Small businesses and township tourism around Cape Town

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements of Leeds Metropolitan University

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2014

Abstract

Township tourism is a controversial, yet increasingly popular, form of international tourism. To date, research on this topic has focused on its ethical dimensions, the representation of the townships, or tourists' experiences. Few studies concentrate on the supply side of township tourism and the small businesses that are involved. Addressing this lacuna, this research aims to enhance understanding of small businesses involved in township tourism. Its main original contribution to knowledge is the conceptualisation and identification of contextualised business orientations among owners of small township tourism businesses, as well as providing an explanation of the ways in which these orientations influence business practices.

Empirical enquiry took place in Langa and Imizamo Yethu townships near Cape Town. During an initial field visit, 80 small township tourism business owners were interviewed regarding their business goals; their perspectives on how a small business should be run; their actual business practices; and their relationships with other businesses and local residents. During a second field visit the following year, short follow-up interviews were held with 74 participants to clarify uncertainties and discuss new developments. These interviews were supplemented by participant observation. Additionally, policymakers and owners of enterprises outside of the townships in the Cape Town area were interviewed in order to further contextualise the findings.

The research reveals the townships to be a highly uncertain and restraining business context, in which owners must predominantly focus upon financial goals. In this environment seven business orientations are uncovered, all of which prioritise the economic aspects of business: constrained business growth; ideological business growth; growth of business premises; survivalist (lacking other options); portfolio; additional income; and lifestyle subsistence. The identification of these contextualised business orientations help understand the behaviour of small township tourism businesses, particularly with regards to their lack of market access and limited cooperative relationships. Business orientations also provide insights into why current policy support is not as effective as it might be.

Candidate's Declaration

I confirm that the thesis is my own work; and that all published or other sources of material consulted have been acknowledged in notes to the text or the bibliography.

I confirm that the thesis has not been submitted for a comparable academic award.

Ko Koens

Acknowledgements

Thank you to everybody who made this PhD possible, you know who you are!

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1. Introduction

1.1 Small tourism businesses in developing countries: widespread yet under-researched

Increasingly portrayed as an essential part of tourism economies, small businesses attract widespread interest among policymakers and developmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in developing countries (Jaafar et al., 2011; Rogerson, 2005b). The United Nations World Tourism Organisation and International Labour Organisation highlight the labour-intensive nature of the industry and the low entry barriers for people to become involved (UNWTO, 2006a, p.2; Weinz & Servoz, 2011, pp.iii/5). They suggest that small tourism business ownership provides livelihood opportunities for those who might otherwise be unemployed, particularly more vulnerable groups in society (e.g. unskilled workers, women, migrants, etc.). Furthermore, small tourism businesses are thought to drive social and economic development in areas with few other income-generating opportunities (Dieke, 2003; UNWTO, 2006b; Weinz & Servoz, 2011). At the same time there is research to suggest that policymakers sometimes label small tourism businesses as backwards, undynamic or a hindrance to innovation and growth (Thomas et al., 2011, p.1). For example, craft vendors and tour guides in the Gambia have been perceived by some as a nuisance to tourists that could make the destination less attractive to tourists (Bah & Goodwin, 2003).

Proponents of the pro-poor tourism movement argue that small tourism businesses should be integrated more fully into the mainstream tourism industry to ensure they provide net economic benefits for "the poor" (Ashley et al., 2000; Ashley & Haysom, 2006). Despite public and private efforts, most small tourism businesses still operate in a very separate sphere to the tourism establishment. They often operate from distant locations and may seem incompatible with other enterprises in their thinking on how businesses should be run. Closer observation shows that this apparent incompatibility may be attributed to current limited understandings of the ways in which small tourism businesses operate (Harvey, 2011, p.174; Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002, p.53; McNab, 2005). As Scheyvens (2007, p.242) argues, there is a need for a more holistic perspective that provides "detailed studies of systems, processes, places and interactions between people". Additionally, an understanding of the institutional context (e.g. government regulations and activities of non-governmental actors) is required, yet often underestimated (Correia, 2009, pp.25–29). This is particularly important since small

businesses in developing countries are situated in a socio-cultural context that is very different from the developed world (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012).

DeBerry-Spence and Elliot (2012, p.3) blame the lack of more in-depth and context-dependent research on the fact that such work is time-consuming and will not provide easy or quick-fix solutions. This situation has allowed at least some research findings to be based on and reinforce preconceived assumptions, stereotypes and prejudice, rather than thorough analysis, grounded in the local setting (Meagher, 2004; Tinker, 2003). One example of this is the idea that tourism is dominated by small businesses – in fact, compared to other industries (e.g. agriculture, fishing, real estate) small businesses make up a smaller proportion of the tourism industry. Additionally, such reasoning fails to recognise the disproportionate importance of large enterprises with regards to the number of people employed in the sector (Thomas et al., 2011, p.2).

The characteristics of small tourism businesses are still little understood and have received surprisingly little attention in academic research. In their recent review of the field, Thomas et al. (2011, pp.1–2) note that small businesses remain under-theorised and under-researched in the tourism literature, and that few robust attempts have been made to understand these organisations, their defining features or the underlying dynamics of their development. A particular weakness of earlier research is that businesses are conceived narrowly and almost exclusively in isolation from the wider social context (ibid, p.2). This is especially true for small businesses in developing countries, where research has largely been limited to descriptive case study reports, albeit with some notable exceptions (e.g. Dahles, 1999b; Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002).

The current thesis contributes to an understanding of small businesses in developing countries through an investigation of small township tourism businesses and their owners in South Africa. It builds understanding of the ways in which small businesses operate within township tourism as well as how owners manage their businesses. It looks at the role and position of small business owners within township tourism and provides insights into the relative importance of social and business networks. Small township tourism businesses and their relationships are deliberately investigated within their historical, social and structural context.

1.2 Towards a better understanding of small township tourism businesses

Investigating small township tourism businesses in the Cape Town area

From the mid-1990s onwards the South African government has been heralded internationally for its tourism policies. Its main tourism policy documents, the 'White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa' (RSA, 1996) and 'Tourism in GEAR' (RSA, 1998), stress the importance of small business development within a responsible tourism context. Small businesses are seen as key to achieve the wider objective of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), an endeavour to empower Formerly Disadvantaged Individuals (FDI – non-white people, who were repressed under apartheid). Policy measures have been taken to encourage tourism actors to move beyond their current paradigms and contribute to poverty reduction by engaging with FDI-owned small tourism businesses (RSA, 2005b). These policy documents have contributed to a policy context that is, at least on paper, favourable for small township tourism businesses, making South Africa a particularly suitable location for the current research.

The townships in and around the cities of South Africa are rapidly becoming one of the most popular tourist attractions in the country (Rolfes et al., 2009).This form of tourism is controversial and heavily criticised on ethical grounds in popular media, although potential financial benefits for impoverished communities are also recognised (Steinbrink et al., 2012). Given the relatively high profile of township tourism it is extraordinary that only a limited amount of academic work has been done on the subject. Although a body of literature is developing (e.g. Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Frenzel et al., 2012), most of this work deals with issues of ethics, representation and tourist experiences, while the supply side of the industry, and small businesses in particular, receiving less attention (Freire-Medeiros, 2010; Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Additionally, most research has focused primarily on tourism in townships around Johannesburg. The townships around Cape Town remain relatively unexplored, even though they are visited by an estimated 250,000 to 500,000 international tourists annually (CTRU, 2006a; 2006b; 2006c).

Aim and Objectives of the research

The thesis focuses on small tourism businesses in Langa and Imizamo Yethu, two townships near Cape Town. Its primary aim is to:

Gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which small township tourism businesses are run and how they interact with other businesses through an investigation of small business owners in their historical, social and institutional context.

To achieve this aim, three research objectives are identified:

1. Identify the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

2. Determine and define the ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access

3. Distinguish and characterise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

The first research objective is to identify the services that are provided by small township tourism businesses. This will help to better understand the importance of different types of small township tourism businesses within the township tourism industry. Contrary to previous research that focused only on one or two specific types of tourism businesses (e.g. tour operators or accommodation providers) (Butler, 2012; Rolfes et al., 2007; Rolfes et al., 2009; Maliepaard, 2010; Rogerson, 2004d; Rogerson, 2004c), this study investigates a variety of small township tourism businesses and includes craft workers, catering businesses, performance artists, tour guides and visitor attractions. It aims to show the extent to which these different types of businesses are active in the two townships, while also comparing the characteristics of the owners and their businesses.

The second research objective focuses on the relationships among small township tourism businesses and the ways in which owners try to gain market access. Previous research suggests that small township tourism businesses have difficulties gaining custom and lack effective social and business networks that could enable them to do so (Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d). Current findings will increase understanding of owners' social and business relations and the ways in which these influence business practices and the likelihood of successfully accessing the market.

The third research objective contributes towards an understanding of how owners perceive their businesses. Earlier research on small township tourism businesses

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indicates that most are started either because a profitable opportunity is identified or because of a basic need to survive (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007; Rogerson, 2004c). This contrasts with findings in the developed world, where research mainly focuses on lifestyle businesses, and the need to survive is rarely mentioned (Hall & Rusher, 2004; Shaw, 2004; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). Existing work in the developed world therefore provides only a limited understanding of the way township tourism businesses are run and there is little mention in existing literature of the extent to which small tourism business owners combine multiple sources of income for their livelihood. However, research on businesses in other sectors highlights the prevalence of such strategies in insecure economic and structural contexts (Berner et al., 2012; Meagher, 2010) and it can therefore reasonably be expected that this is the case for township tourism businesses as well. A contextualised appreciation of owners' business orientations will provide new insights into these matters and help better elucidate the way township tourism businesses are managed.

1.3 Concepts and definitions

Investigating small township tourism businesses

Within the literature there is an overlap between research on small tourism businesses and that on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs. However, Bolton and Thompson (2002) caution against the casual linkage of small business with entrepreneurship as it can lead to an assumption that the terms are synonymous. In the current thesis the two concepts are considered to be distinctly different. Whereas the terms 'entrepreneurs' and 'entrepreneurial ventures' relate to certain types of actions and behaviour (e.g. always seeking new business opportunities, taking risks), 'small businesses' and 'small business owners' denote a certain type of ownership structure (Carland et al., 1984). In other words, entrepreneurs can run a small business but not all small businesses are run in an entrepreneurial way. This is particularly the case in the tourism industry, where groups of small tourism business owners have been described as non-entrepreneurs (Shaw, 2004, p.127). It certainly cannot be assumed that all township tourism businesses will be run in an entrepreneurial way. To better appreciate how different businesses in the townships are run; the current thesis therefore deals with small businesses and their owners rather than restricting itself only to entrepreneurs or entrepreneurialism.

Defining what constitutes a small township tourism business has proven difficult as there is no "single, uniformly acceptable, definition of a small business" (Storey, 1994, p.9). A common way to distinguish small businesses from their larger counterparts is by using a

statistical definition: If a business has under a certain number of employees or turnover it is classified as 'small'. Although such attempts are not without value and a business with five employees is undoubtedly different from a business with 50 employees, the size bands used to classify businesses are arbitrary and the significance of the categorisation used is often not explained (Thomas, 2000, p.346). For example, in a South African context, small and medium sized businesses are often combined in policy (RSA, 2005b). This means a government support programme may target both a thriving township tour operator that operates nationally, employs over 50 people and focuses predominantly on strategic development, as well as a small township business that employs only a small number of people and is focused mainly on day-to-day business activities. In an attempt to deal with this confusion, academic researchers in South Africa introduced the term 'micro-enterprises' to denote the smallest businesses, albeit without clarifying further what a micro enterprise would look like in terms of business employees or business practices (Rogerson, 2005b).

An alternative way of defining small businesses is by using qualitative criteria. Thomas (2000, p.351) describes essential qualitative features for small tourism businesses as "independence", "a particular kind of service focus" and being "managed by the owner in a holistic manner". This is generally regarded as a more useful starting point for defining small township tourism businesses than a statistical definition. The emphasis on how the business is run provides a clear characterisation that distinguishes small businesses from their larger counterparts. It also enables the exclusion of organisations that are part of tourism but are not run as a small business (e.g. churches and day care centres).

To further distinguish exactly which small township tourism businesses are included in the current research, three additional criteria have been used. Firstly, the business must either be based in the townships or form an integral part of township tourism. For example, craft vendors that are based in the townships but might also sell outside of the township are included, as are small township tour operators that are based outside of the townships. Secondly, following earlier research in South Africa, only small businesses operating directly, although not necessarily exclusively, in the travel and tourism industry are taken into account (Rogerson, 2005b, pp.627–628). This means that freelance cleaners or car mechanics specialising in tourism vehicles, for example, are not taken into account as their clients are only local people rather than tourists. Thirdly, owners need to view their tourism activities primarily as a business that contributes to their income. Several families in the townships host international students on a homestay basis for two weeks a year, but view this more as a cultural exchange than a business. They may actually spend more money on 'Western' food for their international guests

than they receive as payment for the exchange – as such they are not investigated. On the other hand, homestead hosts who have started a B&B business are included.

Among small township tourism businesses three different categories are recognised, based on the extent to which their owners have, or are able to have, employees. A first group of small business owners is described as sole traders. These work on a self-employed basis and do not have any employees. A second category is family businesses. Owners of these businesses employ people year-round, but limit themselves to members of their extended family. In contrast, those in the third category of small businesses, namely businesses with employees, employ at least one person that is not a member of the extended family. The term small business is used as a common denominator for all three types of small businesses.

Informality

Several authors highlight that large numbers of small tourism businesses in developing countries operate informally (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Dahles, 1999b; Freire-Medeiros, 2009; Timothy & Wall, 1997; Thorne, 2011). The conceptual understanding of informality is not always clear (Chen, 2005) but, increasingly, there is consensus that informal work describes licit activities that are unregistered by or hidden from the state – either for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes (Castells & Portes, 1989; Centeno & Portes, 2006; Meagher, 2004; Williams & Nadin, 2012). The concept excludes illegal services (e.g. selling drugs), the production of illegal products and unpaid work or favours (Williams, 2004, p.2).

An implicit assumption when discussing informality is that there is a clear distinction between the formal and informal spheres as exemplified by terms such as 'informal sector' or 'informal economy' (Meagher, 2004) This dualistic perspective can be observed in certain studies of small tourism businesses in developing countries, where a strict distinction is made between the formal, equated with large, capital-intensive, well-structured enterprises, and the informal, meaning small-scale, self-built, independent entrepreneurs (e.g. Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Crick, 1992; Dahles, 1999b; Crick, 1992). However, deregulation, subcontracting and state corruption has caused formal and informal economic activities to become increasingly intertwined, undermining the distinction between the two spheres (ILO, 2002; Pahl, 1984; Rakowski, 1994). In fact almost all small businesses that operate informally in South Africa are linked into the formal economy (Rogerson, 2007a; Skinner, 2006, p.128). Rather than belonging to separate sectors, both formal and informal business activities are part of one economy

(Rogerson, 2007a, p.1056). In this research therefore individual businesses are assessed as having less or more formal characteristics, with no assumption that a separate informal sector exists.

Different races, colours and tribes of a rainbow nation

The idea of South Africa as a 'rainbow nation' was introduced in the 1990s as the country was united in relative harmony after years of structural discrimination (Habib, 1996). The metaphor continues to be used as a construct for the national identity of the country. However, the image of the rainbow nation can be criticised for concealing important issues in a society that continues to struggle with racial tensions, and in which almost 60% of respondents admit to only socialising with people from their own race, while 40% do not trust those of another race (Thabisi, 2004). Ndlovu (2010) suggests that the emphasis on reconciliation, and fear of accusations of re-racialising society, have meant that race has become a taboo subject that is rarely discussed, even though it remains highly significant at all levels of South African social and business life. The continuing importance of race as an issue in South Africa is corroborated by research on tourism businesses in the country (Rogerson, 2004c; Goudie et al., 1999).

Even when the necessity of discussing racial issues within a South African context is clear, there remains the question of how best this should be done, and contemporary South Africans vary in their acceptance and use of racial labels. This study employs the basic racial terminology most commonly used in the country (Besteman, 2008, p.4): African is used to denote black African language speakers such as Zulu and Xhosa; coloured (using the South African spelling from the apartheid era), is used to indicate those of mixed race, Khoisan or Southeast Asian ancestry; Indian is used for those of Indian heritage; and white for Caucasian South Africans. The term black is commonly used by township residents to describe everyone excluded from the privileged white category under apartheid, following anti-apartheid political usage. This group is also referred to as formerly disadvantaged individuals (FDI) or historically disadvantaged individuals (HDI). It is acknowledged that these categories are not value neutral or even technically correct (e.g. it can be argued that after generations of living on the continent, white South Africans are no less African than others). Instead, they are cultural constructs, created in a particular historical and politicised setting. As such, racial monikers are used without quotation marks or the qualifier 'so-called' (Ibid, pp.25–26).

Township tourism as geographically delineated

Implicitly or explicitly, the concept of township tourism is mostly defined and investigated as a phenomenon in which international tourists gaze at the exotic and economically poor on township tours (Steinbrink et al., 2012). While such a definition may account for the most visible and possibly most popular form of township tourism, it creates a bias towards international tourism; excludes tourism activities where the primary attraction is not poverty (e.g. accommodation and catering); does not recognise that tourists may be motivated by a wish to learn more about the history of South Africa or contemporary black culture (Butler, 2012; Frenzel, 2012); and underplays domestic, cultural and/or political tourism that together make up a significant proportion of the tourism taking place in the townships (Frenzel & Koens, 2012, p.15). Accommodation and catering businesses in particular also receive South African tourists, who live in the townships and come to Cape Town on business or to visit family and friends. For these tourists the townships do not represent poverty, but rather a place with a welcoming atmosphere or a convenient location. Instead of a definition based on looking at the exotic and poor, township tourism is, in this research, geographically delineated (i.e. townships are seen as specific destinations). While this approach can be criticised on the basis that the essence of township tourism is the 'culturalisation' of poverty by international tourists, most of whom expect to see impoverished living conditions (Rolfes et al., 2009; Steinbrink, 2012, p.1), such a critique is more important for work on the ethics of township tourism, rather than an investigation of small township tourism businesses.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters (figure 1.1). This introductory chapter provides an overview of the rationale, aims and objectives of the research, as well as introducing the research context and several key concepts.

Figure 1.1: Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1

Small tourism businesses in developing countries: widespread yet under-researched
Towards a better understanding of small township tourism businesses
Concepts and definitions
Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2

Insights from economic, psychological and sociological studies
Understanding small tourism businesses using business goals
A focus on business orientations

Chapter 3

History, culture, and, political and social system
Industry setting
Organisational context
Owner characteristics
Towards a contextualised framework for understanding township tourism

Chapter 4

Assumptions underlying the research
Research approach
Methods of enquiry
Analysis
Reflexivity, ethical considerations and research limitations

Chapter 5

Township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu
Characteristics of small township tourism businesses
Characterisation of small businesses owners

Chapter 6

The importance of control over market access
Social networks: a mixed blessing
Gaining market access in a distrustful society
The policy debate: Recognising diversity and power relations

Chapter 7

Business orientations in a township tourism context
Business orientations among small township tourism businesses
Using business orientations to understand small township tourism businesses

Chapter 8

Summary of the research and main research findings
Theoretical contributions and implications
Practical implications
Limitations of the study and future research recommendations

The next two chapters review the existing literature to provide a conceptual framework for the research. Chapter two reflects on the relevant literature regarding small, mainly tourism, businesses. The primary focus of the chapter is the concept of 'business orientations', which has proven to be a useful aid in understanding apparently irrational economic behaviour by small tourism business owners in the developed world. The concept can also be used to analyse small businesses in developing countries, taking into account the fact that the local context in which they operate will determine the parameters within which a business is run. Chapter three addresses the specific township tourism context and its influence on business orientations. It focuses primarily on the historical, cultural and political context of South Africa as well as the wider industry setting within which township tourism in the Cape Town area operates.

Chapter four deals with methodology. The research design, including methods of data gathering and analysis, is explained, as is the theoretical paradigm that informs the research. Particular attention is paid to ethical considerations that arise when carrying out research in impoverished areas, as well as to the feasibility of undertaking research as an outsider to this particular cultural context.

Chapter five is the first of the results chapters. It begins with a history of tourism in the two townships and provides an outline of the tourism sector's current constitution. Following this, the first research objective is addressed, through an exploration of the kinds of services that are provided by small township tourism businesses and the distribution of these businesses throughout the townships. Their function and position in relation to other tourism enterprises are investigated, thus giving an overview of the activities of small businesses and their role within the township. The chapter then looks at small business owners. The demographic characteristics of owners are described in relation to the different types of township tourism business activities in order to better appreciate the involvement of different actors in township tourism.

Chapter six addresses the second objective of the research. It looks at the relationships between businesses and how these can affect market access. It takes into account both business relations and social networks, with particular attention to power relations in the market and ways of dealing with relationships in an uncertain business environment, such as the townships. The chapter ends with a consideration of government's understanding of small businesses and their relations.

Chapter 7 presents findings that help achieve the third research objective. It begins with a specific description of the local context in which small business owners operate; with a view to better appreciate why certain business orientations can be observed in this

setting. Seven archetypal business orientations that can be observed among small township tourism business owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu are then set out. The chapter compares owners with different business orientations and provides insights into the ways in which these orientations influence how a business is run. Additionally, the ways in which business orientations can change over time are examined, both for individual owners as well as within destinations. Lastly, the lack of government's understanding of different business orientations is considered.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by presenting a summary and review of the findings, a discussion of its contributions to research and theoretical implications, an evaluation of its limitations and suggestions for further research.

2. Understanding small tourism businesses

2.1 Insights from economic, psychological and sociological studies

Small businesses have only garnered much attention from tourism and hospitality academics in the last 20 years (Morrison et al., 2010; Thomas et al., 2011). It is therefore useful to discuss earlier findings from economy, psychology and sociology as these provide initial insights that help to elucidate the more recent work in tourism.

In the field of economics, the concept of entrepreneurship as a defining aspect of small business ownership has long been the focus of research, even when they acknowledge that entrepreneurial behaviour is rare among small business owners. At the start of the 20th century, a variety of entrepreneurial behaviours were identified that are now seen as typical of entrepreneurship: Josef Schumpeter (1934; 1949), for example, emphasised it is innovation that gives entrepreneurs an edge compared to other businesses. Academics in the Chicago School (e.g. Knight, 1921) on the other hand focused on the idea that entrepreneurs are willing and/or able to take greater risks than others than others, while scholars from the Austrian School (Hayek, 1945; Mises, 1949; Kirzner, 1985) directed their attention to entrepreneurs' heightened awareness of business opportunities. In recent years Marc Casson has furthered this thinking by emphasising the need to view an entrepreneur as someone who has the ability to make confident and judgmental decisions based on a different perception of the business environment from others (Casson, 1982; 2005, p.328).

Early psychological work on entrepreneurship focused on identifying the traits that supposedly characterised an entrepreneurial personality (e.g. a need for achievement, an internal locus of control) (Brockhaus, 1980; Hornaday, 1982; McClelland, 1961). Such efforts have largely been unsuccessful and have been criticised for being deterministic in that they presume entrepreneurs will always act in similar ways. This disregards the fact that small business owners' decisions are socially embedded and can vary hugely (Minniti & Levesque, 2008; Venkataraman, 1997). Even when people adhere to reasonably consistent values, these are not always expressed in the same way (Koens, 2004; Stainton Rogers, 2003). Nowadays, it is becoming increasingly clear that, rather than a trait, entrepreneurship is related to certain behaviours. In other words it is the "personification or embodiment of a particular function" at a certain time (Rocha & Birkinshaw, 2007, p.12). While certain small business owners may behave in an entrepreneurial manner more often than others, every small business owner can occasionally do so given the right circumstances (Davidsson, 2006).

This raises important questions regarding why and how small business owners perform entrepreneurial acts. Contemporary psychological work that focuses on motivation, perception and decision-making can provide some insights into this. In contrast with research in economics, findings from psychology highlight that not all actions are motivated by a desire for financial gain. People may also seek lifestyle benefits, fear lost opportunities and compare themselves to, or copy, others (Rokeach, 1973). Furthermore, research has revealed that business owners are "boundedly rational" (i.e. they have to take decisions on the basis of a limited amount of information) and, because of the high number of decisions that need to be taken, they must make some of them unconsciously (Hiemstra et al., 2006; Mitchell et al., 2007, p.21). Small business owners therefore make judgements based on heuristics, rules-of-thumb or stereotypes. For example, they might see people of higher status as more competent; or perceive potential competitors nearby in a particularly negative way even when these pose less of a threat than competitors that are less visible (Fiske et al., 2002).

Sociological approaches to small businesses and entrepreneurship take as their primary focus the social relationships that lie at the heart of small business organisation, rather than the single entrepreneur (Goss, 1991, p.25). One string of work has highlighted the extent to which factors such as socio-economic class background, gender, ethnicity and previous occupational experience can explain the motives and actions of those who own a small business. For example, a high level of education, along with a lack of alternative employment opportunities, increases the likelihood of an individual pursuing self-employment (Storey, 1994, p.137). At the same time those who become self-employed because of earlier unemployment are less likely to grow their business. Growth is also related to a business owner's motivation, managerial experience and age, although these relations do not warrant the creation of an entrepreneurial identikit (Ibid, p. 137). Other sociological work takes a demand side approach and emphasises how changes in environmental conditions generate variations in the number of businesses that are initiated. Such work can be criticised for merely describing the context in which small businesses flourish rather than providing an understanding of how businesses are run (Bruyat & Julien, 2000), but it has drawn attention to the importance of the context in which owners operate. Recent efforts emphasise how running a small business ownership is a reciprocal process, and that entrepreneurial processes take place due to an interaction between individuals and their environment (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001; Venkataraman, 1997). Cultural, economic and market factors converge to create an environment that enhances or inhibits the founding and running of certain types of small businesses and entrepreneurial activities (Busenitz et al., 2003; Rocha & Birkinshaw,

2007; Thornton, 1999). At the same time, small business owners seek to influence this environment in a way that better suits their needs and desires (Chell, 2008).

Of particular relevance to the current research is a strand of sociological study that deals with small business owner typologies (i.e. Miles & Snow, 1978; Gerth & Wright Mills, 2009). One of the earliest examples of such work related to small businesses comes from Smith (1967). He contrasts "craftsman entrepreneurs", who start a business following a critical life-event, use specific artisan skills and do not seek growth, with "opportunist entrepreneurs" who plan their entrance into business, are more management-oriented and seek further growth. Later research widened the scope to include "professional managers", who seek growth primarily in order to build a larger organisation that they can then manage (Hornaday, 1990, pp.27–29). Typologies like these have proven useful in drawing to the great heterogeneity among small business owners, while at the same time allowing for some form of ordering. They have been criticised for being too simplistic and paying too little attention to contextual factors (Chell, 2008; Gartner & Shane, 1995; Thornton, 1999, p.23).

2.2 Understanding small tourism businesses using business goals

In attempting to understand the behaviour of small tourism businesses, academics have utilised and build on the findings of economics, psychology and sociology. Few small tourism business owners in the developed world fit the model of the economically rational entrepreneur who relates success to business growth. Instead they tend to primarily act as craftsman entrepreneurs and have a diverse range of non-economic motivations for being in business (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Di Domenico, 2005; Williams et al., 1989). It may be tempting to categorise small tourism business owners based on these motivations. However, initial motivations often lose relevance once businesses become established and enter a different stage of their development (Burns, 1989); and many motivations are only implicitly acknowledged and do not necessarily become either visible in mission statements or acted upon (Chell, 2008). Dewhurst & Horobin (1998) suggest a classification based on organisational goals rather than motivations. They argue that this overcomes the aforementioned issues with motivation-based work, yet provides similar insights, because owners' ambitions and aspirations will be reflected in their business goals (Carson et al., 1995). Organisational goals relate directly to the business and perceived long-term business success. As such they are easier to articulate and slower to change than motivations, which makes them more suitable when trying to understand how small businesses are run.

Business goals in the developed world

Although the focus of the current research is the developing world, the vast majority of work on business goals has taken place in developed countries and the majority of current insights stem from these. A short overview is provided in table 2.1.

Financial gain and business growth have been found to be the main driver for small businesses in the developed world (e.g. Buick et al., 2000; Komppula, 2004b). In certain cases, owners view the growing business as a future investment (Getz & Carlsen, 2000) or seek to turn unoccupied spaces in their house into a profitable commodity (Walmsley, 2003). By hosting tourists, owners may even be able to afford a property that would otherwise be outside of their price range (Sweeney & Lynch, 2009).

Much work on business goals in developed countries deals with non-economic reasons for being in business however (Thomas et al., 2011). Early research in Scarborough already identified that many small accommodation business have non-economic goals with their business (Stalinbrass, 1980). Williams et al. (1989) were among the first to term these 'lifestyle' goals and showed that such goals can be important, particularly in tourism. They found that many owners of small accommodation businesses and public houses in Cornwall are former tourists, who believe the county to be a highly desirable place to live. Operating a small tourism business makes it possible for them to permanently move to Cornwall, often as a form of semi-retirement. Similar goals have later been identified elsewhere in the United Kingdom as well as in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland and Spain (Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Komppula, 2004b; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Page et al., 1999; Paniagua, 2002; Thomas et al., 1997). Research by Lardiés (1999) on individuals who reside in northern Europe and operate a small tourism business in the Mediterranean, describes owners who make use of the seasonal nature of tourism to move to a desirable location for part of the year. Similarly, the ability to work only in the high season and take extensive time off in the low season can also be an attractive prospect (Lynch, 1998; Morrison et al., 2001).

Table 2.1: Business goals of small tourism business owners in the developed world

Business Goal	Publication
Profit	
Make a profit/grow the business	Buick et al., 2000; Davies & Downward, 2007; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Glancey & Pettigrew, 1997; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Komppula, 2004b; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a; 2004b; Shaw & Williams, 2004; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009; Warnick & Klar, 1991
Use business as a future investment	Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009
Make unoccupied spaces in a property profitable (e.g. turn house into a B&B by using spare bedrooms)	Sweeney & Lynch, 2009; Walmsley, 2003
Lifestyle	
Personal	
Work in enjoyable environment	Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Goulding et al., 2004; Komppula, 2004a; Lardiés, 1999; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Morrison, 2006; Mottiar, 2007; Paniagua, 2002; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009; Thomas et al., 1997; Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007; Williams et al., 1989; Zhuplev et al., 1998;)
Combining business with enjoyable activity (hosting/meeting people, cooking)	Alexander & McKenna, 1999; Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Goulding et al., 2004; Komppula, 2004b; Lardiés, 1999; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007; Page et al., 1999; Paniagua, 2002; Shaw & Williams, 1987; 2004; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009; Thomas et al., 1997; Thomas et al., 2011; Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007; Williams et al., 1989
Independence / freedom to work on own terms	Bosworth & Farrell, 2011; Di Domenico, 2003; Keen, 2004; Komppula, 2004b; Lynch, 1998; 2005; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; McIntosh et al., 2011; Mottiar, 2007; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007; Page et al., 1999; Pearce, 1990; Shaw & Williams, 2004; Thomas et al., 1997; Thomas et al., 2011; Warnick & Klar, 1991; Williams et al., 1989; Wilson, 2006
Improve work/life balance	Di Domenico, 2003; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Komppula, 2004b; Morrison et al., 2010; Williams et al., 1989
Experience otherness / Learn about different cultures	Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007
Increase social status and feelings of pride	Di Domenico, 2003; Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Hall & Rusher, 2004; Lynch, 1998; Pearce, 1990
Change career path	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000
Be able to take time off for part of the year	Lynch, 1998; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Morrison et al., 2001
Escape from social conventions	Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007
Communal/ideological	
Use business for ideological purpose	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Fillis, 2009; Keen, 2004; Morrison et al., 2010; Sampaio et al., 2012; Thomas & Thomas, 2006; Thomas et al., 2011; Warnick & Klar, 1991
Fulfil socio-cultural and family obligations	Getz & Petersen, 2005
Provide work for family members	Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Lynch, 2005; Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a
Combine earning money with raising family	Di Domenico, 2003; 2005; Lynch, 1998; Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009; Thomas et al., 2011
Subsistence	
Diversify income streams	Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Lynch, 1998; Marcketti et al., 2006; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Sharpley, 2002; Vaugeois & Rollins, 2007; Warnick & Klar, 1991
Offset cyclical earnings	Craig-Smith, 1993
Overcome labour market disadvantages	Ram et al., 2002; Wilson, 2006

Source: author

Other small tourism business owners use their business to spend more time doing the activities they already enjoy. For example, in Northland, New Zealand the majority of owners state that it the enjoyment they derive from their tourism work is the main reason for operating the business (Page et al., 1999). Others discuss how operating a small tourism business makes it possible for owners to become engrossed in certain sub-cultures (e.g. surfing) and work with like-minded people on a daily basis (Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Shaw & Williams, 2004). The gratification that comes from customer satisfaction also can be a purpose for running the business (Keen, 2004; Lynch, 1998; Mottiar, 2007). Particularly in accommodation, hosts may use their interactions with tourists as a means to substitute for lost social networks or to give their life purpose after their official career has ended (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007; McIntosh et al., 2011). Some owners use their business to learn about other cultures as if they are going on holiday themselves (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007).

Another goal can be the independence that comes from being self-employed. Owners in Australia, Finland, Ireland and the United Kingdom all report that they no longer want to work for someone else. Ownership of a small tourism business provides a way of achieving a career transition away from corporate employment (Morrison et al., 2010), leaving poorly paid or work with poor working circumstances (Page et al., 1999; Thomas et al., 1997), or helping owners escape from the rat-race in search of a better work/life balance (Getz & Petersen, 2005; Komppula, 2004b; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011). Becoming the owner of a professional small tourism business can also be a source of pride and self-identity (Hall & Rusher, 2004; Pearce, 1990).

Di Domenico (2005, p.217) further theorises on lifestyle goals by elaborating on the difference between an owner's personal lifestyle preferences and lifestyle circumstances. The former, which have been described above, are derived from self-defined goals or wants and are voluntary in nature. The latter are externally imposed or based upon personal commitments to others (friends, family, society, the environment) and can be termed communal or ideological goals (Thomas et al., 2011). For example, Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) discuss small business owners who are driven largely by a concern for the environment and a sense of community. Other research confirms that small numbers of small business owners are intrinsically driven to incorporate environmental practices (Sampaio et al., 2012), while others are driven by localised social or community concerns (Keen, 2004), a desire to promote the artistic (Fillis, 2009) or a political ideology (e.g. gay or lesbian politics) (Thomas et al., 2011). Owners may also fulfil family obligations by, for example, taking over a family business or entering a business through marriage (Getz & Petersen, 2005). In areas with few income-generating opportunities, a small tourism

business can help family members gain an income (Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Komppula, 2004b). Finally, there are reports of particularly female small business owners, who aim to combine family life with a source of income through hosting people (Di Domenico, 2003; Sweeney & Lynch, 2009).

Subsistence business goals are relatively unexplored in the developed world, although small tourism businesses are used to diversify an existing income portfolio. For example, farmers in rural areas who are finding it increasingly difficult to survive on the income gained from farming, diversify into tourism accommodation to gain more income (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; McGehee & Kim, 2004; Sharpley, 2002). Alternatively, owners may use a tourism business to partially offset their cyclical earnings (Craig-Smith, 1993). Tourism businesses are also used to supplement shortfalls in family income due to childcare, losing other better paid work, reduced employment opportunities or family bereavement (Di Domenico, 2003; Lynch, 1998; Warnick & Klar, 1991). In all of these cases the tourism business is used primarily to minimise a drop in income rather than create economic growth or gain lifestyle benefits. Minority groups and migrants can have particular difficulty finding other work as they lack official qualifications and have to overcome negative stereotypes. As such they are among the first to become marginalised when unemployment rises. By starting a small tourism business they can provide themselves with employment and overcome these labour market disadvantages. Examples include restaurants owned by ethnic minority groups in Birmingham and horse tour operators in Dublin (Ram et al., 2002; Wilson, 2006).

Business goals in the developing world

Small business owners outside of the developed world have received relatively little attention compared with their counterparts in the developed world (Rogerson, 2004b) and few studies have explicitly looked at business goals. However, business goals have been discussed in research focusing on other aspects of business and, based on this work, table 2.2 provides a summary of business goals in transition and developing economies.

Table 2.2: Business goals of small tourism business owners in the developing world

Business Goal	Publication
Profit	
Make a profit/grow the business	Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Bras, 1997; Chan & Quah, 2012; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014; Mellet, 2006; Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; 2007; Roessingh & Duijnhoven, 2004; Rogerson, 2004d; Rogerson, 2004c; Skokic & Morrison, 2011; Timothy & Wall, 1997; van Gemert et al., 1999
Use business as a future investment	Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Skokic & Morrison, 2011
Make unoccupied spaces in a property profitable (e.g. turn house into a B&B by using spare bedrooms)	Chan & Quah, 2012; Hampton, 2003; Kwaramba et al., 2012; Van der Giessen et al., 1999
Lifestyle	
Personal	
Work in enjoyable environment	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014; Rogerson, 2005b; Skokic & Morrison, 2011
Combining business with enjoyable activity (hosting/meeting people, cooking)	Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014; Chan & Quah, 2012; Mellet, 2006; Peeters et al., 1999; Rogerson, 2004c
Independence / freedom to work on own terms	Akbaba, 2012; Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; 2007; Skokic & Morrison, 2011
Improve work/life balance	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003
Experience otherness / Learn about different cultures	Chan & Quah, 2012; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Mellet, 2006; Rogerson, 2004c
Increase social status and feelings of pride	Akbaba, 2012; Dahles, 1997a; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Upadhya & Rutten, 1997
Change career path	Skokic & Morrison, 2011
Escape from social conventions	Dahles & Bras, 1999a
Communal/ideological	
Use business for ideological purpose	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Mellet, 2006; Skokic & Morrison, 2011; Ter Steege et al., 1999; Van den Berg van Saparoea & Berendse, 2006
Fulfil socio-cultural and family obligations	Chan & Quah, 2012; DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Gartner, 1999; Upadhya & Rutten, 1997
Provide work for family members	Dahles, 1999a; Gartner, 1999; Rogerson, 2004c
Combine earning money with raising family	Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Rogerson, 2004c
Fulfil terms of government project	Kwaramba et al., 2012
Living-oriented	
Diversify income streams	Bras & Dahles, 1999; Chan & Quah, 2012; Dahles, 1999a; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007; 2007; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d; Ter Steege et al., 1999; Van den Berg van Saparoea & Berendse, 2006; Van der Giessen et al., 1999
Overcome labour market disadvantages	Akbaba, 2012; Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Bras & Dahles, 1999; Chan & Quah, 2012; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Dahles, 1999a; DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Dieke, 2000; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Hampton, 2003; Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014; Kwaramba et al., 2012; Mellet, 2006; Michaud, 1991; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Peeters et al., 1999; Roessingh & Duijnhoven, 2004; Rogerson, 2004d; 2004d; van Gemert et al., 1999; Zhao & Brent Ritchie, 2007

Source: author

Previous research suggests that the majority of businesses in the developing world are run with economic goals. Businesses are started because of perceived profitable opportunities – and financial gain continues to be an important goal once in business (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d; Skokic & Morrison, 2011; Timothy & Wall, 1997), even when owners are highly unlikely to achieve such growth

(Bras, 1997; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Mellet, 2006). Owners also seek to use the business as a future investment. Of particular note here is the contribution by Elijah-Mensah (2012), which highlights how owners operate outside of the formal banking system and use their business investment as a means to spread financial risks. Similar to the developed world, owners also try to make use of empty spaces in the house for profit (Chan & Quah, 2012; Kwaramba et al., 2012); although in developing countries it is not just unoccupied spaces that are used in tourism. Space in the house may be one of the few resources that owners have to gain an income – as such they may actually vacate housing space in order to gain additional income and grow their business (Van der Giessen et al., 1999).

Non-economic goals can be observed too in the developing world, although they differ from those in the developed world. Very few studies identify owners whose primary goal it is to work in a pleasant environment and when this is the case, it is only among richer sections of the population (Skokic & Morrison, 2011). For example in Yunnan, China only migrants who used to have a relatively well-paid job elsewhere deliberately pursue business opportunities that enable them to live in a pleasant environment (Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014). Similarly, only rich white South Africans of a retirement age regularly start a business in order to live in more pleasant surroundings (Rogerson, 2005b).

There is a difference too in the nature of the desire for independence between small business owners in the developed and developing world. Whereas owners in the developed world seek independence because they are dissatisfied with their current work, those in developing countries tend to also do so to prevent abuse by former employers, poor working conditions, excessive working hours and low pay (e.g. Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Skokic & Morrison, 2011).

Pride and the social status gained from becoming a small business owner can be important goals too, particularly if the owner employs people and is starting to be recognised as a successful entrepreneur, or if the business receives many international tourists (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Upadhya & Rutten, 1997). Tour guides in Indonesia actively try and enter into romantic relations with their clients. As well as gaining status among their peers, there is a chance that such encounters will provide the opportunity to leave the social conventions of the local community and travel across Indonesia or even abroad. In a small number of cases tour guides have moved abroad permanently (Dahles & Bras, 1999a).

Regarding communal or ideological lifestyle a sense of responsibility for the local surroundings is discussed by Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) in the transition economy

context of Croatia. They note that it is common for small tourism business owners to be proud of their local heritage and to want to share their knowledge with tourists, both for enjoyment as well as to ensure their heritage will survive into another generation. Similarly, in Surinam a tour operator uses tourism as a mechanism to promote the traditional culture from the area in which he grew up. By taking tourists to his village, he tries to make the local population more proud of their ancestry so that the will continue local traditions (Van den Berg van Saparoea & Berendse, 2006). Local guides in Indonesia argue that they aim to support the financial interests of the local population and the environment in which they live, even when they want to profit themselves through commission (Ter Steege et al., 1999, p.126).

Gartner (1999) notes that in Ghana owners can feel pressurised to operate a family business. In a Malaysian context, Chan and Quah (2012) point to one couple who had to give up their well-paid jobs to take over the family business. In other instances, owners may use a large part of the income from the business to support the wider family – moving to a city or even a different country, with the goal of earning a living not just for themselves, but also for family members that have remained behind (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Gartner, 1999). In the face of high levels of unemployment and little social security, it comes as little surprise that the pressure to provide work for family members is more often mentioned than in the developed world. Owners commonly hire family members when no employment is required or choose to employ family members when others are more competent (Dahles, 1999a; Rogerson, 2004c; Upadhya & Rutten, 1997). Kwaramba et al. (2012) discuss a government-led project that aims to stimulate homestay ownership among women with few other income-generating opportunities. They report that these women are driven primarily by a desire to meet the project's demands and that they display very little intrinsic desire to continue to run the business when the project ends. The desire to combine business with raising a family also is mentioned in the developing world (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Rogerson, 2004c).

Reflecting the importance of living oriented goals, diversification of income streams is a common goal among small tourism business owners in transition and developing countries. For example, businesspeople in Croatia viewed the growing hotel trade as an opportunity to expand their existing business portfolio (Skokic & Morrison, 2011). Others use the tourism business to lessen the risk of being without any income. In Ubud, Indonesia, small low-budget accommodation businesses receive only limited custom and have limited revenues. Although their owners largely rely on money made outside of tourism, the accommodation business provides at least some income when other

revenues are low (Van der Giessen et al., 1999). Tour guides in Indonesia also engage in a range of other activities in order to make a living (Bras, 1997). If the tourism trade picks up, owners can choose to start working in tourism on a full-time basis. Van den Berg, van Saparoea and Berendse (2006) give an example of a Surinamese tour operator who initially provided his tours to supplement income from his main work at a furniture company, but now relies exclusively on tourism. The same can be observed with many accommodation businesses in the beach resort of Kuta in Indonesia. As tourism numbers grew they stopped their other economic activities and now focus exclusively on the tourism business. Another reasons to start is to supplement other income sources in retirement, since, in contrast to the developed world, pension schemes are limited (Chan & Quah, 2012).

While day-to-day survival in the face of adverse conditions has received little attention in the developed world, this is different in developing countries where much work has focused upon these business goals. In one study of small tourism businesses in Soweto, for example, a third to half of the businesses surveyed are founded as a result of unemployment or to ensure household survival (Rogerson, 2004d). This can also be observed among small tourism business owners in other parts of the developing world (Dahles & Bras, 1999a; DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Michaud, 1991). Many of these businesses are barely profitable and the continuing lack of capital is a major problem for many owners, who are unable to upgrade the quality of their services and remain marginalised (Hampton, 2003). Tour guides, pedicab men (cycling taxis), food sellers and local travel agents in Yogyakarta, Indonesia report feeling trapped in their current situation and would prefer to have other work. However, as they lack funds and education, their primary goal is to simply earn a living and hope for better times (Peeters et al., 1999; van Gemert et al., 1999). Similar to the developed world, minorities have been reported to resort to tourism in order to overcome labour disadvantages. For example, in Ladakh, India Tibetan migrants and local people, who are not part of the local elite, have difficulty integrating into business networks and/or finding employed work. For lack of alternatives, they become self-employed in tourism either through guiding tourists or selling crafts (Michaud, 1991).

Business goals among owners in the developed and developing worlds are relatively similar, albeit that in developed countries there is a stronger emphasis on lifestyle goals, whereas in developing countries more emphasis is put on living oriented goals. Differences can also be observed in the types of lifestyle goals that are expressed most commonly; in developing countries owners emphasise a desire to leave underpaid salaried work with poor working circumstances. Escaping from other work certainly can

be important to owners in the developed world as well, but in this setting a large group also seeks to perpetuate a chosen lifestyle, either by living in pleasant surroundings, by working only part of the year or by making a living from doing a pleasurable activity. Additionally, in developing countries social and cultural obligations are important communal goals. In particular the need to provide work or income for family members is an important driver for many in the developing world. In developed countries ideological, social and environmental causes are often mentioned as a reason to run the business. This highlights how the relative importance and ways in which business goals are expressed, can differ in these environments and underlines the necessity to locate and contextualise research clearly.

Appreciating the limitations of a business goals approach

Research on small business owners' motivations and goals has been important to identify different reasons for being in business, but its limitations become apparent when trying to understand how small businesses are actually run. Owners' desires are complex and broad and they pursue a variety of different goals that may or may not conflict with each other (Di Domenico, 2005). Furthermore, owners do not operate in isolation from their surroundings and it cannot be presupposed that certain business goals will always result in particular management strategies (Carson et al., 1995). While a focus on contextualised business goals can help understand the way owners try to run their business, it says little about the way businesses are run in practice. For example, owners may feel compelled to take on a more commercial business orientation than they desire due to the emphasis that is placed on entrepreneurial dynamism in their environment (Goss, 1991), or because they need to adhere to the terms and conditions of a lending agreement. Alternatively, owners may desire rapid business growth, but be incapable of attaining sufficient funding, lack the knowledge or skills, or operate in an environment with limited tourists (Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a; Shaw & Williams, 1987). Indeed, there is an abundance of empirical evidence, particularly in developing economies, that indicates the importance of external environment on the way small business ownership is practised (Dahles, 1997a; Meagher, 2004; Welter & Smallbone, 2003).

A study that only investigates business goals provides little information on the way owners combine these goals into a more or less coherent framework that guides the way the business is run. In order to address the issues that are inherent in motivation or goal-based approaches Dewhurst and Horobin (1998) suggest to include business management practices as they argue that tourism business owners make a trade-off between profit/growth and lifestyle goals that deal with an improved quality-of-life. The

outcome of this trade-off is a relatively stable business orientation that describes owners' priorities in running the business. While their work, which is set in the developed world, pays relatively little attention to communal and subsistence goals, that are highly common in developing countries, the notion of business orientations is useful to further understanding of the way small businesses are run.

2.3 A focus on business orientations

From business goals to business orientations

To further understanding with regards to business orientations in the developed world, Shaw (2004) provides a typology in which he distinguishes between business and lifestyle orientations. Owners with a business orientation primarily emphasise profit and business growth in their business practices, even when they also have lifestyle motivations. This may be because they are intrinsically motivated to grow (Davies & Downward, 2007), or because they need to adopt a business-oriented approach primarily in order to ensure the survival of the firm (Glancey & Pettigrew, 1997). Shaw (2004) discerns two groups of business oriented small business owners. A small minority behave like Schumpeterian entrepreneurs. They not only desire business growth, but are also able and willing to invest resources, take risks and innovate to allow them to achieve such growth. An example of this are small businesses involved in the tourism dot.com boom of the early 2000s (ibid, p.127). The majority of profit-oriented owners however, are constrained in their actions by financial barriers and/or a lack of human or physical resources and can therefore not always act entrepreneurial.

Owners with lifestyle orientations are concerned primarily with securing sufficient income to ensure that the business provides them and their family with a satisfactory level of funds to "sustain enjoyment in their chosen lifestyle" (Morrison et al., 2001, p.17). Among them Shaw (2004) recognises non-entrepreneurs and owners integrating ideological motivations in their business practices. Non-entrepreneurs often have taken early retirement to start their small tourism business in what they consider an enjoyable environment. They have little desire to develop the business and instead are motivated by a lifestyle that more befitted their semi-retired status. Owners in this group generally have low levels of managerial skills and expertise, employ little staff and often base managerial decisions on highly personalised criteria (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998, p.25). The second group of owners have been termed ideological lifestyle businesses (Thomas et al., 2011; Thomas & Thomas, 2006). They have strong interests in environmental or social issues and tend to be younger. Although they may desire business growth, they

constrain themselves as they are unwilling to compromise their lifestyle goals (Shaw, 2004, p.127). They can be said to operate within an ideological fence based upon their value systems and motivations, with some even renouncing explicit commercial business practices. Such a "rejection of an overtly profit-driven orientation does not necessarily result in financial suicide or developmental stagnation, but rather provides opportunities to engage with 'niche' market consumers" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000, p.381).

Increasingly research provides examples of owners who combine a commercial outlook with lifestyle motivations. For example Shaw and Williams (2004) note how surf tourism entrepreneurs in Cornwall combined economic and lifestyle motivations. In this case it is not so much ethical values, but the possibility of fully engaging in surf culture, both socially and economically, that drives owners. Being surfers themselves, owners identify a common bond with, and understand the needs of other surfers. While these owners limit themselves to surf tourism, their businesses are run on a highly commercial basis. This shows how lifestyle entrepreneurship need not be incompatible with economically rational business practices as owners seek growth or financial gain within a specific lifestyle framework (Mottiar, 2007; Shaw & Williams, 2004, p.105). Thomas and Thomas (2006) discuss business owners who are motivated commercially, but define themselves in other ways. For one owner, for example, the need to promote spirituality within the business was as powerful as a very evident commercial orientation. It is possible that small business start to combine growth and lifestyle while in business, even when they were more lifestyle oriented initially, for example due to changing circumstances (Di Domenico, 2005).

Hardly any academic work has dealt with business orientations outside of the developed world and knowledge remains limited (Shaw, 2004, p.124). The work of Skokic and Morrison (2011) on owners of small hotels in the transition economy of Croatia provides useful insights however. They note owners may have lifestyle motivations, but that these not result in lifestyle orientations similar to those in the developed world, because the local historical, cultural and business context of this former socialist country forces owners to prioritise economic business goals. Rogerson (2004d, p.278) makes similar comments regarding lifestyle in an African context when he argues a lifestyle orientation does not exist among formerly disadvantaged individuals in poorer regions.

Economic orientations are more commonly reported in the developing world, in combination with a strong emphasis on the constraints, barriers and limitations small business owners face, including the lack of control they have over their own destiny (e.g. Archer, 1995; Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Din, 1992; Thompson et al., 1995).

