and Woodstock. Indeed, much of what was Cape Town a hundred years ago is now overseen by a kind of 'shadow local government' (CCIDs), slowly spilling in the adjacent neighbourhoods and streets that connect the CBD with them.

Towards the west of the CCID, Long Street has had a long-term appeal for leisure consumption which in part pre-dates the time-line of this investigation. Broader appeal of this precinct is however found in the second part of the 1990s. In itself, it was and further became a leisure and tourism node that played its role in the development of an urban redevelopment frontier, first spilling onto Loop and Bree Street and now linking the CBD, De Waterkant and increasingly the Bo-Kaap (Kotze, 2013). The establishment of particularly backpacker hostels, hotels and later hotels drew on the vibrancy of the areas in the context of Cape Town's accelerated international and national tourism appeal (Rogerson, 2012). The consolidation of this area linked to the redevelopment frontiers of De Wakterkant, the CTICC precinct, and the V&AW stimulated the southern focusing of private, public and institutional investment capital by now all key elements in the strategic development plans of the Cape Town Partnership (Borraine, 2010).

The fallout of leisure and tourism-led urban redevelopment: Moving through Woodstock towards Observatory and Salt River

It has been shown that the 2000s third wave gentrification took hold of the CBD (Lees et al. 2008; Visser & Kotze, 2008). The re-working of the urban fabric increasingly focused on creative industries, particularly film and advertising to start off with (Visser, 2014b), underpinned by leisure and tourism functions that have resulted in very different neighbourhoods and districts from what it was in the early 1990s (cf. Dewar, 2004)

By the mid-2000s, the CBD and neighbouring areas redevelopment frontiers have merged – the CBD core and frame towards the north and west have consolidated in a new development frontier (Figure 1). The gentrification of Upper Woodstock, Lower Gardens and University Estate was identified as echoing similar processes in De Waterkant since the late 1980s, which both linked to first and second wave gentrification (Donaldson et al., 2014; Garside 1993; Kotze, 1998; 2013; Visser & Kotze, 2008). Over time, it has become increasingly clear that families and individuals who have been associated with the Woodstock area were increasingly experiencing the pressure of upward price pressure not only in terms of housing but also living costs, and lifestyles in its many different expressions. With trendy office space and eateries, Woodstock is a drawcard for new business and property investors. Some of

the current, already-redeveloped areas within Woodstock include The Palm Centre at the beginning of the 2000s and later additions in the form of The Old Biscuit Mill, The Old Castle Brewery, The Woodstock Foundry, and The Woodstock Exchange, signalling high-end investment, production, and consumption of urban space adjacent to the reworked CBD.

There is an increasing mismatch between general employment types and the historical residents' skillsets. Employment opportunities are limited to participating in generally high-skill services and creative industries, though service workers readily find maintenance level jobs, whilst ownership of the economic opportunities are highly unlikely among the original business and residential population. Edwards (2016) comments, "Woodstock's time has returned. It is coming off a low capital base, with billions of Rands of investment designated for improvement to the area, and as far I'm concerned, there's only an upside for investors. It's central, it's hip, and it's happening." Indeed, Chait (Land Equity Chairman) acknowledges, "some people may call this type of development gentrification, but Woodstock is improving" (Edwards, 2016). "In the end it is home to some of the world's best restaurants and is a popular destination for South African and foreign visitors alike" (Edwards, 2016) – a claim that is very problematic for a country that from a policy perspective aims to make South African cities more accessible on a number of fronts. The proportionally shrinking number of coloured working class residents might see this "improvement" in a different light (Hyman, 2016). Recently, a new development was announced, incorporating mixed land use, but a mainly residential apartment block – The Iron Works – with apartments starting at "only R1.3 million" for a 50m2 one-bedroom property (The Iron Works, 2016). Not only is the property inappropriate for a working class family, it is totally out of their financial reach.