Anthropological work on Indonesian small tourism businesses recognises so called "petty entrepreneurs" (Dahles, 1997a, p.25; Dahles & Bras, 1999a), who demonstrate largely risk-avoidance strategies that included working long hours, diversifying business operations, seeking alternative sources of income, trading in small quantities, imitating products and services and a general refusal to borrow money. Similar strategies have been observed among small businesses in other sectors where owners struggle to survive on a day-to-day basis (e.g. Berner et al., 2012; Meagher, 2010; Selamat et al., 2011). In a series of studies Rogerson (2004a; 2004c; 2004d; 2008) describes small township tourism businesses as economically oriented. Although a minority is able to achieve growth, practically all owners are constrained in one way or another. They are faced with a context in which it is very difficult to attract sufficient tourists to attain growth. Particularly small, informal businesses struggle to become profitable. Rather than business growth or profit, their primary business strategy is to earn enough to survive. On the basis of his findings, Rogerson (2004a; 2004c; 2004d; 2008) speculates on the existence of a survivalist orientation in a developing world context. Such a perspective is perhaps best expressed by Zhao and Brent Ritchie (2007, p.135), who note that owners "fantasise about growth, profits and a desired lifestyle, but their immediate goal may be just to shake off poverty and earn a relatively comfortable life". This perspective is promising, particularly as similar orientations have been described among small businesses outside the field of tourism (Berner et al., 2012; Meagher, 2004). Rogerson provides few details as to what exactly constitutes a survivalist tourism business however, or how such a business would compare to, for example, constrained entrepreneurs who seek business growth.

In conclusion, the concept of business orientations has proven useful, particularly in the developed world, where it has drawn attention to the existence of lifestyle businesses. However, the ways in which it is currently applied rather limit its usability. Most importantly, much research on business orientations continues to be mainly informed by business goals and motivations and fails to consider highly significant mediating factors such as gender, ethnicity and wider socioeconomic considerations (Thomas, 2007; Thomas et al., 2011). A further issue concerns the current emphasis upon lifestyle and the lack of clarity regarding the subject. Defined as businesses that are "operated in a manner that incorporates non-financial factors" (Thomas et al., 2011, p.3), lifestyle describes a wide variety of behaviours and suffers from some of the characteristics that Markusen (2003) describes as 'fuzzy', meaning it lacks clarity and may be difficult to test or operationalize (Thomas et al., 2011, p.3). Finally, the vast majority of work on business orientations has taken place in the developed world, and current

conceptualisations of business orientations may be too limited or not applicable outside of this setting (Skokic & Morrison, 2011). For example, it is not exactly clear how to conceptualise a survivalist orientation that is alluded to in work on small businesses in the developing world (e.g. Rogerson, 2008). Greater conceptual clarity is required on what business orientations exactly constitute. Such a clarification should allow an understanding beyond lifestyle and/or quality of life and make it possible to differentiate orientations from motivation and business goal approaches and take into account the importance of the context in which owners operate.

(Re)defining business orientations

In order to create greater conceptual clarity of what business orientations constitute it is useful to look at similar concepts in other academic disciplines. Van der Duim (2007) did such a thing by introducing into tourism the sociological concept of 'modes of ordering', which has been used in rural sociology to better understand the different ways in which agricultural businesses are run (De Bruin, 1997; Vanclay et al., 2006; Vanclay et al., 2007). In particular, Van der Ploeg's (2003, p.111) portrayal of modes of ordering is remarkably similar to the depiction of business orientations. Both refer to the ways in which small businesses are managed and aim to do this in a way that moves beyond business goals by emphasising the importance of focusing also on business strategies, and the influence of the local context. Insights gained from research on modes of ordering can help define business orientations in a novel and encompassing way that incorporates the influence of the context in which businesses operate and is clearly distinct from business goal approaches.

Within this approach, business orientations are defined on three different, yet interconnected levels: the individual, the organisational and the relational. On an individual level business orientations can be viewed as a coherent set of strategic notions from the owner as to the way a small tourism business should be run. These represent "cultural repertoires" that incorporate cultural values, historical experiences and perceived reality. They enable small business owners to make decisions, define their situation, evaluate pros-and-cons, decide upon which business goals and practical actions to pursue. In other words a business orientation is the backbone of a particular business strategy and the related decision-making processes (van der Ploeg, 2003, p.137).

On an organisational level it is important to realise that business orientations do not consist merely of a set of ideas on how a business should be run, or of a set of business

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goals, but that they also result in consistent and congruous business practices. They are visible in conscious business strategies and decisions as well as habitual behaviour and ad-hoc decision making (Van der Duim, 2007, p.113), and depend on, for example, the size of the business and the possibilities that the environment provides. Business orientations are dynamic and can change over time. Feedback emanates from business practices and/or business experiences and may be used to reconfirm and/or modify their business orientation (van der Ploeg, 2003, p.137). For example, if owners no longer enjoy hosting tourists, they will no longer show much interest in this lifestyle aspect of business

Running a business is a relational process and small business owners connect to local culture, history and its collective memory, the local environment, the rule of law, other businesses and various other institutions in realising business ideas (Fletcher, 2006). Business orientations therefore also inform the ways in which owners seek integration with, or distance themselves from, other actors, entities or objects (Van der Duim, 2007, p.113). Owners may seek to integrate with some businesses as part of their business orientation and stay clear of others. Similarly they may emphasise work with family and friends, or choose to ignore them and focus more on formal business relations. Business orientations also shape ways of dealing with entities such as the government (e.g. operate formally or informally) or objects (e.g. the attractions owners choose to visit).

As part of their business orientation, owners are constantly seeking to relate to others who may be compatible. A failure to do so may well cause conflict, because it leads to disharmony between owners' cultural repertoires, business practices and business relations. However, owners with certain demographic characteristics may be limited in their ability to relate to others, and as a result have difficulty operating with a growth-orientation. For example, women may have difficulty in gaining access to business networks in a society that disapproves of female entrepreneurialism. Also, as discussed in the psychological literature, small business owners are bounded by their rationality. In thinking about how the business should be run and in dealing with others, owners are influenced by their perception of reality, rather than by reality itself. In the words of Thomas and Thomas (1928, p.586) "if men [sic] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences".

A contextualised approach to business orientations

In order to appreciate all aspects of business orientations, tourism researchers have called for business orientations to be viewed more contextually (e.g. Skokic & Morrison, 2011; Thomas, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011). Outside of the realm of tourism the importance of contextual insights is highlighted too (Nijhuis, 2013; Spaargaren, 2003). A rounded understanding of business orientations, requires research to take into account "the interplay of culture, context and social processes" (Morrison et al., 2008, p.10). To do so Morrison (2006, p.192) suggests the business orientations should be investigated within a compass of history, culture and the political system, the industry setting and the organisational context of a business, since these factors either intensify or dilutes different entrepreneurial processes. She created a framework, which was successfully applied by Skokic and Morrison (2011) to conceptualise the lack of lifestyle entrepreneurship in the context of a transition economy.

In spite of it use, Morrison's framework can be criticised. Firstly, it takes insufficient note of owners' demographic characteristics and domestic circumstances outside of tourism. However, small business owners' perceptions and possibilities strongly differ depending on age, gender, ethnicity, migratory status, education (Carter et al., 2003; Hitchcock, 1999; 2000). Secondly, it is not always clear what exactly the different categories entail, and elements like social networks are not discussed even though they can facilitate business innovations and help create business opportunities (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007; Sørensen, 2007). Inclusion of these properties leads to the framework as shown in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Framework of contextualised business orientations

History, culture, political and social system

(historical legacies; policy and legislation; collective norms and values; social environment including social networks)

↓

Industry setting

(physical location; structure of industry; barriers)

↓

Organisational context   ⟶   Business orientation

(business goals, organisational structure; business resources, organisational behaviour)

↑

Owner characteristics

(demographic characteristics; domestic circumstances)

Adapted from (Morrison, 2006, p.193)

History, culture, political and social system

Societal norms, beliefs, values and similar conventions are reinforced and acted upon by individuals and can directly or indirectly influence owners when running a business (Hitchcock, 1999; Vanclay et al., 2007, p.9). Ateljevic and Doorne (2003, p.127) note "indigenous cultural fabric is woven into the economic life". In Indonesia, for example, owners' value systems shape the dynamics of their businesses (Dahles, 1997b; Dahles & Bras, 1999b), while in Ghana cultural obligations rather than economic rationale are the main driver of business decisions and cultural beliefs mean that small business owners seek input from a priest or priestess before making business decisions (Gartner, 1999). The influence of cultural values can also be observed in the general attitude to small tourism business ownership and entrepreneurship. If tourism work has a relatively low status, owners may prefer to work in other sectors (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011), but if it is held in high esteem, tourism becomes a highly attractive industry to work in (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Ter Steege et al., 1999). Furthermore, in societies where there is a

positive social attitude towards self-employment, entrepreneurs are viewed positively. They are described as heroes (Drakopoulou Dodd & Anderson, 2007), agents of social change (Schumpeter, 1934) or even warriors (Hornaday, 1990). On the other hand, in formerly communist countries, entrepreneurship continues to be associated with negative connotations (e.g. exploitation and profiteering) (Skokic & Morrison, 2011). This suggests that cultural values and perceptions can be related to historical experiences (Meagher, 2004).

The institutional framework is equally important. In developed countries this is relatively supportive of entrepreneurship. While the effectiveness and transparency of law-making in the face of an increasingly retreating state can be debated (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2011), the economic, legal and political framework is relatively predictable and supportive to business (North, 1990). In contrast, in the developing world a lack of an effective regulatory framework together with state corruption and bribery provide a much more uncertain environment that is less conducive to business in general and strengthens the need for intimate trust-based relations (Chen, 2005; Hitchcock, 2000; Klein, 1999). Similarly there often is only limited institutional support for informal business activities in the developing world, which further hinders the potential development and growth of small businesses (Meagher, 2004).

Social networks can be used to share knowledge and skills, which may help small business owners overcome barriers and as such can support business growth (Rogerson, 2008; Sørensen, 2007; Van Laere & Heene, 2003). However, their benefits are limited when owners feel disconnected from others, lack trust and become unwilling to share knowledge and cooperate with others in society (Braun, 2005, p.3; Tinsley & Lynch, 2008). Van der Duim et al.(2006b) note that small business communities are often incorrectly viewed as discrete, relatively stable and homogeneous, while in reality they often are disconnected by differences in gender, age, kinship, ethnicity, existing levels of wealth, etcetera. This leads to "fractured communities" where collective efforts are hindered by struggles for dominance and power amongst different groups (Ibid, p. 110). Failure to act collectively as a result of fractures within communities is also discussed by Thomas and Thomas (2005, p.132). In their study on small businesses in Saltaire in the United Kingdom, they highlight that a lack of 'mobilisation capacity' (following Healey et al., 2003) limits the abilities of local community members to gain institutional assistance.

Industry setting

In her discussion on how the industry setting influences small businesses Morrison (2006, p.199) emphasises the importance of the physical location of the business since many tourism activities take place in locations of natural beauty. Additionally she mentions low legal and professional barriers as characteristic of the tourism industry and highlights how the ability to work from home with certain types of tourism business (e.g. in accommodation) is attractive to owners who view the business both as a social and economic investments (Morrison, 2006, p.200). Not all of these assumptions hold true for all destinations however. For example, slum tourism locations are not particularly picturesque and desirable (Steinbrink et al., 2012), while entry barriers can prove significant to individual small business owners (Skokic & Morrison, 2011), even if they are relatively low compared to other industries. This demonstrates again how the industry setting differs, depending on the local environment.

One element that is lacking in Morrison's (2006) analysis is the relationship of small tourism business owners with the industry, even though the ways in which small tourism businesses are able to interweave with other tourism actors, and the wider community is fundamental to their development and directions (Van der Duim, 2005, p.156). Owners both in developed as well as developing countries have reported great difficulties in engaging in the industry in a meaningful way, as they are constrained by the power and competitive dominance enjoyed by large tourism enterprises and fail to influence local policy (Britton, 1982; 1987; Hampton, 2003; Thomas & Thomas, 2006). Not only do small businesses lack human and financial resources and economies of scale (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2002; Michaud, 1991), but an oversupply of unregulated small businesses can lead to owners competing against each other rather than cooperate (Mottiar & Tucker, 2007; Nuntsu et al., 2004). This weakens their position, particularly if inbound travel agents and tour operators already prefer to work with a smaller number of larger businesses rather than a larger group of small businesses (Braun, 2005; Roessingh & Duijnhoven, 2004).

Tinsley and Lynch (2008) argue that market differentiation among small businesses within a destination is a prime mechanism for ensuring individual business survival and success, while at the same time ensuring the collective wellbeing of the business community through increased destination competitiveness and the maintenance of social harmony. In a comparison of business networks in Plockton, Scotland and Pushkar, India they note that in Plockton owners differentiate their offerings more and make greater efforts to network with actors higher and lower in the tourism supply chain (Tinsley &

Lynch, 2007). In Pushkar provide similar offerings and have little contact with businesses outside of their small business community, which results in intense competition. These findings relate to earlier work that differentiates between networks of accumulation and networks of survival (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002, p.220; Meagher, 2004, p.288). The former reflect an orientation towards linkages with more powerful social groups and small businesses at the cost of weaker peers within a network. In contrast, networks of survival are characterised by an unstructured web of cross cutting ties with an emphasis on reciprocity and redistribution rather than accumulation. Although networks of survival can be essential in coping with volatility and vulnerability, they do not facilitate innovation or growth since small business owners may feel obliged to share profits rather than invest in the business (Berner et al., 2012; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Douglas, 1997).

Organisational context

As discussed earlier, a wide variety of business goals can be observed among small tourism business owners, which may or may not come to fruition in their business orientation. However, the organisational context also influences business orientations through the nature of the organisational structure, business resources, and organisational behaviour (Morrison, 2006, p.199). The organisational structure influences the direction of small businesses. The prevalence of family businesses is seen as typical for the tourism industry, particularly in accommodation and catering (Ateljevic, 2009; Dahles & Bras, 1999b). A high level of family involvement is something of a double-edged sword. Support of family and friends may be a critical resource, providing cheap labour and support in times of need. At the same time involving family creates obligations. As discussed earlier owners may feel obliged to provide work to family members rather than more qualified personnel or may continue to employ family members when this may not be economically rational, which can negatively affect business performance and growth (Komppula, 2004b; Lynch, 2000; Lynch, 2005; Peeters et al., 1999). A recent study on small hotels in Croatia showed that owners in fact chose not to employ family members as they felt it would limit potential growth (Skokic & Morrison, 2011).

Another distinctive organisational characteristic is the small scale of operations among tourism businesses. Many are run by sole traders and even those that employ others mostly operate on a very small scale with owners remaining intertwined with the business (Hampton, 1998; Glancey & Pettigrew, 1997; Morrison, 2006). This small size might allow owners to quickly innovate in reaction to changes in the environment, but in practice many take a reactive, ad hoc approach which may be due to bounded

rationalities, risk aversion, limited expertise or a lack of resources (By & Dale, 2008; Decelle, 2004). A great number of small tourism businesses in the developing world operate under conditions of economic marginality and lack any financial resources (Dahles, 1997b; Hampton, 2003; Roessingh et al., 2006). Dieke (2000, p.310) observes how, in Africa, life for small tourism businesses owners "is a daily struggle, with many of them operating at the margin of survival". Given that few are able to attain any money from formal institutions, the most important source of initial funding personal funds, family and friends or informal lenders, which are often highly limited (Lashley & Rowson, 2010; Michaud, 1991).

A high incidence of informal and unsophisticated approaches to management can be observed among small businesses. Few marketing activities are undertaken (Dahles, 1999b), IT skills and resources are limited (Croes & Tesone, 2004), planning is mostly short-term and ad-hoc basis and quality management strategies are lacking (Church & Lincoln, 1998; Dahles, 1999b). Owners in the developing world often are forced to make trade-offs between sub-optimal alternatives due to small everyday challenges. For example, the amount of time craft workers can spend on longer term business planning and marketing is limited by the need to set up their stall every day, polish goods that have become dusty because of being sold out on the dusty streets or ensure that nothing gets stolen (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012). Furthermore, owners who combine multiple sources of income (Bras, 1997; Mottiar & Tucker, 2007), or who also raise a family, may not have the ability to work full-time in tourism (Morrison, 2006). This limits possibilities for business growth and may lead others in the industry to conclude that small tourism business owners operate amateurishly (Akbaba, 2012).

Informal economic activities are endemic among small tourism businesses in the developing world. Craft vendors, performance artists, tour guides, tour operators and accommodation businesses operate in at least partial informality in a variety of destinations within developing countries (Akama & Kieti, 2007; Ashley, 2005; Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Dahles & Bras, 1999a; Torres, 2003; Van der Giessen et al., 1999). León (2007) notes how informal work provides the easiest way for local residents to access the potential benefits of tourism. Bah and Goodwin (2003) relate the lack of market access by small tourism businesses in the Gambia to the fact that a great number of them are run informally, highlighting the complexity of informality. An informal status may provide owners with the opportunity to start a tourism business, but it can also hinder growth.

It is not exactly clear why owners operate largely informally. It is viewed as a survival strategy in the absence of formal business alternatives, like a kind of safety net in countries with no welfare system (Castells & Portes, 1989; Gallin, 2001; Tokman, 1992). Gërxhani (2004, p.272) argues that small business owners also choose to operate informally because this allows for "greater autonomy, flexibility and freedom". For example, Cukier and Wall (1994) find that on Bali, Indonesia, working as an informal guide provided a higher income and greater status than lower paid formal jobs. Changes in the industry setting, for example the outsourcing of work by large corporations to increase flexibility and reduce costs, also increases opportunities for informal tourism businesses however (Cross, 2000).

Depending on the political system, operating informally can hold extra difficulties for small business owners. Governments with a negative view on informality may try to eradicate informal tourism practices through strict controls and punishment. In practice such policies do not necessarily reduce the number of informal businesses, but they do create an uncertain business environment and may make owners less willing to invest (Dahles, 1998; Little, 2005; ILO, 2002). Other governments take a 'laissez faire' approach and focus upon deregulation and limited government intervention (De Soto, 1989). Results from countries such as Peru and Ghana where this approach is taken, show that this strategy may lead to economic growth, but that informal workers hardly benefit (Desforges, 2000; Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). Increasingly researchers argue that informal businesses may be a potential asset but they need support and/or guidance to help them transfer into the formal realm (Cross, 2000; Goodwin, 2009; Meyer, 2006; Michaud, 1991). Such policies need to take into account that not all informal business owners may be able to financially afford to become formalised, to prevent the situation that occurred in Indonesia, where informal tour guides were excluded from working with local tour operators, because they could not afford formalisation (Peeters et al., 1999).

Personal characteristics

The importance of personal characteristics is frequently ignored in research on business orientations, even though they may act as important mediating factors, in particular gender and ethnicity (Thomas et al., 2011, p.4). Roy and Wheeler (2006) discuss how poverty influences owners' business motivation and behaviour. Lifestyle non-entrepreneurship on the other hand is primarily associated with people who are relatively well-off and can afford to earn a relatively meagre income (Shaw, 2004). Others have noted that aspects such as migratory status (Michaud, 1991), financial situation, age (e.g. semi-retirement) (Williams et al., 1989), level of education and previous (tourism)

business experience (Skokic & Morrison, 2011, p.162), also influence the desires and possibilities for owners to operate the business.

The extent and exact nature of the influence of owner characteristics on business practices is unclear. This is exemplified in an investigation of the influence of gender. The tourism industry is one of the few in which women regularly take a leading role as small business owners (Boissevain, 1997; UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). However, women are often active in low skilled work and gain relatively little from their tourism activities (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Sinclair, 1997; Van der Giessen et al., 1999). Their entrepreneurial career may be held back by ingrained gender role patterns. For example, in Ghana and Nigeria women have to deal with constraints stemming from the patriarchal nature of local society. Cooking and hosting are considered the only 'appropriate' activities for women, because these activities can be combined easily with raising a family (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Elijah-Mensah, 2012). In Malaysia on the other hand the majority of small hotels are run by men. One owner is cited: "the greater involvement of men is due to…. tradition. Many people have a negative perception and think that this sector is not suitable for women" (Jaafar et al., 2011, p.830). Women have particular difficulty to become active as tour guides or tour operators, as these lines of work are dominated by men in a wide variety of developing world settings (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Dahles & Bras, 1999b; Masmeijer, 2006; Van den Berg van Saparoea & Berendse, 2006). For craft businesses there are no clear gender patterns. In certain areas women dominate in this line of work (Little, 2008; Mbaiwa, 2005; Steel, 2012), whereas in other locations men dominate (Cukier & Wall, 1994; Timothy & Wall, 1997).

These findings underline the need to contextualise the framework as discussed in this section to make it suitable for individual locations. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

3. Creating a contextualised understanding of business orientations among township tourism businesses

3.1 History, culture, and, political and social system

The legacy of apartheid

It is difficult to overstate the effects of the legacy of apartheid on small township tourism businesses. Prior to the implementation of apartheid legislation, Cape Town was arguably one of the least segregated cities in South Africa (Saff, 2001, p.91). Forced removals had already took place in the area at the start of the 20th century however as the earliest township (Ndabeni) was created in 1901 and the oldest remaining African township in the Cape Town area, Langa, dates from 1927 already (Bickford-Smith, 1995). The segregation and degradation of Black South Africans strongly increased after the Afrikaner National Party came to power and instigated apartheid policy in 1948. Their regime was "based on state-enforced racial inequality and infused with racially based hatred" (Besteman, 2008, p.8), with government actively promoting distrust among 'majority ethnic groups' to ensure the stability of the political and economic system (Hassim, 2009; Walters, 2005).

The introduction of the Groups Areas Act in 1950 further undermined Black political participation in society through limiting possibilities for education, travel, business ownership and employment. Government set up additional townships around Cape Town, to the extent that, at the end of the apartheid era, the Cape Town metropolitan area had become one of the most segregated in South Africa (Ludvigsen, 2002). Township residents were confronted with pass checkpoints, strict work permits, night-time raids to seek out squatters and political gatherings, and a seemingly random demolishing of shacks (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999, pp.174–175; Bickford-Smith, 2001). African South Africans were forced to carry a 'dompas', a reference book that held their passes, work seekers' permits and work contracts, and strongly restricted workers in their mobility.

Nearly twenty years after the end of the apartheid regime, its troubling legacy continues to cast a shadow over South Africa. Years of preferential treatment for a small group of residents, racial and tribal segregation, the encouragement of animosity between ethnic groups, and other efforts to undermine interpersonal trust among suppressed majorities, have left a society with "deeply rooted inequalities and profound racial mistrust" (Besteman, 2008, p.3). African individuals, in particular, continue to suffer from a

negative stigma: In an experiment involving high school students, a systematic pattern of distrust towards African students was found, even from Africans themselves. White participants in particular were less likely to engage with their African peers, allowing racial stereotypes to remain entrenched and a culture of fear to remain (Burns, 2006, p.805). Socio-spatial exclusion also continues to be tolerated by white South Africans on the basis of a fear of crime and violence (Lemanski, 2004).

A well as affecting potential township tourists, apartheid has also had an impact on Black township tourism business owners. Homestay owners in Joza Township near Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape not only lack business experience, but also confidence, and belief in their ability to run and develop a business (Kwaramba et al., 2012). As a result they rely strongly on training programmes, and rarely take business initiatives themselves. This lack of confidence of township tourism business owners who lived through apartheid has also been observed in other townships. During apartheid entrepreneurial tendencies and small business ownership of Black South Africans were suppressed. The vast majority of small businesses in urban areas had to operate informally and were subject to repression, harassment and prosecution (Nesvåg, 2000). Although the lack of opportunities under apartheid still stifles certain business owners, it has had the opposite effect on others, who report being motivated it. They view the growth of their tourism business as a means of overcoming years of oppression, and. seek to transform the white tourism industry to become more inclusive of formerly disadvantaged individuals (Mellet, 2006).

The post-apartheid policy environment

After apartheid South African government initially aimed for socialist growth redistribution and equality, but since 1996 the country has followed a more neo-liberal course to create wealth and fight poverty (Cheru, 2001; Dierwechter, 2006, p.244; Narsiah, 2002; Peet, 2002). This change in policy made small businesses a key asset for poverty alleviation, job creation and the enhancement of national economic growth. The 1995 White Paper on small businesses set out to create an enabling policy environment for small business development. More specifically it aimed to use small businesses to create jobs, to alleviate poverty, to redress discrimination, and to facilitate a greater equalisation of income, wealth and economic opportunities (RSA, 1995, pp.15–16). In practice the White Paper facilitated the creation of an institutional support network for small businesses with a wide range of decentralised local business centres to provide services such as training, information and advice (Rogerson, 2004b). Support for small business has remained an important theme in policy ever since, and the country is regarded to be "at the forefront of

the development and the implementation" of supportive small business policy (Rogerson, 2004a, p.765).

When it became clear, after the turn of the century, that existing strategies to relieve poverty that relied on a trickledown effect from overall economic growth were relatively unsuccessful, the South African government started to more explicitly deal with poverty alleviation in its policies (Valodia & Devey, 2012, p.152). This led to the introduction of the notion of a 'first' and 'second' economy by then-President Mbeki. The first economy represents formal, urbanised and industrial businesses, while the second economy represents mainly informal marginalised, informal, smaller businesses that fail to benefit from economic growth in the first economy (ANC, 2004, p.7; Mahony, 2006). This dualist notion has come to dominate the policy debate even though it has received intense criticism from stakeholders and academics, akin to the critique on a separate formal and informal sector. In particular the idea that the first and second economies are disconnected stands in stark contrast with an abundance of research findings and industry experience (Devey et al., 2005; Philip, 2010; Rogerson, 2007a; Skinner, 2006). Furthermore the chosen terminology suggests the 'second' economy is somehow economically inferior and static and combines small businesses with the unemployed. In doing so it fails to appreciate the dynamism that is commonly observed among informally operating businesses that are believed to dominate the second economy (Hart, 2005; Valodia & Devey, 2012).

The *tourism* policy in South Africa framework can be traced back to the 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism (RSA, 1996), which identified tourism as a priority for national economic growth. Unique at the time was the introduction of Responsible Tourism as the "most appropriate concept for the development of tourism in South Africa" (ibid, p.19). To better understand what responsible tourism constitutes, a number of guiding principles are specified. These include the notion that tourism should be market-led and private sector driven, while government is expected to provide an enabling environment that will allow the industry to flourish. In addition, responsible tourism should be underpinned by sustainable environmental practises; be used as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities or groups, in particular women; depend on the establishment of cooperation and close partnerships among key stakeholders; and include effective community involvement (ibid, p.35). These values were further underlined in the 1998 Tourism in GEAR strategy, which provides guidelines on how to implement tourism policies within the wider macro-economic strategy (Rogerson, 2004b), and the declaration of Responsible Tourism that was signed in Cape Town at the first

'International Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations' in 2002. At a local level the City of Cape Town introduced a responsible tourism policy in 2009 in which enterprise development, skills development and social development are highlighted as priorities (City of Cape Town, 2009).

The importance of small tourism business promotion in South Africa should be understood as part of a wider initiative to transform the "lilywhite" ownership structure of the tourism sector" (Rogerson, 2013, p.198). Following apartheid and the exclusion of South Africa's Black small business owners from participation in the tourism industry during the 1970s and 1980s, the tourism sector had the highest share of white business ownership of any sector in South Africa when apartheid ended (Rogerson, 2007b, p.4). Since the end of apartheid, white-owned businesses that emerged during apartheid have continued to dominate the industry (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005).Given the continuing presence of prejudices against African township residents, this dominance hinders township tourism business owners (Nemasetoni, 2005).

Several initiatives have been undertaken to increase Black small business ownership. Most important is the 2005 Tourism [Broad Based] Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Charter and scorecard (RSA, 2005b; 2005c). These provide a wide range of possibilities for the empowerment and development of Black-owned small businesses in tourism. The Tourism BBBEE-Charter challenges businesses to address racial inequalities on seven levels: business ownership, business management, employment equity, skills development, preferential procurement, enterprise development, and socio-development. Doing well on these issues gives business a higher overall score, which is required in order to be eligible for government tenders or to gain custom from businesses that value a high BBBEE-score. An effect of the BBBEE-Charter and scorecard that is particularly important for the current research is the establishment of so called BBBEE-businesses that are co-owned by formerly disadvantaged individual(s). These always score well on the BBBEE-scorecard as they, in theory at least, empower Black business ownership. As will be discussed later BBBEE-businesses have become important actors in township tourism.

South African government strives to lower barriers to formalised self-employment: Small business owners need to enter their business in the register of companies of the Department of Trade and Industries (DTI), but registration is free, the procedure to pay tax is relatively simple, and owners will only need to start paying tax after business turnover becomes higher than 100.000 rand (£8000). The system does require owners to retain records and books of accounts and declare their income and expenditure (SARS,

2012), which may be difficult for inexperienced small business owners (Kwaramba et al., 2012). Additionally owners may need to undertake training courses and/or pay a fee, in order to fulfil certain business roles. For example, tour guides need to attain a qualification with the Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority, which costs a significant amount for township dwellers (6000 Rand - £440). In order to transport tourists in a minivan or car, they need to qualify for a separate Public Driving Permit as well as a drivers' license (RSA, 2001; 2005a). Tour operators need to have a Road Transportation Permit for their vehicles, passenger liability insurance and a guiding qualification in order to become a member of the South Africa Tourism Services Association. This provides credibility in the industry and networking opportunities, but at an annual fee of 3615 Rand (£ 270) is regarded as too costly by many township tour operators (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005, p.203). Accommodation businesses and restaurants only need to apply for a trading license. However, in order to start up such businesses, owners need to adjust the residential status of their premises, and, once in operation, they have to fulfil local health, fire and safety standards. Restaurants may need to apply for a liquor license to legally sell alcoholic beverages (DEAT, 2003). All these may be minor barriers, but they still can limit the willingness of small township tourism business owners to register.

In spite of supportive government policies and a wide range of support options, there is critique that small businesses have benefitted little from government assistance and that businesses, whose owners already had skills, financial resources, access to information and knowledge through business and/or political connections, have gained far more (Harvey, 2011, p.173; Petersen, 2007; Rogerson, 2005b). Many support programmes are provided, more or less, on a one-size-fits-all basis, which strongly limits their applicability to small township tourism businesses. Furthermore, an over-reliance on a limited number of quantitative evaluation criteria (e.g. growth in enterprise numbers) means that policy evaluations fail to reflect the limitations of support efforts (Rogerson, 2004a; Rogerson, 2005b). The lack of specificity, flexibility and transparency of quantitative measures of success makes it particularly enticing for support agencies to minimise their risk and primarily target small businesses that are growing already. For example, the only township business in the Cape Town Area that significantly benefited from the Tourism Enterprise Partnership had already expanded into a rapidly growing regional tour operator by the time it started receiving support from the programme. On a local level, business support is hindered by a lack of communication and coordination between and within different levels of government and other public, private and non-governmental organisations (Ukukhula Business solutions, 2003). This results in a lack

of understanding among small business owners of the support that is available, and, in some cases, distrust of support efforts (Rogerson, 2004a).

Debates surrounding the second economy made it clear that there is a shortage of information concerning informal small business owners, their operations and their relation to the state (Skinner, 2006, p.125). Additionally, the failure of South African government to develop a clear and coherent policy to deliver effective support programmes to informal small tourism business has become apparent (Rogerson, 2007a). Currently over twenty different national government small business support programmes exist (ETU, n.d.). However, only a few of these are suitable for informal small tourism businesses. For example the Tourism Enterprise Partnership (TEP), one of the most high profile small business support programmes, only targets larger registered small businesses, with other national initiatives equally offering little in the way of support for informal businesses (Rogerson, 2004a; Rogerson, 2007b).

Regional and local support programmes show more awareness of informality (Rogerson, 2004a). Business registration may be part of the support provided, but often initial services are available to informal businesses as well. For example, the Western Cape Province has a tiered business support approach that allows informal businesses to participate. Their programme starts with initial information sessions on business opportunities in tourism, helpdesks and walk-in sessions for business advice and is followed by more intensive business training and financial support to visit national tourism conferences (Tourism Business Forum, 2007). In cooperation with the regional department of the Southern Africa Tourism Services Association (SATSA), they also provide a mentorship programme where established small township tourism businesses are partnered with a SATSA member from outside of the townships in order to learn more about networking and business management.

The City of Cape Town organises small business workshops, tries to unite small business owners through specific projects and provides scholarships for training. Other institutions in the region also provide support to small tourism businesses. For example, the provincial as well as the local tourism destination marketing organisations (Cape Town Routes Unlimited and Cape Town Tourism) to support marketing activities (e.g. making brochures, developing a website) at reduced rates.

In both national as well as local policy the emphasis is on a narrative of progress through self-employment in tourism. Working in tourism is strongly promoted and has even been described as a "pervasive South African rhetoric… that is spouted in television commercials and local development forums" (Harvey, 2011, pp.125–126). Such a

narrative is argued to be driven more by government's own interests in masking unemployment in the townships rather than the prevalence of actual business opportunities (ibid, pp. 126). For example, the 2010 FIFA World Cup was hailed as a way to achieve shared growth and, implicitly, the development of urban tourism.

Operating in an uncertain environment

To fully understand the actions of small township tourism business owners, it is necessary to appreciate that they operate in a highly uncertain social and business environment. According to official estimations nearly 50% of the population in both townships under investigation (Langa and Imizamo Yethu) is unemployed or works informally, while over three quarters of the working population in these townships has an income of less than 1600 Rand (£125) (City of Cape Town, 2003). Suffice to say that there is a lack of viable moneymaking alternatives in the townships. Furthermore employed work often means long working hours, poor working circumstances, little job security and a lack of appreciation. This is even more evident for work that is done informally where there is no workers protection at all and work is done a day-to-day basis with people sometimes not being paid at the end of the day (Bantwini, 2010; Rolfe et al., 2010; Walker & Gilson, 2004).

Practically all townships are over-crowded and lack formal housing. The level of house ownership is relatively low and more or less non-existent among recently arrived migrants. Most residents live in a rented shack in the garden of a homeowner, in shanty dwellings, or, in Langa, in hostels where they share a room with multiple families. These housing arrangements lead to much uncertainty. People renting a shack, for example, can be made homeless without much notice as there often is no formal tenancy agreement, while government initiatives to build new and improved housing may lead to people in shanty areas to be forced to move because the new buildings cannot house as many people (Boudreaux, 2006; Monaco, 2007). In the shanty areas, fires also occur on a regular basis, displacing families and destroying possessions. Additionally, owners may have difficulty in getting washed and dressed in time to start work promptly due to an unpredictable water supply and power shortages (Harvey, 2011, p.147).

The high levels of unemployment and poor living conditions in the townships are accompanied by high levels of crime. Although tourists are rarely targeted, small

business owners and other township residents regularly fall victim to burglary or muggings. The lack of law enforcement, due to lack of capacity, corruption and the highly disorganised nature of the townships[1], further adds to this sense of uncertainty and insecurity. In recent times drug related crime has become a serious issue. An increasing number of people in the townships use crystal meth, known locally as TIK. This drug used to be particularly prevalent in Coloured areas, but it is becoming increasingly popular in African townships as well. The increase of TIK-usage has been related to increasing levels of violence, as well as HIV (Davids et al., 2012; Le Roux, 2007; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). The HIV and AIDS epidemic is another factor that adds to the uncertainty of life, both personally and financially. If a person dies, family members go back to the homelands in the Eastern Cape, to honour the deceased, which can be a costly affair. An increase in the numbers of deaths of younger people means that more of these journeys need to be undertaken, which means there is less money available for business investments.

The importance of Ubuntu and Umona

Both Langa and Imizamo Yethu are predominantly inhabited by people from the Xhosa tribe, who place great value upon the concept of Ubuntu. While it is not easily explained in terms of Western societal concepts, Ubuntu has been described as a belief that individual well-being relies on reciprocal trust, and respect among community members. Its core idea is that people share responsibility for each other. It "highlights the essential unity of humanity and emphasizes the importance of constantly referring to the principles of empathy, sharing and cooperation to resolve common problems" (Murithi, 2006, p.25). Within the townships society Ubuntu co-exists with the concept of Umona, which is best translated as envy or jealousy. It can be described as the 'dark side' of Ubuntu and is related to a fear people have for retribution if they do not share their wealth through Ubuntu. People do not adhere to Ubuntu only out of a sense of duty or desire but also because they fear retribution through Umona (Steinbrink, 2009). It is thought that success without sharing casts a shadow of inferiority on other members of the community. Thus a successful person, who does not share, needs to be "pulled down" to

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[1] The author experienced this first-hand when he was mugged during day-light. After filing a report, he was notified within several hours that the police knew the names and present location of the assailants. The following day however, all reports of the previous day had gone missing and no one was arrested. Local people were unsurprised and reiterated that they have to rely on social networks and informal policing efforts in order to maintain order in the townships

maintain the status quo. Historically Umona has been strongly associated with witchcraft, but it can equally be seen in human actions, in terms of refusal to cooperate, stealing goods or even burning business premises (Ashforth, 2005, p.70; Bailey, 2003, p.98). Fear of witchcraft is not commonly discussed openly, particularly not with people from outside of the community and instead owners use the term jealousy to describe a fear of witchcraft and other retributions (Steinbrink, 2009). Ubuntu and Umona, in combination with a close-knit society and high levels of social control, have historically ensured safety and a more equal distribution of wealth in the absence of a well-functioning police force or social services (Hentschel, 2007, p.299). However increasingly these concepts are at odds with modern government narratives of individualism and small business growth (Steinbrink, 2009).

It should be noted that similar practises have been observed in other economically insecure situations. Bailey (1969; 1971, pp.19–20) refers to this as "cultures of equality", in which people compete to remain equal. Owners try to ensure that others do not get beyond "approved levels of mediocrity" and may resort to measures which will break another's success, even if it also damages themselves. Mottiar and Tucker (2007) explain a lack of cooperation with tourist businesses in Turkey using the culture of equality concepts, and argue that it is particularly applicable to close-knit communities. As such, Ubuntu and Umona need to be seen in a wider context of poverty and historical insecurity, rather than a cultural aspect of Xhosa society, as this could lead to negative cultural stereotyping that would not do justice to a complex reality (Meagher, 2004, p.50).

Fractured township communities and social networks

Townships are racially, geographically and socially heterogeneous. As Salo (2007, p.153) points out, invisible "socio-spatial boundaries criss-cross the apparently continuous geographic unit, dividing it into multiple small communities". Using the terminology of Van der Duim et.al. (2006a), township communities are fractured, which hinders the development of social networks, because business owners with different characteristics from most of their peers find it difficult to form social connections (Harvey, 2011, p.294).

A poignant example is a division on the basis of the migratory status of residents. In Langa, inhabitants currently can be split into four groups. First, there are the original inhabitants who were forcibly moved to Langa in the first half part of the 20th century. Second, are the migrant workers that came to the area from the 1970s onwards. Whereas original inhabitants were allowed to live in small family houses, early migrants

were placed in large single-sex residences (hostels), which they later had to share with families in very overcrowded conditions. The unequal treatment in terms of housing heightened prejudices and tensions between these two groups (Parnell & Mabin, 1995). Third, are the recent arrivals coming from the Eastern Cape who have come in search of work and a better life, away from rural poverty and patriarchal control (Dondolo, 2002). Finally, an increasing number of migrants from other sub-Saharan African countries have come to Langa, either as refugees or in search of work. This group have a particularly hard time integrating into township society as they are perceived to take away jobs from South Africans by the three other groups (Harvey, 2011). Besides their migratory status, residents differentiate themselves on the basis of conflicts of interests, rooted in differences in political or religious affiliation, language, work, generation, power and class (Eppel, 2007; Harte et al., 2009, p.151; Harvey, 2011, p.165).

In Imizamo Yethu three different groups are recognised on the basis of migratory status: original residents that 'founded' Imizamo Yethu; South Africans that came after the township was founded; and foreign migrants. The distinctions are not as sharp as in Langa and there is more interaction between different groups. For example, different groups convene in Iziko Lobomi to worship. Also the manager of this community centre maintains a non-discriminatory list of all people that are active in tourism. However, at times the fractures within the community are exposed. Suspicions of corruption were expressed regarding the people who were granted ownership of the 450 brick houses that Irish businessman Niall Mellon donated to the township. Officially the houses were to be given to the residents who had lived longest in the area, but this policy was allegedly not always followed. The subsequent controversy exposed the frailty of social relations in the township, undermined social cohesion and eroded trust in community leaders (Harte et al., 2009).

3.2 Industry setting

History of township tourism around Cape Town during apartheid

Tourism to the townships already took place during apartheid (figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: History of township tourism

Note: Darker colour indicates a greater number of visitors
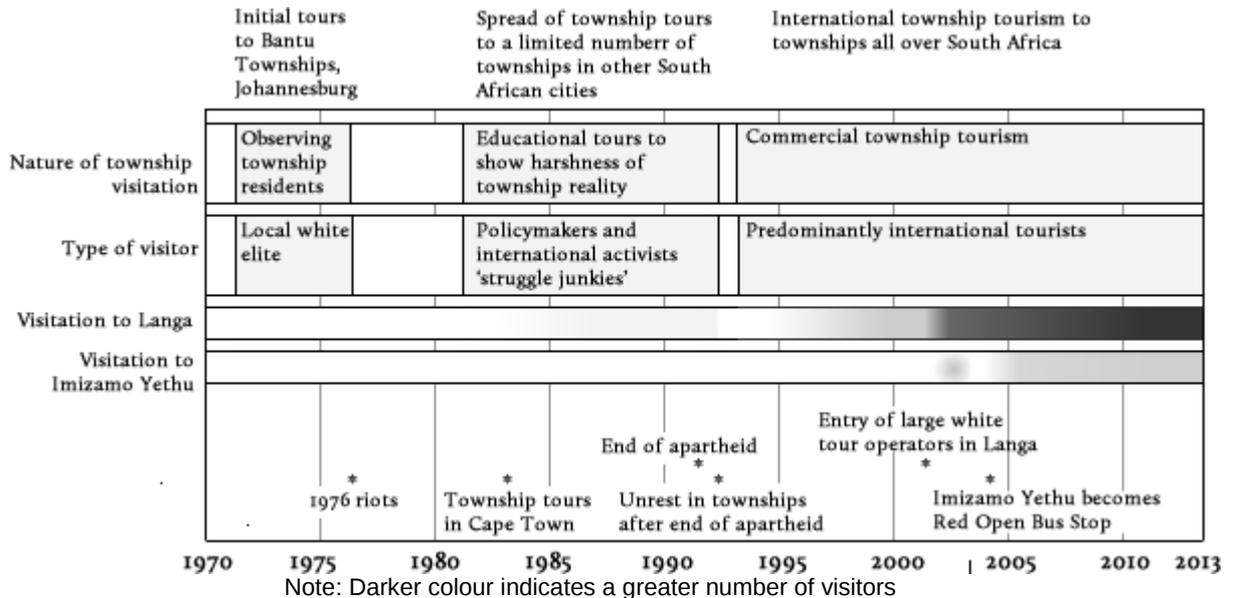
Source: author, based on Dondolo, 2002; Frenzel, 2012; Mellet, 2006; Nieves, 2008; Rassool & Witz, 1996; Rolfes et al., 2009

The first documented township tours were organised in the Bantu Townships around Johannesburg in the early 1970s to show white South Africans the conditions in which the "primitives and exotics" lived. Growing turmoil in the townships, in particularly the Soweto uprising of June 1976, brought these early township tours to an end (Dondolo, 2002, p.41). It took until the 1980s for township tours to be organised again, this time to the townships around Cape Town. The local NGO, 'Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa' (IDASA), organised the tours to provide local white government officials with a controlled experience - in the safety of a coach - of the 'other side' of Cape Town and the struggles that take place there (Dondolo, 2002, p.41; Nieves, 2008, p.202). In the latter part of the 1980s these tours started to attract more and more foreign anti-apartheid funders and international struggle junkies who wanted to see the harshness of township life as well as experience the dangers of these new South African tourist hot-spots (Rassool & Witz, 1996, p.340). When the situation in the townships become volatile after the assassination of ANC activist Chris Hani in 1993 IDASA, stopped running their tours (Gumede, 2006, p.48).

Growth and commoditisation of township touring after apartheid

Once the situation in the townships became less volatile in 1994, Paula Gumede, the black project coordinator of IDASA, decided to continue the township tours on a commercial basis. The first tours were aimed at international tourists, in addition to white South Africans. The intention was to bring the nation together after the end of apartheid (Rassool, 2007). The commercial potential of township tourism was initially ignored by the large tour operators, who viewed it too dangerous, which meant it provided one of the first opportunities for black South Africans to become involved in an otherwise white-dominated tourism industry (St. Clair, 2006, p.41). Even though township tours focused on the African townships, two of the first tour operators were started by people from the coloured community (Baba, 2006; Mally, 2006).

Development and evolution

Excursions into the townships became more frequent and streamlined from the second half of the 1990s. International tourists had by now become the sole target group of these tours and tour operators increasingly used coaches, rather than private cars or local minibus taxis, to cater for the increasing numbers of tourists (Rassool & Witz, 1996, p.340). The constant stream of tourists that entered the townships during this period inspired a number of residents to start township restaurants and can be booked in addition to a township tour or visited by independent tourist groups. In 1999 the first township B&B was started in Khayelitsha and, within two years, accommodation businesses were also operational in Langa and Gugulethu. As it was not considered safe to walk in the townships at night or alone, owners of B&Bs also provide food and offer to include a walk around the township, a visit to a local shebeen or a local family.

The arrival of the large tour operators and other recent developments

From the early 2000s onwards, large tour operators from outside of the townships, such as Hylton Ross and Springbok Atlas[2], started to provide township tours and rapidly gained market share. Many existing tour operators were dismayed by this development, claiming these large operators had an unfair advantage. The number of people coming on tours with the large companies led to an increase in the number of coaches visiting the townships. This created some tensions with local people who felt they were looked

[2] These businesses are termed 'white-owned' by small township tourism business owners, even though their board members and investors may be Black.

down on, whilst not getting any income from tourism. On the other hand, as the number of tourists to the townships increased, so too did business opportunities for tour guides, craft workers, restaurants and visitor attractions. One large tour operator, African Eagle, entered the township touring business relatively late in 2005. Their approach to township tourism differed from that of the other large companies in that, rather than setting up on their own, they went into partnership with one of the most successful small tour operators. The coloured owner of this business was given half of the shares in a new BBBEE-company. The merger infuriated other coloured township tour operators who believed the owner had sold out. African tour operators were less disturbed as they had never felt much sympathy for the coloured businesses that visited their townships.

In order to deal with the increasing competition from the large tour operators, and to counter ethical concerns regarding large scale township tourism, two coloured tour operators integrated a walking tour in their township tour itinerary. They hired local unregistered walking tour guides to assist their official tour guides, many of whom were coloured and had no connections with African townships. Other companies have since followed suit, although not all use separate guides for the walking tour. Tours to townships other than the traditionally popular Langa, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha also began to increase as township tourism became more popular. For example, in the township of Inasiphumelele, bicycle tours have been offered since 2002. Tours also started to be offered focusing specifically on cultural heritage, contemporary music (jazz and rap), food or sports. Another recent development is that private township tours have increasingly started to take tourists to 'braai' (BBQ) restaurants, which consist of a butcher and a large barbecue area under a single roof and primarily cater for township residents rather than tourists. In Imizamo Yethu, a white tour operator first organised walking tours using local guides in 2002. When this business folded around 2004, tourism activities diminished, with only one of the original guides continuing. Around this time international volunteers started to come to the township to build houses for the local population under the scheme set up by Irish millionaire Niall Mellon. This provided new work and stimulated one local to take up guiding. The real boom in township tourism to Imizamo Yethu however, came in 2005 as a result of the township being included as a stop on one of the routes of the Cape Town Red Open Top Bus in 2005. The number of tour guides and craft workers increased and some accommodation and catering businesses were opened. In 2007 the only currently active tour operator in Imizamo Yethu started trading, offering evening tours to a shebeen where tourists could interact informally with locals while enjoying a traditional Xhosa meal and dance.

Current state of township tourism

The township tourism industry around Cape Town is now well established. With only a small number of domestic tourists, township tourism businesses have to deal with great seasonal fluctuations and are vulnerable to declines in international tourist arrivals. Pirie (Pirie, 2007, p.235) mentions that 20-25 % of all international tourists to Cape Town book a township tour and around 300,000 tourists are estimated to visit the townships around Cape Town annually (CTRU, 2006a; 2006c; 2006b). These are served by an estimated 40-50 tour operators that range from large professionally-run companies such as Hylton Ross to sole traders that operate using a private car (Maliepaard, 2010; Rolfes et al., 2009).

Both the industry and government emphasise that contemporary township tourism is highly diverse and should be seen as a form of cultural tourism (Maliepaard, 2010; Ramchander, 2004a, p.7). However most tours follow the same format and focus mainly on the impoverished living conditions in the townships, with little opportunity to interact with township residents (Rolfes et al., 2009). A visit to the District Six museum provides some historic background to life in the townships; however, once in the township itself, little attention is given to political history, historic events or popular township culture. Contemporary township culture tends to be trivialised and reduced to visits to a traditional healer, shebeen or sheep-head vendor, without any explanation of their origins or current functions in society, thus reinforcing cultural stereotypes (e.g. African superstition) and clichés (e.g. "they are poor but happy") (Dondolo, 2002; Rolfes et al., 2009, p.50). Tourists gaze rather than engage with local community members, making them spectators or "flaneurs" (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012, p.1332). This also means that tours are largely interchangeable with one another and with those provided in other parts of the country (Hughes, 2007). This means tourists are unlikely to go on a township tour if they have done one elsewhere already.

Location and structure of township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu

The current research focuses on Langa and Imizamo Yethu township. Langa is situated around 12 kilometres, a 30-minute drive, to the east of the Central Business District (CBD) in Cape Town along the N2 motorway (figure 3.2). Imizamo Yethu is located 20 kilometres south of Cape Town near the fishing village of Hout Bay. As it is not linked by motorway, it takes 50 minutes by car from Cape Town CBD. Since Langa has a longer history in township tourism and is located closer to Cape Town CBD, it comes as no surprise that it is visited by significantly more tourists than Imizamo Yethu. However, both

townships should be regarded are peripheral in their relation to the tourism industry. As Van Der Duim (2007, p.969) argues, nearness and farness in tourism are not just the products of geographical distance. The meaning and location of places is also influenced by the perceptions, relationships, or a lack thereof, and/or physical barriers of different people involved. To better understand this, it is necessary to investigate the structure of township tourism in the area.

Figure 3.2: Location of Langa and Imizamo Yethu

Source: Rolfes et al. 2009, p. 21

The structure of township tourism strongly resembles that of international tourism in other developing countries in that it is "dominated by metropolitan capital, supported by comprador capital in LDCs [less developed countries] with small, locally owned enterprises left to scratch around for any crumbs that might fall from this highly elitist table" (Harrison, 1994, p.242; in Rogerson, 2008). Township tourism businesses operate at a significant disadvantage with respect to the enormous market power and economies of scale enjoyed by large tourism enterprises. This is a major constraint for their development (Rogerson, 2005a). Their situation is made even more difficult by the fact townships are perceived as distant, impoverished, uninteresting and dangerous (Butler, 2012; Rolfes et al., 2009). For example, while Langa Township is accessible via train and minibus taxi, these options are deemed unsafe for tourists and are rarely used. Tourists are often advised not to visit townships by car due to fears of theft and general safety concerns. As a result, the vast majority of tourists visit the township on a day or half-day township tour that starts and finishes in Cape Town CBD. Such tours work with tight time

schedules and leave little time for lingering or for flexibility in the schedule (Ludvigsen, 2002; Rolfes et al., 2009, p.31).

Although Imizamo Yethu is adjacent to an affluent white area, there is relatively little contact with its residents or businesses. As with Langa there are concerns about safety and the township is not seen as a place of particular interest by white South Africans. A notable exception are the churches in the Hout Bay area, which cooperate with the township church and community centre, Iziko Lobomi, to instigate crafting projects that support small tourism businesses. Also, being included as a stop on one of the routes of the Red Open Top Buses has made Imizamo Yethu one of the few townships around Cape Town that can easily be visited by independent tourists, even if such visits are usually limited to a 45-minute walk.

One of the main structural features of township tourism around Cape Town is that tours and activities are or arranged predominantly in Cape Town CBD. As discussed earlier most large tour operators provide tours themselves or subcontract them to a small specialist township tour operator. It is not clear what proportion how much of the market is divided up in this way, but it is estimated to be around 80-90% (Maliepaard, 2010). This estimate is supported by findings regarding the estimated numbers of tourists joining a township tour (table 3.1, page 54). The eight most popular tour operators have a partnership with, or are owned by, one of the large inbound tour operators or hotel chains, leaving the majority of tour operators to compete for the remaining 10-20% of the assumed 300,000 visitors to the townships around Cape Town.

Competition between small township tourism businesses also is further heightened by the fact that many are imitations of existing businesses that have been established without analysis of the market (Rogerson, 2008, p.407). In this highly competitive environment, power relations are argued to potentially influence the possibilities for township tourism business owners (Harvey, 2011; Koens, 2012), albeit that their impact is not entirely clear.

Table 3.1: Estimated number of tourists joining a township tour[1] in 2009

Tour Operator	Township visited	Estimated number of tourists per annum	Association with large tour operator/hotel chain
Inkukuleko Tours	Langa	6000	Thompsons
Ilios Travel	Langa	6000	Protea Hotels
African Eagle/Grassroute Tours[2]	Langa	5000	African Eagle/Grassroute Tours
Hylton Ross	Langa	5000	Hylton Ross
Cape Capers	Langa	3500	Tourvest
Sam's Cultural Tours	Langa	1500	
Camissa	Langa	1100	
Zibonele Tours	Langa	800	
Nthuseng tours	Langa	800	
Bonani Our Pride	Langa	600	
Dinner at Mandela's	Imizamo Yethu	500	
Ezizwe Tours	Langa	500	
Babi Tours	Langa	250	
Harlem Tours	Langa	350	
Others	Langa	Less than 250	

[1] The Red Open Top Bus is not taken into account as it is not known how many tourists disembark at Imizamo Yethu [2] Business operating under two different names.

Source: Interviews & (Maliepaard, 2010, p.38)

Perception of townships as dangerous areas

An important constraint for many owners is safety concerns, in particular the perception of townships as dangerous places. Business owners believe the South African Government and the destination marketing organisations do little to promote the townships or to dispel safety concerns among tourists (Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d, p.200; Rolfes et al., 2009). Although it is rare for tourists to fall victim to crime, events such as the murder of British tourist Anni Dewani in 2010 and the murder of the owner of a township B&B owner in 2012 gain much coverage in national and international newspapers, thus increasing safety concerns (Cape Argus, 2012; Duval Smith, 2010). Harvey (2011, p.272) discusses the experiences of township B&Bs who belief that staying overnight in the townships is not considered safe by tourists. Additionally they feel tourists are dissuaded from staying overnight by city centre accommodation providers who fear for the safety of their customers.

3.3 Organisational context

Business goals

With only little research conducted on small township tourism businesses in the Cape Town region, insights into the organisational context and owner characteristics are limited and largely inconclusive. Very little is known about restaurants, performance artists or visitor attractions, and no research has explicitly investigated business goals

among township tourism businesses in the Cape Town area. However, work by Rogerson (2004c; 2004d; 2008) does provide useful insights. He notes that the majority of township tourism businesses are started opportunistically in response to the observed increased flow of visitors to townships and perceived market opportunities. It is not just financial gain and growth that are important. In Gauteng one third to half of all small township tourism businesses are founded as a result of unemployment, retrenchment or the need for day-to-day survival (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007; Rogerson, 2004d).

Few lifestyle oriented business goals have been observed among small township tourism businesses, although accommodation business owners have reported that they enjoy hosting and meeting people from abroad, as well as the fact that they can combine their business with bringing up children (Rogerson, 2004c; Skinner, 2006). Township tour operators are motivated at least partially by a desire to tell the other story of South Africa and educate tourists on matters of history and culture (Mellet, 2006). The extent to which or how these business goals influence business practices is not known however.

Organisational Structure

Although township tour operators differ strongly in their size and professionalism, most are very small and are run on a relatively unprofessional and ad hoc basis (Baba, 2006; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Rogerson, 2004d; Rolfes et al., 2009). The fact that township tourism is a seasonal industry suggests that a significant group of small township tourism businesses are run on a part-time basis (Finmark Trust, 2010; Rogerson, 2004d). The extent to which this is the case however, is not clear. Harvey (2011) notes B&B owners, tour guides, performance artists and those running visitor attractions operate their tourism business in addition to income streams. Other studies however, report that tourism is the only or most important source of household income for over 70% of township tourism B&Bs and tour operators (Nemasetoni, 2005; Rogerson, 2004c). These somewhat conflicting findings indicate that further research is required to better understand the extent to which small businesses provide their owners with an adequate income as well as the importance of multiple, serial or portfolio business ownership. Similarly, it is not clear to what extent different small tourism business types operate formally or how they differ in operational structure.

Organisational resources

As discussed earlier in this chapter township tourism have to operate with very limited financial and social resources (Harvey, 2011; Rogerson, 2004c). Furthermore,

businesses are held back by the lack of knowledge and information about the tourism sector among their owners, as well as the inexperience of owners in running a business (Nuntsu et al., 2004; Rogerson, 2008). Harvey (2011, p.127) provides the example of a tour guide who struggled with his accreditation course because he lacked knowledge on other tourist attractions in the area and was unable to access information either from a library or the internet. If

3.4 Owner characteristics

As discussed earlier, small township business owners' personal characteristics influence their business opportunities. Earlier work has highlighted how female business ownership is relatively common and increasingly accepted in the townships, although women are still expected to care for children (White, 1999, pp.95–96) and many are active in accommodation (Rogerson, 2004c), while men are more commonly active as tour operators and tour guides (Harvey, 2011; Mellet, 2006). Additionally, the townships are divided into groups with different migratory status and ethnic background and particularly recent migrants from elsewhere in Africa appear limited by their personal characteristics (Harvey, 2011). However, similar to the organisational context, little is known about the extent to and ways in which owner characteristics of small township tourism business owners influences their business practices.

3.5 Towards a contextualised framework for understanding township tourism

Findings of previous research provide an initial, albeit inconclusive, framework of business orientations in a township tourism setting (table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Contextualisation for business orientations among township tourism small business owners

History, Culture and Political System	
Legacy of apartheid:	• Distrust between different South African tribes • Negative stereotypes of townships and township residents • Broken self-confidence among small disadvantaged individuals
Current political system:	• Very positive towards small business ownership • Aims to create enabling small business environment and support black entrepreneurship • Emphasis on responsible tourism (private led, government enabled) • Disconnect between policy and implementation • Lack of understanding of township tourism businesses, especially the informal sector
Infrastructure and crime:	• High unemployment and little job security • Danger of loss of possessions through fires and theft • Lack of stable water and electricity supplies
Ubuntu and Umona:	• Emphasis on cooperation contradicts small business investment • Fear of repercussions of not sharing wealth • 'Culture of equality' in harsh economic climate
Social networks:	• Townships as fractured communities • Lack of cohesion hinders social networks
Industry Setting	
Physical location:	• Distant from other tourism activities
History and current state:	• Rapidly increasing visitor numbers • Businesses from outside of the townships have greater market share than local businesses • Little development of new tourism products
Structure of industry:	• Township tourism organised from CBD of nearby urban centres • Seasonality and market vulnerability, e.g. in case of violence in townships locally or elsewhere • Strong competition among township tourism businesses
Perceptions in industry:	• Perception among mainstream tourism industry that townships are not safe for tourists
Organisational Context[1]	
Business goals:[2]	• Mainly financial and subsistence goals
Organisational structure:[2]	• Very small businesses • Unprofessional business management
Organisational resources:[2]	• Owners have few assets and face barriers to obtaining loans • Lack of intangible resources (e.g. reputation, goodwill) • Limited business management and IT skills
Owner characteristics[1,2]	
Demographic characteristics	• Limited tourism and business experience • Business type dictated by gender • Female business owners not always taken seriously by others in industry

[1]Knowledge limited by lack of research; [2]Differences were observed between different business types but there is insufficient information to fully understand these differences

Source: author, based on Butler, 2012; Dondolo, 2002; Harvey, 2011; Ludvigsen, 2002; Maliepaard, 2010; Mellet, 2006; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; 2007; Nieves, 2008; Pirie, 2007; Rassool & Witz, 1996; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d; 2005a; 2008; Rolfes et al., 2009; Skinner, 2006

Existing findings highlight a context that is on the whole unfavourable for small business development. Apartheid had a huge impact on South African life and continues to hinder small business owners in a variety of ways. Townships are located far from Cape Town CBD and other tourism activities, have few amenities, relatively poor infrastructure connections and are perceived negatively. Furthermore, apartheid created a culture of distrust among and between formerly suppressed majorities. This is exemplified in the

townships where residents are fractured into many groups, strongly limiting the potential benefits of social networks in a business context. Apartheid policy also tried to sabotage entrepreneurship and self-employment among formerly disadvantaged individuals. This made it difficult for people to gain business experience and has seriously damaged self-confidence among some. In stark contrast to the situation under apartheid, the current political climate strongly favours self-employment and strives to nourish entrepreneurship in order to combat unemployment. Within the tourism industry, the concept of 'responsible tourism' has become the predominant paradigm. Government has adopted a market-oriented approach to tourism in their attempt to integrate black-owned businesses into mainstream tourism. Although policy, law and legislation are now favourable for small businesses development and entrepreneurship, efforts in practice to foster small business development are not always successful.

High levels of unemployment, overcrowding, poor living conditions and fire hazards, in combination with high levels of distrust in the townships, make for a very uncertain living environment that is not conducive to business. Historically, people dealt with the uncertain environmental and financial circumstances through cooperative sharing efforts, embodied in the cultural concepts of Ubuntu and Umona. Nowadays, particularly Umona, can be harmful for small business development as it creates a fear of retributions if a person chooses to invest any profits back in their business rather than share them with others.

The structure of the township tourism industry can hold back small business owners too. Besides the seasonality of tourism, owners face a variety of legislative, financial and social barriers, are located distant from other tourism actors and have to deal with negative prejudices regarding the townships. The number of township tourism businesses is high relative to demand and many businesses offer similar products, which means competition is fierce, particularly as the majority of tourists are serviced by a small number of larger tour operators.

Existing data on organisational contexts and owner characteristics is patchy and based primarily on findings among accommodation businesses and tour operators. Only few lifestyle goals have been reported, with most owners seeking business growth or survival. The vast majority of small township tourism businesses are very small, limited particularly by a lack of financial and intangible resources (e.g. poor reputation, lack of goodwill from the industry, negative perceptions of the townships), and tend to be managed in a relatively unprofessional manner with little planning. More information is required to better understand whether there are varying levels of professionalism and

business planning among different business types, the extent to which owners have multiple businesses, as well as the potential use of IT services. In terms of owner characteristics, migratory status and ethnic background appear to determine potential business success, mainly because of its influence on social and business networks. Furthermore, gender patterns are apparent, with women mainly active in accommodation and men dominant in tour operation and guiding. Women are often required to act as primary carer for children; this, along with societal prejudices, may limit them in their business activities.

In conclusion it can be said that, although there are still knowledge gaps to be filled, it is clear is that a township tourism context is very different from that of a developed world setting, and that business orientations will differ too, at least to a certain extent.

4. Research design and methods

4.1 Assumptions underlying the research

Philosophical underpinnings influence the ways in which research is carried out and the kinds of results that can be expected (Curran & Blackburn, 2001, p.53). To better appreciate the research design and methods it is therefore necessary to first discuss the assumptions that underlie this research.

Historically, the positivist perspective has dominated research. Within this perspective it is presumed that an objective reality exists, which can be observed by researchers. It emphasises the importance of verification or falsification of hypotheses, primarily using quantitative research methods and assumes results can be generalised and transferred to other locations. In the last twenty years, the paradigm of constructivism has become popular as an alternative for positivism. Within this perspective no objective reality is presumed to exist. Instead constructivism views realities as multiple, relative, constructed and unobservable and research findings as local, specific and not transferrable. Constructivist research methods are mainly qualitative and aimed at understanding and reconstructing situations rather than at predicting them (Guba & Lincoln, 1998). During recent decades fierce debates have taken place between positivists and constructivists regarding what is the most suitable paradigm for social research. The emphasis on tangible facts, simplification and generalisation within strict positivism is argued to encourage dualism and polarity rather than increasing understanding (Cornelius et al., 2006; Fletcher, 2006). On the other hand, the nihilistic relativism of extreme constructivism is said not to allow for judgements to be made or research to go beyond individual accounts of situations (Ratner, 2006). The intensity of these discussions has led them to be described as a "paradigm war" in which researchers in both camps have become entrenched and radicalised rather than seeking common ground and solutions to paradigmatic problems (Gage, 1989, p.4; Morgan, 2007).

More moderate philosophical directions are offered by the perspectives of critical realism and pragmatism. These are very similar, share a number of underlying assumptions and are "helpfully compatible", albeit that the former stays closer to the original values of positivism the latter is more akin to constructivism; (Cherryholmes, 1992; Pleasants, 2003; Robson, 2002, p.44). To better understand the differences and the similarities between the four perspectives, they are compared in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Differences between ontological paradigms

	Positivism	Constructivism	Critical realism/pragmatism
Worldview	Reality is visible and universal	Reality is relative and individual	Independent reality exists, but cannot be observed directly
Inference from data	Generality	Context-specific	Moderatum generalisation
Relationship to research process	Objectivity	Subjectivity	Inter-subjectivity
Connection of theory and data	Focus on deduction	Focus on induction	Combined induction and deduction

Source: (Morgan, 2007, p.71; Robson, 2002)

In a positivist view of the world reality is visible and universal while constructivism sees reality as relative and individual. Critical realism and pragmatism share a more nuanced worldview. They accept the existence of an external world independent of our minds, but refute the idea that this is directly observable; social systems are open and may interfere with each other. This means discrepancies can exist between the underlying mechanisms and observable manifestations (Cherryholmes, 1992; Baert, 2005, p.94). In taking this perspective, critical realism and pragmatism sidestep the determinism of extreme positivism while also steering clear of the nihilism that plagues extreme constructivism.

When it comes to the extent to which findings are transferrable, positivist research emphasises generalizability to the population. Conversely, constructivists argue that "the only generalization is that there is no generalization" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.110) Critical realists and pragmatists mediate between these two extremes. Rather than assuming knowledge is fully generalizable or context-bound it is viewed as transferable to other contexts only after it has been tested and adjusted to fit within in a different context (Morgan, 2007, p.72; Williams, 2002, p.131). The strength of an emerging theory depends upon the "variety of circumstances and contexts" to which it holds "descriptive and explanative power" (Cope, 2005, p.171). The idea of this "moderatum generalisation" is closely aligned to Yin's (2003) concept of analytical generalisation within case study research according to which researchers "should try to generalise findings to theory analogous to the way a scientist generalises from experimental results to theory" (ibid, p.38).

A third major difference between different paradigms is the relationship of the research with the research process. In positivism the researcher and the investigated object or interviewee are viewed as independent entities that do not influence each other. Constructivism assumes the researcher and the object of investigation are linked and views findings as created during the research process. Therefore, characteristics of the

researcher inherently influence research results and all results are biased (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, pp.204–207). Critical realism/pragmatism acknowledges subjectivities within the researcher-interviewee interaction, but assumes that researcher and interviewee will reach a degree of mutual understanding. Through critical reflection on this mutual understanding and by placing it in its context, it is possible to appreciate and mitigate the underlying bias that results from the researcher-interviewee interaction (Koens & Fletcher, 2010).

Regarding the connection between theory and data, positivism emphasises deduction and quantitative research methods while constructivist research is largely inductive and predominantly associated with qualitative research methods. Within critical realism and pragmatism the choice for either deduction or induction is viewed as neither desirable nor possible. Researchers will always have theoretical knowledge before they start collecting data so research cannot be fully inductive. Once data collection is taking place, however, researchers should remain open to be surprised and should adjust perspectives according to new findings. Within real-life research the researcher constantly moves back and forth between induction and deduction (Morgan, 2007, p.71). Therefore both quantitative and qualitative research methods are used and may even be combined in mixed method research (Cherryholmes, 1992).

Although it is clear that critical realists and pragmatists have much in common they differ as to the way research should deal with the impossibility to observe reality. Critical realists view reality as highly complex and multi-layered. Different subjective layers of the social world may be ambiguous or even contradict each other. However, by acknowledging this diversity and using appropriate tools to appreciate and understand it (e.g. contextualisation), critical realists argue that it is possible to get an appreciation of reality using subjective resources (Robson, 2002; Little, 2008). Pragmatists are more sceptical regarding the possibility to understand an underlying, independent reality. Since researchers are historically and socially situated they can never be sure if they are reading the world or themselves. It is therefore impossible to prove that explanations are closer to or further away from explaining reality. That what is considered reality today may be proved to be false tomorrow. Pragmatists therefore dismiss the 'quest' for reality. Rather they point to the need to find the best possible explanation for a research problem in its context. They do not pretend their answer reflects reality. Instead, they argue, it provides the best possible answer to the research question they desired to answer (Morgan, 2007, p.67).

The current research works within a pragmatic paradigm. In building theory the aim is provide insights that give a better understanding of the ways in which tourism businesses are run. Although it is impossible to say whether or not the research fully reflects the reality of small township tourism business owners, it strives to be enlightening and relevant and provide the best understanding available of small township tourism business orientations at in the present time.

4.2 Research approach

Qualitative research was chosen as the primary method of investigating township tourism businesses. The choice of this approach is justified on the basis that it:

1. Provides in-depth contextualised insights (Gorton, 2000; Zahra, 2007);

2. Gives participants great freedom to express themselves (Gartner & Birley, 2002, p.387);

3. Allows for the integration of inductive elements that may enrich the research by providing previously unaccounted information (Wengraf, 2001);

4. Is suitable for revealing aspects such as values, meanings and attitudes that are associated with business orientations (Morrison et al., 2010);

5. Makes it possible to appreciate intangible concepts such as social/transactional relationships (Fillis, 2006; Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a);

6. Makes it possible to ask for clarifications when uncertainties arise (e.g. with regards to specific cultural constructs unique to a location) (Bruton et al., 2008);

7. Is useful for revealing how different factors interact and relate to each other over time (Mason, 2002, p.1)

Even though the research is largely qualitative in nature, descriptive statistics are used to better understand the different types of businesses involved in township tourism and to attain demographic characteristics of township tourism business owners. Eyles (1988, p.5) points to the value of combining qualitative research approaches with descriptive statistics in this way. He notes that statistics are particularly useful for documenting "the units of observation", while interviews, conversations and observations provide more in-depth information.

Most previous research on small township tourism businesses investigated one type of business (e.g. accommodation or tour operation) (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005;

Rogerson, 2004c; Rolfes et al., 2009). In contrast the focus of the current research is limited to two townships and takes into account a wider variety of township tourism businesses. This makes it possible to get a more complete overview of interdependencies and mutual relations between businesses. Furthermore, it allows for a deeper understanding of the local historical and institutional setting in which small businesses operate. The townships of Langa and Imizamo Yethu are chosen, because they contain a relatively broad spectrum of township tourism businesses that have been active in different ways and for different lengths of time. Visitation numbers differ as do the main ways in which tourists come to the townships. In Langa most visitors come on a half day township tour. On the other hand Imizamo Yethu is located near to an official stop of the Cape Town Red Open Top Bus and can be easily reached by tourists with their own means of transport. With their different structures they complement each other and allow for a richer understanding of township tourism in different forms.

Data for the research were gathered during two field visits. The first visit took place from September to November 2008 just before the high season. During this time the case study regions were chosen, a pilot was done, an inventory was made of small tourism businesses in Imizamo Yethu and Langa and face-to-face interviews were conducted with small township tourism business owners. After a nine-month period of data analysis a second field visit was undertaken from August to September 2009. During this visit interviewees were revisited and asked for their experiences during the past year and invited to clarify possible uncertainties arising from the analysis. Furthermore 13 civil servants and policymakers as well as ten owner-managers of tourism businesses in Cape Town and Hout Bay were interviewed in order to be able to get more contextualised insights into the policy setting and business relations.

4.3 Methods of enquiry

Compiling an inventory of small tourism business owners

In order to gain an overview of the different businesses and business types that are involved in Langa and Imizamo Yethu an inventory of all businesses in both townships was compiled. This was completed at the same time as the qualitative interviews. An extended form of snowball sampling was used as this type of sampling has proven particularly useful in discovering difficult- to -locate and less well-connected informal businesses (Robson, 2002, p.265). A disadvantage of using snowball sampling is that it can create a bias towards like-minded people which, clearly, would exclude owners with different business ideas (Downing, 2005; Faugler & Sargeant, 1997). To counter this

problem a wide variety of entry points was used from which to start snowballing: 1) a local consultant for small township businesses helped identify businesses in Langa; 2) the author participated in township tours and visited tourism businesses in other townships; 3) businesses that were registered with Cape Town Tourism were identified by requesting a list of businesses at the local branch of this destination management organisation; 4) in Imizamo Yethu a local independent tourist information centre also pointed towards a number of small business owners that could serve as informants; 5) during the first field visit the tourism department of the municipality of Cape Town organised a meeting in Langa where many small township tourism businesses were present; 6) Well-networked people in the townships, such as church and community leaders or local police officers, were asked for their knowledge of people involved in tourism in the townships; 7) Finally internet search engines were used and tourists' weblogs were read to identify potential businesses. The combination of all of these entry points facilitated to a comprehensive overview of all small businesses involved in township tourism in both townships.

Semi-structured interviews with small township tourism business owners

Prior to the main interviews, ten pilot interviews were carried out in Khayelitsha Township away from the two study sites. This helped refine the interview process. Questions were critically evaluated and adjusted to make them more easily understandable to owners in a township context. Additional questions were included in order to reflect themes that were absent from the initial literature review, yet were significant to interviewees (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), and the order in which the themes were discussed was adjusted to provide a more natural flow to the interview. Furthermore the pilot proved valuable for learning which prompts and probes were most effective with township tourism business owners. This helped minimise differences between early and later interviews because of improved interviewing techniques.

As a result of the intensive nature of interviewing and of the logistical issues involved when arranging the interviews (e.g. restrictions of movement for safety reasons), it was not possible to interview all small business owners. Ultimately a total of 80 people were interviewed for the final research; of these 51 were based in Langa and 29 in Imizamo Yethu (see Table 4.2, page 72). Five interviews were discarded because it became clear during the interview that owners had not actually started the business yet, or that they operated in another township. Interviews were held with the owner of the business. In two cases both owners wished to be interviewed, while in one case the managing director who had been involved in running the business from the start was interviewed.

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Purposive sampling was used to reflect the diversity among small township tourism businesses and ensure that as wide a range of experiences as possible was explored (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

The choice of whom to interview was based upon characteristics of the owner/manager of the business (e.g. differences in age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, time of living in township) as well as characteristics of the business (e.g. registration at different bodies of the government, location, selling directly to tourists or selling via a larger company). In the cases of accommodation and catering businesses, all owners were interviewed, whereas with other business types a selection was made on the basis of different owner and business characteristics. With the exception of one owner, who was too busy to be interviewed, all small business owners were willing to cooperate. Nearly all interviewees spoke English well enough to be able to be interviewed in this language. In 6 cases a translator was used. The decision to use a translator was made either because the interviewee preferred to do the interview in Xhosa, or because a lack of English skills became clear during the initial conversation between researcher and interviewee. The translator had never been involved in tourism in either of the townships and had interviewing experience from previous work experience in consumer researcher. Although using a translator made it more difficult to directly ask follow up questions and appreciate stories as they were told, it did make it possible to investigate businesses such as shebeen owners and sheep-head vendors, whose owners rarely speak English and who have received little attention in research on township tourism.

Interviewees were approached by phone or in person and asked if they would like to participate in the research. In most cases an appointment was made to meet during the following days, although some interviews were conducted immediately. Interviews lasted an average of one hour, with individual examples varying from 15 minutes to 120 minutes. All interviews were recorded using a digital voice-recorder and contemporaneous notes were taken, both with consent of the interviewee. The number of interviews completed in one day varied from one to four, depending on the availability of interviewees. Most interviews were held in the townships themselves. In Langa interviews were held at the local cultural centre and the environmental centre, in a quiet and private corner of one of the restaurants, or at the business premises of the owner. In Imizamo Yethu interviews were held in the local church/community centre or at the business premises of the owner. Not all craft vendors were willing to leave their stall, which meant some interviews were held in more challenging conditions. Five interviewees requested to be interviewed in a coffee bar or restaurant outside of the townships.

Before the start of the interview a short introduction to the research was given to inform the interviewees of the purpose of the research and to inspire confidence and trust. When the interviewee appeared to be relaxed, informed consent was obtained. Interviewees were asked to read or an information sheet concerning the research (appendix 1), or had this read out to them, and were then given the opportunity to ask questions. Having confirmed that they fully understood the information sheet, interviewees then signed[3] the informed consent form (appendix 2). No interviewees objected to giving consent, even though some were initially somewhat distrustful of the procedure[4].

Semi-structured interviewing techniques were used in order to uncover, understand and interpret the social realities, experiences, beliefs and perceptions of small business owners. Similar to previous research on small tourism businesses (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002; Steel, 2008; Telfer & Wall, 1996). Semi structured interviews give considerable freedom to change the order and phrasing of questions and follow up on potentially interesting answers, yet still ensure that all important themes are dealt with (Robson, 2002, p.278). A potential disadvantage is that interviewees will confine themselves to the themes of the interview schedule and fail to elaborate on other issues and experiences. To overcome this problem, elements from narrative research were introduced to the interview situation. Interviewees were empowered to co-determine salient themes for research by the explicit provision of space for examples and seemingly irrelevant stories (Elliott, 2005). Fletcher and Watson (2007, p.10) used a narrative approach in the context of entrepreneurship and found narratives and stories lend themselves "well to entrepreneurial situations". Stories are especially useful to attain insights into the "rich and at times ambiguous sense-making process of situated individuals" (Mallon & Cohen, 2001, p.221). A disadvantage of a narrative approach is that interviewees who are not natural storytellers can feel uncomfortable in an interview situation where they are asked to tell stories. It can result in painful silences or confusion as to the appropriate answer (Johansson, 2004, p.286).

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[3] Alternatively illiterate interviewees could provide oral consent, which was saved taped with permission of the interviewee and later saved as an encrypted file. For interviewees who did not speak English, oral consent was obtained through a translator.
[4] For example, one interviewee referred to the situation under apartheid where (s) he had to sign many papers for no evident reason. After an explanation of the meaning of consent forms and their necessity in British academic research culture signing the consent form no longer was seen as problematic.

By incorporating narrative elements into semi-structured interviews the disadvantages of both approaches could be mitigated while the positive elements were kept. To ensure no important topics were forgotten, an interview schedule was used (appendix 3), which incorporated important themes that had arisen from the literature review (as suggested by e.g. Stroh, 2000, p.207). The first question of the interview was open ended and dealt with how the interviewee got involved in tourism. Interviewees were given the liberty to answer this question in whatever way they wished and answers varied from a one sentence reply to a 15 minute long narrative. Interviewees enjoyed telling stories and were not interrupted when they answered this first or any other question in unexpected ways (Riessman, 2008, pp.23–25). The order and actual phrasing of additional questions differed from one interview to the next, so as to ensure that these directly related to answers given by the interviewee (Seidman, 2006, p.92). Also, specific examples were asked, which at times initiated stories. When interviewees were less talkative, more structured questions on the subject were asked, based on the interview schedule. Probing was initially done by means of active listening, expectant silences and glances and by saying, 'umm, hmmm' or ,'yes' (Riessman, 2002). Only when this did not motivate the interviewee to say more, active probing was used in the form of a request for examples and explanations of specific situations using personal experiences, repeating parts of answers, rephrasing questions or asking for personal views (Robson, 2002). Throughout the research, care was taken to limit the use of prompts, in order to reduce the level of rationalisation (offering logical reasons for actions) and socially desirable answers by the interviewees, or putting words into the mouth of interviewees by the researcher (Fielding & Thomas, 2008; Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). While listening to the interviewees' answers, notes were taken regarding important events and key phrases. At a later moment during the interview clarification was requested on the basis of these notes. In cases when a translator was required, a similar structure was maintained, although it was more difficult to respond quickly to the answers of interviewees and to use prompts and probes.

At the end of the semi-structured part of the interview, owners were asked eight structured interview questions to ascertain information on business size and age as well as demographic characteristics (appendix 4). These would be used later to provide descriptive statistics of businesses and owners (Robson, 2002). After the interview ended, keywords regarding the experience of carrying out the interview were written down. These included events, such as people entering or any noise that may have acted as a distracter, as well as thoughts about the interaction between researcher and interviewee. These notes were used as part of a personal diary, which was also used for

recording observations on small township tourism businesses and their owners (Wengraf, 2008). Although not necessarily exhaustive, this placed the interviews in their context and, during analysis, assisted the recall of significant events (Etherington, 2004). Furthermore, it helped with the preparation of follow-up interviews during the second field visit.

Revisiting the interviewees during the second field visit

During the second field visit follow up interviews were held with 74 participants either in person (56) or over the telephone (18), when personal contact was impossible due to a lack of availability of the owner. These interviews took place in August 2009 during the low season. Unfortunately six interviewees could not be reached and were therefore not taken into account. Two were on holiday, two others could not be retraced, one had passed away and one interviewee refused to be interviewed again after an incident with another researcher. The interviews during the second field visit were much shorter than the initial interviews, with an average length of 10 minutes. Before the interview, participants were informed again about the research and they were reminded that the research conditions described in the consent they had signed earlier remained applicable. Questions were asked regarding changes and events in the 9 months since the researcher left and how this influenced the small business as well as the relations between businesses. In addition clarification was sought on specific topics that were unclear or where different stories contradicted each other. The results provided additional insights and provided a limited longitudinal aspect to the study. Interviews were semi-structured, although the interviewees were still encouraged to respond in story form by asking for specific events and histories. Initially, interviewees were given the option to read their initial transcripts and provide comments as this would improve reliability of research findings (Robson, 2002; Seidman, 2006). However, interviewees were reluctant to read their transcripts as they believed this to be a boring and time-consuming process. Therefore, with most interviewees, the initial results were discussed in a conversational manner before and during the interview.

Participant observation to supplement research findings

Observational methods help to collect information on how individuals interact and behave within their natural setting. They provide understanding of the context in which research findings are embedded (Geertz, 1973). Furthermore, observational methods make it possible to gather information on issues that may be too obvious to talk about. This is particularly important when a researcher comes from a different culture and may not be

aware of these issues (Atkinson et al., 2001). A prolonged engagement in the field while observing therefore benefits the robustness of research (Whittemore et al., 2001). In this research participant observation and informal conversations with people in the townships were used as supportive and supplementary forms of data gathering. In other words these were used to "complement" and "set in perspective data obtained by other means" rather than as the primary form of data gathering (Robson, 2002, p.312).

Participant observation took place in a variety of ways. Living in the townships during the first field visit and staying in a number of local B&Bs provided insights into the different ways in which businesses were managed in day-to-day and into owner-tourist interactions. Informal conversations with owners and employees further helped gain a deeper understanding of what it is like to run a business in the townships. Walking daily through the townships provided opportunities to observe and to talk informally with township residents about township life and the daily struggles they encountered. The continuing presence of the research in the townships helped to build trust with small business owners. Most interviews took place near tourist attractions, which were visited every day. Much time was spent in waiting for interviewees and this provided an excellent opportunity to watch interactions between tour operators, tour guides, craft vendors and performance artists as they took place. It also allowed for short, informal conversations with small business owners about their lives and current business situation. In a similar way participation in township tours and making use of local tourist facilities (e.g. restaurants, performances) gave insights into the way businesses were run.

A field diary was kept in order to improve the quality of participant observation. During the day, general observations and critical incidents, interpersonal exchanges and personal reflections were recorded using voice recorder or written field notes. In the evening these were compiled in the field diary. A similar process of reflection was successfully used by Burrai (2012) in her research on local providers and recipients of volunteer tourism in Peru.

Interviews with policy makers and enterprises in Cape Town CBD and Hout Bay

During the first field visit it became clear that small business owners had difficulty in understanding both laws and regulations and policy support efforts. In order to understand the causes of the confusion, and to further comprehend the institutional framework in which small tourism businesses operate, interviews were conducted with 13 civil servants and policymakers in order to complement the primary research (see

Table 4.3, page 75). Purposive sampling identified interviewees who would provide insights into national and local policy and support programmes relevant to small tourism businesses in the townships. The selection of relevant interviewees was based on analysis of the interviews of the small businesses from the first field visit as well as consultation with a local researcher on business development in the townships. Interviewees were working in a variety of government departments at national, provincial and local level as well as at institutions involved in the implementation of policy support programmes. Interviews were held face-to-face at the offices of the interviewees or by telephone. All interviews were recorded with the exception of one, where the interviewee preferred to be interviewed without a recorder and notes were taken. Before the interview started, a short introduction about the research and the goals of the interview was given and informed consent was obtained in a similar manner as for the interviews with the small business owners. The interviews lasted an average of 55 minutes, with the shortest taking 20 minutes and the longest 85 minutes. Interviews were semi-structured in nature, used an interview schedule (appendix 5) and focused on the working of past and present policy, the ways in which this policy was created and implemented and the interaction between different government departments and support programmes. After the interview, the researcher recorded key observations of his experience of the interview to be compiled in a research diary.

In order to gain a better understanding of the ways in which township small businesses relate to others from outside of the townships, interviews were held with people from this group. As with the interviews with policymakers, these were used to complement the primary research. A total of 10 people working for businesses in Cape Town CBD and Hout Bay were interviewed (see Table 4.4, page 75). They were chosen purposefully with the aim to have businesses with different kinds of relations with township tourism businesses represented. All interviews were carried out in person and recorded with permission of the interviewees. A short introduction to the research was again provided, and ethical clearance was obtained before the interviews took place. Interviews focused on people's experiences in relating to small businesses and lasted on average 40 minutes, with the shortest taking 20 minutes and the longest 75 minutes. Interviews were again semi-structured in nature, using an interview schedule (appendix 6), while interviewees were given ample time for providing stories and narratives. Notes of the experience of the interview were recorded afterwards using a voice recorder and later compiled in a research diary.

Table 4.2: Interviewed small business owners

Code	Business type	Area	Gender	Description
A01	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Owner of first B&B in Langa, retired during second field visit
A02	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Manager of guesthouse in Langa
A03	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Newly starting B&B owner, who had invested heavily in her business
A04	Accommodation	Langa	Male	Owner of B&B that caters more or less solely for the national market
A05	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Owner of combined B&B/backpacker accommodation business
A06	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Langa's newest B&B
A07	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Daughter of A01, took over business during second field visit
A08	Accommodation	Langa	Female	Owner of B&B in Settler's Way who refuses to cooperate with other businesses
A09	Accommodation, walking tour guiding	Langa	Female	Owner of the smallest B&B in Langa (shack) and provider of walking tours for those who stay in her accommodation
C01	Craft worker making own crafts	Langa	Female	Craft worker at Guga S'Thebe, specialises in beading
C02	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker at Guga S'Thebe, specialises in sand painting
C03	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker selling near herbalist
C04	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker near hostels whose business growing
C05	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker who has a craft shop near one of the main restaurants
C06	Craft worker making own crafts, performance artist	Langa	Male	Craft worker at Guga S'Thebe and performance artist providing amateur theatre
C07	Craft worker making own crafts, visitor attraction	Langa	Female	Highly experienced craft worker who receives tour groups at her home
C08	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker selling near herbalist
C09	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker selling near herbalist
C10	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker selling near herbalist
C11	Craft worker making own crafts	Langa	Male	Craft worker who specialises in sand painting and receives tour groups at home
C12	Craft worker making own crafts	Langa	Male	Nephew of main craft worker at Guga S'Thebe who set up his own crafting project
C13	Craft worker making own crafts	Langa	Male	Largest craft worker at Guga S'Thebe
C14	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker at large organisation, specialising in mosaics
C15	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Craft worker at Iziko Lobomi who focuses on painting
C16	Craft worker making own crafts	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Manager of small independent tea bag company, former employee of large crafting organisation

Code	Business type	Area	Gender	Description
C17	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker along main road at Imizamo Yethu
C18	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker at Iziko Lobomi
C19	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker who works for one of the large crafting organisations
C20	Craft worker making own crafts	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker near Hout Bay Harbour, not on main market but outside a shop
C21	Craft worker buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Craft worker at Hout Bay harbour
C22	Craft worker buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Longest running craft worker from Imizamo Yethu at Hout Bay harbour
C23	Craft worker buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Craft worker at Hout Bay harbour, partially owns shop, partially employed
C24	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker at large crafting organisation, focusing on painting tea bags
C25	Craft worker buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Craft worker at Hout Bay harbour, former criminal who turned to tourism to make an honest living
C27	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker with stall at entrance of Imizamo Yethu, former employee of large crafting organisation
C28	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker at large crafting organisation, focusing on beads
C29	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Craft worker at large crafting organisation, focusing on paper making
C30	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling, visitor attraction	Langa	Female	Craft worker at Iziko Lobomi
C31	Craft worker buying/selling	Langa	Male	Craft worker who assists other salespeople
C32	Craft worker making own crafts and buying/selling	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Painter/craft worker at Iziko Lobomi
C33	Craft worker at large project	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Craft worker at large crafting organisation, focusing on painting tea bags
G01	Walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide, initially worked near restaurant, now at Guga S'Thebe
G02	Performance artist, walking tour guide	Langa	Male	One of the dominant tour guides at Guga S'Thebe
G03	Freelance tour guide, performance artist	Langa	Male	Tour guide who started as walking tour guide, now works on freelance basis and as performance artist
G04	Freelance tour guide, performance artist, Walking tour guide	Langa	Male	One of the dominant tour guides at Guga S'Thebe. Increasingly operates as freelance tour guide and also runs performance group
G06	Walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide fluent in German, largely unknown in townships
G07	Walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide, initially worked near restaurant, now at Guga S'Thebe
G08	Freelance tour guide, walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide who recently started to operate on a freelance basis as well as being employed part-time
G09	Walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide at Guga S'Thebe, member of one of the local gangs
G10	Freelance tour guide	Langa	Male	Freelance tour guide for one of the major tour operators
G11	Freelance tour guide, walking tour guide	Langa	Male	Walking tour guide at Guga S'Thebe

Code	Business type	Area	Gender	Description
G12	Walking tour guide	Imizamo Yethu	Male	First tour guide in Imizamo Yethu, contact person for Red Open Top Bus
G13	Walking tour guide	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Unregistered tour guide at Imizamo Yethu
G14	Walking tour guide	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Tour guide in Imizamo Yethu
G15	Walking tour guide	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Tour guide in Imizamo Yethu, heavily involved in Irish House building project
P01	Performance artist	Langa	Male	Musician who performs for and gives workshops to tourists
P02	Performance artist	Imizamo Yethu	Male	Local leader in community centre and leader of 'spontaneous' church choir
R01	Catering	Langa	Female	Owner of newly-established restaurant in Langa
R02	Catering	Langa	Female	Owner of most successful restaurant in Langa
R03	Catering	Langa	Male	Operates bar/braai that is visited on a number of township tours
R04	Catering	Langa	Male	Combines tourism restaurant with club for local people and, allegedly, a brothel
R05	Catering	Langa	Male	Owner of first restaurant in Langa, provides food for tourists and local people and caters at festivals. Operates as social enterprise/learning business
R06	Catering	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Owner of catering/restaurant/coffee shop who also does baking and home-made muesli
R07	Accommodation, catering	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Owner of original B&B and restaurant/catering in Imizamo Yethu
R08	Accommodation, catering	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Owner of catering business and B&B
T01	Freelance tour guide, tour operator	Langa	Male	Tour operator and freelance tour guide
T02	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Small tour operator, quit job to start business but had to seek employment again
T03	Accommodation, tour operator	Langa	Male	Independent sports tour operator and owner of accommodation business that provides mainly to long-stay students/backpackers
T04	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Event organiser, who also offers tours of the townships for international students at Cape Town universities
T05	Tour operator	Langa	Male	One of the biggest small tour operators
T06	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Small black tour operator into the townships, who finds it difficult to gain business
T07	Tour operator	Langa	Female	Co-owner of BBBEE business with 1/3 white ownership
T08	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Tour Operator who focuses both on tourists and large enterprises in Cape Town
T09	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Co-owner of BBBEE business with 51% white ownership
T10	Catering, tour operator	Imizamo Yethu	Female	Only tour operator that visits Imizamo Yethu
T11	Tour operator	Langa	Male	One of earliest small tour operators, coloured man who lives outside of the townships
T12	Tour operator	Langa	Male	Owner of bus company who recently turned towards tourism
V01	Visitor Attraction	Langa	Male	Herbalist, an important attraction for township tours
V02	Visitor Attraction	Langa	Female	Shebeen owner, part of township tour
V03	Visitor Attraction	Langa	Female	Smiley (sheep-head) vendor, part of township tour

Source: author

Table 4.3: Interviewed businesses from outside of the townships

Code	Gender	Description
F01	Female	Owner of one of the large crafting organisations, focusing on painting tea bags
F02	Male	Owner of Red Open Top Bus Cape Town, which stops at Imizamo Yethu
F03	Female	Owner of large crafting organisation near Imizamo Yethu
F04	Female	Owner of largest backpacker hostel in Cape Town
F05	Male	Large BBBEE tour operator
F06	Male	CEO of one of the largest tour operators in the Cape Town area
F07	Male	Owner of B&B in Hout Bay area
F08	Male	Large coloured tour operator in the townships
F09	Male	Travel agent in large hotel in Cape Town
F10	Male	Manager of large tour operator that operates in the townships

Source: Author

Table 4.4 Interviewed civil servants and policymakers

Code	Gender	Description
PO01	Female	Head of tourism department at City of Cape Town
PO02	Female	Manager of Guga S'Thebe cultural centre in Langa
PO03	Female	Independent tourism business consultant
PO04	Male	Policymaker at Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT)
PO05	Female	Civil servant at national Tourism Enterprise Partnership (TEP)
PO06	Male	Policymaker on small business development at national Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)
PO08	Male	Tourism business consultant at Cape Town Routes Unlimited
PO09	Male	Representative of the Western Cape branch of Tourism Enterprise Partnership
PO10	Female	Representative of Southern African Tourism Services Association (SATSA)
PO11	Male	Manager of Cape Town Youth Advisory Centre
PO12	Male	Policymaker on small business development at the Business and Management department of the City of Cape Town
PO13	Male	Policymaker from the tourism department of Western Cape Government

Source: Author

4.4 Analysis

By its very nature qualitative research material is "unstructured and unwieldy" and it is difficult to synthesise such work into meaningful results (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002, p.309). In order to analyse the findings in this research a framework was employed that consists of four overlapping phases: 1) transcription and familiarisation; 2) clarification of themes 3) coding 4) interpretation and synthesis. The qualitative data analysis computer programme MAXQDA10 was used to assist with the analysis. It helped find, code, organise and cross-reference important parts of the texts and made it possible to do "swift and thorough searches for recurrent themes" (Mallon & Cohen, 2001).

The first step in the analysis consisted of familiarisation with the interviews through repeated listening and transcription. The majority of interviews (51) were transcribed by the researcher but for 29 interviews the services of a professional transcription company were used. The decision as to which interviews to have transcribed by others was determined by their perceived importance, based upon recollection and notes from the research diary. An adapted version of Gee's approach to transcription was used (Gee, 1985; 1986; 1991). This form of transcription preserves some of the rhythm and structure that characterises everyday speech without resorting to the highly detailed but potentially distracting transcription styles often used in conversation analysis. Groups of lines were brought together in poetic units, stanzas and strophes based on changes in pitch, pauses and other features that punctuate speech. Utterances such as, 'hmmm' or words such as, 'right', 'ok' or 'ehhh' were excluded. In this way easily legible transcriptions were created (see appendix 7) (Elliott, 2005, pp.54–55). Comments, insights or questions that arose during transcribing were documented and used to help find themes (Squire, 2008, p.8).

The clarification of the thematic framework started with re-reading the transcripts and comments in order to identify recurring themes and short story accounts, which often had themes within them. In this process key issues from the literature review were used as an initial reference, but new issues also became apparent. Interviews were also examined for events (occurrences that have taken place) and topical markers (names of places, people, organisations etcetera) (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.207). Following this, a short summary of the interview was created that contained the code and demographic characteristics of the interviewee, the reason for inclusion and a short summary of the business career and current business situation (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.53). Analysis of the interviews with business owners outside of the townships and policymakers was completed in a similar way, albeit that these interviews were not fully transcribed. Instead

the familiarisation was achieved by listening to the recording. When themes, events and topical markers were recognised, the time of the recording was noted and a summary of the relevant text written down. These could then be coded and interpreted by listening back to the original audio recordings.

The coding process started by (re)defining previously found themes and establishing initial codes (Boyatzis, 1998, p.31). Next, textual elements that had already been marked as a theme were re-evaluated and coded, as were events and topical markers. Then, transcriptions were re-read closely in search of new themes, events and topical markers that were missed earlier. Even at this point themes were redefined and new themes created. Hierarchical coding was used to place multiple themes under one overarching code (e.g. positive and negative position on a subject). Interpretation began by comparing themes, events or topical markers that had the same codes. Different perceptions of events or themes that were consistent with one another were merged into larger narratives and compared and organised into what may best be termed analytic memos[5] (Saldaña, 2012). Inconsistencies regarding an event or theme were further investigated to gain a better understanding of where the differences came from (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Next, different groups of respondents were compared to find patterns that were previously unnoticed and themes that were discussed at the same time were investigated to find linkages between them. Initial themes and ideas were discussed with and clarified by interviewees, whilst maintaining anonymity, during the second field visit.

The final part of the analysis dealt with creating overarching explanations. Similar themes were further grouped to create wider categories. On this basis of this presuppositions were constituted that were consistent and held explanatory power. These were then checked for credibility and justifiability (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.229), which involved bringing together the information from different types of data gathering and from the different areas. Different interpretations and perspectives, were compared, contrasted and placed against the existing literature to reveal final categorisations (Riessman, 2002).

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[5] These were made both on paper as well as with on the computer using mind mapping software.

4.5 Reflexivity, ethical considerations and research limitations

Doing research as an 'outsider'

When researchers carry out qualitative research with the aim of finding out more about the people or culture of interest, they attempt to bridge the many gaps between themselves and those under investigation (Duneier, 2004). In cases where cultural differences are great, bridging the gaps may be problematic. There is a general consensus that lack of shared cultural characteristics (e.g. race, gender, class and sexuality) can hinder access (Gunaratman, 2003). Great differences may warrant exclusion from certain people, places and information and impact on the quality of the findings (Ibid). Researchers who do not share the cultural characteristics of those under investigation can be branded 'outsiders', struggling for access and always viewed with suspicion. In contrast, 'insiders' share similar cultural characteristics and are privy to the most intimate and, arguably, natural occurring and authentic information (Young Jr., 2004). Koens and Fletcher (2010) challenge the notion of a dichotomous insider-outsider perspective when trying to gain access to participants and information. They argue that diversity within ethnic and cultural groups is so great that researchers will invariably share certain characteristics with the interviewee (e.g. gender, age) while differing on others (race or class). Nobody is ever fully aware of which aspects of their identity resonate with an interviewee. Being white while researching white communities and cultures will not de facto make the researcher an insider, any more than researching Black communities will necessarily make the white researcher a complete outsider (Carrington, 2008).

In fact some researchers have begun to embrace the idea that an outside status should not necessarily be greeted with an unquestioned antipathy. A researcher's acknowledgement of social distance or cultural dissimilarities between him/herself and the individuals under study could overcome some of the shortcomings associated with being a cultural outsider and, in doing so, facilitate access (De Andrade, 2000; Naples, 1996; Young Jr., 2004). Researchers with different characteristics are likely to be allowed different types of access. Interviewees choose to disclose information depending on their perception of the characteristics of the researcher as well as through interaction with the researcher (Harrington, 2003). Information from interviews will always be partial and contingent, no matter how few or many characteristics are shared. Outsiders may actually gain access to information that would not be disclosed to insiders. "Even though individuals from within a community may have access to a particular kind of understanding of a participant's experience, this does not automatically attach special

authority to their representations of that experience" (Bridges, 2002, p.74). Researchers from outside a community need to be aware of the significance of cultural differences with interviewees and may develop and present a different understanding from that of insiders, but this does not necessarily make their work less meaningful (Duneier, 2004).

Respecting dignity and privacy of participants

Researchers engaged in international fieldwork, particularly in challenging areas such as the townships, need to be highly aware of the context in which they are moving and of the knowledge they represent and reproduce. They have the additional responsibility to protect interviewees from any harm and minimise any discomfort arising from the research process (Burrai, 2012, pp.96–99). This means implementing the research in a way that is sensitive to the local cultural and social context. To this end, literature was read on the historical and current life in the townships. Conversations with a local researcher, who acted as a contact person as well as with township residents not active in tourism, proved useful to further improve understanding of issues in South African society.

Throughout the research care was taken to respect the dignity and privacy of all interviewees. Before interviews the research was always explained in detail and owners told they were under no pressure to participate. Consent forms were used to ensure interviewees were aware they were participating in a research project, what was expected of them and what they could expect of the research. Care was taken to guarantee that interviewees would not have false expectations of results from the research and that no extra income or business should be anticipated. Because small township tourism business owners operate in competitive business circumstances and are commonly involved in highly complex power relationships, discretion is key. Anonymity and total confidentiality were guaranteed. Consent forms were kept separate from all other documents related to the research in a locked box or cabinet and interviews were immediately coded. The translator who was employed was not involved in the tourism industry and also signed a confidentiality agreement.

Challenges of doing research in a township setting

The townships present a challenging environment in which to undertake research. To better understand the effects of this environment, this section will consider several issues that the author encountered.