A new development frontier is being proposed by both the local authority and keenly pursued by private developers. A track of derelict land comprising railways and warehouses between Woodstock and the harbour – Culemborg – has been earmarked for redevelopment for some time (Borraine, 2010). The most prominent proposal is an R80 billion development that will connect the CBD, Salt River and Woodstock to the V&AW. According to the designers, Makeka Design, there would be four neighbourhoods linked by a central spine or grand promenade. Although future investors are told that this would be a space for everyone, one has to be somewhat sceptical when informed that "Neighbourhood A would be mixed-use with a cultural centre, museum and boutique hotels; Neighbourhood B would be a centre of technological research and education; Neighbourhood C would be a government services area with staff housing and parliamentary loft apartments and Neighbourhood D would be a health and lifestyle area with clinics, sport medical centres and a fitness park" (Makeka Designs, 2016). It is very difficult to see how the more marginalised residents of Woodstock or Salt River, or those living further afield on the vast Cape Flats are going to find a footing in these kinds of places and spaces.

Discussion and conclusion

The leisure and tourism-led urban redevelopment nodes of the initial interventions have become frontiers and are now moving into territories near impossible to have been foreseen as desirable for the middle classes and elite as places of leisure, work and residential spaces twenty years ago when the V&AW was developed some 2km from Woodstock, and even less from a decaying CBD. The suggestion in the narrative presented aimed to highlight how a series of leisure, and/or tourism focussed interventions were fundamental to, or in part instigated, and/or in concert supported a number of urban redevelopment nodes and frontiers.

One has to be careful to assign absolute causality to leisure and tourism consumption alone to the re-imagination in the extensive urban renewal and gentrification processes that have unfolded in a range of neighbourhoods in central Cape Town. However, it would be folly to underestimate their importance. It would appear that the role of creating places and spaces of leisure and tourism – first of all – was the starting point of the cultural, social and economic re-imagination of central Cape Town as it currently stands. What needs to be acknowledged is the linking of the leisure, tourism, and residential spaces with the creative and service industries as key drivers in the development of the CBD and neighbourhoods adjacent to it.

The larger issue is, however, that Cape Town, and arguably national public and investment firms' imagination of neighbourhoods in close proximity to the CBD have been re-worked. Whether or not they (developers, institutional or individuals) respond to this, is entirely a different issue. The evidence suggests that it is not individuals, as was the case with the initial gentrification of De Waterkant and Upper Woodstock that are now involved in the redevelopment of these neighbourhoods, but also increasingly corporate capital and the local authority that appear to be all too keen to support these investments through planning permission and redevelopment mechanisms such as CCIDs.

These developments also need to be seen on a broader canvas – how South African urban residents and property investors elsewhere imagine their central city areas. One might think of this as "urban imaginary contagion" – that what happened in Cape Town can and does fundamentally alter the types of urban futures which certain cohorts of urban dwellers elsewhere in South Africa see in terms of the possibilities of central city areas and their desire to consume and/or produce certain types of urban spaces.

The relevance of the sequence of urban development discourses and trajectories are being mimicked elsewhere in urban South Africa – principally, its large metropolitan areas. Few would have predicted Cape Town's redevelopment path twenty years ago. As indicated earlier, Dewar (2004) was very pessimistic about the ability of the CBD and its surrounds to have any real chance of surviving post-apartheid desegregation and business decentralisation (admittedly as a rather problematic interpretation of what CBDs should be and look like and for whom). Nevertheless, he ascribed very specific functions to CBDs, which, as seen elsewhere, have changed in fundamental ways to "entertainment machines" and new types of economic sectors. For example, the notion that a return of the suburban middle and upper classes to the Johannesburg CBD was possible would have been unimaginable even to the most optimistic of urban scholars or property developers until recently. Yet, the reality of a Maboneng or Juta Street in Braamfontein is challenging the "pessimistic" resolve of permanent urban blight for South Africa's metropolitan regions' former white CBDs (e.g. Gregory, 2016; Hoogendoorn & Gregory, 2016; Nevin, 2014; Walsh, 2013). These investigations show how fundamentally the role of particular kinds of leisure seeking – drink, food, art etc. being key – is in the transformation of this once blighted part of central Johannesburg[1]. The very fact that RHB Holdings has bought a third of Propertuity, the company that developed and manages the "Maboneng District" speaks to corporate capital's interest in participating in processes of urban renewal (Anderson, 2016, p. 1). Individual agency has played its role, and still is, but is starting to give way to institutional capital, a typical sign of third wave gentrification. The very idea that the founder and majority owner Jonathan Liebmann also aims to acquire assets in the Pretoria CBD, and has already done so in Durban, shows a long term commitment to urban renewal led by leisure/tourism consumption and production, setting the context in which other economic activities closely associated with the creative industries then follow in other central city areas too.