Even though safety in the townships has improved in recent years and tourists are rarely targeted by criminals, personal safety had to be a key consideration when doing research. Although tourism businesses mostly operate in the safe parts of the townships, care had to be taken when moving from one business to the next, since taking a wrong turn might lead into a less safe street. To minimise danger the author went out in the townships only during the day and accompanied by a local person, usually a local youth or a relative of an interviewee. This limited spontaneous movement around the townships and made it difficult to access immediately those small business owners that had been identified using snowball sampling. It also resulted in a sense of being imprisoned, which needed to be managed on a personal level. In spite of the precautions taken, the author was mugged once by two juvenile criminals from another township, just 30 metres from the route of the daily walking tours. Ultimately, this incident proved useful in providing first-hand experience of police inefficiency and to appreciate, to a limited extent, the perception of insecurity among township residents, which helped to further inform research findings. However, it demonstrated that being a victim of crime is a real possibility that needs to be taken into account when doing research in the townships. Over the course of the research the author became aware that certain interviewees were allegedly members of a local gang and/or participated in illegal activities. Although it was highly unlikely that this would have caused any personal danger and did not noticeably impact on the interviews, it is a potential complication to take into account.

Another challenge faced was that not all interviewees were able to attend their appointments, or arrived late, due to other commitments, changing agendas or forgetfulness. While the waiting time provided excellent opportunities for participant observation it also brought with it concern as to whether certain interviews would ever take place. Other interviewees preferred not to work with appointments and instead wanted the author to 'drop by' to see if they had time. As a result the author had to be flexible with regards to timing and interview locations, with interviews being held in a less than ideal setting. For example, certain craft workers requested to be interviewed near their stall in the outside air with much background noise. This proved not only difficult during the interview, but also afterwards in transcription and further analysis. Strong accents of certain interviewees further complicated this part of the research. When it became necessary to employ a translator due to interviewees' insufficient English. It would have been relatively easy to use one of the walking tour guides as a translator, as has been done in earlier research (Harvey, 2011, Maliepaard, 2010). However, the choice was made to instead seek an experienced translator who was not known by the interviewees. This was relatively costly but ensured interviewees could talk more freely

about relations with other businesses in a setting in which trust among small business owners is limited. While these challenges did not prevent successful data gathering, they are useful to keep in mind for future research.

5. Characteristics of small businesses and their owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu

Given the lack of information that is available on small township tourism businesses and their owners, this chapter looks in detail at the ways in which different types of township businesses and their owners are active in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. It deals not only with accommodation businesses and tour operators, which have been discussed previously but also business types that have so far been largely neglected in research (e.g. restaurants, visitor attractions and tour guides). In this way the chapter relates to the first research objective, which is to:

1. Identify the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

2. Explore ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access.

3. Scrutinise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

Most information in this chapter originates from the structured questions that were asked at the end of each interview with small township tourism business owners. Information gleaned from the interviews with, civil servants, policymakers and tourism businesses from outside of the townships, as well as participant observation, is also used, particularly to provide insights into the wider tourism industry. The chapter starts with a characterisation of tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu, including an overview of the ways in which different types of businesses are active. Following this, the characteristics of small township tourism businesses and their owners are discussed.

5.1 Township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu

Overview of small tourism businesses

An estimated 175 small tourism businesses are involved in township tourism in Langa compared with around 90 in Imizamo Yethu (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Estimated number of businesses involved in tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu during first field visit[1]

Type of business	Characteristics	Langa	Imizamo Yethu
Accommodation	Provide accommodation	9	2
Catering	Provide food and/or drinks as well as catering for events	5	4
Craft worker	Sell only self-made crafts to tourists	8	8
	Sell both homemade crafts and crafts bought elsewhere to tourists	10	15[2]
	Sell only crafts that have been bought elsewhere to tourists	15	5[2]
	Make crafts for larger organisation that sells to tourists	-	40
Performance artist	Entertain tourists through a rehearsed performance; either in a fixed performance space or at places with a high concentration of tourists	12[3]	1[3]
Tour guide	Provide township tours for tour operators on a freelance basis	60	-
	Provide a short walking tour as one section of a larger tour (Langa only)	15	-
	Provide stand-alone walking tours (Imizamo Yethu only)	-	3
Tour Operator	Arrange tours, devise itineraries and provide transport	30	1
Visitor attraction	Own an attraction that is visited by tourists; emphasis is on 'normal' lived situations rather than a rehearsed performance	10[4]	-

[1]Categories based on primary function of small tourism businesses as identified by the owners. [2]Includes craft workers that sell on the nearby markets in Hout Bay. [3]Does not include performance artists who perform only on an incidental basis (e.g. school groups). [4] Does not include visited nurseries as schools as payment is not expected by these actors and it is not part of their income generation strategy

Source: author

Langa has nine accommodation businesses and five restaurants, two of which also provide catering at tourist events outside of the townships (e.g. Cape Town North Sea Jazz Festival). In Imizamo Yethu, three restaurants are active, two of which are combined with an accommodation business. One catering business is run in combination with the local tour operator, which provides evening township tours that include dinner[6]. The greatest number of people involved in tourism in both townships work in crafts. They sell alongside the road or near visitor attractions, show their work in restaurants or produce items for larger organisations. Depending on the production process, craft workers belong to one of four categories: 1) craft workers who make all their own items – nearly all have a speciality (e.g. painting or beading) and often make pieces that are

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[6] With the exception of one, all accommodation and catering businesses in Imizamo Yethu had officially ceased trading during the second field visit.

different from others; 2) craft workers who produce both their own items as well as crafts bought elsewhere; 3) craft workers who only buy and sell crafts – they buy a great variety of items that originate from all over Africa in a warehouse in Cape Town and sell them directly to tourists; 4) craft workers who produce items for larger crafting organisations that then sell the products on to tourists. These are only found in Imizamo Yethu.

Research by Rolfes et al. (2009, p.21) estimates the total number of township tour operators around Cape Town to be 40-50. Approximately 30 of these visit Langa and one visits Imizamo Yethu. The number of tour guides is difficult to assess as the number fluctuates depending on the season. The majority, around 60, work on a freelance basis for one or more tour operators; 15 guides provide a half-hour walking tour through Langa during which they take over from the freelance tour guide; in Imizamo Yethu four[7] guides provide stand-alone walking tours[8].

Ten small local businesses (e.g. herbalist, shebeen and sheep head seller) act as visitor attractions on township tours. Performance artists are active in both townships, providing a theatre, dance or musical segment as part of a township tour or in restaurants when guests have dinner.

Spatial distribution of small tourism businesses

In Langa most businesses operate from the central part of the township, which is relatively safe and provides parking space for coaches and minibuses (figure 5.1). The cultural centre, Guga S'Thebe, acts as a central hub as it contains the local office of Cape Town Tourism, hosts a wide variety of craft workers and performance artists and is the starting point for nearly all walking tours. Until recently, walking tours also started from Tsoga Environmental Centre, but this has now been taken over by a local entrepreneur and is run as a conference centre, nightclub for local people and to a lesser extent a tourist restaurant. The new owner no longer allows walking tour guides to use it as a base and these have now all moved to Guga S'Thebe.

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[7] One tour guide in Imizamo Yethu quit working in tourism after the first field visit
[8] In addition, an estimated 15 township tour guides are employed by township tour operators. These are not taken into account in this research as they are employed rather than small business owners

Figure 5.1: Spatial distribution of small tourism businesses in Langa
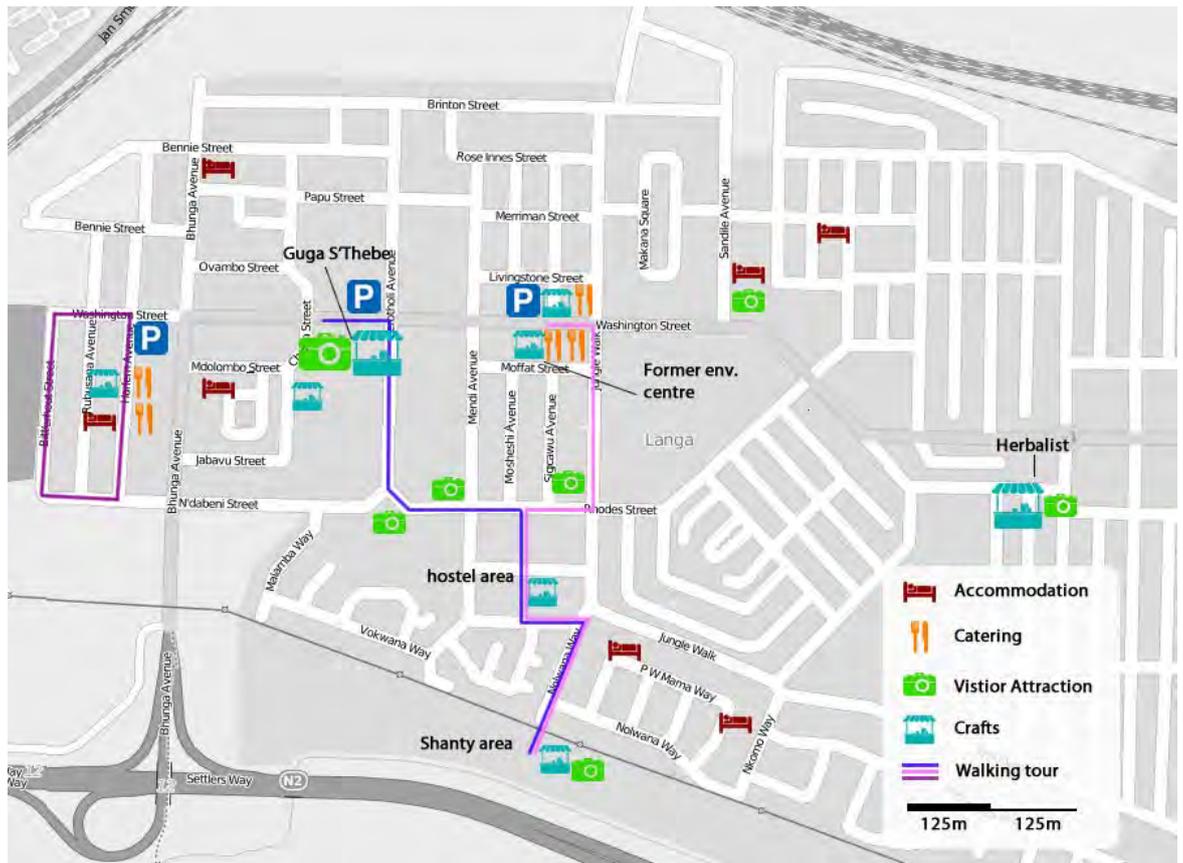
Source: author, based on maps from openstreetmap.org

A second group of small tourism businesses can be found along Harlem Avenue in the Western part of Langa. This is the oldest part of the township and is inhabited by a close-knit Catholic community, which gives it a safer feel than other parts. There is a small patch of land on which coaches can park and a short walking tour was created around this area as early as the mid-1990s by a specialist township tour operator, providing tours for international schools[9]. Two restaurants, an accommodation business and a craft worker also operate in this area. In the Eastern part of Langa, ten craft workers have set up store outside the herbalist, which is a highly popular visitor attraction. Tourists come to this area by minibus as it is too crowded and chaotic for coaches to park, and pickpockets are rumoured to be active. Accommodation businesses are based all over Langa and are run from owners' private homes. They are often located in or very near

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[9] The name of the tour operator cannot be disclosed to ensure anonymity of research participants

areas that are not regarded as safe[10], which limits the mobility of tourists that come to stay.

Distances in Langa are small and the number of people active in tourism is not great. Even so, there is little contact between different businesses. For example, two accommodation businesses in the south of Langa are located 20 houses apart on the same street, yet one did not even know the other was active as a business. The lack of contact also could be observed when a group of interviewees, based in the central part of Langa, tried to set up a Langa Tourism Forum[11] to unite small businesses. They did not know which businesses in the western part of the township were active, nor were they aware of the existence, let alone locations of, at least three accommodation businesses.

Residents of Imizamo Yethu are active both within and outside of the township (figure 5.2). Within the township, interviewees are mainly based in the lower area near the police station, as this is considered most accessible and safe. Craft workers are located at the entrance of the township and at the local church/community centre, Iziko Lobomi. One crafting business is not visited by the regular walking tours and instead primarily sells crafts to local tourism businesses outside of the township. As in Langa, all accommodation and catering businesses are run from owners' family homes, most of which are located higher up on the mountain, making them more difficult to access. The tour operator that visits Imizamo Yethu's uses a minibus to pick up tourists from Cape Town CBD and drops them off at a shebeen higher up the slope, thus overcoming any accessibility issues.

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[10] Owners of accommodation businesses report that there are safety issues with *other* accommodation businesses but stress their business was located in a safe area.
[11] The Langa Tourism Forum is discussed in greater detail in section 6.4

Figure 5.2: Spatial distribution of small tourism businesses in Imizamo Yethu
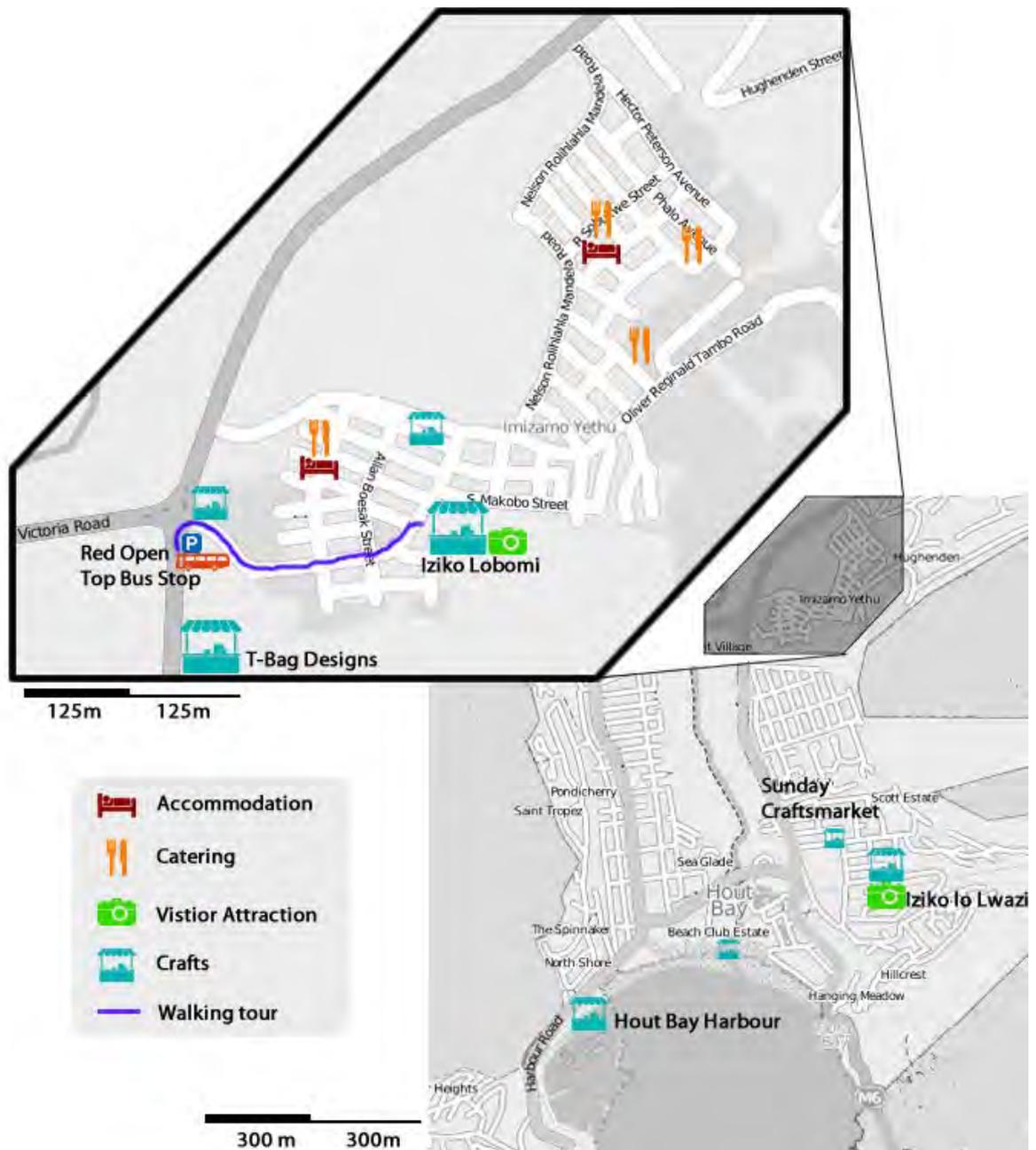
Source: author, based on maps from openstreetmap.org

The picturesque historic harbour of Hout Bay, located near Imizamo Yethu, draws a large number of tourists and has a tourist crafts market comprising 25 stalls, three of which are operated by people from Imizamo Yethu. Two other Imizamo Yethu residents hawk informally around this location too. The Hout Bay Craft Market, which is held every Sunday on the Hout Bay Common, is another popular place for craft vendors, including two residents from Imizamo Yethu. As previously mentioned, craft workers from Imizamo Yethu are also active with three larger craft organisations. At T-Bag Designs, a social enterprise set up to provide income-generating opportunities to residents in Imizamo

Yethu, craft workers are hired on a freelance basis to paint used tea bags. At the same time they are directly employed to turn these tea bags into items such as coasters and notebooks. The NGO Iziko lo Lwazi also was founded to provide work for people from Imizamo Yethu and is located five kilometres down the main road from Imizamo Yethu. Here, craft workers are hired on a freelance basis to make beaded jewellery and paper. The third crafting organisation operates as a business from the tourist crafts market at Hout Bay harbour and uses freelance workers to paint ostrich eggs.

The scale of tourism in Imizamo Yethu is smaller than in Langa and small business owners within the township have more contact with each other. The manager of Iziko Lobomi has made a relatively comprehensive list of small businesses that are or have been active in tourism. There is less contact with the crafting organisations outside of the townships however – for example, despite its proximity to Imizamo Yethu, tour guides rarely take tourists to visit T-Bag Designs even though it includes a visitor attraction and craft shop. Also contact between other craft workers on the tourist markets remains limited.

5.2 Characteristics of small township tourism businesses

Business age and size

The recent surge in the development of township tourism is reflected in the dates on which owners started their businesses (table 5.2, page 90). In Langa, a small number of interviewees have been active since the mid-1990s, particularly as tour operator, restaurant owner or as visitor attractions. Most businesses however, were founded after 2000 when the large tour operators began to visit Langa and the mainstream walking tours began. Tourism activity in Imizamo Yethu took off later than in Langa, but two interviewees have been trading at the Hout Bay harbour crafts market since the mid-1990s. The larger crafting organisations were founded around the start of the millennium, creating work opportunities for freelance craft workers. In 2005 the Red Open Top Bus set up a bus stop near the entrance of Imizamo Yethu, which resulted in many more businesses.

The young age of most tourism businesses may also be due to the high failure rate of small businesses, which is well reported in the literature (Storey, 1994). Six interviewees had indeed quit by the time of the second field visit; one accommodation business owner in Langa had handed over the business to her daughter and in Imizamo Yethu, while in Imizamo Yethu two combined accommodation/catering businesses, one catering business, a craft worker and a walking tour guide had quit. The owner of the catering

business had passed away and the tour guide no longer was allowed to continue due to not being registered. In all other cases the business was not profitable enough or required too much effort for the income it generated. While this suggests owners do often quit, other businesses have continued running for years even when custom and profitability has remained limited, which suggests that small size and/or lack of custom does not necessarily mean that the business will be terminated. Furthermore, those interviewees who had given up their business viewed this as a break rather than a final end. They report that they would seriously consider re-starting the business if they felt it had become viable or if their current income streams dried up. In reality there is little difference between closed businesses and those that are still fully trading yet simply get very little custom. Should a business opportunity occur, the owner of a closed business is unlikely to turn it down. In this way, they continue to compete with fully operational businesses. The lack of clarity as to which businesses are active can hinder small township tourism businesses as actors from outside of the townships are not always certain which businesses will become reliable long-term partners.

"You never really know if they [township tourism businesses] are active in business now, or not" (Int. F09).

Table 5.2: Characteristics of interviewed small businesses in Langa and Imizamo Yethu (n=80)[1]

Type of tourism business	Interviewees (still active during 2nd field visit)	Start of business	Ownership structure	Average annual customers (range)
Langa	66 (65)	1994-2008	12 family business, 13 business with employee(s), 41 sole trader	-
Accommodation	9[2] (8)	1999-2008	5 family business, 4 sole trader	120 (25-300)
Catering	5[2]	1996-2007	1 family business, 4 business with employee(s)	3,000 (70-10,000)
Craft worker:				
- self-made only	6	1997-2008	2 family business, 2 business with employee(s), 2 sole trader	-
- self-made & buy-sell	3	2001-2007	1 family business, 1 business with employee(s)[3], 1 sole trader	-
- buy-sell only	6	2002-2008	1 family business, 1 business with employee(s), 4 sole trader[4]	-
Performance	5	2002-2008	5 sole trader	-
Tour guide				
- freelance	6	2003-2008	6 sole trader	-
- walking tour	9	1998-2008	9 sole trader	-
Tour operator	11	1994-2008	5 business with employee(s), 6 sole trader	1,600 (70-6,000)
Visitor attraction	5	1996-2008	2 family business, 3 sole trader	-
Imizamo Yethu	29 (23)	1992-2008	5 family business, 3 business with employee(s)[3], 21 sole trader	-
Accommodation	2[2] (0)	2004-2008	2 sole trader	<10 (<10)
Catering	4[2] (1)	2005-2007	1 family business, 3 sole trader	155 (90-500)
Craft worker:				
- self-made only	3	2002-2008	2 family business, 1 sole trader	-
- self-made & buy-sell	4 (3)	2005-2006	1 family business, 3 sole trader	-
- buy-sell only	4	1992-2005	3 business with employee(s)[3], 1 sole trader	-
- large crafts organisation	6	2000-2007	6 sole trader	-
Performance	1[2]	2007	1 sole trader	-
Tour guide	4[2]	2002-2004	4 sole trader	-
Tour operator	1[2]	2005	1 family business	500 (500)
Visitor attraction	-[2]	-	-	-
Total	95 (88)	1992-2008	18 family business, 16 business with employee(s)[3], 61 sole trader	-

[1]Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80. [2]All owners that operate with this type of business in this township [3]Interviewee who hired others during the summer months and worked as a sole trader in the winter months

Source: author

Few small business owners monitor their sales or the number of tourists that make use of their services. This makes it difficult to estimate business sizes and profitability, particularly given the seasonal nature of tourism around Cape Town. Nevertheless it is safe to say that the vast majority of businesses are very small. As discussed in the literature review, the majority of township tours are arranged in Cape Town CBD and are distributed among a limited number of tour operators. Two small tour operators collaborate with inbound travel agents and serve over 3,000 tourists each year. Other businesses that work with over 1,000 tourists a year include a BBBEE business, of which the white co-owner is well connected in the industry; a Black tour operator who has by far the largest share of the backpacker market; and a tour operator specialising in tours for international schools. The remaining tour operators receive much less custom, and many struggle to survive on the income from their tourism business alone. The same can be observed with other types of businesses. Two catering businesses in Langa have grown to serve over 4,000 customers each per year, with all others serving fewer than 750 each. In accommodation, none of the interviewees receive more than 300 guests in a year. The situation is particularly acute in Imizamo Yethu, with the majority of accommodation and catering businesses having quit due to a lack of custom. For other business types, most interviewees also view their business as very small, with many reporting that, on its own, it does not provide enough income on which they can live. One exception are freelance tour guides, particularly those with several years of experience, who earn a relatively high income and do not need other work to survive.

The small size of township tourism businesses is further evidenced by the fact that most operate as sole traders (57 of 80). Sixteen owners provide employment to extended family members and 16 others have employees to whom they are not related. One craft worker in Langa and one in Imizamo Yethu act as a sole trader when there is little custom (e.g. in winter) but employ people during busier periods. Businesses rarely have more than five employees and often these work on a part-time basis or in summer only. The only businesses that provide work to more than five people are the two main catering businesses in Langa, four tour operators and three crafting businesses (two in Langa, one in Imizamo Yethu)[12].

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[12] Even these larger businesses continue to have high levels of direct owner involvement. Only two small township tourism businesses in the Cape Town area have grown so much that they cannot be considered small anymore. Both were started in the 1990s. One now runs tours all over South Africa, while the other is a BBBEE company, as described in chapter three.

Family businesses and small businesses with employees are mostly active in Langa. In Imizamo Yethu nearly all businesses are run by sole operators. This is unsurprising given that much fewer tourists visit Imizamo Yethu. Turning towards different business types, craft workers, performance artists, tour guides and visitor attractions are most likely to be sole traders. On the other hand accommodation businesses commonly employ family members, while tour operators and catering businesses are more likely to employ non-relatives than family members.

Informality and business registration

Formality and informality as concepts hold little meaning for small business owners. Better understood is their status on registration as a business entity, which is strongly encouraged at government-led workshops for fledging small business owners. Owners are notified that registration is a requirement for assistance in government support programmes and that there are no direct financial disadvantages to registering, since starting businesses are likely to remain under the tax threshold. Nevertheless, nearly half of all small businesses remain unregistered (table 5.3).

Small businesses that are likely to have contact with businesses outside of the townships, such as Langa's tour operators and catering businesses, are nearly all registered with the government. Most freelance tour guides are also registered, in contrast to walking tour guides, of whom only two had registered their business during the first field visit[13]. Nearly all accommodation businesses in Langa are registered too. At least partly this is because nearly all actively take part in small business courses set up by the government. Also they are keen to display the professionalization of their business, often devoting a full way to show off their certificates and registrations (see also Harvey, 2011).Very few craft workers and performance artists register their business. Craft workers in particular question how they might benefit from registration. For many, the highest priority requirement from government is the provision of infrastructure (e.g. a roofed marketplace, market stalls) and they do not believe registration will help bring about these larger-scale projects. Furthermore, immigrant craft workers may lack valid working permits and do not dare to register as a business entity in case their status is discovered (e.g. Int. C03, C09, C10, C15, C30). Nine interviewees have registered another business. Examples of this include at least two performance

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[13] In between the two field visits several tour guides participated in a tour guiding course and, as a result, three more registered their businesses.

artists who are registered as tour guides, the herbalist in Langa who is registered as such rather than as a tourist attraction, a craft worker who is registered with a crafting business in Cape Town city centre and a tour operator who also runs an accommodation business, but does not declare income from this latter business.

Table 5.3: Registration with government of small tourism businesses (n=80)[1]

Type of tourism business	Registered businesses	Unregistered businesses	Registered with other (tourism) business	Unknown[2]
Langa	30	19	7	10
Accommodation	7		1	1
Catering	4		1	
Craft worker:				
- self-made	1	2		3
- self-made & buy-sell	2	1		
- buy-sell crafts		5	1	
Performance	1	2	2	
Tour guide				
- freelance	4	1		1
- walking tour	2	5		2
Tour operator	8	1	1	1
Visitor attraction	-	2	1	2
Imizamo Yethu	7	19	1	2
Accommodation		2		
Catering		2	1	1
Craft worker:				
- self-made	1	2		
- made & buy-sell		4		
- buy-sell crafts	2	1		1
- large organisation		6		
Performance		1		
Tour guide	3	1		
Tour operator	1			
Visitor attraction				
Total	37	38	8	12

[1]Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80
[2]The relatively high number of cases with owners for whom it is unknown whether or not they registered the business can be ascribed to confusion with regards to what constitutes business registration among owners
Source: author

Twelve owners are uncertain as to whether they have registered the business or not. This can be attributed to the fact that unregistered businesses often are already known to government officials. For example, at least four had received government training even though their business is unregistered. Individuals at local and provincial government have incomplete and different lists of businesses that trade in the townships, including those that are unregistered, and occasionally have contact with these businesses. By virtue of their inclusion on such lists, the informal businesses that would otherwise be expected to fall outside of the government regulatory framework operate in a semi-formal state, making two small business owners wonder why they should register if they are already known by government (e.g. Int. C27, G02).

A second factor hindering clarity around registration is that many small business owners do not understand the difference between formal business registration from other forms of personal registration at the government or business accreditation. Two interviewees believe their personal registration as a foreigner in South Africa means that they also are registered as a business entity. There is also confusion among tour guides and walking tour guides regarding business registration and guiding permits. As discussed in the literature review, a tour guiding permit[14] is required to be contracted or employed as a tour guide (e.g. by a tour operator) (RSA, 2000). All interviewed *freelance* tour guides have this permit but five interviewed *walking* tour guides in Langa, and one guide in Imizamo Yethu, do not. Although they cannot officially work with tour operators without a permit, they are tolerated to provide the walking tours[15].

Furthermore, staff from the Langa office of the destination management organisation, Cape Town Tourism (CTT), strongly encourage all local tourism businesses to register with them, which may be misinterpreted as government registration.

> *"At the Guga S'Thebe they told me. They saw me walking with you guys and they told me, those ladies are working at that [CTT]: You can't just walk people here; you have to be registered with us! I said ok fine, I didn't know about that, I was just doing what I'm doing. And then... I had to go there and give them money so that they can be registered. And thing what she said as well: You have to like... It's expired, like you've got the certificate being a member, but you have to re-register again and again. Mine just expired in September. You could see it at my place, like it's on the wall. It's expired in September." (Int. A09)*

This interviewee was led to believe that registering at CTT is a requirement for being allowed to provide walking tours, even though this is not really the case. Registration at CTT is voluntary and, in return for an annual fee, CTT markets Cape Town as a tourism destination and promotes its member businesses. The main benefit of CTT membership for tour guides is the potential for gaining work through business referrals. At least three walking tour guides in Langa who are registered at CTT do not have tour a guiding permit however, nor are they registered with the government as a business entity. This means they cannot legally be given work through CTT, which renders their CTT

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[14] Provided by an accredited trainer under the Tourism, Hospitality, and Sport Education and Training Authority.
[15] Until recently unaccredited tour guides were also allowed to guide in Imizamo Yethu, but during the second field visit, the one unaccredited tour guide had been forced to quit.

membership useless. A craft worker and an owner of an accommodation business also had been approached by the Langa CTT office to register with them are uncertain about whether or not this is a legal form of government business registration. It is unknown if the people at the Langa CTT office give this misleading information because of a lack of knowledge or whether it is a deliberate attempt to gain extra income for the organisation, or for themselves through commission. However, their practices create ambiguity and can prove to be costly for owners who already have to operate using limited resources.

A higher proportion of businesses in Langa are registered than in Imizamo Yethu, which is largely related to the greater number of businesses that have grown to employ others (table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Registration of businesses with different ownership structure (n=80)

	Registered businesses	Unregistered businesses	Registered with other (tourism) business	Unknown
Langa	30	19	7	10
Businesses with employee(s)	9[2]	-	3	1
Family business	7	3	-	2
Sole trader	13	16	4	7
Imizamo Yethu	7	19	1	2
Business with employee(s)	2[2]	-	-	1
Family business	2	2	1	-
Sole trader	3	17	-	1
Total	37	38	8	12

[1] Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80
[2] Includes one sole trader who employs others in busy periods.
Source: author

Nearly all owners of small businesses with employees, and around half of owners of family businesses, have registered their business as an economic entity, while the majority of sole traders run their business informally. Additionally there is a relation with the numbers of tourists that visit a business. Sole traders with relatively high levels of custom are more likely to register their business than peers with less custom. It is not clear if it is the increased custom that makes owners register, or whether being registered increases the likelihood of custom. What is clear, is that on average registered businesses been in operation for two years longer than unregistered businesses.

Similar offerings and target markets

In both Langa and Imizamo Yethu small business owners have similar target markets and offer similar products. Most focus exclusively on the international rather than the domestic market. Partially this can be attributed to the nature of domestic tourism in the

townships, which is usually based around visiting family and friends (Rule et al., 2003). Small tour operators in particular maintain that the demands of international and domestic tourists are very different and that domestic tourists rarely want to make use of their services. Interviewees also fear harassment if they try to enter the domestic market, due to highly aggressive practices of currently active taxi companies and tour operators, which are said to monopolise this market. Whether or not this fear is valid could not be verified, but the threat alone is enough to stop people from trying to enter this market (Int. T01; T03; G05; T12). However, other forms of domestic tourism, which are not dominated by another group of businesses, are also ignored by the majority of small tourism business owners. Only one tour operator (T08) acquires custom through large Cape Town based enterprises (e.g. banks or telecommunications companies) and takes their employees and business relations on outings to the townships. One other works with local and international university students (T04). All other tour operators remain strongly focused on the international market and offer remarkably similar products. Nearly all tours focus on living conditions and include a walking tour and/or visits to the herbalist, a shebeen, a sheep head vendor or a local craft worker. Potentially popular attractions (e.g. the birth house of Brenda Fassie, one of the most famous South African popular singers in Langa[16], local rap music bars) are not visited. It is certainly true that township tours differ on the basis of operators' philosophies and practices (as argued by Harvey, 2011). However, these distinctions are minor and it is very difficult for tourists to differentiate between the tours on the basis of the information that is available to them (i.e. brochures, tourists' word of mouth).

Accommodation and catering businesses also provide highly similar products. In both townships accommodation businesses are run as bed and breakfasts and have midrange prices. Two exceptions are a business in Langa that allows tourists to stay overnight in a shack and a backpacker-style hostel, which has recently been set up by the owner of one of the larger B&Bs in Langa. Catering businesses all provide traditional Xhosa food with a 'Westernised' twist – in Langa this will be in a large-scale restaurant, sometimes with a traditional marimba band; in Imizamo Yethu, it will be in the owner's house. Among craft workers offerings are similar too. A distinction can be made between craft workers that only buy and sell and those that make at least some crafts themselves.

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[16] Brenda Fassie is one of the most successful South African female singers of the late 20th century, whose success stretched far beyond South Africa. She is described 'The Madonna of the Townships' or the ''Queen of African Pop'. On her deathbed in 2004 she was visited by Nelson Mandela and then president Thabo Mbeki.

Owners who do not make their own crafts, procure them from warehouses in the centre of Cape Town, where a great deal of crafts from elsewhere in Africa are sold. As a result their products are not unique to the townships and can also be bought on tourist markets elsewhere in Cape Town, which leads to owners lowering their prices, or resort to a dialogue of poverty and hope for pity, to entice tourists to buy crafts. Home-made crafts are more unique, although the copying of new ideas remains a problem. To prevent this practice at Guga S'Thebe owners are only allowed to sell if they make or sell a product that is not on offer yet. Craft workers at other locations however, report feeling powerless to the copying of ideas. At the larger crafting organisations in Imizamo Yethu it is the manager from outside of the township who decides what is created, as individual craft workers are presumed to lack knowledge on specific market demands.

5.3 Characterisation of small businesses owners

Recognising a diversity in demographic and personal characteristics

For all the similarities between small township tourism businesses, their owners are a remarkably diverse group. They are characterised by differences in age, gender, education level and ethnicity as well as migratory and residential status (see table 5.5, page 98 and table 5.6, 99).

Table 5.5: Characteristics of small tourism business owners in Langa[1]

Type of tourism business	Age (range)	Education level	Gender	Ethnicity[2]	Migratory status	Residential status
Accommodation	49 (23–73)	5 secondary, 4 tertiary	7 female, 2 male	1 SA[3], 7 Xhosa, 1 Zulu	5 orig. resident, 2 recent SA migrant, 1 other township or area, 1 unknown	8 house owner, 1 shack in garden
Catering	39 (35-45)	1 primary 1 secondary, 3 tertiary	2 female, 3 male	4 Xhosa, 1 Zulu	4 orig. resident, 1 unknown	3 house owner, 1 shack in garden, 1 outside township
Craft worker: - self-made	46 (34-56)	1 none, 1 primary, 4 tertiary	2 female, 4 male	1 Angola, 5 Xhosa	2 orig. resident, 1 hostel dweller, 1 foreign migrant, 2 other township or area	3 house owner, 1 parental house, 1 rented house, 1 unknown
- self-made & buy-sell	37 (32-41)	1 primary, 1 secondary, 1 tertiary	1 female, 2 male	1 Angola, 1 Congo, 1 Xhosa	1 recent SA migrant, 1 foreign migrant, 1 other township or area	1 shanty, 2 outside township
- buy-sell crafts	32 (20-43)	1 primary, 5 secondary	6 male	4 Kenya, 1 Malawi, 1 Xhosa	4 foreign migrant, 1 recent SA migrant, 1 other township or area	2 shack in garden, 2 shanty areas, 1 parental house, 1 outside township
Performance	36 (25-47)	1 none, 1 primary, 2 secondary, 1 tertiary	5 male	1 SA, 4 Xhosa	2 orig. resident, 2 recent SA migrant, 1 other township or area	1 house owner, 1 hostels, 1 shack in back garden, 1 outside township, 1 unknown
Tour guide - freelance	31 (25-43)	1 primary 5 secondary	6 male	6 Xhosa	1 orig. resident, 1 hostel dweller, 4 recent migrant	1 rented house, 1 outside township, 3 hostels, 1 shack in garden
- walking tour	29 (25-40)	3 primary, 4 secondary, 2 tertiary	1 female, 9 male	9 Xhosa	2 orig. resident, 2 hostel dweller, 5 recent SA migrant	1 house owner, 4 hostels, 2 shack in garden, 1 parental home, 1 unknown
Tour operator	38(26-51)	1 primary, 4 secondary, 6 tertiary	1 female, 10 male	2 BBBEE, 1 Coloured, 1 SiSwati, 1 SA, 6 Xhosa	3 orig. resident, 1 hostel dweller, 1 recent migrant, 4 other township or area, 2 unknown	3 house owner, 1 rented house, 1 parental home, 4 outside township, 2 unknown
Visitor attraction	43 (35-56)	2 none, 2 primary 1 tertiary	4 female, 1 male	5 Xhosa	2 hostel dweller, 2 recent SA migrant, 1 unknown	1 house owner, 1 rented house, 2 shack in garden, 1 shanty areas
Total	39(20-73)	3 none, 9 primary, 20 secondary, 22 tertiary	16 female, 38 male	2 Angola, 2BBBEE, 1 Coloured, 1 Congo, 4 Kenya, 1 Malawi, 1 SiSwati, 4 SA, 36 Xhosa, 2 Zulu	17 orig. resident, 5 hostel dweller, 11 recent SA migrant, 6 foreign migrant, 10 other township or area, 5 unknown	19 house owners, 4 hostels, 8 shack in garden, 3 shanty areas, 2 rented house, 4 parental home, 10 outside township, 4 unknown

[1]Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80 [2]Ethnicity is displayed as it was reported by interviewees during the interviews [3]No specific tribe mentioned

Source: author

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Table 5.6: Characteristics of small tourism business owners in Imizamo Yethu[1]

Type of tourism business	Age (range)	Education level	Gender	Ethnicity[2]	Migratory status	Residential status
Accommodation	40 (32-48)	1 primary, 1 secondary	2 female	2 Xhosa	2 orig. residents	2 house owner
Catering	44 (32-63)	2 primary, 2 secondary	4 female	4 Xhosa	4 orig. residents	4 house owner
Craft worker:						
- self-made	34 (21-49)	1 none, 1 prim, 1 secondary	2 female, 1 male	2 Xhosa, 1 Zimbabwe	1 orig. resident, 1 SA migrant, 1 foreign migrant	1 house owner, 2 shanty area
- made & buy-sell	28 (21-33)	1 primary, 3 secondary	2 female, 2 male	2 Malawi, 1 SA[3], 1 Zimbabwe	1 SA Migrant, 3 foreign migrant	3 shanty area, 1 shack in garden
- buy-sell crafts	41 (28-63)	1 none, 3 secondary	1 female, 3 male	2 Malawi, 2 Xhosa	2 orig. resident, 2 foreign migrant	2 house owner, 2 shanty area
- large organisation	36 (25-46)	2 none, 3 prim, 1 secondary	5 female, 1 male	1 SA, 5 Xhosa	1 orig. resident, 4 SA migrant, 1 unknown	6 shanty area
Performance	36	1 prim	1 male	1 Xhosa	1 orig. resident	1 house owner
Tour guide	45 (38-51)	2 prim, 1 secondary, 1 tertiary	4 male	3 Xhosa, 1 Zulu	2 orig. resident, 1 SA migrant, 1 unknown	3 house owner, 1 unknown
Tour operator	34	1 secondary	1 female	1 Xhosa	1 orig. resident	1 house owner
Visitor attraction	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	38 (21-63)	4 none, 10 prim, 11 secondary 1 tertiary	14 female, 12 male	4 Malawi, 2SA, 17 Xhosa, 2 Zimbabwe, 1 Zulu	11 orig. resident, 7 SA migrant, 6 foreign migrant, , 2 unknown	11 house owner, 13 shanty area, 1 shack in back garden, 1 unknown

[1] Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80 [2] Ethnicity is displayed as it was reported by interviewees during the interviews [3] No specific tribe mentioned

Source: author

The average age of the interviewees in Langa is 39, and in Imizamo Yethu 38, which is higher than the average age of the overall population older than 18 in both townships (City of Cape Town, 2003). Great differences in age can be observed in age however. The youngest interviewee, who was 20 years old at the time of the interview, was born just before apartheid ended while the oldest interviewee lived through apartheid and was 73 years old at the time of the interview. Unsurprisingly, on average owners of businesses that require assets (accommodation, tour operation and visitor attractions) are older than owners of businesses for which the thresholds for starting are relatively low (crafts, tour guiding, performance).

Particularly in Langa education levels of interviewees are high, with 78% having finished secondary education, while 40% even finished some form of tertiary education. To compare, only 40% of the total population over 20 in this township finished secondary education and no more than 7% attained a tertiary grade. Education levels among interviewees in Imizamo Yethu are lower with 42% having finished secondary school and only one person tertiary education. However, this again is higher than among the general population of over 20 in this township, of whom 28% completed secondary and 3% completed tertiary education (City of Cape Town, 2013). Both Langa and Imizamo Yethu are predominantly inhabited by people from the Xhosa tribe and the majority of interviewees are indeed Xhosa, although five belong to other South African tribes and 14 migrated from elsewhere in Africa[17]. Interviewees recognise the four different types of migratory status that are discussed in the literature review and nearly all identified themselves with one of them. Of the interviewees 31% moved to Langa during the first part of the 20th century, 20% recently came from the South African countryside after apartheid, 19% are foreign migrants and 9% are considered hostel dwellers. In addition 19% of interviewees live outside of the Langa, either because they moved out or never lived there. In Imizamo Yethu 42% of the interviewees have lived in the township more or less since its inception, 27% migrated from elsewhere in South Africa 23% migrated from abroad. Contrary to Langa, no small business owners live outside of the townships.

The majority of accommodation owners are female original residents of the Xhosa tribe, who are relatively old and well-educated. With the exception of two, all were over the age of 40. Three started the business after retiring and were already over the age of 60 when

[17]In these cases, only the country of origin was requested and no questions were asked as to the tribe of the interviewee.

the interview took place. This group is not only relatively old, but also privileged and well-to-do, given that they all own the premises from which they work, which would be too expensive for many new migrants. Exceptions are a rich family who recently moved into Langa; an owner who runs a guesthouse in her elderly mother's home; and a recent migrant who invites guests to stay in her shack. In Imizamo Yethu the younger owners of an accommodation business were donated their house through the Niall Melon house-building project.

Catering business owners are similar to those running an accommodation business in that they too are relatively well educated, original residents of the Xhosa tribe. They too mostly operate from their own business premises, which again highlights the importance of assets for this business type. Owners of catering businesses differ from accommodation owners with regards to their age. With the exception of one older interviewee in Imizamo Yethu, all catering business owners are between 32 and 48 years old, which is younger than accommodation business owners.

Among craft workers differences can be observed between the four main groups . Owners who make crafts themselves mostly became active in township tourism when it started to develop. In Langa they are older than other craft workers and have relatively high levels of education, while in Imizamo Yethu two of them have recently quit working for one of the large crafting organisations. Among craft workers who both make their own as well as sell previously bought crafts as well as among those who exclusively buy and sell crafts, foreign migrants are most common. With the exception of one all foreign craft workers they all are men, which contrasts with most interviewed South African craft workers who are women. Also foreign craft workers are on average eight years younger than their South African peers (32 versus 40 years old) and have high levels of education. One gave up a career as a doctor and another quit university to come to South Africa due to political and economic unrest in their home country. Craft workers who work for the large crafting organisations in Imizamo Yethu are nearly all are female migrants from elsewhere in South Africa, with low levels of education and few other options for work, reflecting the goals of the larger crafting organisations to provide work for people with few opportunities.

Nearly all tour guides are Xhosa men, but differences can be observed between the three different types on the basis of age and migratory status. With an average age of 29, walking tour guides are the youngest and most (60%) are recent South African migrants with little experience in tourism. Getting involved as a walking tour guide

requires little starting capital, which makes it easier to become involved for these recent migrants. Freelance tour guides are on average two years older than walking tour guides, but other than that have fairly similar characteristics. For example, they too often migrated relatively recently to the townships and several still live in the migrants' hostels. One of the main differences between these two groups is that freelance tour guides nearly all have been accredited as a tour guide, which is not the case for walking tour guides. In Imizamo Yethu tour guides are relatively old with an average of 41 years old. They further differ from their colleagues in Langa in that half are original residents of the township and three out of four are house owners, which is uncommon among tour guides in Langa.

Like tour guiding, tour operation is dominated by men. Tour operators are the highest educated small township tourism business owners, with half having finished tertiary education. Not all tour operators live in the townships anymore Of the five tour operators who grew up in Langa, two have now moved out of the township and live in the centre of Cape Town, although they regularly return to Langa to ensure they continue to be seen as part of the local community. Two others have never lived in the African townships around Cape Town. One is a coloured tour operators and the other is Xhosa, but comes from in a wealthier suburban area. Two tour operators are run as BEE-businesses by a Xhosa and a white owner and one is run by a member of the SiSwati tribe. This makes tour operators among the most ethnically diverse of small township tourism businesses.

Performance artists and visitor attractions are both mixed groups. The main similarities among performance artists are that they all are male and, with the exception of one, they also have another tourism business. Visitor attractions are on average relatively old (43) and all are Xhosa, but other than that they are highly diverse and few patterns can be observed.

Small tourism businesses and careers

Unsurprisingly, older interviewees are more likely to have previous business experience[18]. Interviewees primarily gained such experience by running a business that

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[18] There was some uncertainty among interviewees as to whether or not they had previously owned other businesses. This can be attributed to a difficulty in defining when an incidental freelance job, which is highly common in the townships, becomes a small business.

requires little financial investments (e.g. spaza shops[19], local fruit stalls or small construction businesses). Eleven interviewees had run a small tourism business before starting the current one and 14 were currently running more than one business. Only two interviewees had previously owned a larger business with employees before starting in tourism. As a result, few interviewees had previous experience of dealing with businesses from outside of the township or, in particular, with international tourism businesses. When owners had experience in tourism, this was gained through assisting family and friends (8), employment (e.g. as a cleaner) (7), hosting tourists on a more or less voluntary basis on tourist exchange programmes (4) or through formal education (2).

Tour operators often started as tour guides. Their work as a guide allowed them to gain knowledge of the township tour routes, attractions and narratives and to make contacts with owners of hotels, travel agents and tourism information desks. Similarly, five of the freelance tour guides started as walking tour guides. The experience they gained guiding the walking tours allowed them to gain both certification and the confidence necessary to start working as freelance guides or even tour operators. This confirms earlier findings in other townships, which suggested tour guides can make a career in tourism (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005, p.204). Such 'upward social mobility' cannot be observed in Imizamo Yethu, however, where none of the tour guides have moved into tour operation, despite having been active as guides for a relatively long time. In this township it is difficult to operate as a tour operator, possibly due to the remote location and limited numbers of tourists. Instead, tour guides continue to base their business model on providing services to tourists coming on the Red Open Top Bus. Walking tour guides in Langa and one guide in Imizamo Yethu also provide short dance, singing or theatre performances on township tours. They see these performances as an opportunity to earn extra income and make their tours more attractive for tour operators. To them their performance work is an additional activity rather than a main source of income.

Craft workers with mostly gained their previous business experience by selling crafts at another location. Five foreign craft workers had started selling crafts immediately upon arrival in South Africa from their home country. They were taken on as apprentices by fellow countrymen who taught them the trade. Six South African migrant craft workers had also sold crafts elsewhere before coming to the townships. The main reasons

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[19] Small unregistered neighbourhood shops.

reported for moving into the townships are the expense and fierce competition inherent in running a stall in a more popular tourist area.

> *"Most people start in eh… In eh… Green Market Square. But you know with Green Market Square the problem is. You don't have for your... your own spot. So, if you want to have your own spot sometimes you have to wait. [If] Somebody's not coming, you just take his place. So, I thought that I would come this side. So I've been here for almost one and a half (.) two years.* **Interviewer***: Ok, and how did you get to know of this place?* **Interviewee***: Well I… Someone, this was my friend here. He used to come to Green point and buy scarves, yah... So, when I asked I [if] knew [where] he was selling the guy. Well he told me to go this side [townships] and look to be there [laughing]. Few people who get to you in the middle, like Green Market Square. Yeah, that's what I've seen. We have… We've got good days here. It's a good standing." (Int. C03)*

Sales may be lower in the townships, but so are costs and competition. This makes it a less risky environment in which to work, even when there is less chance of 'making it big' (growing fast) (Int. C08). The only craft workers that can be said to have made some sort of social upward mobility career in tourism are two interviewees in Imizamo Yethu who initially worked for one of the larger organisations, but started their own crafting business. Both remain small, but take pride in the fact that they have moved from being dependent on others (the large crafting organisations) to marketing their work themselves and are keen to point out that they are able to survive on the income they gain from tourism.

Female small business ownership

Tourism is argued to provide particularly good opportunities for women compared to other sectors in South Africa, due to the low entry barriers that are presumed to characterise the industry and the possibility to operate informally (Ashley, 2005; Mitchell & Ashley, 2004; Rolfe et al., 2010). This cannot be observed among small township tourism businesses in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. The percentage of female business ownership among interviewees (table 5.7) is similar to the South African average at 38% (Herrington et al., 2009, p.21). Furthermore, in contrast to other sectors (Herrington et al., 2010), female small business owners are, on average, older and better educated than their male counterparts and many are original residents with greater resources than men who recently migrated to the townships from elsewhere in South Africa or abroad. Five female (semi-)retired original residents interviewees invested their pension savings to get their business off the ground, showing that certain women strongly invest to get

involved in tourism. As mentioned earlier, women are more commonly active in accommodation or catering (table 5.5; table 5.6), which, on average, provide less income than male-dominated tour business types such as tour operation or freelance tour guiding. This limits the extent to which women financially gain from being involved in tourism.

Table 5.7: Gender differences among interviewees (n=80)

	Female	Male	Total
Langa	16	38	54
Age	46 (23-73)	36 (20-52)	39(20-73)
Education level	9 tertiary, 4 secondary, 1 primary, 2 none	13 tertiary, 16 secondary, 8 primary, 1 none	22 tertiary, 20 secondary, 9 primary, 3 none
Ethnicity	3 SA[1], 12 Xhosa, 1 Zulu	2 Angola,1 Coloured, 1 Congo, 4 Kenya, 1 Malawi, 1 SiSwati, 3 SA, 24 Xhosa, 1 Zulu	2 Angola,1 Coloured,1 Congo,4 Kenya, 1 Malawi, 1 SiSwati, 6 SA, 36 Xhosa, 2 Zulu
Migratory status	8 orig. resident, 2 hostel dweller, 4 recent SA migrant, 1 other township or area 1 unknown	9 orig. resident, 3 hostel dweller, 7 recent SA migrant, 6 foreign migrant, 9 other township or area, 4 unknown	17 orig. resident, 5 hostel dweller, 11 recent SA migrant, 6 foreign migrant, 10 other township or area, 5 unknown
Residential status	10 house owner, 3 shack in back garden, 1 shanty areas, 1 rented house,1 parental home	9 house owner, 4 hostels, 5 shack in back garden,2 shanty areas, 1 rented house, 3 parental home, 10 outside township, 4 unknown	19 house owner, 4 hostels, 8 shack in back garden, 3 shanty areas, 2 rented house, 4 parental home, 10 outside township, 4 unknown
Business experience	8 yes, 7 no, 1 unknown	21 yes, 12 no, 5 unknown	29 yes, 19 no, 6 unknown.
Tourism experience	9 yes, 7 no	24 yes, 13 no, 1 unknown	33 yes, 20 no, 1 unknown
Business registration	10 yes, 3 no, 3 unknown	17 yes, 4 other business, 12 no, 5 unknown	27 yes, 4 other business, 15 no, 8 unknown
Imizamo Yethu	14	12	26
Age	40 (21-63)	36 (21-51)	38 (21-63)
Education level	4 secondary, 7 primary, 3 none	1 tertiary, 7 secondary, 3 primary, 1 none	1 tertiary, 11 secondary, 10 primary, 4 none
Ethnicity	2 SA, 11 Xhosa, 1 Zimbabwe	4 Malawi, 6 Xhosa, 1 Zimbabwe, 1 Zulu	4 Malawi, 2 SA, 17 Xhosa, 2 Zimbabwe, 1 Zulu
Migratory status	7 orig. resident, 5 SA migrant, 1 foreign migrant, 1 unknown	4 orig. resident, 2 SA migrant, 5 foreign migrant, 1 unknown	11 orig. resident, 7 SA migrant, 6 foreign migrant, 2 unknown
Residential status	6 house owner, 7 shanty area, 1 shack in back garden	5 house owner, 6 shanty area, 1 unknown	11 house owner, 13 shanty area, 1 shack in back garden, 1 unknown
Business experience	3 yes, 5 no, 6 unknown	5 yes, 4 no, 3 unknown	8 yes, 9 no, 9 unknown
Tourism experience	7 yes, 6 no, 1 unknown	5 yes, 7 no	12 yes, 13 no, 1 unknown
Business registration	2 yes, 10 no, 1 other business, 1 unknown	4 yes, 7 no, 1 unknown	6 yes, 17 no, 1 other business, 2 unknown
Total	30	50	80

[1]No specific tribe mentioned
Source: author

The percentage of women operating an unregistered (informal) business is slightly higher among women (43%) than men (38%). This is largely due to the situation in Imizamo Yethu where 71% of female small business owners operate informally, and can be attributed to the great number of unregistered women who work of the larger crafting organisations. In Langa fewer female owners operate informally (20%) than men (32%), which can be attributed to the fact that the majority of accommodation owners in this township are females with a registered business.

Female owners are often new to running a tourism business and, in combination with gender stereotypes, this can impact on their business decisions. For example, two female accommodation owners asked the researcher if it would be a good idea to have a dedicated TV room for viewing sports (Int. A01; A.08). From their limited tourism experience, both believed this to be a bad idea as few international tourists had ever expressed a desire to watch sport on TV. However, they were seriously considering setting aside a room and spending a considerable amount of money to create such a room, as this had been advised by local men, even though they had no experience in tourism. Other women report they feel not always taken seriously as business people and even may be ignored by male business owners (Int. A07; R08; V03). Others report felling limited by the fact that they are expected to provide care for children and others. This is particularly evident in cases of a separation or extra-marital children, both of which are common. With men often unwilling to help bring up the children, the burden falls on the mother - and the opportunities they have to spend time on the business are then limited.

> *"…at the moment it's quiet and I'm also... I don't want to be more involved on it yet because I've got a small baby. I've got six months year old, six months old baby. So for me as a single parent is difficult to handle all this at the same time."* (Int. R08)

On the other hand, the high number of divorces has resulted in many women earning a living by themselves, rather than rely on a husband for income. This means female business ownership is not frowned upon, and is more readily accepted than in other countries (Vanclay et al., 2007).

As mentioned earlier, family businesses are more often headed by women than they are men. Commonly only children or younger relatives from the wider family are employed, but in at least three cases the woman is senior to her husband. One husband of a female restaurant owner reports:

"She's always around. That's why she knows everything. For example, the menu I don't know. If we want to know the menu, I don't know, I go to my wife. Yah know." (Int. R01, from notes)

In this business, the wife is the principal driving force. Not only does she set the menu, she also attends meetings with other small businesses, oversees daily operations and acts as customers' main contact point. In the two townships, female owners tend to be viewed by other business owners as more reliable and trustworthy, with seven interviewees, both men and women, preferring to work with female small business owners. In four instances, women reported that excessive alcohol use among certain male small business owners makes them difficult to do business with.

"…if there's a lady in between, things they get done. I sometimes notice that if you put men in responsibilities they tend to shy away sometimes."(Int. T07)

Combining tourism with other sources of income

Having income from multiple sources is a necessity for many fledging small business owners, as they operate with a mixed income livelihood strategy, which is common among the poor in developing countries (Ellis, 2000). The uncertainty of running a small business in the townships, along with the general lack of savings, makes it risky to give up other work and start a tourism business full-time, as exemplified by this interviewee, who had given up a relatively well-paid job to start a tour operating business.

*"When I started my tourism business I resigned my work and I went to the bank with my business plan and it got rejected. **Interviewer**: Ok. **Interviewee**: I had to pay my house and family again - but I was not generating any money because business was only there on paper... As a result I had to go back to look for work elsewhere, even though I am now doing it as a consultant. I do have to sign a contract and commit to the company." (Int. T02)*

Others too reported running into problems when a newly started business was less profitable than expected.

In both townships at least half of all interviewed small business owners have alternative sources of income besides their tourism business (table 5.8). Of these 61% combine their tourism work with alternative income sources outside of the realm of tourism, while 17% earn income with both another tourism business as well as work outside of tourism. Additionally, in Langa 21% exclusively combine income from multiple tourism businesses

and in Imizamo Yethu 24% combine income sources work for one of the crafting organisations.

Table 5.8: Alternative sources of income among small tourism business owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu[1]

Type of tourism business	Alternative source(s) of income (%)	Type of other source of income
Langa	34 (63%)	7 tourism business, 5 tourism business and outside tourism, 22 outside tourism
Accommodation	9 (100%)	1 tourism business, 2 tourism business and outside tourism, 6 outside tourism
Catering	3 (60%)	3 outside tourism
Craft worker:		
- self-made	4 (67%)	1 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism, 2 outside tourism,
- self-made & buy-sell	1 (33%	1 tourism business
- buy-sell crafts	1 (17%)	1 outside tourism
Performance	5 (100%)	3 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism, 1 outside tourism
Tour guide		
- freelance	4 (67%)	3 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism
- walking tour	5 (56%)	2 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism, 2 outside tourism
Tour operator	7 (64%)	3 tourism business, 4 outside tourism
Visitor attraction	5 (100%)	1 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism, 3 outside tourism
Imizamo Yethu	13 (50%)	3 tourism business and outside tourism, 3 Imizamo Yethu craft organisation, 7 outside tourism
Accommodation	2 (100%)	2 tourism business and outside tourism
Catering	4 (100%)	3 tourism business and outside tourism, 1 outside tourism
Craft worker:		
- self-made	0 (0%)	-
- made & buy-sell	1 (25%)	1 outside tourism,
- buy-sell crafts	0 (0%)	-
- large organisation	5 (83%)	2 outside tourism, 3 Imizamo Yethu craft organisation
Performance	1 (100%)	1 outside tourism
Tour guide	2 (50%)	2 outside tourism
Tour operator	1 (100%)	1 tourism business and outside tourism
Visitor attraction	-	-
Total	47 (59%)	7 tourism business, 8 tourism business and outside tourism, 29 outside tourism, 3 Imizamo Yethu craft organisation

[1]Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80
Source: author

All accommodation owners, performance artists and visitor attractions in Langa have alternative sources of income, as do the majority of catering businesses, tour operators and freelance tour guides. In Imizamo Yethu all accommodation, catering businesses and tour operators also have work outside of tourism. In contrast, among businesses that have low-entry barriers, such as certain craft workers and walking tour guides, over half rely exclusively on their income from their tourism business. The reliance on tourism with these business types suggests that they could be a last option for those who cannot get work elsewhere. This premise is further discussed in chapter seven.

The type of work that business owners pursue outside of tourism is hugely varied. Nine owners have other low-skilled jobs besides the tourism business, such as cleaner, baby-sitter, seamstress or taxi driver. Fifteen owners combine the tourism business with skilled employed work in for example IT consultancy, marketing research, wine trading, nursing, local politics and church work. Thirteen owners combine their tourism work with another small business. Examples include the herbalist, a sheep-head vendor or shebeen owner, but also two owners of a Fish and Chips restaurants aimed at the local market and a hairdresser and. These differences highlight the varied nature of township tourism business owners and their potential revenue streams.

Among owners of businesses with employees 37% have alternative sources of income to provide in their subsistence, which is less than family business owners (62%) and sole traders (65%; table 5.9). Even so, the majority of owners of small businesses with employees have combined multiple income streams in the past, either because their business was smaller at the time or they had greater income requirements (e.g. children still at home). Owners of family businesses with alternative income sources always supplement their income with work from outside of tourism, and are particularly likely combine multiple tourism businesses and income from outside of tourism. Sole traders are most likely to exclusively income from combine multiple tourism businesses, most likely due to the fact that tour guides often also act as performance artists.

Table 5.9: Alternative sources of income by ownership structure and gender

	Tourism business(es)	Tourism business(es) & outside tourism	Outside tourism	Imizamo Yethu craft organisation	No other work
Langa	7	5	22		20
Ownership Structure	1 business with employee(s), 6 sole trader	3 family business, 2 sole trader	5 business with employee(s), 6 family business, 11 sole trader	-	7 business with employee(s)[1], 3 family business, 10 sole trader
Gender	1 female, 6 male	4 female, 1 male	8 female, 14 male	-	3 female, 17 male
Imizamo Yethu	-	3	7	3	13
Ownership structure	-	1 family business, 2 sole trader	7 sole trader	3 sole trader	3 business with employee(s)[1], 3 family business, 7 sole trader
Gender	-	3 female	4 female 3 male	2 female, 1 male	5 female, 8 male
Total	7	8	29	3	33

1Includes sole trader who employs others in busy periods.
Source: author

5.4 Conclusion:

This chapter has identified the characteristics of small businesses and their owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu, as well as the various ways in which they are involved in township tourism. Small township tourism businesses operate in accommodation, catering, crafts, performance, tour guiding, tour operation and visitor attractions. With the increasing popularity of township tourism around Cape Town, the number of small businesses has increased rapidly. The numbers and diversity of small businesses is higher in Langa than in Imizamo Yethu, reflecting the greater tourist numbers and longer history of tourism in this township..

Safety concerns mean that township tourism businesses have clustered together in a limited number of safe locations, with the exception of accommodation businesses, which are operated from owners' homes and are often located in areas that are deemed less safe. Although small businesses dominate township tourism in terms of numbers, they serve few tourists. Earlier research already noted the small size of most tour operators involved in township tourism (Rolfes et al., 2009). On average however, tour operators are among the larger and more profitable of small tourism businesses. Only catering businesses and tour guides also gain a relatively high income from tourism. Other types of businesses are even smaller and less profitable. Over half of all small township tourism business owners use additional sources of income to sustain their livelihood and businesses continue to be in operation even when they serve few tourists. Rather than closing down completely, businesses become dormant and can easily be restarted at short notice. This further increases competition and creates uncertainty among businesses from outside of the township, thus hindering business opportunities. Few owners are able to 'make a career' in tourism. In fact only walking tour guides are regularly able to do so as they work towards becoming a freelance tour guide or tour operator. The structure of tourism in Imizamo Yethu, combined with the limited numbers of tourists, means this has not yet happened and no guides have progressed into tour operation.

The majority of township tourism businesses provide similar products. Township tour operators visit the same attractions and focus primarily on the troubled history and currently impoverished situation in the townships, while little is done with local popular culture (e.g. township rap) or alternative attractions (e.g. the birth house of the highly popular South African singer Brenda Fassie). Accommodation businesses are run as B&Bs with very similar price levels while catering businesses have similar menus, pricing and decor. Around half of the craft workers make their own products. Others, particularly

foreign craft workers from abroad tend to buy their crafts from warehouses in Cape Town. Similar to accommodation businesses products are relatively similar as new ideas are quickly copied. Outside of the realm of tourism, the copying of ideas, rather than come up with new ones, has been blamed on uncertain business conditions, as this is less risky (Meagher, 2004).

The lack of diversity in offerings has critiqued in earlier work (Butler, 2012; Maliepaard, 2010; Rogerson, 2008, p.407).However, it is important to realise that subtle differences can be observed, particularly among catering businesses where owners try to distinguish themselves by means of musical performances or personal attention by the owner. Similarly, and as recognised earlier by Harvey (2011), differences in philosophies among individual owners lead to distinctive practices among tour operators. However, these differences are poorly marketed and difficult to notice for tourists looking to visit the townships. As such, they are of little significance in terms of diversifying offerings and minimising, which has been mentioned earlier as a useful way to deal with competition (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007).

Earlier research highlighted that most tour operators and owners of accommodation businesses operate formally (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d). Formality depends however on the particular township and on the business type. Businesses in the more developed Langa township are more likely to operate formally compared to businesses in Imizamo Yethu. When comparing business types it is clear that registration is most common among those that deal directly with businesses from outside of the townships (i.e. accommodation and catering businesses, tour operators and freelance tour guides) and those that employ staff. Registration is less common among craft workers, performance artists, walking tour guides and visitor attractions and sole traders. There is much uncertainty surrounding business formality and many businesses operate in a semi-formal state (i.e. not registered as a business entity, but still known) or register with commercial institutions in the belief that this is necessary in order to operate legitimately.

Distinctions on the basis of demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, education, ethnicity and migratory status, highlight the diversity among township tourism business owners. Furthermore, the prospects and opportunities available to owners may be limited by these characteristics. For example, women still have to overcome prejudices and their businesses tend to be smaller than those of men. Women primarily provide work for

family members, while male-led businesses are most likely to employ people to whom they are not related.

6. Business relations in a distrustful society

This chapter focuses on business relations among small businesses and between small businesses and enterprises from outside of the townships. As discussed in the literature review, the structure of township tourism can limit the options for small businesses, but the ways in which this affects different types of businesses remains unclear. In particular little is known about the ways in which owners relate to others and use social networks to overcome these barriers, or about the impact of local policy support efforts. As such the chapter addresses the second research objective

1. Identify the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

2. Determine and define the ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access

3. Distinguish and characterise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

The findings of this chapter are based upon interviews with small business owners, with supporting information gained through participant observation and interviews with civil servants, policymakers and owners of enterprises from outside of the township. The first section deals with the importance of control over market access in a township tourism context. With limited points of access and increasing competition, conflicts over market access and income from tourists are the norm rather than the exception in the townships, yet remain poorly understood (Koens, 2012). These conflicts are discussed, as well as the importance of power relationships among township tourism businesses and with enterprises from outside of the townships. The second section focuses on social networks, which are related to the uncertain social setting and fractures within township communities. The third section reviews different ways in which small township tourism business owners try to gain market access and the difficulties they face in doing so. It highlights the lack of collaborative business relations among small township tourism businesses. In the final section, attention is drawn to policy measures that aim to increase cooperation among small township tourism businesses, yet are relatively ineffective due to insufficient attention paid to the lack of trust among township tourism businesses.

6.1 The importance of control over market access

Few points of access

The vast majority of tourists visit Langa travel on organised tours, rather than roaming around individually, as is the case in safer environments. The majority of township tourists book their visit with one of the large tour operators from outside of the townships, and these operate their tours by themselves or use one specific small tour operator or catering business. This means that the majority of small township tourism businesses in Langa depend for their custom on a limited number of travel agencies and 'Cape Town Tourism' offices in the city centre as well as contacts at individual guesthouses, hotels and backpackers. Given the large number of small township tourism businesses offering their services, these supplying businesses have much choice with regards to whom they grant market access, leading to strong competition between small businesses. Nearly all tourists that visit Imizamo Yethu come as part of the Red Open Top Bus tour. For the last five years the tour guide who acts as contact person for the Red Open Top Bus has been the dominant figure for tourism within the township. This provides him with a certain extent of control over who gets involved in tourism (e.g. which craft workers receive most custom). The tour operator in Imizamo Yethu gets much business through collaboration with a larger, white-owned tour operator by whom she also is employed. This larger tour operator sends customers to Imizamo Yethu as part of their overland Africa tours, which accounts for at least half of its earnings. Craft workers who work with the large crafting organisations are completely dependent for all their work on these larger organisations. Outside of Imizamo Yethu craft workers need permits, for which they depend on the harbour master. Those without permits are forced to hawk along the beach or set up a stall further away from where tourists mainly come. This makes them less dependent on others, but also limits their income.

Within both townships tour operators[20] largely decide upon itineraries and the businesses to be visited, although tour guides often still are able to choose between a limited numbers of attractions. Additionally they can decide how much time to spend at attractions and craft workers and, in Langa, whether or not and which walking tour guide to use. The decision about whom to visit or work with in the townships is not based on

[20] In Imizamo Yethu the management Red Open Top Bus has specified the walking route for tourists coming through their tours.

economic rationale alone. Instead other aspects can be equally, or even more important, for example: 1) Family ties (e.g. the herbalist in Langa is a cousin of one of the earliest tour operators); 2) The desire to gain a competitive edge (e.g. one tour operator in Langa asked an experienced crafter to exclusively provide home visits on their tours); 3) Monetary or reciprocal relationships (e.g. some form of commission is given by certain craft workers and walking tour guides); 4) Personal beliefs (e.g. supporting local businesses to help uplift the community); 5) (Lack of) knowledge of the existence of businesses and their location relative to existing routes. This further limits access possibilities for individual small business owners and, in this way, increases the importance of well-established social networks.

Power relations among township tourism businesses

The limited points of access, the competitive nature of the township tourism industry and an uncertain business environment, result in a context in which actors are likely to use their power, defined as "the ability to evoke a change in another's behaviour" (Gaski, 1984, p.10), to ensure they attain greater personal gain. The limited ability of small black tour operators to evoke changes among actors in the dominant tourism industry outside of the townships is commonly emphasised in existing literature (Ludvigsen, 2002; Maliepaard, 2010; Rogerson, 2004d). The situation of these tour operators is well captured by this quotation from one of the first township tour operators in the Cape Town region:

> *"I've come to realize that black people who do well in the tourism industry are those who have learnt to adjust and conform to the white mainstream tourism game rather than challenge it." (Gumede, 2006, p.50)*

As the most important gatekeepers, staff at tourism information agencies, Cape Town Tourism or hotels has gained much power in recent years and nearly all small township tour operators have had at least one bad experience with them. They are accused of corruption and demanding personal commission beyond the industry standard of 20%; which is paid by large tour operators from outside of the townships, but beyond the realm of possibility for small tour operators. Although staff at these agencies and hotels give the impression that they are willing to work with small tour operators, this can be mere appearance.

"I made a proposal with a lot of hotels in Cape Town. They tell you to just leave your brochures and then after 30 minutes you will see your brochures in the dustbin. I have seen that! That is very cruel" (Int. T02)

Accusations such as these are widespread[21] and could be substantiated with personal experiences by four tour operators. However, they are conflated with stories from tour operators who are unable or unwilling to pay the 20% commission that is asked by most hotels and Cape Town Tourism.

Tour operators also highlight they only get custom from offices where staff are relatives or long-term friends, whom they have done favours for before - often outside of tourism - or will be able to return favours to at a later point in time. The high turnover of staff at these offices makes it difficult to maintain a steady flow of tourists in this way. Staff at Cape Town Tourism offices in particular receive much criticism. Officially, they are supposed to provide equal opportunities to all businesses, given that they are subsidiaries of the destination management organisation of Cape Town, but this is not always the case:

"There is still a lot of favouritism there [Cape Town Tourism offices]. So, whether you've got your brochure there or not doesn't make any difference."
(Int. T05)

While it is difficult to confirm the veracity of all accusations, they do show the frustration of township tour operators in dealing with a powerful tourism industry. An example of difficulties tour operators have to deal with, can be seen in interviewees' experiences with the FIFA World Cup 2010. All transport capacity was signed off to 5 or 6 larger tour operators in the Cape Town area, who were given full control over the further distribution of work. Small business owners needed to guarantee a certain capacity to a large tour operator without attaining any assurances that they would actually get any tourists. Interviewees feared that having less capacity available at a peak time, might result in them having to disappoint their long-term partners and harm their reputation and long term business prospects. As a result only one tour operator participated in this scheme.

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[21] In her research on township tourism Harvey (2011, p. 179) mentions, 'in the townships, one knows better than to ask much about where money comes from or where it goes'. A similar thing can be said about power relations, where specifics are not commonly discussed.

It is not just tour operators who have difficulty in dealing with the tourism industry outside of the townships. The arrangement for accommodation businesses with the FIFA World Cup 2010 was similar to that of tour operators and required businesses to be registered and have paid for an AA star rating. Again, only two interviewees participated and many were left disappointed after their initial high expectations of the event. This reflects experiences elsewhere in South Africa where small township tourism business owners benefited far less than they thought they would (Naidoo, 2010).

Restaurant owners also highlight how they receive little business through travel agencies and hotels in the city centre of Cape Town. Staff members at these agencies and hotels have often never set foot in a township, and choose 'traditional African' restaurants in the city centre instead, which pay more commission and are perceived a safer and more pleasant option for tourists (Int. F09). This makes township restaurants very reliant on local tour operators. Nearly all owners of catering businesses accuse these tour operators of using this power to their benefit. In the words of the owner of one of the main Langa restaurants:

> *"The first years it was very difficult and we were exploited by a lot of the tour operators here in Cape Town because they will come and they will say: 'lower your price!' And then you said: 'Ohh... it's marketing.' You're always using the word marketing. It was a learning curve..." (Int. R02)*

Later in the interview, this owner said that she does not do such marketing anymore and now has a fixed price. She is able to do this as she has managed to forge relations with large foreign tour operators, which provides her with enough work and gives her the power to ignore local tour operators who are not willing to pay her price. Only one other catering business is in a similar position. Others however, feel forced to give extreme discounts to the extent that they barely make a profit.

Tour guides accuse tour operators from within and outside the townships of using their powerful position to make them work longer hours for less money than agreed beforehand. Also, they complain that, at times they are called to work at extremely short notice, forcing them to stop whatever they are doing at the time. The precarious situation of township tour guides can be further understood by two stories of a beginning tour guide. To start with, he recalls how he was once given less money than previously agreed for his services.

"I was tricked. They asked me how much am I charging for, for my township tour. Ok, I said '300, nice price'. Ok, I did a tour. The next thing I come back, they come to me saying 'ehh...We have to deduct 25 % tax from the money and now you're getting 222'. I was like: 'If you had told me that you were going to deduct tax I was going to charge 350. So that I can get this money I want for this tour, you know.' Cause ehh... How can you deduct tax?! There's a certain amount where say government: 'No we won't tax kind this money, it's too little, too small'. You deduct 25 % tax from that money; you know that's a rip off." (Int. G04)

In another instance the tour guide provided a series of tours worth over 2000 Rand (£160) each, but was never paid. Instead he was given additional guiding work, for which he was paid. The tour guide has since virtually given up hope of retrieving the initial, large sum of money and feels abused, yet knows he has no option but to continue to work for the tour operator because he has few alternative income opportunities at the moment.

"[If] I will go to an authority, they give me my 2000 Rands (.) and they will never use me again. So it's ehh... It's a matter of. They know that…you know you are in a tight corner. Thereby you cannot just…(.) And that company's is paying very well you know. It's very difficult for me to come hard to them. I'm like telling myself: It's better to be exploited this way. You know, than be exploited with 300 Rands, you know. But I can take that 2000 and no way they're gonna give me another tour... It is not supposed to be like that." (Int. G04)

New tour guides, in particular, feel they need to comply so as to not damage their reputation among tour operators and be refused further work. More experienced tour guides often choose to work for a limited number of companies in whom they place more trust. They are able to do so as there is a relative shortage of experienced, accredited freelance tour guides with a good reputation, particularly during the high season.

You have to make a name for yourself, whereby people will really sort of recognize you and [know that you are] being loyal and reliable. I'll say it is very easy [to get work] after that." (Int. G10)

It is striking that the large tour operators from outside of the townships, which are accused of abusing their power by small tour operators, are consistently viewed as the

most honest and reliable by tour guides. It is in fact the small tour operators that are distrusted most by this group.

Tour guides, on their part, are blamed by visitor attractions for abusing their power in order to get more money for themselves. One tour guide readily admits that he discourages tourists from giving tips to visitor attractions and has little interest in supporting craft workers if they do not pay commission. He claims this ensures that he himself gets a larger tip at the end of the tour (Int. G11).

One restaurant owner is said to have maltreated a small tour operator when he took a deposit for a three month weekly tour group deal and left the country without providing any service. This same restaurant owner also removed the walking tour guides who started tours from his premises without giving prior notice or any discussion with the walking tour guides. Needless to say, they were shocked when they were requested to leave the premises without further notice, yet could do very little but comply. Whilst unhappy with the situation, both the tour operator and the walking tour guides did not undertake any action to rectify the situation. In fact the tour operator argued he was wary of demanding the money back out of fear for personal and business repercussions. What exactly these repercussions would be, was not said, but they are enough for the tour operator not to persevere in trying to get back the substantial amount of money involved. The restaurant owner is rumoured to be involved in illegal practices such as running a brothel from the restaurant during club nights in the evening, and his power allegedly stems from his involvement in these practices. Episodes like these have made other businesses in Langa wary of cooperating with the restaurant owner. However, this information remains largely confined to the townships and, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the owner actually became a leading figure in the Langa tourism forum that was supposed to represent all township tourism businesses.

In Imizamo Yethu tour guides had great freedom to decide where tours would go and they visited a wide range of craft workers who were scattered along the main road before finishing the tour in Iziko Lobomi until recently. One guide in particular argued it was his 'responsibility' to support as many people as he could[22]. After complaints from tourists that the walking tour was becoming too much a craft sales platform, the owners of the

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[22] Although no system of commission to tour guides exists in Imizamo Yethu, it is unlikely his motives were purely altruistic. For example one craft worker mentioned she appreciated the tour guide so much she tried to help him sometimes out in times of need.

Red Open Top Bus enforced a strict itinerary with only two crafting stops. Existing craft workers had to move to either the entrance of the township or Iziko Lobomi and tour guides are expected to follow a strict itinerary. Although this shows that power in Imizamo Yethu ultimately lies with the Red Open Bus, tour guides still can direct their tourists to certain craft stalls and decide upon market access.

Within the township the tour guide who acts as contact person for the Red Open Top Bus is the dominant actor. Others are grateful for his work, but do note that he uses his power for personal gain. In one case the author observed how another tour guide was sent home, even though he was entitled to work that day according to the roster that Imizamo Yethu tour guides work with, to ensure all get equal amounts of work. Allegedly this happens on a regularly basis, particularly when the dominant tour guide is in urgent need of income. Given that the Red Open Top Bus works only with him, the others feel a need to comply. The dominant tour guide also refuses to visit a craft worker at the entrance of Imizamo Yethu, who feels powerless against this.

> *"He does not want me to have anything. He's got a jealous attitude. [Name guide] sometimes takes the tourists from the Red Open Top Bus for four days on end. Those 4 days means I will not get anything." (Int. C27)*

All these examples highlight how little loyalty there is between different township businesses, as owners use their power to maximise individual profits, rather than seeking common, potentially more lucrative benefits. Division and competition over who controls the market is as much apparent inside the confines of the townships as it is outside, yet has received very little attention in previous literature on township tourism (a notable exception being Harvey, 2011). The fact that the very same tour operators, tour guides and catering business owners who report being abused, shows how power relations can "flow in multiple directions", depending on "one's place/position within a network of relations" (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p.375).

Additionally, it becomes clear that it need not be the actual use of power that is influencing business decisions – there is typically no direct sanctioning; the fear of the use of power is enough to discourage others from competing with people who are deemed powerful. In other words, power relations are "omnipresent yet localized in their deployment" and they can be "constructed discursively as well as materially" (Hannam, 2002, p.229). The obvious example is the aforementioned power abuse by the restaurant owner who uses the threat of violence to prevent people from claiming back money. Another example comes from a craft worker in Langa who pays local unemployed men a

small sum of money to help set up and break down the craft-stand. Other craft workers do not dare sell near his stand out of fear of retribution from these young men. Another craft worker takes power from the ownership of a taxi company, which is notorious for taking the law into its own hands, and uses this notoriety to ensure he gets the most prominent place at Guga S'Thebe. Finally, one walking-tour guide uses threats of violence through membership of a criminal youth gang to get more work. In a different way one tour guide uses his dominant position as a local elder[23] and local politician to ensure he gets enough business. This does not involve threats of violence, but is based more upon respect and the potential to provide or withdraw assistance at a later point.

6.2 Social networks: a mixed blessing

Difficulties relating to weak ties in social networks

Although social networks can be important for small business development, in Langa and Imizamo Yethu these benefits are limited by uncertain circumstances and fractures within communities. Interviewees commonly work with family and friends, while cooperation with people who are not directly related is less common. This means that social networks in the townships are largely mitigated by factors such age, gender, migratory status or ethnicity and that willingness to cooperate depends more on these personal circumstances, rather than economic rationality. For example, this craft worker has very good experiences of selling crafts at an often visited restaurant.

> "Per month, in a season I can say over I can say over 20 paintings… She's a really good woman. She does not only let me display my work. She helps me out also sometime. I remember in very bad times she used to give me money to pay my rent. And I can give her anytime that I have it." (Int. C02)

This craft worker was introduced to the restaurant owner early on in his career by his uncle who lived opposite the restaurant and had sold paintings there for a long time. The owners of the restaurant also have also formed informal partnerships with a long-established tour operator who lives opposite and with certain businesses with whom they participated in a project called SONKE Cape Route in 2003. However, they no longer provide assistance to new businesses and declare no interest to participate in new forms

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[23] Elders are people who are looked up to and take decisions as an informal form of organisation in township neighbourhoods.

of cooperation. They are also in great conflict with the new restaurant next door and have been accused of bullying youngsters who provide musical entertainment there (G06; R01). The lack of cooperation between longer established and recently started businesses is widespread, particularly in accommodation and catering. Two small business owners even went to Soweto to discuss their business ideas because they felt unable to do so with small business owners in the Cape Town area (A05; R01). Tour operators and guides are more willing to assist newcomers than others. They have little fear of losing business to them, because they are confident of the superior quality of their own skills and because it takes time to be trusted by businesses from outside of the townships. In Imizamo Yethu on the other hand, interviewees complain about the secrecy of the existing tour guides and their lack of willingness to accommodate others.

The importance of ethnicity in social networks can be observed in the partnerships among tour operators, which are formed nearly exclusively along racial and tribal lines. For example, four African tour operators work together. They agree a similar price for their tours and assist each other by sharing custom to ensure that they do not have to run tours with one or two tourists that would make a loss. However, they distrust and refuse to work with white, BBBEE or coloured-owned businesses. The small, coloured tour operators initially worked together and had a strong preference for employing coloured tour guides. This preference played at least some part in the setup of a separate walking tour where local walking tour guides from the townships were required to assist coloured freelance tour guides.

The only coloured craft worker at Guga S'Thebe quickly set himself up as a middleman between the coloured freelance tour guides and the local African walking tour guides. In order to get custom, walking tour guides had to buy this craft worker telephone credit or drinks. While they did not enjoy this situation, the lack of trust among the walking tour guides were so great that they preferred to pay the craft worker rather than work together and cut him out.

Foreign migrants in particular have difficulty in negotiating their way into the tight, historically significant fabric of the local community (Harvey, 2011, p.199). They lack an understanding of historical relations and have to overcome prejudices of community members and other small business owners - as this craft worker recalls.

> "It took almost one year for some of them to gain confidence and trust me. After sometime most of these guides they realise that (.) Actually maybe they thought I had a hidden agenda, but they came to see I'm a harmless guy." (Int. C04)

To a lesser extent South African migrants also face difficulties integrating into the townships and creating relations. For example, the sheep head vendors in Langa migrated to the township recently. Not only do they know few people, but also they belong to a different Xhosa clan than most actors in tourism. This they believe hinders their business, demonstrating a relationship between ethnicity and migratory status.

> *"There are clan issues here. Some people of different clans do not like to take the tourists to us, because we are part of a different clan than them." (Int. V03)*

Possibly as a result of these issues it is particularly those born in the townships and long-term residents with a strong sense of place identity who put much effort in building strong social networks. Others view their time in the townships as temporary and seek to leave as soon as possible. They have little embedded interest in its well-being and feel little responsibility for the future of other township residents. Instead, their outlook is more focused on forming relationships with businesses outside of the township rather than on extending their social network beyond immediate family and/or friends.

> *"We are… Like sometimes get jealous of each other. How come she do this. Why you. Why did she do this? And then you fight and then get jealous. Then I decided. You know what. I don't like arguing. So let me just. I don't mind having no friends here. I'm just here." (Int. A09)*

These issues are less evident in Imizamo Yethu. Nevertheless, even here, there is an emphasis on stronger ties and migrants need to negotiate with local elders to be able to trade. Furthermore, one Zulu tour guide in Imizamo Yethu states that he is never given equal chances because he is not part of the dominant Xhosa tribe.

Strong ties in social networks of township tourism business owners

The emphasis on strong personal ties is related to the fact that these involve fewer issues with trust (Int. A01; A03). It also has a role to play in a livelihood system in which the repayment of favours is common and where people have an interest in ensuring that those close to them do not become financially dependent on them (Int. G03). Furthermore, strong social bonds can be of great value in times of crisis and acute insecurity. However, three potential benefits of close ties - cheap or free labour; financial help in times of need; input of business ideas - are hindered by the specific circumstances in the townships. Although family and friends often provide cheaper labour than others, they may not always be the best person for the job. In the townships with its high levels of unemployment and complete lack of tourism skills among many

residents, this is a significant issue. For example, accommodation business owners regularly leave in charge young or elderly relatives who have limited command of English, to allow them to earn some additional income, even though they cannot take reservations over the telephone and have great difficulty in entertaining tourists. Furthermore, the net benefits of financial help are diminished by the perceived need to adhere to the principles of Ubuntu and/or financially support family members. Under Ubuntu owners need to share at least some of their income. As word gets round of business success, calls for monetary assistance increase. The majority of foreign migrants also revealed that they had been sent out by their family with the specific aim of providing additional income for the family. The need to financially support family members or friends has negative impacts on the possibility of investing in the business.

An additional problem in a context of high levels of distrust and uncertain living conditions is that even seemingly well-established relations easily sour in the face of unexpected adversity. The following interviewee owned a B&B and initially cooperated informally with the owner of another accommodation business. They were making plans to start a new business outside of the realm of tourism, but this joint business venture collapsed when planning permission was not granted. Subsequently both owners started a similar business by themselves without notifying the other. This created much distrust from which their business relationship in tourism suffered and seriously hampered their tourism relationship.

> *"Yah, people are full of surprises. Up to, yah, up to recently I thought we were family and everything. With another B&B. But now… I don't know. I don't know what is their opinion. I really don't know." (Int. A05)*

6.3 Gaining market access in a distrustful society

Seeking business outside of the tourism chain

Small business owners employ a variety of techniques to receive custom, ranging from operating more or less independently from other businesses to largely integrating and collaborating with the mainstream tourism market.

Virtually all interviewees engage in some form of self-marketing, but it is particularly common among accommodation owners, as they have very limited interaction with other businesses. Visitor attractions, performance artists, walking tour guides and craft workers rarely use this strategy. The main benefit of working independently and relying on self-marketing is that it is requires few resources (Int. A01; R05). A disadvantage of operating

independently is that the networks and additional business that may come from interaction with tour operators and tour guides do not exist. Therefore the pace of growth is slow and there is little certainty about future levels of income. Owners who rely heavily on this strategy nearly all still have additional sources of income, as it takes a very long time before the business provides enough profit to solely rely on tourism.

The most obvious method of seeking business without direct involvement of others in the tourism chain comes from word-of-mouth advertisement and owners use a variety of techniques to attract tourists. Particularly, owners of accommodation businesses believe it is essential to show off the quality of their services and have at least one wall dedicated to newspaper clippings, framed certificates, prices or postcards and e-mails from former guests. Other interviewees take a more pro-active stance. They offer brochures to tourists and ask tourists to spread the word about their business.

> *"I have had customers come to me with a brochure that was printed six years ago and say. 'My cousin was here six years ago and he recommended it.' When we do it right, our customers recommend us. Recommendation is an important source of this business." (Int. T11)*

International students, researchers and other tourists who stay for a longer time are offered free tours or significant discounts on their stays. They not only provide a stable source of income, but also interact with other tourists and in this way provide promote the business for free.

> *"A lady from the States, stayed here for 10 months and ehh... she organised some clients for me. Since she was staying in Mobrey [white neighbourhood where international students stay], she knew lots of student from America where staying in Mobrey who were interested to know about the township… She was advertising me. While, while she was here I was getting lots and lots of business through her, you know. Because I was helping her with the research and she was helping with the marketing of my business." (Int. G04)*

Another form of self-promotion is to be listed in travel guides. Tour operators and accommodation businesses regularly pay to be listed in national and regional travel guides, while nearly all interviewees hope for a listing in one of the major international travel guides like Lonely Planet or Rough Guide. A listing in one of these travel guides can account for one third to half of all trade (Int. A05; G12). When the author of one of these guides comes to visit the townships, owners go out of their way to appease her or

him. During the second field visit the author of the Lonely Planet guide visited and stayed a night at one of the local accommodation businesses in Langa. He was treated by the owner to a luxurious meal and musical entertainment, while a tour guide provided a free extended township tour during which he talked about his new bicycle tour through the townships, even though he had never run such a tour. In the next addition of the guidebook, the owner's accommodation business was the only one listed in Langa, while the tour guide also was named, including the bicycle tour.

Fifteen small township tourism business owners, mainly in tour operation and accommodation, use a website for their marketing and nearly all are disappointed with the resulting levels of custom. They highlight the difficulties getting on the first page of popular Internet search engine results and note that tourists are often afraid to book directly with a business from the township without further references. Others draw attention to their own lack of knowledge and/or money to create a website of good quality. At least six interviewees have made use of a government support programme in which owners can buy vouchers to get a website built at strongly discounted rates. These websites are made by consultants from outside of the townships who know little of township tourism and the results either provide a stereotypical image of the townships or very generic, with little attention to the specific attractions of the individual business. Although having a website does not automatically increase custom and contact with tourists, e-mail, social media and websites such as tripadvisor.com are considered useful.

> "When they come here and they go back home. So we just keep on emailing to each other, or use Facebook (.) So they the other person who come here that you should go to Maria's." (Int. A09)

Strategies and difficulties when integrating in the tourism chain

The majority of small business owners receive most custom through cooperation with others in the tourism chain. While potentially integrating in the tourism chain makes it possible to grow the business quicker, it is not always easy to create and maintain cooperative relationships. Not only are owners reporting difficulty in making contact with businesses from outside of the townships, due to the limited points of access and their remote location, they also need to overcome prejudices and fight off the stiff competition of other businesses.

Tour operators and catering businesses have relatively similar strategies for attracting custom. All argue they cannot compete with their larger counterparts from outside the townships on price or by offering more than the industry standard of 20% commission. Instead they count on their status as township residents on the quality of their tours. For example, owners provide free 'educational' tours to instigate trust and highlight the quality and uniqueness of an owner's product and draw customers away from established enterprises.

> *"Mostly we are told that: 'Well we always use so and so who is our preferred supplier, we've been working with them for some time.' And I'm talking of big tour operators that have been around for such a long time. They've built up their own image, they're known as the role players in the market. So we're small, we just started yesterday. And it's very difficult to compete. But we're trying to have our own unique selling point, where mostly we identify that how we are different." (Int. T07)*

As discussed earlier however, it remains very difficult for people from outside the townships, both tourists and business owners, to appreciate the subtle differences between different tour operators, accommodation businesses and restaurants products and this makes it less attractive for actors from outside of the townships to work with businesses they do not know. even when the services are of good quality (F05, F07, F09). This frustrates small township tourism business owners who are rarely told about this, as most discussions deal with grading and marketing.

> *"Because we've complied with everything. They said: 'Get graded!' - You got graded. 'Maintain your house, make sure it's clean, make sure your books and that everything is good' - We've done all that. And then what??!? 'Now that you, you need website.' We've done websites. 'You need to market' I've got brochures. I go to the exhibitions. I talk to people. What else can I do? Do you know what I mean?'" (Int. A05)*

This owner ran one of the most innovative accommodation businesses and had tried different things to gain custom. She had cooperated with the large tour operator Hylton Ross to provide overnight stays, but this was terminated because of a lack of demand. Recently she set up a relationship with a small township tour operator and a large backpacker hostel in the city centre to provide cheaper accommodation for backpackers in Langa. She built two new, cheaper rooms to facilitate these backpackers. The cooperation failed owing to miscommunications and a lack of support from the tour

operator. It led to a loss of trust on the part of the owner of the large backpacker hostel, the owner of which already is wary of cooperating with township tourism businesses anyway as she is inundated on a daily basis by so called 'chancers', people selling an idea for a tourism product in the hope of getting funding (Int. F04). A related problem for at least 19 owners, is that they cannot always guarantee their availability, because they have multiple income streams and may have to prioritise other work. This can make them appear unreliable to business owners in Cape Town who are able to operate on a full-time basis.

Four tour operators have specialised in a specific niche, including sports tours for foreign secondary schools (T03), international students at local universities (Int. T04), backpacker tourism (T05) and the domestic corporate market (T08). Being in a niche makes it easier to be more competitive, and switches the power balance towards the small business owners.

> *"You see what happens is that ehh... Whoever other company I use. They're competing against each other. They found out that [international tour operator] is using the township tours… He markets himself by saying: 'You gonna go to a township, you gonna play sports there.' And all the schools when they go back and say: 'Hey, it was great! Langa was great, was great, was great!' So they [other international tour operators] want to compete and say: We want to find out, who is he using in the township?... Then these people make sure that they do find my number. And then I do the same thing. But the difference is, I charge them more" (Int. T03)*

However, it is essential to prevent others from entering the same niche. This tour operator does so by shying away from interaction with others. As a result he is virtually unknown to other small businesses. The continuing domination of the backpacker market by one tour operator is based partially on his ability to dissuade other tour operators from competing by sharing his surplus customers with other small tour operators and by emphasising that he will not allow others to enter this niche market. One interviewee mentioned that it is impossible to compete with the tour operator dominating the backpacker market, as he is board member of a number of backpacker tourism lobbying organisations and uses this power to corner the backpacker market (Int. T09). Two others also indicated power abuse by this owner, although without providing any specific examples, (Int. A05; T07). Backpacker hostels in Cape Town are largely unaware of

these power struggles and become increasingly frustrated by the lack of serious new products (F04).

Accredited freelance tour guides can get work relatively easy, particularly in the high season. Their main focus is upon establishing a good reputation and networking with other tour guides and tour operators during work. Even tour guides who have not built a reputation yet, are able to get work as long as they are registered, willing to take the initiative and able to cope with not always being paid.

> "Most of the companies I just get their email address and their website and I email them, I send my details everything.'" (Int. G03).

The main reason freelance tour guides have this job security is because they are in high demand. As discussed earlier owners of other business types, where demand is lower, are turned nearly always turned down at first sight by enterprises from outside of the townships are, whose owners fear they are 'chancers' (Int. F04; F07; F09).

Craft workers have little contact with others higher up in the tourism chain. Instead they seek custom by working from a location that receives many visitors.

> "We are depending on the doctor [herbalist]. Tourists come to him. We try to speak to tourists when they leave. Some interested, some not. We do not advertise. If tourists come this is good."(Int. C08)

Craft workers next to the herbalist have a very short time frame in which to work. As soon as the last tourist exits the herbalist's office, tour guides usher the group back into the minibus and move on. This is probably related to the fact that at least one other craft worker in Langa gives small sums of cash to tour guides to ensure that they come to him and craft workers near the herbalist have too little income to provide such incentives. Three craft workers who lived in a shack in Langa opened up their homes for tourists, and created a new visitor attraction to ensure tourist visitation. Owners of other visitor attractions do not promote themselves, and rely on the uniqueness of their daily profession for visitation.

The relative lack of collaborative relationships

Collaborative relationships can be defined as more long-term and integrative than a cooperation between two businesses, which can relatively easily be terminated (Watkins & Bell, 2002). Collaborations provide financial security and potential exclusivity of business over competitors. In township tourism three main forms of collaboration can be

observed. *First*, small business owners become what can best be described as semi-employed. For example, two freelance tour guides have worked for the same tour operator for years and rely on receiving a limited amount of work to see them through winter. Although they have given up their employees' rights in order to earn more than employed tour guides in the high season and to have the ability to leave a company should they choose to do so. In essence however, their situation is not very different from their employed peers.

Another group of semi-employed small business owners are the craft workers who work for the larger crafting organisations in Imizamo Yethu. Unlike the freelance tour guides, they would rather be employed and gain the rights of employees, but this option is not offered by most crafting organisations. Still, the larger crafting organisations do feel a great responsibility for their workers and share work in difficult times, to ensure they at least gain a minimum income year-round. *Second*, the three BBBEE businesses in Langa can be seen as a form of collaboration between a formerly disadvantaged individual and a white business partner. The tour operator in Imizamo Yethu officially is not a BBBEE business, but it too is highly integrated with a white tour operator. In such businesses the black partners are commonly perceived as 'sell outs' acting as 'window dressing', while the white co-owner is really in charge of the business.

> *"We think that he sold us… He had the potential to grow out. He was growing. He was known in his field. He was a specialist in his field. And he just had to work hard and hope to have some lucky breaks. And get customers, and move up into that bracket [big business]. And be a role model for us. That we gonna go there. And so we were really disappointed when we heard that he was selling out to [name of large tour operator]." (Int. T11)*

A third form of collaboration is a long-term cooperation between two different businesses. Nine of such collaborations are found mostly occur between a tour operator and a business from outside of the township. Examples are the two township tour operators who focus on a specific niche (e.g. international sports school travel agents, backpackers in Cape Town city centre) and have built up strong relations with their partners from outside of the township. Three other mainstream small township tour operators collaborate with larger inbound travel agents. Notably, all these tour operators emphasise the importance of strong connections outside of the townships: Two moved out of the townships to be closer to potential partners, and three others are (co-)owned by people not from the townships (BBBEE businesses or a coloured owner who lives

near Cape Town CBD). The coloured tour operator believes BBBEE policies have made a difference in achieving this collaboration and is very supportive of this type of policy.

"I ran after [name of travel agent] for five years. However he was keeping us at arm's reach until [BB]BEE stepped in. Then they had to start looking at us... [BB]BEE has helped me strike that deal." (T11)

Other interviewees however, believe that BBBEE policies are out of touch with the needs of small township businesses. Furthermore, they feel that in some ways these policies have made the situation worse for black tour operators in that BBBEE businesses have taken a large part of the market by virtue of the white partners' better business contacts.

"BEE is not here to uplift. It's here to try and catch up and mask what happened in the past." (Int. T04)

"So, what is happening now. You just use black people as a front. So they say in paper that they own the company…. All these companies that are owned by the operators themselves, black guys. We all struggle. But the BEE companies, they are not struggling, because they are white owned, you know. The guy from (name of BBBEE business), he does not have a problem to go and sit with the manager from the hotel and negotiate. For me to even get an appointment is a hassle!... They are taking that business from us." (Int. T08)

The owner of one of the BBBEE-businesses acknowledges the benefit of having a white partner, who is well connected within the mainstream tourism industry.

"Because now we've got a contract with a Swedish company. Every Saturday from last Saturday up until March next year. They do the evening tour with us… We've got it through [white BBBEE partner]. Because this company was doing walks with him. And then he told them that look we're doing also township." (Int. T07)

In order to gain an edge and become more desirable as a business partner, another BBBEE tour operator buys many advanced tickets for the Robben Island tour, which is generally sold out days in advance, and combines this with township tours. This successful strategy was made possible through personal contacts of the white co-owner.

Owners of businesses other than tour operators have greater difficulties in building up collaborative relations with businesses from outside of the townships. Successful exceptions are the main contact person for the Red Open Top Bus, and the restaurant in

Langa that has gained a number of long-term contracts with inbound tour operators. After signing their initial contract with a large German inbound tour operator, they managed also to set up collaborations with others. This trickle-down effect is also mentioned by a small township tour operator in Langa, who collaborates with one of the large tour operators outside of the townships.

> "We are referred to clients by a very big inbound operator… And that's another thing, the downstream referrals from [being a] preferred supplier to a huge inbound operator really increased our business." (Int. T09)

It is striking how few long term collaborations can be observed among small businesses in Langa and in Imizamo Yethu. For example in Langa businesses that are commonly associated with township tourism, such as shebeens, the sheep-head vendors or the herbalists are all viewed as interchangeable by tour operators and tour guides. Furthermore, only three small tour operators collaborate with a catering business to offer a combined product that may result in higher income for both. In Imizamo Yethu the main tour guide and the leader of the choir collaborate, while the tour operator in this township collaborates with a specific shebeen, which is owned by the uncle of the tour operator. When asked why there are so few collaborations among township tourism businesses. owners refer to a lack of trust and a fear of being taken advantage of, again highlighting a lack of solidarity among small businesses. Only when businesses have family or friendship relations or another connection, such as belonging to the same church, are they willing to get involved in more stable collaborative relationships.

6.4 The policy debate: Recognising diversity and power relations

Local government, NGOs and enterprise development organisations try to get small township businesses more involved in mainstream tourism. Most of these initiatives have had only limited success, which is largely due to government taking insufficient note of the specificities of operating a township tourism business and the neglect of power relations in the townships as demonstrated by three examples from Langa[24].

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[24] As one of the most prominent townships around Cape Town, Langa has received far more interest from government than Imizamo Yethu.

Langa Walking Tour; competition and power struggles

In 2008 the City of Cape Town launched an initiative to stimulate walking tour guides to by initiating a so called 'Langa Walking Tour' (LWT). The idea was that guides would get a fixed higher price per tourist and could compete more effectively with businesses from outside of the townships if they worked together under the LWT banner. Plans were made to open an office for the LWT at Guga S'Thebe cultural centre from where four routes would start, a brochure was produced and unregistered tour guides had an accreditation course paid for. In spite of these efforts, LWT has largely become defunct. Its failure can be understood through an analysis of the lack of transparency in governance and power struggles.

Although Guga S'Thebe is officially supposed to represent all township residents, power struggles are evident, particularly between original residents and recent migrants. Nearly all craft workers at Guga S'Thebe have been born in the township. On the other hand, with the exception of one, all walking tour guides are recent migrants. The migrant walking tour guides report being distrusted and badmouthed by the 'establishment' (original residents) at the cultural centre (see also Harvey, 2011). Initially, a coloured craft worker acted as middlemen between walking tour guides and the tour operators[25]. When he left to become a freelance tour guide, the one walking tour guide who was born in Langa tried to fill the power vacuum, with support from the dominant craft vendor and the government-paid administrator of the centre. This has made him a figure of considerable power. For example he is ensured all reservations made by the centre's administrator in exchange for a commission.