The lack of mainstream academic interest in urban renewal in South Africa's central cities is not only because it is a fairly recent process, but I think it also is located in the somewhat naïve and narrow idea that urban leisure and tourism as key drivers in inclusive urban morphological change on the one hand, and on the other that it can be sufficiently managed to be inclusive of a broader range of urban residents. As seen in Cape Town, once the leisure/tourism-based redevelopment genie has been released, getting it back in the bottle, or getting it to follow particular trajectories is difficult, if not impossible. The current direction seems to suggest increased exclusion and displacement of the former host communities, or meaningful engagement by a broader base of urban residents. This was clearly registered in De Waterkant, the CBD, and Long Street precinct; increasingly in Woodstock, there is gentrification pressure in the Bo-Kaap and the possibility of new-build gentrification in Culenborg and the Voortrekker corridor leading east towards Goodwood.

It may also be that there is still some sort of South African exceptionalism at stake in thinking through urban processes. South African cities are to be seen as unique, and critiques of this approach to the cities have been made. The lack of research interest in gentrification and leisure-based urban redevelopment of central urban areas linked to various forms of identity-based consumption and creative industry suggests that something like this cannot happen in South Africa, or is not that important – because our circumstances are too unique, and are not like those seen elsewhere. The remark, however, speaks to a far larger urban debate, in many ways so forcefully led by South African urban theorists (see Robinson, 2011). Somehow, Southern cities are unique to the extent that Northern theory is somewhat irrelevant to their urban development trajectories. Whilst I certainly support the effort that Southern cities have been given voice in the grand urban theory debates, it might be useful to consider the utility of these kinds of processes that have unfolded in central Cape Town in some Northern contexts (cf. Mabin, 2014).

Finally, as Robinson (2014) proposes, "stretching" these experiences over larger geographical investigatory terrain, a set of issues can be considered for African cities that aim or are already deploying leisure and tourism as development drivers for urban economic development and renewal. The concern highlighted here can be "scaled up" to other African cities. A range of these cities have developed as vibrant business and leisure destinations. One can think of the cities that have seen significant expansion of various elements of their tourism systems such as Addis Ababa, Lagos, Luanda, and Maputo. The development of leisure and tourism nodes as central or part concerns in central city redevelopment initiatives in Cape Town has shown how urban redevelopment frontiers can develop. Once in place, they provide a base from which other parts of the central city can be reimagined in other contexts. Underlying this investigation was the notion that those existing and new spaces that are created are of a particular kind that is seemingly mostly exclusionary of the earlier host communities or potential participants in those spaces. Whilst these new places and spaces provide opportunity – they do so differentially. The most advantaged are the already advantaged – the lower rungs of service support are the same. The worst affected are those that are displaced from places and spaces that once, or for some time, were "theirs". Real economic and social participation in these leisure and tourism-led redevelopment nodes and later frontiers are in the end reserved for those with extensive kinds of capital (cf. Schuermans & Visser 2005). The point is to think that these issues through in other contexts have been gestured towards (in the cases Johannesburg). Africa has in increasing measure started to harness urban and leisure and tourism strategies as ways in which to revive, expand, build new urban economies as ways in which to develop or redevelop central city regions. The point of this investigation is that it requires considerable governance skills to try to avert the potential negative consequences and displacement and exclusion of host communities or the general urban population as a whole. Deploying leisure and

tourism-led redevelopment interventions in the global South often require skills that are in short supply in the governance of African cities.

Note

[1] It has to be acknowledged that the manner in which urban renewal/gentrification in these areas take place are/were not identical. In the case of Maboneng abandoned warehouse or hijacked building are being re-imagined in spaces of creativity and leisure. In Cape Town more classic gentrification is at stake with the urban poor and working class being displaced from inner-city housing

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