> *"If she receive the call that say these people are there, there are twenty tourists out there. She would not tell the tour guides, she would go and ask [guide]: 'There are twenty people I can give you, but you have to pay or do something for me... It's really bad. It's corruption.'" (Int. G11)*

Other tour guides will not get a tour from the centre's administrator even if they offer to also pay commission. Instead they have to wait outside of Guga S'Thebe for tour operators, which results in much less income security. One migrant tour guide, who had become increasingly frustrated by these matters, started to contact tour operators

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[25] See also section 6.2

personally, pointing out that he was, at the time, one of the few accredited walking tour guides. This technique was successful as he was given exclusive rights to do walking tours for these operators. The migrant tour guide also persuaded the employees of the local Cape Town Tourism office, who do not live in Langa, to give all their reservations to him in exchange for commission.

> "They [Cape Town Tourism Office] are okay, they are on [migrant tour guide's] side. So whatever they get, they give [migrant tour guide]." (Int. G11)

These technique were successful and the migrant tour guide was soon joined by two friends. Together they formed a pact to compete with the Langa-born tour guide, who on his part was joined by another migrant tour guide. This new migrant guide believes he needed to align himself to one of the two main groups in order to ensure he receives custom (Int. G05). A third competing group of tour guides came to Guga S'Thebe when the restaurant owner at Tsoga environmental centre removed the walking tour guides from his premises. Although the three factions are on speaking terms, competition is intense. For example, during the second field visit, two guides nearly exchanged punches in front of the entrance of the centre at a time when tourists might have been present.

> "So they were fighting over who came first [dominant] in Guga S'Thebe… So up to a point where [tour guides] were in a threat of fighting physically. "(Int. G11)

The local government representative responsible for the Langa Walking tour was largely unaware of these conflicts and subsequent distrust between guides. When the plans LWT were unfolded, it was expected that guides would see the benefits of working as a united entity and stand together against tour operators from outside of the township. Instead they tried to become the representative in order to take control of LWT. In the end none of the groups managed to secure power and the project withered away. The brochures that have been printed, are not on display at any travel agency or Cape Town Tourism office and the office and phone line to accommodate the contact person for the LWT never was created. All this, much to the relief of small township tour operators who had disapproved of LWT from the start as they feared the project would provide businesses from outside of the township with a cheaper substitute for existing township tours and saw it as unfair competition.

> "What do they offer? Just a walking tour. That is why it's cheap. It's false competition. We have a vehicle and provide a complete experience. We visit

three townships! … What if, in the future, [large tour operator] can come in and just do a walking tour? That's less money for the townships!" (Int. T07)

Langa Tourism Forum; the importance of underlying societal frictions

The 'Langa Tourism Forum' (LTF) was championed by local government as an organisation representing all small tourism businesses in this township. Not only could this organisation a more powerful negotiating position when dealing with businesses outside the townships. It also should make it easier to gauge the needs and desires of township businesses and provide funds for business support given that such funding is not viable for proposals from individual businesses. Its failure can again largely be attributed to underlying frictions in township society, combined with envy, mistrust and a fear of loss of power. The main problem with LTF was that its initiators lacked sufficient backing from the wider township tourism community in Langa. They had recently migrated to the township and were relatively new to tourism. Furthermore, one of the initiators was the restaurant owner, who had dismissed the walking tour guides, mistreated one of the tour operators and 'stolen' business from one long-standing restaurant.

"I think last March. There was something, which was gonna be hosted by the Government here in Langa and [restaurant owner] was the host of that. And then the Government said. 'Ok fine, we'll go to me with 50 kids and then another 50 kids will go to [restaurant owner]. But [restaurant owner] changed things around overnight. He said the whole 50 will go (.) and eat at his place… And when we asked the officials what happened? [They] said, 'No, because he was the one, who was organising this. He changed the whole thing.' He managed to, to change everything." (Int. R05)

As a result of these issues, the restaurant owner was distrusted by other small business owners, who feared he might abuse his power. This situation was not aided by the fact that at least two long established township tourism businesses, owned by Langa-born owners were not invited to the initial meeting.

"They never approached me, I never heard about – I heard just from people. I mean if they were genuinely, I mean, looking for people with products, Obviously they would have to come to me and. Maybe through Annabel [wife] maybe. Or drop a letter…. But as long as they never come to us, Annabel doesn't know anything about that. You just hear it from the grapevine. … When

you talk about Tourism Forum, You need to include and be inclusive. As long as
you are exclusive, you are out." (Int. R05)

The fact that the initiators had cooperated with each other at an earlier stage served to further disgruntle other small-business owners, who felt they were used to provide legitimacy and potentially business to a small group of businesses. Ethnicity also came into play. The fact that two of the three organisers of the LTF were Zulu, was seen as further evidence that the forum was unrepresentative. The forum lost all momentum when it was used as a platform for the ANC during the hectic presidential elections of 2009. This politicization decreased the credibility of the LTF to an extent that the organisers had to give up on it.

With the LTF again the desire to stand together was hindered by long established fractures within the community and by too many people wanting important positions themselves, or not wanting others to occupy them. A similar situation has been described in Pushkar, India (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007) and is a serious hindrance to mobilisation efforts among small business owners.

Individual business support

Programmes aimed at supporting individual small business owners to network with businesses outside of the townships, have had mixed success. As mentioned in the literature review, a mentorship programme organised by regional government and the Southern Africa Tourism Services Association (SATSA) that links a township tourism business owner with a peer from outside of the township who should then act as a mentor on aspects of running an effective business and on networking. Although this programme is appreciated by newly-starting small business owners, others see it as an expression of white businesses abusing their powerful and well-networked position to gain additional income at the cost of small township businesses.

"I said: 'No that guy has got one vehicle. I have got 4 vehicles. Why is he going
to mentor me? I should be mentoring him. He's been here before me, but he's
still going to be running with one vehicle. So I should be his mentor'. I said:
'yeah, the money that you are paying is benefiting your friend that is doing the
mentorship. You know, he's not going to be leaving anything with me because
(.) if you're going to mentor me, you have to give me someone who is a director
of concept to mentor me. That is a guy that will leave something behind. Not

someone that is just struggling himself.' You know, it doesn't make sense." (Int.
T08)

Owners also note that white mentors and other white consultants do not understand the specific issues township businesses have to deal with (Int. T04; T05). Such a negative perspective prevents them from appreciating other potential benefits from the mentorship programme. In particular, owners could make use of the networking opportunities that are part of the mentorship programme. Networking meetings are currently visited only by a small group of small business owners.

Interviewees provided several reasons as to why it is so difficult to network as part of their daily business. Many networking gatherings are held in the city centre and take place in the evening. Travel to such meetings costs a relatively great amount of time and money and involves some risk, as night travel in public transport in the townships can be dangerous. This is one of the reasons why more successful tour operators choose to move away from the townships. Once at a meeting, township tourism business owners are acutely aware of their inexperience with the unwritten norms and rules of dealing with people in this setting. Many feel uncomfortable, powerless, and frustrated that they cannot get much out of the meetings and so quit going.

"You go to these meetings, or you go to these exhibitions. They start taking
photos Stand there, 'Please can we have a picture, da, da, da, da'. Next thing
you find out your picture is in a newspaper. Saying you know we are helping
them to do that and da, da, da'… So I don't go to those meetings. The new guys
they can go to those meetings. But even themselves they will see in the future
they are just being used as adding numbers, you know, rather than being
helped." (Int. T08)

One interviewee described how it took two or three sessions of observing and listening to feel confident enough to start networking himself. Government programmes that pay for small township tourism business owners to go to the Indaba international tourism and travel market in Durban have not been very successful either. While owners massively enjoyed the experience and the free travel, they hardly benefited from it as they felt intimidated by the scope of the market and had few preconceptions of what they should do there. One accommodation business owner gave as an example that she had no idea inbound travel agents would not be interested in a township accommodation business on its own and that she would have stood a better chance of gaining business had she collaborated with a tour operator (A05).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the ways in which small tourism businesses relate to others and their efforts to gain market access have been discussed. With few points of access small township tourism businesses depend on gatekeepers to provide them with market access. Outside of the townships, staff at hotels and tour travel agents allegedly use their power to attain personal benefits on top of the standard commission. One way to overcome these problems is to focus on a niche form of tourism (e.g. backpackers). However, given the fact that business ideas are quickly imitated, niche tour operators need to go to great lengths to prevent others from entering their niche.

Rogerson (2008) notes that, in Soweto, a lack of cooperation and hostile competition among businesses leads to lost opportunities for the industry. This can also be observed in the current research. Within the townships small owners primarily work with friends or family. When working with others, small township tourism business owners demand commission, or use their power to gain additional custom. As a result small business owners further down the tourism chain (i.e. tour guides, visitor attractions, performance artists) often prefer to work with large operators from outside of the townships. These are less involved in local township rivalries, are believed to be better regulated and provide more secure work. The fact that small business owners themselves are also accused of abusing their power, demonstrates that power relations "are not a simple binary structure between the dominators and dominated" (Hannam, 2002, p.229), nor is it a commodity or a possession of a single person. It shows that power relations are intricate and depend on the knowledge and connections different actors have within their networks rather than stable traits belonging to individuals.

The context of township tourism, influenced business relations and market access strategies. Accommodation owners rely on word-of-mouth and self-promotion, rather than getting involved in the tourism chain. While this means they are less dependent on others, it results in very slow growth, particularly as owners lack the finances or skills to create appropriate brochures or websites. Others seek to integrate into the tourism chain, either by actively pursuing business activities with enterprises outside of the townships (e.g. tour operators, tour guides), or by waiting for tourists as visited attractions or craft workers.

Initiatives set up by the South African government to encourage business relations often fail because of a lack of understanding of the specific context of the townships, its complex social, structural and cultural norms and power relations. Individual township

business support is costly and few business consultants appreciate the difficulties involved in running a township business. Overarching bodies that were created to represent small township tourism businesses are hindered by fractures within business communities.

7. Understanding business orientations among small township tourism business owners

Having discussed the specific characteristics of township tourism businesses, their owners as well as the industry setting and business relations, this chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of owners' business orientations in a township tourism context. Also, it provides insights into the ways in which business orientations influence the actions of small business, thereby attaining the third research objective:

1. Identify the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

2. Determine and define the ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access

3. Distinguish and characterise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

The chapter is informed mainly by the interviews with small business owners, although participant observation in both townships is used as a supplementary source of information. Furthermore, business orientations are placed in the context of the wider tourism industry and government policy, through interviews with civil servants, policymakers and owners of businesses from outside of the township.

The first section of the chapter integrates information from the previous chapters and an analysis of owners' business goals into a conceptual framework specific to township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. The second section provides a description of seven archetypal business orientations, organised into four categories that emerged as a result of analysing owners against this contextualised research framework. In the final section the relationships between business orientations and the business and demographic characteristics of the owners are scrutinised. The evolution of business orientations as township tourism develops is considered and the concept of business orientations is used to provide insights into issues of relevance to township tourism, in particular market access strategies and government support.

7.1 Business orientations in a township tourism context

Small business owners' goals

The importance of profit and business growth goals in the townships that was reported earlier (e.g. Maliepaard, 2010; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Ramchander, 2004b; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d; Rogerson, 2008), is confirmed among businesses in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. Forty-four out of 80 interviewees view profit and business growth as important business goals. Twenty-eight owners explicitly started their tourism business because they viewed it as a profitable business opportunity. In most cases these perceived opportunities were not based on a calculated analysis of the market, but rather a reaction to seeing tourist walking in the townships or positive representations of tourism growth. For example, seven interviewees set up their business expecting rapid tourism growth as a result of the FIFA 2010 World Cup. Such expectations were at least partially based on government narratives that heavily promoted the event as a catalyst for future tourism development (Naidoo, 2010; Rogerson, 2009). Experienced small business owners were more cynical with regard to the effects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, with some actually fearing that the rapid increase of newcomers would hinder their ability to grow due to increased competition, particularly after the event (Int. A05; T11).

Subsistence-based goals, such as earning money to ensure household survival or overcoming a lack of income after unemployment, have been described as 'survivalist' and are related with "marginal entrepreneurs", who operate their tourism business on "bare levels of survival" in a "desperate attempt to survive" (Berner et al., 2012, p.5; Ndabeni, 2005; Rogerson, 2008, p.401; Rogerson, 2009, p.341). In Langa and Imizamo Yethu subsistence-based goals are evident among 55 interviewees. However, the conceptualisation of all of these owners as marginalised and barely surviving is insufficient. In particular, it fails to take into account how owners can use their tourism business in combination with others sources of income to ensure they maintain a higher standard of living.

> *"Through the year, whole year through, I get income from the school where I teach music… and then I mix up that with the gigs I get and the workshops… That way I survive nicely." (Int. P01)*

This owner seeks subsistence, rather than growth. However, by combining the income from his work as a teacher and his performances, he can afford to live in relative wealth, certainly above the levels of poverty that are commonly associated with survivalist small

business owners. It confirms earlier work on livelihoods in developing countries that notes it is not only the poorest in society who have subsistence goals (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Owusu, 2007). Given the almost exclusive emphasis on profit/growth and survivalist goals in previous literature on small township tourism businesses (e.g. Ramchander, 2004b; Rogerson, 2008; 2004d), it is striking to observe that nearly all interviewees also have lifestyle business goals. Accommodation owners remark that they have always enjoyed hosting people and/or cooking for others and the chance to continue these preferred activities in a commercial setting makes tourism an attractive sector to work in. The opportunity to work with international tourists is also desirable as township residents rarely have the financial means to travel abroad.

> *"Cause we don't travel that much, unfortunately of course, [as] I am saying just [due] to financial constraints... But yeah, it's interesting to just, you know, hear of their stories. And what they want, why are they travelling. And then you learn....The most beautiful thing is. That you learn about… places, foreign places without even being there. And then you just exchange cultures basically." (Int. A05)*

The desire for a cultural exchange is an accurate interpretation of the interaction with international tourists. Not only do small township tourism business owners learn about far-away places, they also provide their perspective on the history and current situation in South Africa. Twenty-two interviewees mentioned they try to use their interaction with tourists to educate and correct misrepresentations regarding townships and their residents that tourists may have picked up from conversations with white South Africans, the media or other actors in the South African tourism industry[26]. For example, one tour operator started his business in part because he overheard a coloured township tour guide denigrate township residents. He felt it was his 'duty' to go into tourism himself in order to rectify this image and provide tourists with better information (Int. T08). Another owner sees his business as a continuation of 'the struggle' against apartheid (Gangat, 2006). Such motivations are similar to those of small business owners in the favelas in Brazil who also try to use their activities to dispel negative associations among foreign visitors (Freire-Medeiros, 2012).

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[26] Predominantly those that are not originally from the townships, e.g. white or coloured tour operators and guides.

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Being seen driving around in expensive minibuses and using expensive gadgets such as Bluetooth mobile phone headsets are perks that also provide status and are cited as factors that have motivated owners to work in tourism. The dominant tour guide in Imizamo Yethu not only gained status among township residents, but also power in the local society; he is now recognised as a pivotal figure in tourism because of his connection with the Red Open Top Bus and associations with tourism operators in the Hout Bay area. Other small tourism business owners make efforts to appease him (e.g. by providing free drinks) and state that they would not dare to criticise the way he operates[27]. Because of the money he brings to the township through tourism, his opinion is also valued by people in power outside of tourism, such as the management of Iziko Lobomi community centre and local elders.

A different lifestyle goal was mentioned by tour guides who seek casual sexual relationships. More enduring relationships have allowed at least two small business owners to temporarily 'get out of the townships' and visit the home country of the tourist (Int. G02; G09). Bras and Dahles (1999, p.136) describe a similar goal among tour guides in Indonesia who overtly specialise in such activities and term it "romantic entrepreneurialism". Romantic episodes in the townships are much more sporadic than in Indonesia however. In the townships almost all tourists are on organised tours that are highly structured and have strict time limits. This contrasts with the Indonesian setting where tour guides commonly offer their services to independently travelling tourists and have great liberty with regards to their time schedule and the places they visit.

Interaction with international tourists is sometimes associated with prestige and an increase of social status among friends and other township residents.

> "And my best experience is when people that know me. They see me around walking with you guys [tourists]. They'll be like so excited. Crazy, like: "Where did you get these people?" I'm like: "These are not, these people. I'm working with them." (A09)

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[27] The guide has been accused of favouritism and of 'stealing' work from other tour guides. One craft worker claims the dominant guide stopped bringing tourists when (s)he upset the dominant guide, while a tour guide says he is was deprived of work for weeks on end for the same reason.

The goal of operating independently of others has been discussed previously, both in the developed and the developing world (e.g. Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Elijah-Mensah, 2012; Lashley & Rowson, 2010; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007; Thomas et al., 2011), and was mentioned as a business goal by 14 small business owners in the current research. In the townships, this goal may arise primarily as a reaction to the low pay, poor working conditions and lack of job security in other lines of work. Self-employment in tourism is seen as one way to avoid such poor conditions. Additionally, the ability to work flexible hours was explicitly mentioned by 11 interviewees. While this aspect of lifestyle that has received much attention in literature on business orientations in the developed world (e.g. Lynch, 1998; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011; Morrison et al., 2001; Thomas et al., 2011), and is discussed in other developing countries too (e.g. Akbaba, 2012; Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Dahles & Bras, 1999a), it gets relatively little mention in previous work on township tourism. Its existence in the townships can also be related to the fact that independence and flexible time management allows owners to combine the tourism business with other work, which opens up possibilities to diversify income streams, achieve greater income generation, spread risks or adapt to a long-term decline in income (Owusu, 2007; Tao & Wall, 2009, p.91).

To conclude, it can be said that the current findings confirm earlier work regarding the importance of profit and survivalist goals. However a variety of subsistence and lifestyle goals have also been observed that, until now, have received little attention in a township tourism setting. The fact that it is not clear how and to what extent these different goals can become visible in the actual operations among small businesses supports the critique that motivation or goal-based approaches provide too limited a perspective to appreciate the ways small businesses operate, with few nuances and little notion of context. To overcome these issues a contextualised framework for business orientations in Langa and Imizamo Yethu is proposed in the following section based upon business goals as well as information from previous chapters and the literature review.

Establishing a contextualised framework for business orientations in Langa and Imizamo Yethu

The conceptual framework shown in table 7.1 reflects the situation in which owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu operate, and in which their business orientations are formed.

Table 7.1 Contextualised framework for business orientations among township tourism small business owners in Langa and Imizamo Yethu

History, Culture and Political System	
Legacy of apartheid:	• Distrust between different South African tribes • Negative stereotypes of townships and township residents • Broken self-confidence among small disadvantaged individuals
Current political system:	• Very positive towards small business ownership • Emphasis on responsible tourism (private led, government enabled) • Disconnect between policy and implementation • Societal frictions and a lack of understanding of power relations between businesses
Infrastructure and crime:	• High unemployment and little job security • High crime rates, danger of loss of possessions through fires and theft • Lack of stable water and electricity supplies
Ubuntu and Umona:	• Emphasis on cooperation hinders small business investment • Fear of repercussions of not sharing wealth • 'Culture of equality' in harsh economic climate
Social networks:	• Townships as fractured communities - lack of cohesion hinders social networks • Importance of family and friends in social networks • Dealing with international tourism increases status in local community
Industry Setting	
Physical location:	• Distant from other tourism activities in Cape Town
History and current state:	• Small businesses numerically dominant in Langa, but enterprises from outside of township have highest market share • In Imizamo Yethu, only local businesses are active, but tourist numbers are much lower than Langa • Little development of new tourism products
Structure of industry:	• Township tourism largely organised from Cape Town CBD • Highly structured industry with very few 'independently travelling'[1] tourists and few points of market access • Seasonality and market vulnerability (e.g. in case of violence in townships locally or elsewhere) • Intense competition and little collaboration among township tourism businesses • Abuse of power by enterprises from outside of the townships and among township tourism businesses
Perceptions in industry:	• Perception among mainstream tourism industry that townships are not safe for tourists
Organisational Context	
Business goals:	• Not just survivalist but financial, subsistence and lifestyle goals observed • Expected growth of tourism due to FIFA 2010 World Cup provided incentive for businesses to be initiated • Lifestyle goals predominantly focus on cultural exchange with international tourists, increased status and flexible working hours • Desire to take control of one's own destiny, associated with abuse in a previous job
Organisational structure:	• Businesses are very small with little custom • Tourism business often combined with other income streams • Business management relatively unstructured
Organisational resources:	• Owners have few assets and face barriers to obtaining loans • Lack of intangible resources (e.g. reputation, goodwill) • Limited business management and IT skills
Owner characteristics	
Demographic characteristics	• Limited tourism and business experience • Business type dictated by gender: accommodation and catering female dominated, tour operation and guiding male dominated • Female business owners may be limited by expectations that they to take care of children - older women particularly likely to lack self-confidence and self-efficacy • Migrants have les opportunities due to lacking social networks and limited recognised[2] education

[1] Tourists that come by themselves rather than via a tour organised in Cape Town CBD; [2]Foreign migrants may be highly educated, but their qualifications are not recognised in South Africa.
Source:Authord, based on Table 3.2.

The history of apartheid, South Africa's cultural, political and social system and the industry setting combine to limit opportunities for small township tourism business owners. Practically all Interviewees still face racial prejudices, distrust and jealousy (Umona) as well as high levels of unemployment, high crime rates and other uncertainties[28]. Communities are fractured, with social networks largely limited to family and close friends, who often expect profits to be shared among them immediately, rather than invested back into the business. The industry setting is equally limiting. Township tourism is seasonal and unrelated violent incidents in other townships can impact on visitor numbers. With the exception of experienced, accredited freelance tour guides[29], the great number of small businesses exceeds demand and owners often feel powerless to compete with enterprises from outside of the townships. At the same time there are reports of power abuse among small township tourism business owners. The combination of these factors creates an uncertain context and makes it very difficult for them to rely on the tourism business as a sole source of income. Indeed over half of all interviewees and all accommodation, performance artists and owners of visitor attractions have other work too. Even businesses that are run on a full-time basis are small in size and operate with limited resources. As discussed in the previous section, owners have a variety of profit and lifestyle-based business goals, although the desire to achieve subsistence also is an important goal.

Regarding demographic and personal characteristics, divisions can be seen between the genders. Accommodation and catering businesses are largely run by women, while almost all tour operators and tour guides are men. Women may be more limited in terms of opportunities than men because of the expectation that they should take care of children. Older women, who lived through apartheid, lack self-confidence and efficacy. Additionally, opportunities for interviewees differ based on their demographic characteristics, in particular their migratory and ethnic status. Migrants often lack extensive social network and can have difficulty integrating into existing townships communities, while foreign migrants in particular suffer from a lack of recognised education. Finally, most owners have only limited tourism and/or business experience.

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[28] During the first field visit at least three interviewees lost possessions when a fire swept through Imizamo Yethu, destroying over 50 shacks.
[29] As discussed in chapter six.

7.2 Business orientations among small township tourism businesses

This section focuses on business orientations among small township business owners, which originate from the conditions as described in table 7.1. Interviewees have been evaluated on the basis their notions of how their business should be run, their actual business practices and the ways in which they relate to others in their social and commercial context. Through this exercise, four main business orientations have been identified: 1) business growth, 2) portfolio and income diversification, 3) survivalist and 4) lifestyle. Among growth-oriented small township tourism business owners a further distinction can be made between owners with a constrained orientation; an ideological business growth orientation; and a growth of business premises orientation. Portfolio and income diversification-oriented owners can be split into those that use their business as an important part of a wider business portfolio and those that use their business for additional, often non-essential, income. These seven business orientations are discussed in the following sections. First descriptions of an 'ideal type' business orientation are provided, compiled from narratives of a number of interviewees. Next features of the business orientations are discussed, including characteristics of owners with such orientations and the ways in which they are shaped by the township tourism context.

Business growth

Constrained business growth

Tico entered the tourism industry in 2003. He had recently migrated from the Eastern Cape and, whilst looking for permanent work, he helped out at an international volunteer project. A tourist suggested he become a tour guide and he soon started to provide walking tours to volunteers and tour groups. Being a walking tour guide provided little income, but Tico refused to take on any other work, in order to ensure that he would always be available for business.

> *"I was also thinking of looking for a job or something, but I didn't want to mix my thing. What if maybe I find a job and then someone wants to come and then I can't do it." (Int. A08)*

Additionally, Tico limited contact with his family and only kept in contact with a small group of close friends in the townships, to avoid being pressured into lending or donating money to friends who are in need of income. Tico took part in multiple courses on business management and saved up to pay for his guiding accreditation. Once

accredited, he worked as a freelance tour guide for a couple of years. In this role he learned how to speak in public more effectively by mimicking those who were considered good guides, studied the history of the townships and learned about the locations of hotels and travel agents. Within two years he had become one of the more respected and well-known tour guides and his services were in high demand.

Whereas other freelance tour guides were content to work as a freelance tour guide, Tico had ambitions to start a tour operating business, even though he was fully aware that this was a risk and that he would earn less money in the short run.

> *"To be an entrepreneur is all about taking risks. Because I left my other job I left my other job [as a tour guide], which was paying me 8500. Or if I, (.) if I worked like working 26 days right through the month, I'll be taking home 12000 Rand. But when I left that company to set up my own company I knew that I wouldn't get that money, I was taking a big sacrifice." (Int.T07)*

Tico began regularly attending business networking meetings in Cape Town CBD. He was increasingly recognised by local government workers and owners of tourism businesses from outside of the townships. Tico used his connections from various business networks to assist him when he started his own tour operating business. For example, when banks refused him a loan, an enterprise from outside the townships acted as a guarantor. To gain custom, he offered to do free tours to convince business owners from outside of the townships that they were safe and interesting. Additionally, he 'poached' some clients from the business he had previously worked for and persuaded a tourist to build him a website, which was innovative at the time. One year in, he noted that no township tour operator specifically targeted the backpacker market and he started to focus all his attention on this niche, highlighting his credentials as a township resident to make himself more attractive to tourist and businesses from outside of the townships.

Tico is now one of the larger township tour operators who 'owns'[30] the backpacker market and still constantly seeks opportunities for business growth. He has moved out of the townships to be able to visit more networking meetings and sits on the board of a local backpacker tourism organisation. He also makes sure to call by at local guesthouses in Cape Town CBD and talks directly with tourists at every opportunity.

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[30] Term used by competitor.

Although he is unaware of how he got listed, Tico also attracts custom through being mentioned in the Lonely Planet Guidebook. He now encourages tourists to write to the publisher about their good experiences and to tell other tourists and businesses about him.

As a successful township tour operator, Tico is able to invest most of his money back into his business. He currently owns three minibuses, renting additional coaches and minibuses in summer.

> *"You know it always makes sense to reinvest your money in the same thing that you are doing [the business], in order to grow. Because it's easy to say you want to buy a decent house. Or you want to buy a Ferrari. I want to buy a Ferrari one day. But you now the first thing is that you want to build the company that you have to a point that you know that (.) ok, now it's where I want it and now I can be able to concentrate on other things. So I'm not there yet, you know, I still have problems." (Int. T08)*

Even though his business is successful, Tico is aware that his position remains vulnerable. In particular, he worries about his financial situation due to the ever increasing competition from businesses within as well as outside of the townships. Additionally, he is acutely aware of the importance of safety and reliability – and the problems of negative portrayals of townships in the media.

> *"The perception of crime and the media projecting that township life is dangerous has hindered the business … At one stage a bus-full of German tourists; they were mugged in Khayelitsha [different township]. For the whole week we never had business at all. And all the bookings were cancelled." (Int. G12)*

Tico has relatively little contact with government as he strongly believes in doing things without support. He is also scornful of government programmes as those running them do not come from the townships and as such do not appreciate the realities of operating a business in this environment.

Table 7.2: Characterisation of constrained business growth orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Seeking business growth • Tourism business takes priority over other work • Emphasis on acting 'professionally' • Unwilling to depend on others and little interest in government support
Business practices	• Long term planning, often a business plan in place • Business registration viewed as necessary to interact with businesses from outside of townships • Business and personal life intertwined. Being available 24/7 is seen as part of owning a small business • Great willingness to invest financial resources and time in business • Ability to invest often constrained by lack of funds, time, prejudices • Social relations with friends and family are limited to prevent losing money
Relating to other businesses	• Engage with other businesses, particularly those from outside of the townships in order to facilitate faster business growth • Eager to move to Cape Town CBD to be nearer other businesses • Worried about increasing competition, always seeking a competitive edge over others

Source: author

Twenty-three small business owners have a constrained business growth orientation. Their perspective on business is relatively similar to growth-oriented small business owners in other countries (e.g. Morrison & Teixeira, 2004a; Timothy & Wall, 1997; van Gemert et al., 1999) in that their main goal is financial gain, leading to business growth. Constrained growth-oriented owners do not mind taking risks to invest in the business and prioritise their business over other work. However, they are constrained by their uncertain business environment, a lack of access to resources (e.g. difficulty in obtaining a bank loan) and minimal state-organised social security to fall back on should things go wrong. This limits their growth. Constrained growth-oriented small business owners may be forced to combine their business with other work but, should this be the case, they tend to believe that within a few years their business will have grown enough for them to no longer need additional income.

Growth-oriented interviewees emphasise the need to 'act professionally'[31] in order to overcome prejudices against township residents when dealing with businesses from outside of the townships. They attribute a number of behaviours to this term, ranging from being reliable, on time and always available, to showing loyalty to their business partners and, more generally, operating in a manner similar to tourism businesses from

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[31] Ten out of 23 constrained small business owners used this term, while three owners with other business orientations mentioned this need to act professionally

outside of the townships. In doing so, they contrast themselves with small township tourism business owners.

> "To me time is important, that's professionalism (.). Same with them [businesses from outside of the townships]. They are professional too. Now, most of the guides here [in the townships], they don't have… They don't know what time is this, yeah. They are not professional." (Int. G02)

Five constrained growth-oriented small business owners do not live in the townships anymore. They moved out as soon as they could afford to in order to overcome the constraints of being located in a township setting. This is believed necessary in order to be nearer to the industry and grow further.

Table 7.3: Characteristics of owners with a constrained business growth-orientation

Number of interviewees	23
Location	17 Langa, 6 Imizamo Yethu
Gender	6 female, 17 male
Migratory status	6 original resident, 2 hostel dweller, 5 recent SA migrant, 3 foreign migrant, 5 other township or area, 2 unknown
Previous business experience	16 yes, 6 no, 1 unknown
Previous tourism experience	18 yes, 4 no, 1 unknown
Alternative sources of income	2 tourism business, 1 tourism business and outside tourism, 4 outside tourism, 16 none

Source: author

The vast majority of growth-oriented small business owners are male (table 7.3). While it is not entirely clear why this is the case, it may be related to the fact that women are unable to risk focusing exclusively on operating a business in a seasonal industry like tourism. In contrast, young male small business owners are not primary carer for any children or family members and can take such risks. Constrained growth-oriented small business owners are rarely new to tourism, with 7 out of 10 having experience in the sector. Additionally 6 out of 10 have experience with previous business ventures, which suggests they act as serial entrepreneurs (Westhead et al., 2003). In this respect they differ from other small township tourism business owners, who have much less experience. Partially this can be attributed to the fact that, like Tico, growth-oriented small business owners are likely to start out as a tour guide and make a career in tourism by becoming a tour operator. At the same time, experience in tourism and understanding the industry as well as learning to act 'professionally' may be requirements for business growth in this setting, in which owners are so dependent on tourism businesses from outside of the townships.

Ideological business growth

Emilio combines a tourism catering business with a hospitality school for young township residents. He came up with the idea for the combined school and restaurant when he was working as teacher at a local secondary school and received an invitation from a tour operator to provide entertainment for township tours visiting his school. Around the same time, a group of his students had just won third place in a cooking competition, yet faced difficulty in furthering their hospitality skills in tertiary education[32]. The combination of these experiences led Emilio to the idea of using tourism for the social upliftment of young township residents by setting up a tourist-oriented hospitality school. He successfully lobbied with government and actors in the hospitality industry for funding, but still had to invest a large sum from his family savings. The investment paid off as his is now one of the largest restaurants in the townships.

Currently, only 40% of Emilio's restaurant's income comes from township tourism. Local custom, conferences and catering for tourist events elsewhere in Cape Town, provide the remainder. The fact that most custom is local reduces means Emilio has less issues with seasonality and helps to maintain the 'authenticity' of the restaurant.

When promoting the tourism aspects of the business, Emilio does not believe in marketing directly to tourists, but instead approaches tour operators directly.

> *"In terms of marketing, we engaged a few operators. We've got [name of small tour operator]… Also [name of small tour operator]. We approached them. They didn't approach us…One tour operator came in one day. Just to have a tea and a coffee, because he was studying the township and see exactly what he can do. So I went to him and approached him." (Int. R05)*

A constant and major problem for Emilio is that tour operators are under pressure to fit all activities into the half-day township tours. To mitigate this, tourists can pre-order food so that service is more or less instant – but even then it remains difficult to set up business relations with tour operators, who are pressed for time. Emilio works long hours and carefully balances his financial and ideological goals. In order to prove his credibility,

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[32] A lack of money and prejudices against people schooled in the townships made it difficult to enter tertiary education.

both as a business and as a learning institute, Emilio believes it is important to be formally registered.

Emilio has a determined and positive outlook on the future. He wants the quality of township tourism products to improve (e.g. raise the quality and distinctiveness of wholesale crafts sold in the townships), but feels that small township businesses currently concentrate too much on the interests of their own business and need to collaborate to increase the amount of revenue that stays in the townships[33]. Like others, he relates the lack of cooperation to Umona (jealousy).

> *"I think the main thing with us is jealousy. As I said, that other people, they don't understand. This cake is too big. We are just fighting over a bone without [the] meal. Yeah. I think that's the problem. Because of the hunger and the constraints within, their resource, they turn out to be so jealous." (Int. R05)*

Emilio has encountered greed too as it was him who had business 'stolen' by the restaurant owner who operated the Langa Tourism Forum, as described in the previous chapter.

What Emilio finds particularly frustrating is the presence of a local office of Cape Town Tourism (CTT), which is entirely consumer focused on providing brochures to independent tourists[34] but does nothing to provide information or support to newly starting township tourism businesses. He feel this illustrates the lack of attention to and interest in the actual needs of small township businesses.

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[33] Ironically, when a newly opened restaurant invited Emilio for a launch meeting, he did not show up, citing a lack of time.
[34] Since the township is visited almost exclusively by tourists on package tours, the usefulness of having an office to provide information to independent tourists is questionable, particularly as during both field visits only four types of local business brochures were available, compared to over 30 containing information on businesses from outside of the townships.

Table 7.4: Characterisation of ideological business growth orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Integrating business growth and care for the community • First priority is running profitable business, but time and financial resources are also spent on local community • Tourism business takes priority over other work • Critical of government support – government perceived to lack knowledge of needs of small businesses
Business practices	• Planning and effective business management are very important due to the difficulties of combining business and social goals • Business registration viewed as necessary to interact with businesses from outside of townships • Business and personal life intertwined
Relating to other businesses	• Efforts to cooperate with other businesses, both inside and outside of township • Lack of unity among small business owners in the townships

Source: author

Although practically all township tourism businesses claim in their brochures that they support the local community (Mellet, 2006), this is rarely observed in their business orientations. Twenty-one interviewees mention that they would like to support the community, but that it is difficult to balance profit and ideological goals, given their uncertain financial situation. This is exemplified by two tour guides who recently started a 'gumboots dance' group[35] to provide food and income for participating children.

> *"So I am trying to balance these two… But at the moment what I'm seeing, the humanitarian principles are starting to grow bigger, you know. And eh… I was like. No, this is not gonna work. I need to survive, you know!" (Int. G04)*

In fact Emilio's 'social enterprise'[36] in Langa is the only business that fully integrates community benefits into a business orientation. There may only be one owner with this business orientation, but a separate category is still warranted, given the differences in perspective, with regards to how the business is run, compared to other owners. As the business is his only source of income, Emilio too must always consider its economic stability when making decisions, and as a result he strives for growth as well as providing social benefits. This makes the business different from 'ideological lifestyle businesses' in the developed world (Shaw & Williams, 2004; Thomas, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011, p.4). Hence, rather than ideological lifestyle, his orientation can best be described as 'ideological business growth'.

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[35] 'Gumboots dancing' is a traditional dance that was popular among Black mineworkers under apartheid. It combines rhythmic stamping and hitting of rubber boots with bare hands.
[36] Term used by interviewee.

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Table 7.5: Characteristics of owners with an ideological business growth orientation

Number of interviewees	1
Gender	1 male
Location	1 Langa
Migratory status	1 original resident
Previous business experience	1 no
Previous tourism experience	1 yes
Alternative sources of income	1 none

Source: author

Emilio is male and an original resident of Langa. His status as an original resident and his experience as a teacher in the local community helped in establishing his business as a credible institution among township residents. Additionally, his previous tourism experience while at school was essential for setting up the business, as it provided him with initial contacts in the tourism industry.

Growth of business premises

Hannia is a long-term resident of Langa who started her B&B in 2001, after retiring as a nurse. When she retired, Hannia received a lump sum pension, but this was not enough to support her for the rest of her life. She had always loved hosting people and felt the house was empty after the children had left. When she heard a radio programme that hailed the achievements of two B&B owners in the nearby township of Khayelitsha, Hannia decided to start her own B&B. She joined an entrepreneurship programme at the University of the Western Cape and used her retirement money to renovate the house and make it suitable to be a B&B. At first Hannia struggled to get custom.

> *"Friends said to me 'Ooooh.... you are always complaining that no one is coming'. But I said to myself: 'I am not going to move, just going to open B&B. This is, this (.)I like people come in. And I, I like giving up my house for myself. Now, it's a bit difficult but so be it, ehh. This is my business, it's nothing else."* (Int. A01)

Hannia hired an experienced businesswoman as a consultant to promote the business. Although this increased custom, the business still made very little money as Hannia invested all income from the B&B straight back into the business. Her business advisor recalls:

> *"It's not that she didn't have guests. But the little she got she was spending the house and to, you know (.). Like, she needed a fax machine. She made a loan*

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to buy a fax machine. So obviously they [have] to be paid off. So, getting to that professional level, that was difficult." (Int. X01)

Slowly, business started to pick up and, several years later, Hannia is now receiving guests year-round. Whereas she initially only targeted international tourists, increasingly domestic visitors also come to the B&B. While this provides additional income, Hannia finds international tourists far more interesting. In fact, she regularly refers domestic visitors to other B&BS, provided she is not in great need of income. Even though her business is among the most successful accommodation businesses in Langa, it is still very small and does not provide enough income in itself for Hannia to survive. She continues to provide counselling to local people and, with the help of her daughter, has started a fast-food restaurant aimed at local people.

Hannia accepts offers of support and has followed several government courses. These all emphasise the importance of business growth led her to set up an ambitious business plan. While the quality of her premises is in line with this plan, visitor numbers are way below. Hannia seeks growth, but her business decisions are also inspired by a desire for social status as much as 'economically rational' business management. For example, she is considering building a second storey on the house to keep up with another B&B even though she is hardly ever at full capacity. Family is important to Hannia and her daughter, husband and granddaughter are staying in one of the rooms of the B&B to save on living expenses, even though this severely limits the profitability of what is already a very small business, and certainly not in line with her business plan.

To promote the business Hannia strongly believes in 'word of mouth' recommendations and focuses on her excellent service and the quality of the business premises. She uses a guestbook and has a wall devoted to certificates (e.g. health and safety), proof of her business certification and the awards she has won. In terms of other township businesses, Hannia has most contact with business owners that started around the same time as her and is suspicious of some of the recently started businesses, believing they want to profit from her advice and take away business.

Table 7.6: Characterisation of growth of business premises orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Focus on growth of business premises rather than financial business growth • Additional goal is enjoyment and status gain • Very appreciative of government support
Business practices	• Great desire to invest in business premises • Business plan aimed at business growth; in practice, little effort to increase custom • Focus on business registration as part of improving quality of business premises
Relating to other businesses	• Focus primarily on own business • Willing to share excess or less desirable (domestic) custom

Source: author

Two interviewees in Langa and one in Imizamo Yethu have a growth of business premises orientation. As with Hannia, they are willing to invest money, but this is particularly targeted at the expansion of the business premises. Much less time and money are spent on marketing or other ways of seeking market access. Instead, owners rely on slow growth through word-of-mouth advertisement. Two owners participated in a government-funded programme that helps owners create a website and brochures, but they do not mention the website to others and only distribute brochures among guests. The emphasis on growth of the tourism business premises as a determinant of business success can be attributed to the apartheid legacy (Harvey, 2011). African women in the townships improve their homes to achieve a sense of pride in ownership after a life of uncertainty of living in rented properties and/or fearing forced removals and evictions (Lee, 2005, p.612). Ross (2005, p.639) describes how township residents also enjoy having a "decent" place to welcome visitors and are keen to distance themselves from the perceived "shack stigma" that white South Africans and foreigners may have. The desire for growth of these owners is related more to status and self-confidence than it is to ideas of economic rationality. This may also explain why owners who seek growth of the business premises deliberately focus on hosting international rather than domestic tourists.

Owners with a growth of business premises orientation all have registered businesses. This was recommended to them in the government support programmes they followed and also contributes to a perceived improvement in the quality of their business premises. In contrast with constrained business growth owners however, they rarely use their registered status to gain more custom through cooperation with other businesses. None of the owners with a growth of business premises orientation earn enough in tourism to survive and all therefore combine it with other work.

Table 7.7: Characteristics of owners with a growth of business premises orientation

Number of interviewees	3
Gender	3 female
Location	2 Langa, 1 Imizamo Yethu
Migratory status	3 original resident
Previous business experience	2 no, 1 unknown
Previous tourism experience	2 yes, 1 no
Alternative sources of income	3 outside tourism

Source: author

All owners with a growth of business premises orientation are female and original residents. In both townships the vast majority of houses are owned by original residents (Eppel, 2007); while the fact that all are women may be related to the perceived stereotypes of women as hosts and the fact that that, as discussed earlier, it is predominantly women who seek to improve the quality of their house (Lee, 2005, p.612). Two owners had previously hosted international students, but other than that they have little previous tourism or business experience.

Survivalist

Survivalist (Lacking other options)

Manuel entered South Africa from Malawi when he sought work to provide money for his family in his home country. Initially he tried to earn a living through a variety of low-paid unskilled jobs, while at the same time assisting a group of fellow Malawians who were active in crafting. After he had not been paid for two months at his last job as a bricklayer, and could not find other work, he decided to join the crafting group full-time and take up painting.

> *"I used to first sell them on wholesale, [to] other people and some other places.*
> *And after some time we [Manual and his fellow countrymen] found a place like*
> *in town, where we used to go. But we used to lose money to pay for the stand*
> *and as well the money for transport. And most of the time it was not busy, then*
> *we had to wait [for customers]." (Int. C15)*

As he earned little money, Manuel and a Malawian friend moved to the townships in 2005 where it was possible to live in a shack for little cost. Once there, they were granted

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permission by local elders[37] to sell their paintings. Manuel and his friend still work in a business partnership to mitigate the risk of insufficient individual sales. They have no intention of registering their business as they believe it would bring few benefits and doubt whether, as foreign immigrants, they would be entitled to any government support anyway.

While Manuel and his friend still paint, most of their paintings are now bought wholesale in Cape Town CBD. They do not actively market themselves. Instead, they set up shop near a tourist attraction and rely on a narrative of poverty to sell their items, rather than on the quality of their art. In the low season Manuel and his friend still sell their own paintings to wholesalers in Cape Town for much lower prices, in order to gain at least some income. Both find that, as foreigners, it is impossible to find decently paid work, so they have no other revenue streams.

Manuel's business only just provides him with enough money to survive. However, he needs to work hard just to survive on a day-to-day basis and therefore has little opportunity for longer-term business planning. He attempts to save money and make plans, but finds this very difficult due to being obliged to send money home.

> "I have never been back to Malawi since we came. I would love to but ehh…I just hope for times to work out, so I can be able to ehh. (.) I want first to be bigger, so that when I go back, I can hand on my family more [money]. Because that was the whole idea for me to come [to South Africa]. So they always expect help from us." (Int. C15)

Manuel's attempts to grow his business are further hindered by uncertainties that arise from living in the townships. A large fire once destroyed his shack and all his possessions. In order to rebuild it, he needed to borrow money, which meant he was not able to save or send money home for several months. Manuel's social network is limited and he is disliked by certain township residents who believe he takes work away from South Africans. During a spell of heightened xenophobia during 2008, Manuel had to leave the township and came back to find his shack had been looted. Other incidences of theft (e.g. paint, brushes and paintings) have also occurred. Because of these incidents,

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[37] Committee of older residents, predominantly men, who provide guidance and act as an informal form of government.

Manuel would like to leave the townships, At this point in time he cannot afford to move anywhere else however, and is forced to remain in his current location.

Table 7.8: Characterisation of survivalist (lacking other options) orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Use business to survive • Business is only, or most dominant, source of income • Would like business to grow, but cannot move beyond subsistence level • Little knowledge of government or available support
Business practices	• No coherent business plan and rarely registered as business entity • Attention primarily focused on day-to-day running of business • Lack of financial resources make it difficult to move beyond subsistence level • Opportunities to invest negatively influenced by uncertain living conditions and need to share income with others
Relating to other businesses	• Little contact with others • Weak social and business networks

Source: author

Survivalist owners are the most constrained of all interviewees. They have fewer resources and operate in even more uncertain circumstances than others. Their lack of resources is clearly visible to tourists and researchers alike, particularly when survivalist owners use a poverty narrative to sell crafts or receive a higher tip. This could explain the relatively strong emphasis on survivalist businesses in previous research (Rogerson, 2008). Because of their precarious situation, survivalist owners are more concerned with immediate survival, with little time for longer-term business planning and improving skills and capacities that could strengthen their resilience in the longer term. This is a similar situation as observed among survivalist small business owners outside of the realm of tourism (Berner et al., 2012; Meagher, 2004). Like Manuel, all foreign migrants, and at least five South African migrants, feel obliged to send money to relatives at home. Furthermore, they feel strongly obliged to subscribe to the principles of Ubuntu, as they maintain a network of social relations that can support them when they themselves are in need. This hinders opportunities to save and/or invest in the business (Wood, 2003).

Table 7.9: Characteristics of owners with a survivalist orientation

Number of interviewees	21
Gender	7 female, 14 male
Location	11 Langa, 10 Imizamo Yethu
Migratory status	2 original resident, 1 hostel dweller, 8 recent SA migrant, 9 foreign migrant, 1 unknown
Previous business experience	4 yes, 12 no, 5 unknown
Previous tourism experience	10 yes, 10 no, 1 unknown
Alternative sources of income	2 tourism business, 3 outside tourism, 1 Imizamo Yethu craft organisation, 15 none

Source: author

Although less prevalent than might be expected on the basis of earlier research, 21 small business owners in the current research have a survivalist orientation, i.e. are involved in tourism primarily because of a lack of other options. A relatively high number of survivalist owners are active in Imizamo Yethu (table 7.9). Practically all survivalist small business owners have migrated to the townships, either from the South African countryside or from abroad. This confirms earlier findings that survivalist small business owners rarely have a long history in the townships (Berner et al., 2012; DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Thomas, 2005). As discussed in the previous chapter, their social and business networks are often limited primarily to a small group of fellow migrants. South African survivalist migrants are generally poorly educated - only one has finished secondary education or higher. Foreign migrants are better educated as all have at least secondary education, but their qualifications are not recognised in South Africa. As a result they have great difficulty finding work and view working in tourism as the only option available to them.

Portfolio and income diversification

Portfolio

Originally from Johannesburg, Miriam and her family moved to Langa around the year 2000 into one of the more luxurious neighbourhoods. She noticed international tourists visit the township and believed this could provide a business opportunity in the form of a fast-growing B&B. She soon discovered however, that it would be very difficult to achieve this growth.

> *"Obviously, you know when you start the business. You're very ambitious and you thinking tourists coming in… You saw all pictures. You see the hotels and you thinking yoh! I gonna get people… Jesus, I was too ambitious. Definitely not, it proved me wrong." (Int. A05)*

While her early experiences led her to believe that it would be impossible to grow the business and gain much financially, she also realised that finding another stable source of income is not easy. The only work Miriam and her husband could get was short-term contract based, with very little financial security. Because she very much enjoyed the experience of interacting with international tourists, Miriam decided to continue operating the B&B, but in combination with other work as a combined income livelihood strategy.

Currently Miriam combines running the B&B with work as a freelance consumer researcher. While she would still like to grow the B&B business, she is, since becoming a

mother, even less willing to put all her eggs in one basket. Instead she regards the B&B as a way of ensuring that she will always have at least some income. Luckily, the B&B is relatively compatible with other work since its high season coincides with the South African summer holidays when most other work becomes quieter.

"Because my focus mostly, it's on my other business (.) and that is demanding a lot of my attention. So… and, and I think it works nicely. By November by the time my research goes slower, and then the guesthouse will pick up." (Int. A05)

Miriam has created a website and actively markets the B&B, but her time for this is limited. As her other work provides more income, most of Miriam's time and resources are focused on that instead.

Table 7.10: Characterisation of portfolio orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Tourism business is seen in a functional way and used to provide subsistence. Lifestyle benefits are appreciated but not essential • Aspiration for business growth remain vague and are limited by desire to maintain diversified stream of revenue sources • No clear perspective on government or government support
Business practices	• Tourism business combined with other source(s) of income that potentially require a larger proportion of time and attention, depending on what brings in most income • Planning primarily aimed at maintaining steady income rather than business growth • Willingness to invest depends on importance of tourism business in diversified livelihood mix • Ability to invest time and money in business often limited due to obligations arising from other work
Relating to other businesses	• Lack of time means less time to interact with others • Difficulties in dealing with other businesses due to inability to guarantee availability

Source: author

Eighteen interviewees use their tourism business as part of an income portfolio. They have access to, and combine different income streams gain an income. For example, Miriam receives income from the B&B, her consumer research work and her husband's small construction business. Portfolio-oriented business owners are careful not to invest too much of their resources in their tourism business at the expense of others in their portfolio. Deliberately combining different sources of income spreads the risk of their joint family investments and ensures that they will not run out of money if one source of income dries up. Such a perspective is not uncommon in the developing world, particularly in highly uncertain economic settings. It has been discussed earlier, for example in work on diversified livelihoods, and is thought to be particularly common when income sources are seasonal, as is the case with tourism (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Owusu, 2007; Tao & Wall, 2009).

Portfolio small business owners take a practical perspective to their income streams. The amount of time spent working in tourism varies depending on expected returns compared to other potential income streams. If the tourism business is doing well, it is more likely to receive attention and resources. If other work provides more income, this will take preference. One disadvantage that owners with a portfolio orientation often have, is that they are not always able to guarantee their availability, because of time spent on their other work. Not only does this mean that they have less time to interact with others, it also makes it more difficult to cooperate with other businesses, particularly those from outside of the townships.

> *"For instance let's say there's a lot of work this week, and you have other work… When that is over and you need a job, they will spite you and give the job to other people… Not because they don't need you but, they just want to prove a point. So that's how the business is run, you have to excel most of the time, show you that you are always available, even if you are not, you have to make sure that you are available." (Int. C03)*

Table 7.11: Characteristics of owners with a portfolio orientation

Number of interviewees	18
Gender	9 female, 9 male
Location	13 Langa, 5 Imizamo Yethu
Migratory status	9 original resident, 1 hostel dweller, 2 recent SA migrant, 4 other township or area, 2 unknown
Previous business experience	10 yes, 5 no, 3 unknown
Previous tourism experience	10 yes, 8 no
Alternative sources of income	1 tourism business, 6 tourism business and outside tourism, 11 outside tourism

Source: author

Compared to other business orientations, a relatively large number of women operate with a portfolio orientation. This confirms research outside of tourism by Moser (1998), who notes that women are more likely to get involved in portfolio entrepreneurship in highly impoverished regions and relates it to a need for income security. In contrast to survivalist business owners, those with a portfolio orientation are original residents in the townships, and they may own houses. Also most have had at least some previous tourism experience (e.g. as a cleaner in a hotel or assisting friends or family) and/or business experience in a variety of forms. This highlights how owners with this orientation have greater possibilities than their survivalist oriented peers.

Additional income

Emelina has run a visitor attraction along a township tour walking route since 2004. She is a herbalist and never intended to get involved with tourism, but was asked by a tour operator if she would like to show her business to tourists for a small fee. Emelina agreed, mainly because she was intrigued by the opportunity to meet people from foreign countries. Although the number of tourists has increased since then, income from tourism is still much less than that of her herbalist practice and she does not depend on it for her day-to-day survival. Instead, it is used as an additional source of money to save for luxury goods or to cover unforeseen costs. She has little interest in actively growing the business by investing money or time in promoting the business, nor has she any interest in government support programmes. Although Emelina is willing to cooperate with other small tourism businesses, Emelina has a rather negative perspective of the tourism industry.

> *"There's no appreciation [in the tourism industry]. There's lots of exploitation, there's lots of exploitation… And also I say at the same time, because the industry has seasons, you know. So I can't depend on it. So it's something that I enjoy doing. And I would never, in the near future or some couple of years later. I would never do it for, you know. Base (.) depend on it." (Int. G06)*

Emelina views herself a herbalist and this line of work always takes preference. In line with this, her herbalist practice is registered as a business, while the tourism work is not registered.

Table 7.12: Characterisation of additional income orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Business as additional income or hobby • Appreciate income from tourism and would like it to increase, but no growth aspirations • Little interest in government support towards tourism self-employment
Business practices	• Tourism often an off-shoot from other business, which takes priority • Little planning and investment in tourism business • Tourism business registered only as part of other business or not at all
Relating to other businesses	• Often asked to participate in tourism rather than proactively seeking out opportunities • Willing to cooperate with others • Cynical about practices within the tourism industry

Source: author

Eleven interviewees use tourist activities as an additional source of income. Eight of them were invited to participate in tourism, either because their original business activities are of interest to tourists (e.g. visitor attractions) or because they have a certain quality that is attractive to others in the tourism industry (e.g. speaking German, being

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able to sing or producing unique crafts). The defining characteristic of owners for whom tourism is an additional source of income, is that their tourism work is very much secondary to their other income sources and they do not rely on it for their day-to-day survival. Tourism has even been even compared by one owner to a paid hobby. However, even though the income gained from tourism is limited, it still can be important in an economically uncertain environment, as their sheep-head vendor in Langa explained:

> *"This tourism business makes a real difference for my life. Even if something big happens and I need to suddenly go back to the Transkei. I am able to use the money that I have saved, to go there and come back without borrowing money etc." (V03 – through translator)*

Owners with an additional income orientation do not put much, if any, effort into increasing their custom. In fact, like Emelina, they often are quite cynical with regards to the tourism industry after one or more bad experiences.

Table 7.13: Characteristics of owners with an additional income orientation

Number of interviewees	11
Gender	5 female, 6 male
Location	7 Langa, 4 Imizamo Yethu
Migratory status	4 original resident, 1 hostel dweller, 3 recent SA migrant, 1 other township or area, 2 unknown
Previous business experience	5 yes, 2 no, 4 unknown
Previous tourism experience	2 yes, 9 no
Alternative sources of income	1 tourism business and outside tourism, 8 outside tourism, 2 Imizamo Yethu craft organisation

Source: author

A defining characteristics of owners with an additional income orientation is their lack of tourism experience. In contrast they often have business experience. This fits with the finding that most are asked to become active in tourism by others and took no proactive steps to get involved. Also, relatively more women and a high percentage of original residents have an additional income orientation.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle subsistence

Eduardo works as a tour guide for one of the largest tour operators. His tour-guiding career started in the late 1990s with a job as a chauffeur on township tours. In 2000 he completed a tour-guiding course, which he financed through personal savings and by borrowing money from his family and friends. It was hard work building a reputation and

he has been exploited several times by tour operators, but in 2004 he gained a contract with his current employer who treats him well.

> *"I think after three years or four years. I decided then to join like a big company that will more or less look after me on a daily basis with (.) In terms of work. Because companies you find. Like big companies you find that. They've got constant work and so. And they look after their guides. Because if you're working for other companies. Whereby you find that they're not sort of loyal to you." (Int. G10)*

Because experienced township tour guides are in short supply, Eduardo is well paid and can always get a job with relative ease, as long as he ensures his reputation remains good. This enables him to take extended holidays in winter, during which he can relax and not worry about work. Eduardo sees the key to being a successful tour guide as reliability and loyalty to the township tour operator with which you work. To this end he is registered at government and has a valid tour guiding accreditation. Although Eduardo no longer has need of government support, he was frustrated by the lack of help available when he was starting out and is happy for newly starting tour guides to receive assistance. Given his reputation and job security, he does not see newcomers as competition anyway. Eduardo feels little camaraderie towards small township tour operators however.

> *"You find that Black operators at times they big headed. Yeah they big headed. And they just want at times to make you feel that you're really working for them. So they want to keep a sort of a trace. Where are you with their vehicle and what are you doing now. So at times it's very difficult to work with Black operators. So that's what I've seen with many tour guides working for Black operators. That they don't treat them well. That they don't pay them what they have to, they underpay them. Because you find that they always target tour guides or guides that they know that they are desperate, they want work, they need work. So there's that sort of exploitation on the side of Black guides." (Int. G10)*

Instead, Eduardo opts to work for tour operators from outside of the townships as he believes they treat their guides better and provide greater work security. He is very satisfied with his current situation and lifestyle. He finds working as a freelance tour guide with international tourists interesting and it provides him with status among his

friends. Before he was married, Eduardo also enjoyed the opportunities for short-term relationships with female tourists.

Table 7.14: Characterisation of lifestyle subsistence orientation

Subject	Perspective
Business goals and ideas about how business should be run	• Business goals are dominated by lifestyle considerations (e.g. independence, flexible time management, and meeting international tourists) than by a desire for business growth, or mere subsistence • Business growth is sought only to ensure a sustained livelihood • Make use of government support, but generally little knowledge of or interest in government involvement
Business practices	• Coherent short term planning to ensure livelihood, little long-term planning • Often registered as a business entity to increase opportunities to work with other businesses • Income from tourism is relatively assured • Great initial willingness to invest time and resources in business when out of work or to ensure attain target income • Invested time and resources decrease when desired income is achieved and lifestyle goals become more important
Relating to other businesses	• Willing to go into longer term sustainable relationships if they provide security of income • Little fear of competition as income is relatively secure

Source: author

Three small business owners in Langa, two tour guides and one tour operator, have a lifestyle subsistence orientation, whereby lifestyle goals such as a desire for independence, flexible time management, meeting tourists and the status this provides, co-determine business practices and ways of relating to other businesses. Harvey (2011, p.157) emphasises how the benefit of controlling ones destiny among freelance tour guides can be related to a "need for autonomy", particularly among those who have grown up after apartheid ended in a context that encourages independence and self-employment. However, the desire for independence also needs to be seen in the context of the unequal power relations that exist in the townships. As discussed in the previous chapter, negative experiences with rogue tour operators have made tour guides acutely aware of their dependency on others. They recognise the authority and control that tour operators can have over their lives but, by operating on a freelance basis, experienced tour guides can choose with whom they work, while still maintaining the certainty that they will continue to have work. This is a luxury that is shared by few others.

As mentioned in Eduardo's story, the freedom to choose working hours is also important. One small tour operator, for example, could earn more working as a tour guide for a larger organisation, but deliberately chooses not to do so.

> *"I was assessed to be a tour guide [to] get my certificate… The person came to interview me and find out about Langa, what do I do. I showed them around, to assess me. And then she was ticking all the things, and later on send me the*

*certificate. **Interviewer:** And this would be enough to get the badge to be a registered tour guide? **Interviewee:** Yes. **Interviewer:** But you don't have one? **Interviewee:** I don't want to. **Interviewer:** Why don't you want one? **Interviewee**: I'll be greedy then, I'll want to go and work for [large tour operator][laughs]." (Int. T03)*

The enjoyment gained from working in the tourism industry is a particular attraction to lifestyle subsistence owner. They learn about different cultures through interacting with international tourists but also gain status among their peers through being seen and associated with international tourists. These perks are reasons to remain involved in tourism, even when other options to earn an income may arise.

As they are not primarily interested in furthering business growth, lifestyle subsistence owners do relatively little long-term planning. They are, however, aware of the economic situation in the townships and appreciate that their privileges depend on their ability to maintain a stable source of income. This means that their lifestyle orientation is mitigated by the persistent need to first ensure subsistence. As such, they go out of their way to maintain good working relationships with their main clients. They are generally willing to make time to arrange tours with very short notice or to take on a tour at an inconvenient time[38]. When in need of income, lifestyle subsistence owners act in a similar way to constrained growth-oriented small business owners. However, once they again have established a reliable source of income, their behaviour changes. Unlike growth-oriented owners, they do not plan to grow their business long-term. Instead, they remain active at a certain level of subsistence that will afford them to appreciate a particular lifestyle.

Table 7.15: Characteristics of owners with a lifestyle subsistence orientation

Number of interviewees	3
Gender	3 male
Location	3 Langa
Migratory status	3 original resident
Previous business experience	2 yes, 1 unknown
Previous tourism experience	2 yes, 1 no
Alternative sources of income	2 tourism business, 1 none

Source: author

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[38] One owner did mention that if one of his main clients asked too many such favours of him, he would consider terminating the working relationship and seek other partners.

All owners with a lifestyle subsistence orientation are male, original residents of Langa township with prior tourism or business experience. This suggests that to achieve lifestyle subsistence, a certain amount of experience and/or good social networks are required. Two lifestyle subsistence small business owners actually come from a relatively privileged position, having gone to a white school and having had an important function in the Langa Youth Forum[39], respectively, and both had gained at least one important client via networks they established as a result of their privileged position (i.e. through a former teacher, or tour operators met previously as representative of the Langa Youth Forum).

7.3 Using business orientations to understand small township tourism businesses

Appreciating differences in business orientations

A classification based on business orientations provides a more accurate depiction of the ways in which small township tourism businesses are run than previous portrayals based only on business motivations, goals or demographic characteristics. By focusing on business orientations in a specific township context it is possible to better understand how small township tourism businesses are run and explain contrasting business practices.

Variations among business types

Tour operators and catering business owners predominantly operate with a constrained business growth orientation (table 7.16). The importance of growth among tour operators confirms earlier (Mellet, 2006; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007), but it had not previously been observed among catering businesses. The prevalence of growth orientations with these business types could be due to the fact that they are among the most profitable and therefore provide good opportunities for business growth.

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[39] Township-wide representative youth organisation that discusses questions of public interest.

Type of tourism business	Constr. Business growth	Ideol. business growth	Growth of business premises	Portfolio	Add. income	Lifestyle sub-sistence	Survival	Total
Langa	21	1	2	12	14	3	12	65
Accommodation	-	-	2	4	3	-	-	9
Catering	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	5
Craft worker:								
- self-made	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	6
- self-made & buy-sell	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
- buy-sell crafts	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	6
Performance				1	4	-	-	5
Tour guide								
- freelance	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	6
- walking tour	4	-	-	-	1	1	3	9
Tour operator	6	-	-	4	-	1	-	11
Visitor attraction	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Imizamo Yethu	6	-		7	5	-	10	29
Accommodation	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Catering	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	4
Craft worker:								
- self-made	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
- made & buy-sell	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
- buy-sell crafts	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
- large organisation	-	-	-	1	2	-	3	6
Performance	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Tour guide	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	4
Tour operator	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Visitor attraction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[1] Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80
Source: author

Differences in business orientations can be observed among the three types of tour guides. Whereas freelance tour guides are predominantly growth-oriented, a few operate on a lifestyle subsistence basis. Walking tour guides, most of whom arrived in the townships only recently and lack the experience, accreditation, reputation and networks that freelance tour guides have, tend to operate on a survivalist basis. The one walking tour guide with a lifestyle subsistence orientation can do so due to his powerful position at Guga S'Thebe. In Imizamo Yethu only the dominant tour guide has a business growth orientation, while two others use their tourism business as part of a business portfolio and one had a survivalist business orientation.

Accommodation business owners predominantly have a portfolio and income diversification orientation. This contrasts with earlier findings that most had growth motives and had started their business because of expected business opportunities (Rogerson, 2004c). Closer inspection reveals that, while these businesses may indeed have been started because of perceived business opportunities, a lack of custom, particularly in winter, and the need for income security to provide for their family mean

that, in practice, owners turn towards an income diversification orientation. It is also possible that the previously found emphasis on growth was related to the fact that accommodation business owners often desire growth of their business premises. While is tempting to equate these owners to those with a constrained or ideological growth orientation, a growth of business premises orientation results in very different business practices, as discussed in the previous section.

Craft workers have previously been highlighted as a group whose primary reason for being in business is survival (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Harvey, 2011). Nearly half of all craft workers in Langa and Imizamo Yethu have a business growth or portfolio orientation however, which indicates a great diversity within this group that has not been recognised previously (Harvey, 2011; Rogerson, 2008). A comparison of craft workers with different orientations draws attention to the importance of environmental influences on the way businesses are run as a growth orientation is related to better established professional and social networks, getting involved in tourism at an early stage of its development and having a unique, often self-made, product. For example, craft workers in Langa that make at least some of their own crafts are unlikely to operate with a survivalist perspective. Most of these owners have lived in the township for a longer time and have greater social networks and opportunities for alternative sources of income. Possibly because of this, these craft workers were among the first to get involved in tourism, and currently operate at desirable locations such as Guga S'Thebe, where they are guaranteed a steady flow of tourists and are able to work towards growth. In contrast, foreign migrant craft workers predominantly operate with a survivalist perspective. They generally arrived once tourism was already established, have poorly developed networks, no recognised qualifications and buy and sell their crafts from a warehouse in the Cape Town CBD, which means their products are interchangeable with those at other popular tourism destinations. In Imizamo Yethu, growth-oriented craft workers all are original residents, who are active near popular tourist attractions in Hout Bay, outside of the townships. Inside the townships recent migrants with limited social networks, both South African and foreign, operate for a lack of options. Craft workers who work for a larger organisation also lack options, but tend to gain additional income by means of paid work for the organisations they work with or contacts gained through their tourism (e.g. a job as cleaner for acquaintances of the white managers of these organisations). Two craft workers inside Imizamo Yethu make their own crafts and have a growth orientation. They previously worked for a large organisation, but now seek to establish a growing business themselves, using the skills and networks they acquired in their former work.

Visitor attractions and performance artists have received little attention in earlier research even though they form an important part of township tours Owners of these types of businesses do not view their activities in tourism as important in terms of their overall income. For owners of visitor attractions, the main source of income remains their work outside of tourism and those working as performance artists commonly emphasis their other work in tourism (e.g. tour guiding).

Gender differences

Business orientations can be used to better understand gender differences among small township tourism businesses. Around one third of business owners of both genders have a growth orientation (men 34%, women 30% - table 7.1). However, men are more likely than women to operate with a constrained (ideological) growth-oriented business (36% vs. 20%), while only women seek growth of their business premises. Furthermore, a higher proportion of female business owners operate with a portfolio orientation, or use their business as a source of additional income, and limits the economic benefits women gain through tourism. This can at least partly be attributed to cultural expectations and stereotypes and wider societal norms (i.e. women as natural hosts and carers for the wider family with men having few responsibilities) (Harvey, 2011; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007). However, it does mean that men are more likely to grow their business economically.

Table 7.17: Business orientations among male and female small business owners[1]

Business orientation	Female	Male
Constrained Business growth	6	17
Ideological business growth	-	1
Growth of business premises	3	-
Survival (lacking other options)	7	14
Portfolio	9	9
Additional income	5	6
Lifestyle subsistence	-	3
Total	30	50

[1]Twelve interviewees owned more than one business, making the total number of businesses higher than 80
Source: author

The ratio of men to women with a survivalist orientation reflects the gender split among the total number of people interviewed. As discussed in the previous section, it is predominantly migrants that have a survivalist orientation, with male survivalist business owners mostly coming from abroad, and the women mostly coming from elsewhere in South Africa. All lifestyle subsistence owners are men, with no evidence of any women managing to attain this relatively secure business orientation. This can be related to the fact that all interviewees with this business orientation are working as tour guides and

tour operators and few women are active with such businesses. Alternatively, it may be that fewer women have found themselves in privileged positions such as those reported by two lifestyle subsistence owners (e.g. ability to go to white school), although no evidence was available to suggest it would be impossible for women to get in these positions.

Ownership structures

Evidence suggests there is a relationship between business orientations and ownership structure of small township tourism businesses (table 7.18).

Table 7.18: Business orientations for owners of different types of small businesses

Business orientation	Ownership structure
Constrained business growth	3 Family business, 11 Business with employee(s)[1], 9 Sole trader
Ideological business growth	1 Business with employee(s)
Growth of business premises	1 Family business, 2 Sole trader
Survival (lacking other options)	4 Family business, 17 Sole trader
Portfolio	5 Family business, 3 Business with employee(s), 10 Sole trader
Additional income	3 Family business, 1 Business with employee(s), 7 Sole trader
Lifestyle subsistence	3 Sole trader

[1]Includes two businesses that employ people in summer;
Source: author

Perhaps unsurprisingly growth-oriented owners are more likely to have employees. More interesting is the relative lack of family businesses in this group. Partially this can be explained by the fact that growth-oriented tour operators can legally only employ accredited guides. As discussed in the literature review guiding accreditation is costly at 6000 Rand (£440) and can be difficult to attain for family members. However, growth-oriented businesses in crafts and catering also are more likely to hire people other than family and friends. Here, owners report that employees, who are not family, expect less payment and can more easily be made redundant if they do not perform well or if business is poor, thus maximising the efficiency of the business. In a similar vein, growth-oriented owners are less inclined to support family members (e.g. through Ubuntu) and instead invest as much as possible into their business. They accept that, as a result of this choice, they are less likely to receive reciprocal support and may therefore experience impoverished episodes. Owners with other orientations, particularly survivalists, are more likely to emphasise the importance of Ubuntu and ensuring an income in times of need, reflecting the subsistence nature of their business orientation. For example, two survivalist business owners hire family members even though they could do all the work themselves, with one owner explaining that he would have to feed his family anyway and they lack other income-generating opportunities.

Developments of business orientations

Business orientations have changed as township tourism has developed and visitor numbers have increased. In particular, a diversification of business orientations can be observed as well as a rise in the relative number of owners with growth and lifestyle subsistence orientations. This is particularly evident when comparing business orientations among owners in the two townships. In Imizamo Yethu, where tourism emerged more recently and visitor numbers remain limited, most interviewees aim to achieve subsistence and a relatively large number use their tourism business for additional income (table 7.16). Langa, on the other hand, has a longer history in tourism and higher visitor numbers and this is reflected in the business orientations among owners in this townships. Owners are more likely to operate with a business growth orientation, while increasing visitor numbers also have made a more diverse range of orientations possible.

Looking more closely at the development of tourism in both townships provides further insights into the ways in which business orientations develop. Small business owners in Langa were initially not dissimilar from those currently operating in Imizamo Yethu, in that most owners sought subsistence and integrated the business in an existing income portfolio or used it to provide additional income. The increase in popularity of township tourism in the 1990s led to an increase in growth-oriented tour operators, tour guides, catering and crafting businesses (Int. T05, T11, R02, R05, C11). These initial owners, both African and coloured, were confident that tourist numbers would grow further and hoped that township tourism would become a niche in tourism in which formerly disadvantaged individuals could start a profitable business in the otherwise overwhelmingly white tourism environment (St. Clair, 2006; Titoi, 2006). One craft worker in Langa, for example, already worked as a wholesaler of crafts in Cape Town, and started his business after visiting the township and noticing the growth potential of township tourism (Int. C04).

The opening of Guga S'Thebe created opportunities for craft workers and performance artists as the centre was incorporated in most tour itineraries. Business opportunities at Guga S'Thebe were particularly appealing to township residents who already had other income sources and wanted to diversify or to start a business that had more potential to grow. The steady flow of tourists has made it possible for owners to earn enough in tourism to work in it on a full-time basis try to achieve growth.

Increasing tourist numbers also attracted people with few other options, many of whom were craft workers, who had already set up business elsewhere in Cape Town, because they could not get other work. They were driven to the townships due to increasing competition at other popular tourist destinations. Additionally, walking tours started by coloured tour operators provided work opportunities for migrant hostel dwellers with few other options, having only recently arrived in Cape Town.

> *"I was staying in the hostels. The situation over there…. [shakes head] (.) But what happened then, one of the guys there. Which then they are more of my role models. They walk into where I was staying…During the day. I had no work then. And then they were asking some people which can show the guests around." (Int. T01).*

The arrival of tour operators from outside of the townships around 2004 made it more difficult for smaller township tour operators to work in tourism full-time. Faced with decreasing levels of income, they either started to seek growth more aggressively (e.g. paying more commission, focussing more on networking), have sought other sources of income and now use their business as part of a diversified income strategy, or are considering leaving tourism altogether because the effort is no longer worth the income (Int. T05; T06; T08). Although the arrival of tour operators from outside of the townships had a negative effect on existing small tour operators, it increased business opportunities for others. In particular, it made it possible for freelance tour guides to shop around and gave them more freedom to work on their own terms, which, in turn, paved the way for their lifestyle subsistence orientation. The increasing professionalization of township tourism is now raising the threshold for walking tour guides, among whom accreditation is increasingly common and generally believed to be a requirement. This makes it more difficult for newcomers to become walking tour guides and, as such, effectively excludes this line of work for those with few other options.

The craft workers operating outside of Imizamo Yethu were the first to have a business growth orientation. They initially sold products at a local market in Hout Bay and switched to tourism when this proved more profitable. Within the township itself, initially no business owners operated with a growth orientation. The larger crafting organisations hired local people with few other options and the first tour guides worked for a white tour operator with a portfolio or additional income orientation. When this tour operator folded, they scaled down their guiding activities and focused on other sources of income. The now dominant tour guide in Imizamo Yethu was the first to operate with a growth-

orientation. He started building a name for himself with companies outside of the townships, gained a guiding accreditation, visited networking meetings and helped bring the Red Open Top Bus to Imizamo Yethu. Once the Red Open Top Bus started to visit Imizamo Yethu, the other guides increased their involvement in tourism, although they continue to maintain other sources of income. At around the same time the first foreign craft workers with few other options arrived in Imizamo Yethu. The dominant tour guide also persuaded township residents to establish accommodation and catering businesses, who operate on a very low-key basis with a portfolio and income diversification orientation as they believe the number of tourists is currently too small to focus fully on tourism. The tour operator in Imizamo Yethu operates with a portfolio orientation for similar reasons. The two craft workers, who recently left the large crafting organisation, both operate with a growth-orientation. During the second field visit, the one walking tour guide who operated for lack of other options had been forced to quit by his colleagues and the Red Open Top Bus due to lack of accreditation.

Summarising these findings, it can be said that business orientations strongly depend on the business opportunities that exist in an environment and that these develop over time and as tourist numbers change. With little initial demand, small business owners at first mainly operated with an orientation aimed at portfolio and income diversification. However, township tourism was already seen as one of the few settings in which it might be possible to set up a growth-oriented business, given prejudices against township residents. Of the initial business owners, who started soon after commercial township tourism evolved in both townships and still are active today, none started for lack of other options.

The activities of large tour operators from outside of the townships, for example, have meant small tour operators need to become more competitive with their offerings. This, to an extent confirms earlier findings that a more aggressive, competitive growth orientation becomes more important as a destination matures (Lumpkin & Dess, 2001). At the same time, the increase of tourists due to greater involvement of tour operators from outside of the townships, made owners of other business types to start with or switch to a growth orientation (e.g. the two craft workers that initially worked for a larger organisation in Imizamo Yethu), while it also made lifestyle subsistence orientations among tour guides possible. Additionally, greater numbers of owners lacking other options migrated to the townships and found work in tourism as it developed. The increasing professionalism in both townships suggests that the opportunities for walking tour guides with a survivalist orientation will decrease in the future and be replaced by

guides with greater financial means and profit focused business orientations, although it is too early to draw firm conclusions.

Business orientations and market access strategies

Market access strategies

The identification of different business orientations helps to further understand market access strategies of small township tourism businesses. Although it is difficult to fully align business orientations to market access strategies, certain trends can be discerned that indicate a relationship between the two.

Interviewees seeking business growth are more willing than others to risk investing resources into gaining market access and trying to create new business opportunities. They actively seek contact with enterprises from outside of the townships, visit networking meetings, provide educational trips to show products to others businesses, are willing to pay commission and think about new products to make them become a more attractive business partner. Growth-oriented owners are also more likely than others to instigate longer lasting collaborative relationships. For example, interviewees involved with a BBBBE business already had a growth orientation before they started their BBBEE-collaboration. Also, growth-oriented owners continue to try to get involved with large tour operators or larger hotels, even when they think success is unlikely.

> *"I was walking past Fred's [inbound tour operator] stand at Indaba [Travel Market] when I was there for the fourth or fifth time. Every year I ensured I made eye contact with some people and have a quick chat: 'Hi Fred! First time here's my card; I'm Diego of Cape Crawler Tours!' Second year the same, etcetera, etcetera. And the fifth year he said: 'Are you still around?!' I said 'yes' and he invited me in. We chatted and I send him a pricelist when I came back. He became my customer with a meeting of 1.5 minutes. We are now trading four years, it's a great relationship." (Int. T11)*

In a way such market access strategies can be aligned with those of owners displaying 'entrepreneurial' behaviour (Eckhardt & Shane, 2003; Honggang & Shaoyin, 2014; Venkataraman, 1997).

Growth-oriented small business owners are primarily focused on business networks and contacts outside of the townships that can help facilitate growth. As mentioned earlier they may even cut ties with friends and family in order not to have to sustain them.

Related to this, owners of these businesses are commonly focused on moving out of the townships, both for reasons of status and in order to be closer to potential partners.

When promoting themselves directly to tourists, growth-oriented owners are equally proactive. All give out brochures at the end of the tour[40] or ask tourists to recommend them to others, either directly or online via social networks or websites such as tripadvisor.com. One owner has even created a 'goodbye pack' with information on the business, website URL, business cards and brochures. Owners with other business orientations also engage in self-promotion, but commonly do so in a more ad-hoc and unstructured way. A distinction can be made however, between different growth oriented owners. Whereas constrained and ideological growth oriented owners strongly emphasise the importance of integrating with others in the tourism industry, owners who focus on growth of the business premises put much less effort into establishing relations with others. Instead they concentrate almost exclusively on self-promotion through word-of-mouth, showing off the quality of their services (e.g. through newspaper cuttings, registration and awards) and getting listed in local tourist brochures and guidebooks.

Owners with a survivalist orientation focus primarily on day-to-day survival and they lack the time for active business planning and marketing. In contrast to their growth-oriented peers, survivalist owners operate more reactively and wait for tourists to arrive. These owners would love to improve their access to the market, but they either do not have the means to do so or are insecure about their abilities.

> *"No, it's because. It's difficult. It's because we. I'm going to talk about us because we don't have computer skills. So we don't know how to do some things in computer. Like web site or sort of things. So we don't know how to market. We don't know marketing, we don't have marketing skills." (Int. C14)*

To an extent this can also be attributed to the fact that most are migrants and thus have particularly limited business networks. Additionally survivalist-oriented small business owners' social networks are focused more on day-to-day survival, with an emphasis on supporting friends and family, rather than explore new business ventures with people they cannot fully trust.

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[40] Larger tour operators train their freelance tour guides to hand out such brochures.

Interviewees who operate their business with a portfolio orientation are a diverse group. Their involvement in tourism is largely dictated by the extent to which they depend on it in comparison to other income streams. If other sources of income provide more revenue, or if there is a steady balance of income, their attempts to gain market access are limited.

> *"It kind of suits me, the way it's happening now. That's why I'm saying I'm not, I don't actively go and market. I'm not visiting any local hotels and say: 'please'... you know encourage people."* (Int. A05)

Conversely, when tourism provides relatively more income, portfolio small business owners put more emphasis on marketing. While it is not clear whether this link is causal, three owners noted that they did start to invest time in their tourism business when it started to bring in relatively more income (Int. A01; G15; P01). Even these owners remain less involved in marketing than interviewees seeking business growth, as they want to be available for their other work too. For example, although portfolio owners contact other businesses to initiate cooperation, they are not likely to actively visit networking meetings or provide educational visits to show off their products. Also, they are less likely to pay commission and few actively pursue collaborative relationships. This may again be related to the lack of resources portfolio owners have to invest in their business or may be because they have other options and as such are not as determined to grow the business as growth-oriented owners.

Small business owners for whom the business merely provides additional income, have no great need to heavily promote their business. They tend to feel the uniqueness of their product; skills and/or location are enough to make them attractive partners anyway:

> *"…it's like a beer. If the weather is like this [sunny day], you know you must get a beer and you go and buy a beer. The beer doesn't call you, you will come to it."* (Int. R03)

Lifestyle subsistence businesses also engage in relatively little marketing. They are in the fortunate position of having a desirable product and/or good business relations, which means that they can choose to work for a small number of clients who provide a stable income. Their main focus is on maintaining existing collaborations that allow them to reap the benefits that their tourism work brings. Lifestyle subsistence owners have little interest in promoting their services to others to attract more business, as this would

require greater commitment to their business and potentially limit lifestyle benefits (e.g. working when an owner wants).

It is important to note that, as individual owners' business orientations change over time, the ways in which they seek market access tends to change. For example, one interviewee started out as a walking tour guide largely because he had no other options. He focused mainly on day-to-day survival and waited for tour operators to come to him. After learning more about tourism and gaining some financial stability he became drawn more towards a growth orientation. He developed his guiding skills, became certified, gained a driving licence, built a reputation and changed his market access strategy.

> *"Since last year I say that I've got pride you know. I'm not doing that. I don't sit here and wait for the tourists to come around. To me, it's not good. I advertise myself, I receive calls, then I do tours that way." (Int. G04)*

Business registration

As discussed in chapter six whether or not owners register their business (i.e. operate formally) is related to their market access strategies. Given that between business orientations and market access strategies also are related, it comes as little surprise that there also is a relation between business registration and business orientation (table 7.19).

Table 7.19: Business registration rates by business orientation

Business orientation	Business registration
Constrained business growth	17 yes, 1 no, 1 other business, 4 unknown
Ideological business growth	1 yes
Growth of business premises	2 yes, 1 unknown
Survival (lacking other options)	21 no
Portfolio	9 yes, 3 no, 2 other business, 4 unknown
Additional income	2 yes, 6 no, 2 other business, 1 unknown
Lifestyle subsistence	2 yes, 1 no

Source: author

Over 75% of owners with a business growth orientation believe registering their business is very important. They argue business registration makes them come across as more reliable to actors from outside of the townships, both enterprises as well as tourists, while those seeking to grow the business premises specifically maintain that registration demonstrates the quality of their house. On the other hand, none of the survivalist businesses had registered formally. This may be related to the fact that they have less need for it as they are unlikely to try to cooperate directly with others from outside of the townships. However, it also points to their limited resources and lack of social network. Given that their focus is on day-to-day survival with minimal income, they are either

unaware of the option of business registration or they do not perceive it as sufficiently beneficial to be worthwhile. For owners with a portfolio strategy, business registration largely depends on the importance of tourism as a source of income. If tourism is important, owners register the business for reasons similar to those mentioned by growth-oriented owners; if tourism is less important, owners tend to view registration as not worth the effort and/or costs. Among those for whom tourism merely provides additional income, none are registered, although these owners may operate another business that is registered. Two of the three lifestyle subsistence businesses are registered. These owners both stress the importance of registration in order to be able to operate in the way that they do, citing expectations from their business partners as primary reasons. The one lifestyle subsistence walking tour guide is not registered as he believes it is of little importance as long as tour operators and guides continue to work with unregistered tour guides.

A lack of understanding of business orientations within government

Appreciating different business orientations helps to understand why the interests of small township tourism business owners are not always served well, in spite of the South African government's emphasis on small business development and responsible tourism (Booyens, 2010; Rogerson, 2004a; Rogerson, 2005b; Rogerson, 2011). Not only does policy pay too little attention to power relations and fractures in township communities, it also fails to take into account owners that most owners are not growth-oriented. From interviews with a small group of local and national policy makers, it became clear that many of their programmes exclusively target growth oriented owners, which may be considered a side effect of their bias towards neo-liberal economic growth development models (Dierwechter, 2006; Kwaramba et al., 2012). However, only a quarter of all small township tourism business owners seek business growth, predominantly in tour operation. Furthermore growth-oriented owners generally have a negative perception of government support, which makes them unwilling to unwilling to take advantage of government support programmes. It is them that claim that outsiders do not understand the local situation and that for this reason government is unable to provide sufficient support (A05, G03, G06, T03). Owners seeking growth of the business premises do seek formal training and advice. However, as they primarily desire a growth of the business premises, rather than increasing customer numbers, current government support is not well suited to them. If support does not fit with the reality of small business owners' operations, owners are unlikely to continue putting into practice the lessons learned once programmes stop (Kwaramba et al., 2012). Indeed this can be observed among owners

with a growth of business premises orientations, whose actions strongly differ from their business plans, which may result in owners investing or borrowing money they are unlikely to regain.

> "You know I had money. I have spent about 70.000 doing all this [upgrading the house]. **Interviewer**: That's a lot of money. **Interviewee**: Yeah, and now I'm left with nothing" (Int. A04)

Although portfolio or additional income orientations who seek government support are less likely to invest as heavily as owners who seek growth of the business premises, they too have difficulty to apply the lessons they learned in government programmes (Int. A01, A03, R02, R06).

7.4 Conclusion

The current chapter has analysed business orientation in the townships, Even though owners display a wide variety of reasons for starting and continuing a business - including lifestyle choices - business orientations in the townships are shaped by, and need to be seen in, a context of poverty, constraints and uncertainty. This increases the importance of ensuring a decent level of subsistence. An analysis of the different ways in which small township tourism business owners run their businesses has revealed seven business orientations that can be classified in four wider categories: 1) business growth, 2) survivalist, 3) portfolio and income diversification and 4) lifestyle. Among growth orientations, there are three types. Although practically all owners mention they would like to own a large and profitable business, only 23 interviewees are willing and/or able to pursue what can be described as a 'constrained growth' orientation. One owner combines constrained growth with community upliftment. To an extent his orientation is akin to ideological lifestyle orientations in the developed world (Thomas et al., 2011), but with a stronger emphasis on growth to survive in this uncertain township tourism business context. As such this can best be described as an 'ideological business growth' orientation. Three owners mainly seek improvement and 'growth of the business premises'. On first sight they may appear similar to constrained growth-oriented small business owners, but their actions are directed towards upgrading their business premises, rather than growing the number of customers.

A group of 21 marginalised small business owners operate with a 'survivalist' orientation. They have limited other options to make a living and rely heavily on the income from their business for survival. All are active with businesses with low entry barriers, either in crafts or walking tour guiding, possibly combined with work as a performance artist.

While survivalist small township tourism business owners have gained notable attention in previous literature on township tourism (Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Ngxiza, 2012; Rogerson, 2004c), theirs is not the only group whose orientation is aimed at subsistence rather than business growth or lifestyle. Eighteen owners operate with a 'portfolio' orientation. They combine income from multiple sources to reduce the risk of being without earnings and, depending on the importance of tourism for their subsistence, dedicate more or less time to ensure it is an economic success. For 11 owners, their tourism business provides no more than a small but useful source of 'additional income', which helps ease life in an uncertain setting. Both these groups have greater opportunities than survivalist owners who lack other options and do not depend solely on their tourism business.

Three owners, who are relatively assured of work and thus face less uncertainty, are able to combine lifestyle elements into their business orientation. They have to be very wary when prioritising lifestyle goals over other aspects of the business – in the uncertain township context they can only do so when they are relatively ensured of subsistence at a relatively high level. Even then they may still have to compromise on their lifestyle goals to please important clients or when their subsistence is threatened due to unforeseen circumstances. As such theirs is a 'lifestyle subsistence' orientation unique to an uncertain township context.

These seven business orientations represent a much wider range than is recognised by government, which focuses almost exclusively on growth-oriented small business owners (Ramchander, 2004b; Rogerson, 2005b; Rogerson, 2005a; Skinner, 2006), or even previous academic research, where the emphasis has been primarily on owners seeking business growth or survivalist businesses with few other options (Ashley, 2005; Berner et al., 2012; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2007; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d; Rogerson, 2008; Skinner, 2006; Butler, 2012). The recognition of a lifestyle subsistence orientation highlights that, even in highly uncertain and testing circumstances, lifestyle orientations are possible, albeit that they are conceptualised differently than in the developed world (Skokic & Morrison, 2011).

An appreciation of business orientations provides useful insights into the ways in which small township tourism business owners operate. For example, findings suggest there is a relationship between business orientations and business types. In particular, tour operators and catering business owners are likely to have a growth orientation, craft workers commonly have a survivalist orientation, performance artists and visitor

attractions nearly all have an additional income orientation, while accommodation business owners predominantly have a portfolio orientation. Among tour guides, those who operate on a freelance basis are more likely to have a growth or lifestyle subsistence orientation, while walking tour guides are often survivalist. The emphasis in previous research on owners seeking growth or lacking other options could be explained by the fact that these growth and survivalist orientations are dominant among tour operators and craft workers, which are among the most visible of businesses (Maliepaard, 2010; Rogerson, 2004d).

Subtle gender differences can be seen among the business orientations. Although men and women are as likely as each other to seek growth, women may emphasise growth of business premises whereas all growth-oriented men emphasise economic growth of the business. Furthermore, women are more likely to operate with a portfolio or additional income orientation. These observations suggest women are less likely to grow their business and, as such, men may gain a greater proportion of the economic benefits of tourism in the long run. Additionally, it is only men who have so far been able to achieve lifestyle subsistence with their business.

A further observation is that business orientations are not stagnant, but develop over time. Whereas initially nearly all businesses operate with a portfolio and additional income orientation, the amount of and diversity between business orientations grows as more and different business opportunities arise. Of note too is the relative increase of owners with growth and lifestyle subsistence orientations over time. This suggests increased economic and social benefits for at least a small group of owners. On an individual level owners can also develop their business orientations over time, depending on personal, economic, environmental and social circumstances.

Owners' market access strategies depend largely on their business orientation. Constrained growth owners promote themselves most aggressively and spend most time networking with businesses from outside of the townships. In contrast owners with a growth of business premises orientation do little marketing and instead rely mainly on word-of-mouth. Owners lacking other options often feel they can do little more than find a spot near a popular tourist area to gain market access. The extent to which portfolio small business owners seek market access depends on the importance of tourism for their total income, though they tend to reserve less time for this overall than do growth-oriented owners. Owners for whom tourism provides an additional income have less need of the money and are not much interested in increasing business, so they do little

marketing. The lifestyle business owners primarily focus on maintaining their existing business relations but may start marketing themselves more actively if they need additional income. An appreciation of the influence of business orientations on market access strategies helps improve understanding on why small businesses have difficulties getting involved in mainstream tourism (Ashley, 2005; Ashley & Haysom, 2006).

Not all owners seek growth and this may not always be understood by those from outside of the townships. For example, owners with a portfolio and diversification orientation cannot always guarantee availability, due to other work obligations, while survivalist owners may have difficulty planning as they need to focus on day-to-day business instead. This can however be misinterpreted as 'unreliable' or 'unable to plan', reinforcing existing stereotypes. A lack of understanding among government means that support measures are of little benefit and may even be detrimental when owners are taught to operate in ways that conflict with their business orientation.

8. Conclusion

Small tourism businesses are commonly viewed by policy makers and NGOs as a fundamental part of the national economy in developing countries (Jaafar et al., 2011; Rogerson, 2005b). Their role, however, is not always clear. Government and development NGOs commend small businesses for their potential to provide livelihood opportunities in economically deprived areas, while at the same time criticizing them for their lack of dynamism, which, it is argued, can hinder growth of the wider economy (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; UNWTO, 2006a; Weinz & Servoz, 2011).In spite of their apparent importance, small tourism businesses in developing countries have received very little academic attention and little is known about the way small businesses in developing countries are run and the ways in which they try to relate to others in the tourism industry (Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Rogerson, 2004b; Thomas et al., 2011, pp.1–2). This thesis deals with these issues through an investigation of small township tourism business orientations in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. Although business orientations have proven useful to help appreciate how small tourism businesses are run in the developed world, they have received hardly any attention in developing countries. The main original contribution of this research therefore is the identification of business orientations among owners of these townships as well as an illustration of how these orientations originate from the township context and their influence on business practices.

This final chapter starts with a short review of the research, focusing on the three main research objectives, after which its theoretical contributions, practical implications, limitations and recommendations for future research are discussed.

8.1 Summary of the research and main research findings

As discussed in the first chapter the aim of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which small township tourism businesses are run and how they interact with other businesses through an investigation of small business owners in their historical, social and institutional context. To do so, three main research objectives have been identified:

1. Identify the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

2. Determine and define the ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access

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3. Distinguish and characterise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

First a short summary is provided of the theoretical foundations for the research, after which the individual research objectives are discussed, al in a separate section.

The literature review highlighted the need for a contextualised approach towards the way small businesses are run that moves beyond motivation and goal approaches. To do this the concept of business orientations was employed. Business orientations are defined on three levels. On an individual level, a business orientation provides a coherent, strategic conception of the way a small tourism business should be run; on an organisational level, it constitutes owners' strategies to achieve their business goals; on a relational level, it defines the approach owners take in seeking to integrate with, or distance themselves from, other actors, entities or objects. The concept of business orientations has been applied successfully in rural sociology, but has rarely been applied to tourism businesses. In order to tailor the concept to reflect a township tourism context, a framework was developed that takes into account historical events and the socio-cultural and political system within which small business owners operate, as well as encompassing the industry stetting, the organisational context and business-owner's personal characteristics.

When applying this framework to a South African setting, it becomes clear that the country's history and socio-cultural and political systems have not been conducive to the running of a small township tourism business. The apartheid regime deliberately inhibited entrepreneurial activities among township residents and its "legacy of 'lilywhite' ownership of tourism products", as well as prejudices and misconceptions from the apartheid era, can still be observed (Rogerson, 2013, p.198). The uncertain living conditions in the townships further hinder small tourism business development. Traditionally, cultural constructs such as Ubuntu and Umona ensured equal sharing of resources in uncertain living conditions, but they are at odds with entrepreneurial activities aimed at personal gain. In particular, Umona, which can be translated as jealousy or envy, leads to distrust and can hinder social networks in an already highly fragile society.

Further hindering small township tourism business owners is the fact that they are located peripherally to the centre of Cape Town, where potential partners are based and networking meetings take place. Although small township tour operators numerically dominate the industry, their market share is relatively small, with enterprises from outside

of the townships providing an estimated 80-90% of township tours. Little is known about business relations within the townships or the internal organisation of township tourism businesses, although previous work has suggested survival and profit are the main driving factors. Additionally, township businesses have limited human, financial and organisational resources. The term 'survivalist' has been suggested to describe the most constrained businesses. To what extent this is a suitable term and/or if there are differences between different groups of businesses is largely unknown. These questions are answered in the this research. To start with, the first research objective targeted to identify activities and services provided by small township tourism businesses, as discussed in the following section.

Identifying the types of activities and services provided by different groups of small tourism businesses in the townships

In order to attain the first research objective, an overview was gained of all different businesses and business types that are involved in township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. To ensure poorly connected businesses would also be discovered, snowball sampling was employed using a wide variety of entrance points. During interviews, eight structured questions were asked in order to discern business and owner characteristics.

In total, seven main types of tourism services are provided by owners: tour operation, accommodation, catering, crafts, guiding, performances and acting as a visitor attraction. It is striking the extent to which small businesses in both townships have similar offerings. Tour operators visit the same sorts of attractions and focus mostly on historical inequalities and the current impoverished housing conditions, while largely ignoring contemporary popular township culture. Similarly, services and prices in accommodation and catering are alike. Although subtle differences can be identified, they are not easily discerned by tourists seeking to visit the townships. The lack of innovation may be attributed to the uncertain and unregulated business conditions in the townships. It has been observed in similar areas elsewhere that copying others presents less risk than devising new ideas that are likely to be copied anyway (Meagher, 2004).

The extent to which services are offered differs greatly between Langa and Imizamo Yethu. As one of the oldest and most visited townships around Cape Town, Langa receives a great number of tourists and over 160 small township tourism businesses provide services there. The majority of them are run as sole traders, although around a fifth employ family members and another fifth employ people to whom they are not

related. Imizamo Yethu has only recently started to host tourists and receives far fewer visitors. Here less than 80 small businesses operate, with nearly three quarters doing so as sole employers and most others only employing family members. Findings also indicate that owners who cease trading, rarely do so completely. Instead they become dormant, ready to restart at short notice if an opportunity arises, increasing potential competition.

Tourists mainly visit Langa on half-day township tours that commonly include a visit to a local cultural centre and a half-hour walk through a safe part of the township. As not all tour operators and freelance tour guides originally come from Langa, local walking tour guides tend to take control during these walking tours for a small fee. Along the way, tourists visit a number of craft workers and visitor attractions (e.g. shebeen, herbalist, sheep-head vendor) and may be offered a performance. Catering and accommodation businesses are commonly visited independently from the township tours. Catering businesses tend to provide buffet style meals in their restaurants to cater for larger groups of tourists and may at times employ performance artists to provide entertainment during meals. Accommodation businesses are nearly all run on a B&B basis and, unlike other business types, are mostly located in areas considered unsafe by other township business owners.

In Imizamo Yethu, businesses largely depend on tourists taking part in a 45-minute walking tour as part of a stop on a Red Open Top Bus. This provides direct work for four guides and a range of craft workers that sell along the roadside or in the local church (which also acts as a community centre); and for one small tour operator running evening tours, during which a shebeen is visited. Accommodation and catering businesses tend to operate on a haphazard basis, with unclear opening times. In addition to this, over half of small business owners in Imizamo Yethu work for one of the large crafting organisations nearby.

In both townships, the vast majority of small tourism businesses remain very small, and provide little income for their owners. Over half of all owners have another income stream outside of tourism. Only among craft workers is this percentage much lower, which can largely be attributed to the fact that owners are unable to get other work (rather than that their tourism work provides sufficient income). This is particularly the case for women and/or foreign migrants who are likely to lack social networks and/or recognised education. The only business types among which larger and more profitable businesses can be found are tour operation, catering and freelance tour guiding. It is

striking that nearly all tour operators and freelance tour guides are male, meaning that the wealth of township tourism is not distributed equally across gender. Also, it is particularly those born in the township, or other long-term residents that operate the more profitable businesses. Migrants mostly work as craft sellers or walking tour guides, which provide very little income.

Whether or not businesses are registered with the government and operate formally is largely related to the extent to which they deal directly with businesses from outside of the townships (i.e. accommodation and catering businesses, tour operators and freelance tour guides commonly registered); and the extent to which they employ staff. Additionally, businesses in Langa are more likely than those in Imizamo Yethu to be registered and operate formally. However, there is great uncertainty regarding what constitutes 'formal' operation and many businesses operate in a semi-formal state (e.g. not registered as a business entity, but known by individual government officials) or register with commercial institutions in the belief that this is necessary in order to operate legitimately.

In conclusion it can be observed that small township tourism businesses are a highly diverse group, both with regards to owner as well as business characteristics. This diversity needs to be acknowledged in research, as it highlights how misleading it can be to talk about township tourism businesses as a single group with similar characteristics and interests. This issue and its implications are further developed in in the next section in the context of business relations and market access to help achieve the second research objective.

Determining and defining the ways in which small township tourism businesses relate to other tourism businesses and try to gain market access

For the second and third objective, the main method of data-gathering was semi-structured interviews with owners of small township tourism businesses. Purposive sampling was used to reflect the diversity among small township tourism businesses and ensure that as wide a range of experiences as possible was explored. Additionally, participant observation took place in the townships and 13 civil servants and policymakers as well as ten owners/managers of enterprises from outside of the townships were interviewed to acquire additional information.

Analysis revealed that township tourism is a highly structured industry with a small number of gatekeepers – mainly staff at hotels and travel agents outside of the

townships – deciding on market access. In seeking market access, tour operators, tour guides and catering businesses reportedly suffer prejudices resulting from apartheid and also from their distant location from the city centre. Additionally, owners report being adversely affected by corruption and power abuse among the staff at hotels and travel agencies who act as gatekeepers.

At the same time however, interviewees report that power abuse also takes place within the townships. The same tour operators who report being mistreated, themselves allegedly abuse their power to the extent that those owners who are further down the tourism chain prefer to work with large operators from outside of the townships. Overall, a picture arises of a highly fractured township business community where competition is intense, interests conflict and trust is in short supply. As a result, social networks predominantly consist of close ties - individuals with a similar background (e.g. with regards to ethnicity, migratory status, religion) - while potentially more beneficial relations are not explored. Owners also report they feel obliged to share profits with family members in the townships or elsewhere, out of fear for retribution due to Umona (jealousy).

In this context it comes as little surprise that small township tourism businesses generally have rather restricted interaction with others and cooperation is very limited. This can particularly be observed in the market access strategies of accommodation business owners, who operate largely outside of the structures of the tourism industry and make little effort to relate to others. Instead they focus on word-of-mouth marketing, listings in travel guides and, to a lesser extent, the internet. This makes them less dependent on others but limits the speed at which they grow. Tour operators and catering business owners largely try to integrate into the mainstream tourism market and it is they in particular who suffer from prejudices and power abuse by gatekeepers. At least three owners have entered a niche form of tourism (backpacker, international school groups) in order to overcome these issues. However, given the fact that business ideas are quickly imitated, they go to great lengths to prevent others from entering their niche. Tour guides need to work with others and, in particular, walking tour guides, newly starting freelance guides and the guides in Imizamo Yethu who assist the dominant tour guide report power abuse. Experienced freelance tour guides are in a rather unique position in that they are in such high demand that they can choose with whom to work (commonly large tour operators from outside of the townships). In this way they can overcome power struggles, as long as they maintain a good reputation. Craft workers, walking tour guides, performance artists and visitor attractions rarely take active measures to seek market

access. Instead, they wait near often-visited tourist attractions in the hope of getting custom. As such, they are highly dependent on the willingness of tour operators and tour guides to visit them, which, in a highly competitive business environment, is not assured. In Imizamo Yethu the craft workers who work with the large crafting organisations rely exclusively on these businesses for their income. Their situation can be described as a form of semi-employment, with the large crafting organisations trying to maintain as many people 'employed' as possible.

It would appear that the diversity and fractures within the townships create a situation that is largely negative for cooperation as interactions in the townships are governed by a complex set of social, structural and cultural norms and power relations. The government appears to lack understanding of these complexities, which may explain the lack of success of recent efforts to encourage business growth and relation building. To better understand this diversity, the concept of business orientations can be used and this is the subject of the last research objective as discussed in the next section.

Distinguish and characterise the orientations of small tourism business owners towards their business

Although a wide variety of profit, personal and communal lifestyle and subsistence motivations and goals can be observed, practically all owners in the townships operate with a business orientation that is focused on either subsistence or profit. Twenty-seven businesses are run with a business growth orientation. They have a strong desire to grow their tourism business and prioritise it over other work even when growth is unlikely. A distinction can be made between three subgroups: 23 owners with a constrained business orientation, who are focused on business growth yet are not always able to attain it due to the constraining township tourism context; one owner with an ideological growth orientation, who combines growth with a desire for community upliftment; and three owners with a growth of business premises orientation, where the emphasis is on growing the premises they operate from, rather than economic business growth.

Twenty-one interviewees run their business with a survivalist business orientation. They are mainly defined by their marginalised situation, lack of other options and full dependence on their tourism business for income generation.

Twenty-nine businesses are run with a portfolio and income diversification orientation. Here, two subgroups of owners can be discerned. First are 18 portfolio small business owners who combine different forms of income in a portfolio to ensure they will maintain

at least some earnings should one source of revenue dry up. The extent to which these owners focus on their business fluctuates depending on the relative importance of tourism in their income portfolio at a certain point in time. For 11 interviewees, their tourism business has little meaning beyond providing additional, usually non-essential, income. They consequently put little emphasis on business planning or promotion.

Contrary to the tourism industry in the developed world, very few lifestyle businesses exist in the townships. The most prevalent lifestyle goals centre on being able to choose when to work; not having to work for extended times during parts of the year; and the desire to work with international tourists. However, only in three cases are economic ambitions largely subordinate to those relating to lifestyle. A lifestyle orientation is observed only among owners who are ensured a relatively stable income and operate in less uncertain circumstances than others. However, even these owners remain aware of the need for enduring subsistence in a society without any social security. Hence this business orientation can best be described as 'lifestyle subsistence'.

These township tourism business orientations differ from those found in the developed world, reflecting the unfavourable context in which they are set. Not only do growth-oriented businesses appear particularly constrained compared to growth-oriented business in the developed world, but the emphasis is on subsistence rather than growth, and/or lifestyle.

A recognition of these business orientations helps to better understand small township tourism businesses. For example, business orientations differ between different types of businesses and ownership structures. Tour operation, accommodation and catering businesses are often growth oriented, although in accommodation the emphasis is purely on growth of the business premises. Registered businesses and businesses that employ non-relatives are more likely to be run with a growth orientation compared to other ownership structures. A difference can be observed with regards to gender, with men operating more commonly with a business growth orientation while women are more likely to have portfolio or additional income orientations. The extent to which owners endeavour to seek market access and/or register their business is also related to their business orientation. Growth-oriented owners tend to be outward looking and almost exclusively seek cooperation with businesses from outside of the townships, more or less ignoring their peers. Owners with other business orientations may also want to work with those outside of the townships, but do so at the same time as cooperating with those in the townships. Another finding relates to the development of business orientations. As

tourism develops and diversifies, so too do business orientations – growth-oriented business orientations become more common and lifestyle subsistence orientations emerge.

Because business orientations impact on the needs and desires of business owners, it is essential that these differences are appreciated by potential partners from outside of the townships, and particularly by government. Currently, however, this understanding is lacking. Businesses from outside of the townships do not differentiate between small township tourism businesses, which means that negative experiences with, for example, portfolio owners who cannot guarantee their availability 24/7 are believed to represent all township tourism businesses, even those with growth orientations whose owners are more reliably available. With regards to government, current support nearly exclusively targets growth, which is not in line with three quarters of small township tourism business owners' orientations. Misconceptions such as these lead to limited benefits and can actually harm the development of small township tourism businesses.

The increased understanding of small business owners and their relations that has been gained through these three research objectives leads to a number of theoretical and practical implications and research recommendations. These are discussed in the final parts of this thesis.

8.2 Theoretical contributions and implications

Conceptualising business orientations in a township tourism context

This research is the first to conceptualise business orientations in a township tourism context and, as such, contributes to theoretical development in this subject. Previous work has focused predominantly on the developed world, where the notion of a lifestyle business orientation helps explain why small tourism business owners are unwilling to grow their business (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Williams et al., 1989) or seek growth within the boundaries of certain lifestyle choices (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p.105; Marchant & Mottiar, 2011). The lack of work on business orientations outside of the developed world has limited understanding into the way small tourism businesses are run in this context, as work remains limited to business goals or motivations (Dahles, 1997b; Dahles & Bras, 1999b; Rogerson, 2004b; 2008). One study carried out in Croatia, a transition economy, revealed the lifestyle concept, as applied in the developed world, was virtually non-existent and nearly all owners operate with a growth orientation, due to the context in which they operate (Skokic & Morrison, 2011, p.166). The emphasis on the

local context in the Croatian study reflects the call for moving beyond approaches based solely on motivations and internally-driven business goals in contributions that provide a state-of-the-art review of the subject (Shaw, 2004, p.130; Thomas, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011, p.2).

Analysis of the situation in Langa and Imizamo Yethu further confirms the importance of the environmental and social context for the development of business orientations by demonstrating that they are shaped not only by owners' motivations or business goals, but are also grounded in South Africa's historical legacy of apartheid, a highly unfavourable social environment, peripheral business location, intense competition and limited government support. It may come as little surprise that in such a context of "destructive uncertainty", owners mostly have to focus on subsistence rather than future growth or lifestyle (Wood, 2003, p.468). In this way, the research supports Meagher's (2004, p.18) contention that the lack of growth among African businesses should not be attributed to individual characteristics or cultural stereotypes as this obscures rather than sharpens our understanding of such businesses.

The number of growth-oriented owners in both townships is much smaller than previously recorded (e.g. Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d) and growth-oriented owners are highly constrained, even more so than in other contexts (Shaw, 2004; Skokic & Morrison, 2011). The constraints severely limit the extent to which businesses contribute to social upliftment as exemplified by the relative lack of ideological growth or lifestyle orientations. Accommodation business owners view success in terms of upgrading the size and quality of their business premises, which also are their homes, rather than economic business growth. This perception of growth differs from the conception of growth in the developed world. As discussed in the previous chapter, this emphasis on growth of the business premises can be attributed to a legacy of the apartheid era, during which house ownership was severely restricted (Harvey, 2011; Lee, 2005; Ross, 2005). This finding highlights that is not just the lifestyle concept that is biased towards "western values", but that business growth too can be conceptualised differently than is the norm in the developed world. Unless such different conceptions are recognised, and business orientations contextualised, our understanding of small businesses in developing countries will remain impeded.

Earlier research on township tourism suggests a 'survivalist' business orientation exists among owners who lack other options and seek to survive, rather than to growth or lifestyle benefits (Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d). What exactly constitutes a survivalist

orientation remained unclear however. Evidence from the current research reveals a clear distinction between a survivalist orientation, where owners lack other options, and portfolio and income diversification orientations where owners deliberately use their business in a diversified livelihood strategy. Although all of these orientations emphasise subsistence and have their origin in uncertain living conditions, they should not be equated.

Survivalist owners barely earn enough to satisfy the needs of their household, have few other options and rely exclusively on their tourism business for survival. Nearly all interviewees lacking other options are foreign migrants or female South African migrants with limited social networks and (recognised) education, confirming earlier studies of small business owners in developing countries (Wood, 2003). However, it contrasts starkly with the situation in developed nations, where migrants are often lifestyle-oriented (Paniagua, 2002; Williams et al., 1989). This highlights the extent to which owner characteristics are context dependent. Survivalist orientations have been described outside of the realm of tourism where a lack of entrepreneurialism and innovation has been noted as a further characteristic, which is related to the daily struggle for income in the face of limited opportunities and lack of time to think about how to grow (Berner et al., 2012; DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012; Meagher, 2004).

Portfolio and income diversification owners have more options in terms of how they seek an income and are less marginalised than the owners of survivalist businesses. Only in a limited number of publications in the developed world are portfolio businesses explicitly mentioned, primarily among farmers who diversify into accommodation for economic reasons (e.g. Carter & Ram, 2003; Haugen & Vik, 2008). In contrast, income diversification is highly common among small tourism business owners in developing countries (see e.g. Chan & Quah, 2012; Dahles & Bras, 1999b; Roessingh et al., 2006), although this work does not make clear whether this is a deliberate strategy or a result of failed growth strategies and a lack of resources (Dahles & Bras, 1999b; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d). In Langa and Imizamo Yethu diversification of income streams is indeed pursued purposefully among portfolio and additional income oriented owners, who consider it too great a risk to invest exclusively in business growth in such an uncertain social and business environment. This reflects insights from work on sustainable livelihoods outside of tourism (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Steel, 2008; Tao & Wall, 2009).

Given the economic hardship and uncertainty, a township setting is not conducive to lifestyle orientations, compared to the developed world (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Keen, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011). They are not completely absent though, as was suggested in earlier research on township tourism businesses (2004c; 2004d; 2008). The lifestyle concept does require reconceptualization however. Owners enjoy the interaction with tourists and the ability to take extended holidays, but also the desire to be independent from others. This is a reaction to a history of suppression of entrepreneurial activities under apartheid and to continuing poor working conditions. Freelance tour guides, for example, refuse the job security of a fixed contract in order to have the flexibility to work with different tour operators and to leave a tour operator if they are mistreated. Lifestyle choices take precedence in the townships only when an owner feels relatively assured of a stable source of income and can therefore only be observed in a very small number of cases. Lifestyle orientations are only found among tour guides and tour operators, with relatively great economic security. The finding that lifestyle considerations only become dominant once owners have found relative economic security has not been observed this explicitly before. However, even in developed countries, lifestyle orientations are particularly common among those who are financially more secure (e.g. semi-retired people) (Shaw, 2004; Shaw & Williams, 2004), so this may be a global characteristic of this orientation. The fact that lifestyle orientations can be observed even in some of the harshest economic and social environments suggests they may be present in other developing countries too. Indeed, similar motivations have been described among tour guides in other African countries (Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Elijah-Mensah, 2012), although the extent to which such motivations can evolve into a contextualised lifestyle business orientation remains to be seen.

One final comment can be made regarding business orientations in the townships. Although they differ from those in the developed world, they are not too dissimilar. In a way this is a further demonstration of the dependency of business orientations on a local context. 'Exotic' perspectives no running a business, such as "romantic entrepreneurialism", in which tour guides make a living through intermittent relationships with tourists in Indonesia (Bras & Dahles, 1999, p.136), have not been identified. It is not that township tour guides never try to enter into relationships with international tourists, but that it is impossible to ensure a livelihood via such a strategy, because of the rigid structure of township tours dependence on businesses from outside of the townships. In other words, the local industry setting, does not allow for this business orientation to occur.

Market access and social networks

Insights gained in this research can also contribute to academic debates beyond business orientations, in particular those regarding market access and social networks. In order for small tourism businesses to gain market access and grow, a focus on backpacker tourism (Hampton, 1998; 2003; Nemasetoni & Rogerson, 2005; Fricke, 2013) or other niche forms of tourism (Petrovic & O'Neale, 2001; Rogerson, 2007b) have been recommended. While such a strategy has indeed helped individual small business owners, particularly in Langa, a greater diversification of township tourism products could provide growth opportunities for many businesses, certain qualifications should be noted. In contrast to developing countries, where product differentiation is common and competition is based on elements other than price (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007), in the townships owners are quick to copy new business ideas and compete heavily on pricing. Outside of tourism the copying of business ideas as well as the undercutting of competitors has been related to uncertain economic circumstances, where owners have little time and or resources to invest in new products (Meagher, 2004). Evidence suggests this is the case in the townships, where the practice of undercutting on price is particularly common among survivalist businesses. Owners with other orientations try to maintain what they consider a reasonable margin (e.g. all accommodation businesses charge a similar, relatively high, amount). Survivalist business owners on the other hand, are quick to 'borrow' ideas and regularly undercut each other, even though they already earn very little. These owners have little time to develop new business ideas as they spend most of their time trying to survive on a day-to-day basis, which increases the incentive to steal ideas from others (DeBerry-Spence & Elliot, 2012).Owners with a growth orientation in particular do develop new products, but are afraid of others stealing their business ideas and make significant efforts to try to prevent others from copying, either through minimising contact with others or by using their power and/or threatening others. This hinders cooperation and collaborative efforts to come up with new products.

Analysis of the situation in Langa and Imizamo Yethu provides a rather bleak vision with regards to social networks compared to the positive assumptions that pervade academic discussions on the subject (Alonso, 2011; Sørensen, 2007; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001; 2007). Benefits such as the transfer of knowledge, provision of income and welfare or the formation of strategic alliances among small tourism businesses are not observed. Instead, fractures and conflicts of interests, rooted in differences in political or religious affiliation, migratory status, language, work, generation, power and class hinder cooperation among small business owners limit owners' ability to gain joint benefits

through making a stand against powerful actors from outside of the townships, confirming earlier work in other settings (Eppel, 2007; Harte et al., 2009, p.151). Growth oriented owners, in particular, also fear repercussions through Umona should they become successful and not share their benefits. Similar practices have been observed in other economically insecure situations. Bailey (1969; 1971, pp. 19-20) refers to these as "cultures of equality" in which owners try to ensure that others do not get beyond "approved levels of mediocrity" and may resort to sabotaging another's success even if it also damages themselves. Mottiar and Tucker (2007) used this explanation to account for a lack of cooperation among tourist businesses in Turkey.

A useful approach to the understanding of social network issues in the townships, is to turn towards 'networks of accumulation' and 'networks of survival' (Lourenço-Lindell, 2002, p.230) as alluded to in the literature review. Networks of accumulation particularly contain weak ties and linkages between relatively privileged businesses from different parts of the supply chain. These provide economic cooperative benefits and have a positive effect on the performance of individual businesses. Networks of survival are limited to more poorly resourced social networks with equally disadvantaged community members. They are made up largely of kinship, church ties and friendship and bring few benefits as they result in reciprocal obligations of assistance (e.g. hire unqualified people, accept indefinite delays of borrowed money from friends) that "undermine rather than enhance individual owners' profits" (Meagher, 2006, p.29) and hinder collective opportunities due to a lack of cooperation with others not belonging to these networks. By combining these concepts with an understanding of business orientations, the relative ineffectiveness of social networks in Langa and Imizamo Yethu can be further explained.

In both townships, those seeking business growth or lifestyle subsistence primarily engage in networks of accumulation. They seek to set up social networks with enterprises higher up in the supply chain that can facilitate more rapid business growth but are unlikely to provide any support in times of economic need. Growth-oriented owners may even cut themselves off from other business owners in the townships to avoid Umona or having to support friends or family. This confirms that the economic benefits of networks of accumulation are not necessarily "a product of social solidarity [among small businesses], but of social closure against solidary demands from below and the formation of new ties… to external resources and assistance" (Meagher, 2004, p.244). On the other hand, owners with a survivalist and/or portfolio business orientation are predisposed to form networks of survival. As they focus on relationships with their peers who are in an equally precarious situation and therefore cannot do much to aid

business growth, but are more likely to provide support (e.g. food and/or loans) in times of need (Berner et al., 2012). They accept the potentially negative impacts of such social networks, for example the need to provide for and/or share profit with family and friends when all is going well, because of the potential help when times are bad.

8.3 Practical implications

Improving policy support

South African government policy, with its emphasis on small business development and responsible tourism, in theory should be highly beneficial for small business owners. However, in practice, the interests of small business owners are not always served well. Policymakers need to be careful not to define business success exclusively as economic business growth. Portfolio and survivalist small business owners are distinctly different from those seeking growth and their success should likewise be judged in different terms. Although they are unlikely to grow their tourism business to the extent that it lifts them out of poverty, their tourism activities can help make their impoverished situation more manageable. Even when given an opportunity to grow, they choose not to, because they do not want to become dependent on one source of income or consider the investments too great a risk. Instead, long-term economic stability and subsistence for individual small business owners and their extended family can also constitute business success. Such ideas are largely ignored in current policy measures. An exclusive focus on business growth within policy can lead to misguided support efforts that at best are unsuitable and at worst harmful to the majority of small township tourism businesses, due to pressuring owners to invest too heavily in their business, which they will be unable to recoup. Additionally, government policy needs to be very aware of fractures in township business communities and the importance of power relations, if they are to avoid the creation or reproduction of divisions in township business societies

While it is beyond the scope of this research to provide alternative policy approaches, a start would be to recognise the destructive uncertainty in which small business owners operate, and to work to improve this situation (Wood, 2003, p.468). Instead of an exclusive emphasis on growth oriented business owners, policy should recognise the benefits of providing small improvements of livelihood options and creating a more stable and safe social environment. This could greatly benefit portfolio and survivalist small business owners, and may help them to slowly grow their business. Alternatively, policy could focus on building confidence among survivalist small business owners to help them cope better with their existing situation (Kwaramba et al., 2012, p.893), or on addressing

conflicts within the community and supporting small business owners to set up and maintain networks of accumulation rather than networks of survival in the highly competitive business environment that is township tourism. In other words, greater effort should be placed upon increasing the mobilisation capacity (Thomas & Thomas, 2006) or institutional capacity in the townships (Koens et al., 2009).

Limitations of small businesses' contribution to local economic development

With the pro-poor tourism movement some contend that integration of small tourism businesses into mainstream tourism can help in poverty reduction by increasing the net benefits of tourism for "the poor" (Meyer et al., 2004; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2007, p.4; Meyer, 2007). This potential benefit of township tourism has been used as a justification for township tourism, in spite of its controversial nature (Maliepaard, 2010; Pirie, 2007). The promises of local economic development through small business involvement do not always materialise. While the existence of small township tourism businesses certainly aid local economic development, its benefits should not be overstated (Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006; Nel et al., 2009; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010).The greatest economic gain remains limited to a relatively small number of successful, often growth-oriented business owners. Portfolio and survivalist businesses generally gain far less income from their tourism activities, even when their earnings from tourism are essential to their day-to-day survival. The role of enterprises from outside of the townships is not always taken into account when investigating the economic and social impact of small township tourism businesses countries (e.g. Briedenhann & Ramchander, 2006; Harvey, 2011; Rogerson, 2004c; 2004d). Such a bias is not uncommon in tourism research (Thomas et al., 2011, p.2), but does need to be addressed. Both in Langa as well as Imizamo Yethu exert a strong influence on the economic opportunities of small business owners. In Langa, increasing visitor numbers around the year 2000 attracted large tour operators from outside the townships that subsequently took the majority of the available business. This development limits the possibilities for largely growth-oriented small tour operators (in ways similar as those described in Britton, 1982; 1987). At the same time though, the entrance of these larger enterprises has provided work for a great number of (freelance) tour guides, owners of visitor attractions and performance artists.

With township communities fractured, it is not evident that the owners of economically successful businesses will do more to support their peers than will larger enterprises from outside of the townships. In fact, enterprises from outside of the townships are

viewed by freelance tour guides as more desirable employers because of better pay and working conditions. Additionally, the assumption that small business owners are more likely than the larger out-of-town enterprises to support local economic development by spending most of their profits in the townships is challenged. Two successful tour operators moved away from the townships as soon as they were able to afford to do so and now rarely return to spend any money. While more research would be required to compare the economic contribution of small and large tourism businesses, static and binary terms such as good or bad are insufficient to describe their effects. Rather, the impact of both types of business depends on the way in which they interact with the townships and how much they are willing to support development.

Findings also challenge the assumption that tourism, with its low entry thresholds, is particularly beneficial to weaker and/or marginalised groups in society such as migrants or women (UNWTO, 2006a; 2006b; UNWTO & UN Women, 2011). Tour operators and catering businesses, as well as tour guides provide the highest profits among small township tourism businesses. All businesses of these types have significant economic barriers and are predominantly owned by men rather than women. Furthermore, many owners of more profitable businesses are long-term township residents and/or have a white business partner, which makes it easier for them to become involved in longer-term business relations with enterprises from outside of the townships and so gain more custom. Businesses with a low entry threshold (e.g. walking tour guiding, selling crafts and performing for tourists) are operated primarily by marginalised groups and are run with a survivalist perspective. This confirms earlier work that questions the extent to which weaker groups in impoverished communities benefit from tourism (Chok et al., 2007; Manwa, 2009; Tucker & Boonabaana, 2011).

8.4 Limitations of the study and future research recommendations

Research limitations

As with all research there are certain limits that need to be taken into account when interpreting the results of this study. Firstly the research has a largely qualitative approach and focused on specific geographical locations. Small business owners were purposefully selected to represent different types of businesses and owners. This may mean that relatively fewer owners or common businesses (e.g. freelance tour guides) have been interviewed than might be the case if a more representative sample had been taken. While this is not a problem with regards to the research aims and objectives, it does mean that findings need to be considered with care. Fitting within a pragmatist

paradigm, its results should therefore not be seen as universal truths that will apply to small businesses involved in township tourism elsewhere. Results and recommendations should not be seen as a blueprint for all township tourism destinations and care needs to be taken when comparing results with those in other townships. Rather than universal generalisations, the emphasis in this research is on providing insights which can then be applied in new contexts through the process of transferability of research results (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Knight, 2002; Sampaio, 2009). In alignment with this, the research intends to provide what Yin (2003) describes as "analytic" rather than "statistical generalisations". When applying or comparing research findings to those in other contexts, it is essential to take into account the local situation.

The analytic generalisations from the current research may contribute to a better understanding of small tourism businesses in other townships or destinations. For example, the extent to which small businesses operate with a portfolio and/or survivalist business orientation is largely unexplored in most destinations. It would be useful to investigate if these orientations exist in other settings and how they operate in there. Additionally, it may be valuable to investigate the influence of business orientations on business relations and social networks in other destinations, particularly those in which small businesses are able to cooperate more successfully.

Researchers should always be aware of the extent to which their findings are partial and influenced by their own backgrounds (Bridges, 2002; De Andrade, 2000; Duneier, 2004). As the author of this research comes from a European middle-class background inevitably influenced interviews and observations in noticeable and unnoticeable ways. For example, the fact that English was not the first language for most interviewees, limited them in their ability to recount stories and provide deeper insights into their business practices. In Langa the owner was initially introduced to businesses by an experienced business consultant. It soon became clear that the presence of this person, a coloured woman, was not appreciated by one small businesses owner. This situation was dealt with by acknowledging concerns, explaining the situation and making clear that the researcher had no further relationship to the consultant. While this initially perceived association may have influenced the interview, the content of the interview suggests that this wariness was removed, at least to some extent.

Additionally, people with a history of living in the townships might have picked up on subtle cues in the behaviour of people and/or be more aware of local customs. At times interviewees alluded to cultural understandings that were not directly clear to the

researcher, who then requested further explanation. In order to deal with the difficulties arising from the intercultural aspects of the research, the researcher used a research journal to critically reflect upon the interviewing and observational process (Atkinson et al., 2001). Furthermore, issues of race were discussed informally with township residents from outside of the tourism world in order to better understand how they could influence research (Etherington, 2004). During analysis and writing up, the researcher made use of "critical friends" with experience of working in a (South) African context to provide a theoretical sounding board (Carless & Sparkes, 2007, p.5). Even though this has may have mitigated the outsider status of the researcher, it is acknowledged that findings from the research remain partial and that certain aspects have remained unnoticed or received insufficient attention. Three interviewees specifically highlighted how difficult it is to understand how to run a business in a township context without having lived there. On the other hand, in two cases interviewees confided that they would not provide certain information to local researchers with potential connections in the townships, because of fears of gossip spreading (e.g. regarding the ways in which they have cut family ties and ignored Ubuntu). These issues do not imply that findings and assertions are less valuable, but they do mean that results may differ from those that would be found by researchers who have lived in the townships (Koens & Fletcher, 2010).

Recommendations for future research

This research is one of the first to investigate small township tourism businesses and the first to do so using business orientations. As such there still is ample scope for future research. To start with, continuing on from the previous section of this chapter, the extent to which the author's ethnicity and background influenced the findings provides a useful avenue for future research. It would be highly interesting to have similar research carried out by current or former township residents, who better understand certain local or cultural intricacies. While it may be that most findings remain the same, it could provide new insights and help theorisation move beyond the current Anglo-Western centrism that is dominant in tourism research in developing countries (Rogerson, 2012).

A second recommendation for further research is to assess business orientations of small tourism business owners in other destinations. The finding that business orientations are shaped as much by the social, historical and cultural context in which a business operates as by the motivation of owners, makes such work particularly necessary to prevent incorrect assumptions and oversimplifications. This research has discovered seven business orientations that exist specifically in the townships. The

methodology employed in this research could be used to better understand, for example, business orientations among small business owners in the favelas in Brazil, other slums, or even destinations in more picturesque destinations in the developing world. A recognition of similar business orientations would strengthen current conclusions, while newly recognised business orientations can provide insights into the ways in which the social context influences business orientations and relations.

A third future research recommendation deals with the main methodology employed to gain an understanding of business orientations and owner practices. Given that business orientations had not received much attention before in a developing world setting, the current research used a qualitative approach to fully appreciate the business orientations of small township tourism business owners as well as their relations. It did not have the intention to measure the significance of these orientations in a more quantitative way. However, such quantitative research could provide insights into the relative importance of different business orientations that allow for statistical generalisations. Quantitative methods could also be employed to learn the extent to which business orientations differ significantly based on gender, migratory status or business type, while correlations between business orientations and market-access strategies could also be investigated more closely. In these ways, our collective understanding of small business owners in townships, or other similarly economically and socially precarious situations, would also be deepened.

A fourth research recommendation concerns the ways in which differing business orientations and conflicts of interests impact on the ability of small business owners in poor regions to stand together and cooperate with local government to improve the institutional capacity of tourism destinations (Healey et al., 2003, Thomas and Thomas, 2005). In other destinations within developing countries, it has been argued that a lack of institutional capacity is critical in accounting for the lack of sustainable development (Koens et al., 2009). Differing business orientations and fractures within the community can be key to explaining the lack of institutional capacity; and dealing with these issues may help ensure tourism develops in an economically, socially and environmentally more sustainable way.

A fifth recommendation for future research specifically regards the extent to which small tourism businesses in the townships – and elsewhere in developing countries – operate informally. Results from this research confirm findings from and build on earlier work that questions the concept of an informal economy (e.g. Meagher, 2004; Rogerson, 2007a),

suggesting that in the townships the concept of informality is difficult to qualify, thus limiting its academic applicability. Owners are not always certain when they are registered due to different options and may even be misled into registering with a non-governmental entity. At the same time informal, unregistered businesses may receive support from government because they know the responsible government official. Issues like these make the concept of informality a rather weak construct by which to appreciate the situation of small township tourism business owners. Future research could work on finding ways to better distinguish work outside of the government 'gaze' and its support networks, from work that would be considered more 'formal' in nature. Outside of tourism, it's been suggested that social networks are a potential avenue for useful research on this matter (Meagher, 2004). It would be helpful to apply insights gained through such research to a tourism setting to further knowledge on this matter.

A final recommendation on the basis of this research deals with the extent to which small businesses can impact on local economic development. As discussed in the previous section, this research revealed certain limitations – in particular power relations and fractures within small business communities – that seriously hamper the potential of small tourism businesses to contribute to local economic development. It would be useful to initiate research that focuses on these specific issues. Potential economic benefits for local communities are frequently underlined in the narratives of those proposing the development of township tourism, as well as tourism in other impoverished urban areas (e.g. favela tourism, slum tourism). Earlier work on tourism in the favelas in Brazil has already highlighted that, as in this research, relatively few local people benefit economically from tourism (Freire-Medeiros, 2010). This makes it essential to gain more knowledge around the influence of the power relations and fractures within communities that may undermine an equal wealth distribution and the ability of tourism to bring local economic development to larger shares of visited communities.

Appendix 1: Information sheet

Student research project Ko Koens

Information sheet – September, 2008

Please read the following carefully:

You are invited to help in a research project that looks at people involved in township tourism. You may choose to stop to participate in the research at any time and can refuse to answer a question without giving a reason.

The results of the research will be analysed by the interviewing researcher and will be used for publication in a PhD thesis and in academic journal. All collected information will be kept strictly confidential and will be destroyed after the research project. At no time will your identity be revealed in any publication, thus guaranteeing your anonymity.

If you have any further questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact Ko Koens at Leeds Metropolitan University on [local South African mobile telephone number] or phd@kokoens.com. Alternatively you can contact Professor Rhodri Thomas on +44 113 81223462 or r.thomas@leedsmet.ac.uk) or Professor Harold Goodwin on +44 113 812 25880 or Harold@haroldgoodwin.info at Leeds Metropolitan University.

Appendix 2: Informed consent form

Consent Form - September, 2008

Name of Researcher: Ko Koens

Please complete the following section:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet, dated September, 2008 and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

Name of participant: Date: Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher: Date: Signature

Ko Koens____

Participant ID number:

Appendix 3: Interview schedule small business owners

Introduction

"I am a PhD-student doing a research project on tourism in the townships. I do not have a solution for your problems and am not here to give money. All I want is to listen to stories about your personal experiences with working in tourism and how you get access to tourists or the tourist market.

Tourists

What is it you are doing with tourism here in the townships?

- *What do you offer to tourists?*

Are your tourists mostly international, or South African?

- *When was the last time you had/sold to international tourists?*

    o *Can you tell me the story how this went?*

- *When was the last time you had/sold to South African tourists?*

    o *Can you tell me the story how this went?*

How many tourists did you have in the last three months?

- *During summer?*

How do you decide what tourists like?

Do you get tourists year round?

- *Is there a difference between South African and international tourists here?*

Running Current Business

Do you have other work as well?

- *How do you combine your different ways of work?*

- *Can you tell me a story about that?*

How do you make decisions about what you do in tourism (likely to pick an example of what they have said)?

- *Do you talk with other people about your work in tourism?*

    o *Can you give an example?*

What are the main problems in your work in tourism?

- *Do you have an idea how to solve these problems?*

Do you get help from family with your work in tourism?

- *Can you give an example?*

- *Paid, or free?*

Besides family, do other people help you with your work in tourism?

- *Can you give an example?*

- *Paid or free?*

- *If no answer -> Do you sometimes hire people?*

Do you help others with their work in tourism?

- *Can you give an example?*

- *Paid or free?*

Market access / Relation with bigger businesses

How do you find tourists?

- *Can you give an example?/ Can you tell me a story of your last tourist group?*

- *Is there a difference between finding national and international tourists?*

What do you think is important when trying to find tourists?

What problems do you have when trying to get customers?

- *Can you tell me a story about this?*

Do you work together with others to get more tourists?

- *Can you tell me a story about this?*

How is your relation with the large tour operators?

- *Do you work together?*

- *Can you tell me how this started?*

- *If hindering work: Can you give me an example of how this?*

Do you have contacts with hotels or hostels in the city centre or elsewhere in South Africa?

How do you feel about Cape Town Tourism?

How do you feel about Fedhasa?

How do you feel about the large tour operators?

How could the government help you get easier access to tourists?

Policy & Informality

Are you registered with the government?

- *What are benefits of being registered?*

- *What are disadvantages of being registered?*

Do you get any help from the government?

Can you give me examples of how this works?

Have you done any training courses?

- *What did you train?*

Who organised them?

- *Tell me the story of how you went there.*

What do you think the government should do more for you?

What do you think of BBBEE?

Have you had any problems with bureaucracy?

Can you tell me about the Langa Tourism Forum?

Can you tell me about the Langa Development Forum?

Competition and cooperation

Are other people doing the same work as you? (when I am not certain)

How do you deal with people doing the same as you?

- *Is there a lot of competition?*

- *Do you cooperate / work together?*

    o *Can you tell me stories of how this started/works?*

Do you feel competition is fair in tourism?

Have you had conflicts with others involved in tourism?

How do you make people come to you instead of your competitors?

Do you know of people using traditional healers (Itiga)or witchcraft (Ituaga) to stimulate business?

Do you know of others that have tried and failed working in tourism?

Are people copying your good ideas?

Have you noticed any bribery?

Start of working in tourism:

Can you tell me the story of how you started working in tourism?

- *What other things have you done?*

- *Did you have other work at the time?*

- *Where did you get the money from?*

- *What did you do before you started working in tourism?*

- *Did people help you set up the business?*

Did you expect to be where you are now when you started?

- *Did you do any planning?*

How do you get your new ideas?

- *What do you think tourists want?*

To what extent do you think crime has influenced your work in tourism?

Has your business always been profitable?

Can you tell me about a special experience you have had with a tourist?

Can you tell me about a bad experience you have had with a tourist?

Attributions / Business Motivation

What have been your worst experiences of working in tourism?

- *Can you remember a moment when you felt you wanted to stop working in tourism?*

- *What did you feel then?*

When were you really proud of your work (in tourism)?

- *What did you feel then?*

What advice would you give to a friend or your children if they wanted to work in tourism or with tourists?

Are you proud of your work?

Why did you choose to work in tourism?

Business Planning / Future Outlook

How do you expect the coming season to go?

Can you tell me what you think your life will be like in 5 years' time?

- *Have you made plans to achieve that*

- *Prompts: What has changed; what is different; do you see it stay the same size, or grow or become smaller; will you still own it…)*

Are other people doing things in tourism you would like to do as well?

Are you willing to risk your current business to grow further?

How do you see tourism developing in Langa?

Appendix 4: Structured interview questions

Thank you for filling in this questionnaire. Your identity will be protected at all times and if you do not want to answer the question, just fill in the 'No answer' box

When did you start your current work in tourism?

_____ month _____ year

What languages do you speak?

- 0   Sesotho
- 0   Setswana
- 0   Sepedi
- 0   SiSwati
- 0   InsIndebele
- 0   IsiXhosa
- 0   IsiZulu
- 0   Xitsonga
- 0   Shivenda/Lemba
- 0   Afrikaans
- 0   English
- 0   Other_____
- 0   No Answer

What is your nationality:

- 0   South-African
- 0   Zimbabwean
- 0   Botswanaen
- 0   Kenian
- 0   Other..
- 0   No answer

What is your current marital status:

- 0   Single
- 0   In a relationship
- 0   No answer

How many children do you have?

_____

What is the highest level of education that <u>you</u> have completed?

- 0   No schooling
- 0   Primary Education
- 0   Secondary Education
- 0   Diploma
- 0   Degree
- 0   Postgraduate degree or diploma
- 0   Other, please specify...
- 0   Do not know
- 0   No answer

What is your religion

- 0   Christian
- 0   Muslim
- 0   Hindu
- 0   No religion
- 0   Other _____
- 0   No answer

What is your age (in years)?

_____ years

Appendix 5: Interview guide policymakers

- **Introduction**

"I am a PhD-student doing a research project on tourism in the townships. I would like to ask you some questions regarding tourism in these areas and the policy that deals with it. I will not be able to give advice like a consultant. I hope you can answer my questions and would like to encourage you to use examples and stories when answering.

- **Who is involved?**

What is your function with regards to tourism in the townships?

- How much of your time do you spend doing this?

- Are there other people working with tourism in the townships?

- How much time does your department spent in dealing with small businesses in the townships?

What are the primary objectives of your department regarding tourism in the townships?

Which other departments are involved in making policy for small tourism businesses in the townships? (e.g. I have heard about a restaurant wanting to open in the old post/police station – but they did not get permission – which departments would be involved in that?)

- Do you ever have contact with these departments?

- How is tourism legislation coordinated with other parts of the government?

- **Possibilities for tourism to the townships**

What is your opinion on tourism in the townships?

- Do you know how many tourists (roughly) enter the townships?

- Would it be mostly national or international tourists that enter the townships?

- What would be the ideal form of tourism in the townships?

- What needs to be done to reach that level?

- What policy in place to help gain that level?

How do you see the townships and its tourism in 5 years' time?

Do you try to increase tourist access to the townships?

- How do you do this?

- What type of tourists would you like to attract to the townships?

- Do you work together with the small businesses in the townships on getting more tourists to the townships?

What can you do to facilitate small businesses in the townships linking with larger formal businesses?

- How do you do this?

- What type of tourists would you like to attract to the townships?

- Do you work together with the small businesses in the townships on getting more tourists to the townships?

To what extent do you think small businesses in the townships can benefit from the WC 2010?

- Have you taken measures to ensure small businesses in the townships can profit from the WC 2010?

- Has there been special policy towards small businesses in the townships regarding the WC 2010?

- What do you think will happen with small businesses in the townships after WC 2010?

How will the economic downfall affect the small businesses in the townships?

- **Contact with small business:**

How often do you have contact with small businesses from the townships?

- What kind of issues get spoken about

- Who takes the initiative?

- Do you talk with small businesses on how you can improve your policies?

- Why (not)?

What other options do small businesses in the townships have to influence policy?

Are you aware of the Langa tourism forum?

- Have you had experiences with it?

- What is your opinion on it?

- Is there any form of organisation of self-employed and small businesses in Imizamo Yethu?

Do you have more contact with small businesses in Langa or Imizamo Yethu?

- What are reasons that you have more contact with small businesses in that township?

I have been told that bureaucracy is a big problem for small businesses in the townships, what is your response to this?

- Some small businesses in the townships are helped by intermediaries (such as Dale)to help people with bureaucratic procedures. Do you know how this works?

- **Informality**

When would you consider a business informal?

- How did you get to this definition?

- What are benefits of being informal?

- What are disadvantages of being informal?

Do you give support to informal small tourism businesses in the townships?

Are informal small businesses in the townships taxed?

At which policy departments can a small tourism business register?

- Is it desirable for you to have small businesses in the townships registered?

- Why do you think there are still many unregistered businesses?

- What are the benefits of registering for a small business?

- What problems can arise for small business when they register?

- What regulations do small businesses in the townships need to comply with when they register?

- What is necessary to make more businesses register?

- **Regulatory framework**

How do you regulate the intense competition among small businesses in the townships?

What legislation or policy measures are there to protect the exploitation of small businesses in the townships?

- *How do you communicate this legislation to small business owners?*

- *How can you enforce it?*

One of the main issues that I've heard about is jealousy and internal competition and that this is making linkages more difficult? How do you deal with this?

- **Support Programmes:**

Do you have support programmes for small businesses in the townships?

- How do they work?

- What experiences do you have with them?

- How do you choose who to support?

- Do you have specific support programmes for small businesses in the townships?

- How do you 'advertise' your support programmes to small businesses?

- Who executes your support programmes?

- Do you use consultants for your support programmes?

Are there specific support programmes to stimulate linkages between small tourism businesses and businesses in Cape Town?

To what extent do you feel you have the knowledge to support small businesses in the townships?

A great difficulty for small businesses in the townships is the seasonality of tourism. Do you take this into account when you set up support programmes?

- How do you deal with this?

What could small businesses in the townships do to inform you of their needs?

Do you know of support programmes organised by other levels of the government or Cape Town Tourism or NGOs?

- Is there any coordination between you and the other organisations?

- How does this work/Why not?

To what extent is BBBEE important for giving support to small businesses in the townships?

- **Reasons for policy**

What are current policy focus points regarding tourism in the townships?

- Could you tell me the story of how they became the focus points. Who initiated them and how did they evolve?

- Why are they important?

A lot of policy development appears to be based on stimulating the growth of small and medium sized enterprises:

- How has this become so?

- Why is it important to stimulate the development of small township businesses?

Who were involved in developing the programme to train the informal guides?

- How were decisions taken?

- Has it been a success?

- Why was it a success?

- Are there still informal guides?

- Do you clamp down on informal guides?

If I want to influence your policy, what options do I have?

Which lobbying groups do you deal with?

Do you have contact with tour operators and hotel owners (e.g. Hylton Ross)?

Who has control over making policy for small businesses in the townships?

Appendix 6: Interview guide enterprises outside of townships

Introduction

"I am a PhD-student doing a research project on tourism in the townships. I would like to ask you some questions about your business activities there and your relations with small businesses in the townships. I hope you can answer my questions and would like to encourage you to use examples when answering the questions.

Demand and safety

What kind of tourism activities in the townships do you offer to tourists?

- Are your tourists mostly international, or South African?
- How many tourists did you facilitate in the townships in the last three months?
- How do you decide what tourists like?

Do you think tourists are interested in visiting the townships?

- Are there new and unexplored possibilities for tourism in the townships?
- Will the WC 2010 bring new opportunities to small businesses in the townships?

What are your main concerns with tourism in the townships?

How safe are the townships for tourists?

- Do you know of people being mugged in the townships?
- Have you personally met any tourists that have been mugged?

Have you ever been to the townships yourself?

- A complaint from some small businesses in the townships is that too few people from the tourism industry in South Africa visit the townships themselves. How do you respond to this?

Linkages with small businesses

Do you work together with small businesses or self-employed people from the townships in order to provide your services in the townships?

- What are reasons to use small businesses in the townships?
- With whom do you work?
- What services do they provide?
- How many people are working for you?
- Why did you choose to work with this person/business?
- Do small businesses in the townships provide good value for money with their services?

Would you be willing to cooperate more with other small businesses in the townships?

- What are reasons you have not done so up till now?
- Do you know other small businesses in the townships?

What services would you like small businesses in the townships to provide?

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- Why do you think these reasons have not been provided so far?

Do you know other tourism businesses that cooperate with small businesses in the townships?

- Is there competition between you?
- Do you share experiences?

What are reasons not to link with small businesses in the townships?

- Why is this important?
- Have you personally had these experiences or did you hear it from others?

Do you have business linkages with small businesses that are not situated in the townships?

- What is the difference between these businesses and small businesses in the townships?

Only For tour operators that work with guides

Do you work with freelance tour guides or do you employ your tour guides?

- What are the practical differences in working with freelance tour guides rather than employed tour guides?

It is only recently that many tour guides have become registered. Have you ever used unregistered tour guides in the townships?

- What are reasons to use unregistered tour guides?
- Are there issues with using unregistered tour guides?

In your township tours, do you make use of local (step-on) guides?

- Why/Why not?
- How much do you pay (step-on) tour guides? Is there a policy on this?

Process of creating and maintaining linkages

How did you get into contact with the tourism businesses and self-employed in the townships that you work with?

- Can you tell the story of how this went?
- Who took the initiative?
- Have small businesses or self-employed from the townships contacted you to work together?
- Can you give an example of when you actively invested time or money in your business relations with businesses in the townships?

How do you decide with whom to network and link up?

- Do you sometimes also create relations with small businesses that don't seem immediately relevant?

What are the main problems when trying to create linkages with small businesses in the townships?

How do you maintain your contacts and linkages with tourism businesses in the townships?

- Do you have a contact person who works in the townships?
- How do you decide which relations you need to maintain?
- What is most important for maintaining good business relations with businesses in the townships?

Do you think small businesses in the townships are trustworthy partners?

What advice would you give to someone with a tour operator company/ hotel/ B&B that would like to work with small businesses in the townships?

Experiences with and perceptions of small businesses

Do you think small businesses in the townships can provide a quality experience for tourists?

- *Are you satisfied with the quality provided by people from the townships that work with you?*

Have you had any negative experiences with businesses in the townships?

- Can you tell me about these experiences?
- Do you know of others who have experiences while working with small businesses?
- Do you think there is enough capacity in the townships to deal with tourists coming in?
- Do you believe health and safety standards are an issue with businesses in the townships?

Are you worried about insurance when linking to small businesses in the townships?

Do you work on a commission basis when dealing with small businesses?

- *How does this work?*

Have you seen any cooperation between small businesses in the townships?

- Do you know of the existence of Langa Development forum and Langa Tourism forum?
- What is your opinion small businesses working together in tourism in the townships?
- Jealousy was mentioned as a problem for small businesses. Have you noticed this?
  - o How do you deal with it?

Do you think competition is fair in tourism?

Policy

Is there policy that stimulates you to work with businesses in the townships.

- How does this work?
- What is your experience with this kind of policy?

How does BBBEE influence your possibilities for working with small businesses from the townships?

- *Scorecard*

The government has mentoring programmes, whereby small businesses are given a mentor who is more experienced in tourism.

- Have you assisted in mentoring programmes that the government has initiated?
- What is your opinion on these mentoring programmes?

What could the government do to stimulate you to make more use of the services of small businesses from the townships?

Have you ever run into difficulties with licenses or bureaucratic registrations when you wanted to cooperate with informal small tourism businesses in the townships?

When would you consider a business informal?

- How did you get to this definition?

Only for Tour operator A

Tour operator A uses step on guides and tends to just rock up and hope there is tourists there. This is seen as unprofessional by some guides and causes some discontent among the guides. Why do they use this system?

When you come for a township tour, there are step-on guides waiting.

- Has it ever happened that there were no guides there?
- What is the procedure in that case?
- Why do you use this system?

Have you ever considered formalising these business relationships?

Appendix 7: Example of interview transcript

The style of transcription used in this research reflects that of Gee (1985; 1986; 1991). As further discussed on page 76 the idea behind this this form of transcription is that it preserves the rhythm and structure that characterises everyday speech without resorting to the highly detailed but potentially distracting transcription styles often used in conversation analysis.

Interviewer: , (Interview 025.mp3 <u>01:07:53-1</u>)

As you know the 2010 Football World Cup is coming up. What is your opinion of this event?

Person 1: , (Interview A05 .mp3 <u>01:07:59-9</u>)

I don't know

All I know is that all my rooms

They have been bought by Match

And ehh... they haven't released any

I will know by 2009 when sometime

Whether they, you know confirmation

But so far all my rooms are contracted to match, including the new ones

Interviewer: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:08:22-2</u>)

Ok, cause how does it work? Do they buy your rooms?

Person 1: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:08:24-9</u>)

They buy all your rooms

They've done the first they've accepted and made an offer ready now

In July

And they gonna give final confirmation in 2009

I can't remember when

So if they release some of the rooms then

You must know how many you know

How many they taking away

If they say:" No we release all your rooms"

Then you know you're not booked

So, but I think we're all going to be booked, definitely

They in need of accommodation

So says the papers and the media

But otherwise I still say

I think what is going to be more exciting for me is beyond 2010 really

Because 2010 is just an event for how many days?

11 or 17 days

Interviewer: (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:06-8</u>)

It's 21 I think, but I'm not sure.

Person 1: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:10-2</u>)

What? Yah!

But I think we're really going to see the results of 2010 after 2010

When people go back home

Digest what they've seen

And then come back

On a more relaxed time

You know?

Interviewer: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:27-7</u>)

Yeah, without the football

Person 1: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:30-6</u>)

Without the football, without

So I'm not

To be honest with you

I'm not excited

There is nothing that I'm doing or planning and saying: "for 2010", no, no

Interviewer: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:39-8</u>)

And can you tell me how you got

Because how did you get them to buy your rooms?

Person 1: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:43-4</u>)

It's Match

Well through the department of tourism as well

They held workshops and everything

With all ehh... ehh...

Interviewer: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:50-2</u>)

Could anybody just join up

Do you need to be a member of Cape Town tourism?

Person 1: , (Interview A05.mp3 <u>01:09:57-1</u>)

Well, we knew it through Cape town tourism

But I mean they encouraging everybody to join

You, you would, you can be a member of Match as well

But, they'll still send you back to Cape Town Tourism

Because there's compliance issues

They wanna make sure that they dealing with a graded

Establishment

A recognised establishment and such and so on

So that was the main criteria

That you meeting the minimum standards

Appendix 8: Example of coding scheme (from MAXQDA10 output)

Inter-viewee	Pattern – business management - multiple sources of income	Segment example(s)
A01	Although interviewee emphasises importance of small tourism business, **counselling work is required** to maintain reasonable levels of income. -> quit second field visit, fully handed control over to daughter	**Interviewee: ,** (Interview A01.mp3 00:29:51-4),: Being a nurse I was working with HIV and Aids patients I was a counsellor there But I couldn't stop counselling because people came to my house needing help So I am still doing it Now what is going on when I've got people Then maybe I have got... more food
A02	Interviewee is **predominantly** focused on **other work** at a legal firm. Business is **on the side** to fulfil will of mother.	**Interviewer: ,** (Interview A02.mp3 00:03:15-2) Do you still have other work next to this? **Interviewee: ,** (Interview 009.mp3 00:03:20-5), Yah… I am working **Interviewer: ,** (Interview 009.mp3 00:03:25-1), In what area? **Interviewee: ,** (Interview 009.mp3 00:03:25-0), I'm in the legal department At a financial firm You see What's actually is happening is that I'm just directing this I'm actually not Really In the business You see I'm directing so that it It, it kickstart Because I, I, I I'm too committed in my work Most of the time I'm in and out That's the thing
A03	Pensioner, but has continued working part-time as a nurse. This **other source of income is required f**or her daily living, as she has invested 70.000 (!) Rand in her house, which it is not returning in profit yet.	**Interviewee: ,** (Interview 020.mp3 <u>00:02:01-9</u>) I'm a pensioner But, but I'm still working Part-time I'm a professional nurse But I've been working all the way 1998 I went on pension But I went on working Until now … **Interviewee:, : ,** (Interview 020.mp3 <u>00:45:58-7</u>) You know I had money. I have spent about 70.000 doing all this. **Interviewer**: That's a lot of money. **Interviewee**: Yeah, and now I'm left with nothing [laughs]
A04	**Main source** of income is	**Interviewer: ,** (Interview A04.mp3 00:15:55-7),

	distributor at large **wine enterprise**. Tourism is **on the side**, mainly during the Christmas period.	What other work do you do? **Interviewee**: , (Interview A04.mp3 00:15:58-9), ehh... it's ehh... distributing wines Yah, I distribute wines Also they were so surprised also that When I say to those... Whites I'm distributing the wines I mean the colour of the skin It's always, it's always something **Interviewer**: , (Interview A04.mp3 00:16:30-1), But what does it entail distributing wines? **Interviewee**: , (Interview A04.mp3 00:16:39-4), What happen is ehh... The vinemac which I subsidise with But I'm also working as a seizurer (?) for the company Vinemac And ehh... about 49 percent of wine estates Starting from ehh... Robertson region ehh... Stellenbosch, Franschoek, Somerset West, Franschoek, Durbanville All these wines, the wine estates we distribute
A05	Interviewee does market research on a consultancy basis. **Focuses** on what **brings in most money**. Because t**ourism is a seasonal** business , it can be easily combined with other work.	**Interviewee**: , (Interview A05.mp3 00:44:09-5) I do market research Yah, It's a consultancy where I I do recruitment for market research companies for focus groups I do in-depth interviews like you do I do.. I moderate, facilitate focus groups I ehh... Yah, for like outside based companies if they're not based in Cape Town I'm like an extra hand And then, Yah, that's what I do **Interviewer**: , (Interview A05.mp3 00:44:39-2) And how do you juggle it? **Interviewee**: , (Interview A05.mp3 00:44:46-4) You basically do what a mum's gotta do And focus on what brings money most So right now my focus is mostly on my market research 00:44:58-2 ….. **Interviewee**: , (Interview A05.mp3 00:50:38-2) So Yah, We juggle, you see Cause you can't really depend on a tourism business I honestly I don't You can't as just you, you, you, your bread and butter I, it's not enough Because sometimes it tends to be a seasonal business On high season you'll have a good turnout of people But in low season what do you do then
A06	**Interviewee retired** early to become minster in church (found her calling). This is more or less full-time job, but pays only little **Tourism** business is used for	**Interviewer: , (**Interview 30.mp3 <u>01:11:14-9</u>), You said that you are retired? **Interviewee**: , (Interview 30.mp3 01:11:22-1), I've bought it off

	additional income.	Because I've started my calling God is doing things in many ways, yes He wanted me to get out of the job I was sick I'm a minister **Interviewer**: , (Interview 30.mp3 01:11:50-8), A minister, oh really? **Interviewee**: , (Interview 30.mp3 01:11:52-2), I'm doing Jobs God's Not people's job I'm full time in the ministry I'm leading the church
A07	**Tourism** business takes **priority**, but provides **insufficient income**. Owner **combines** it with work as freelance teacher and local fish and chips shop.	**Interviewee**: , (Interview A07.mp3 00:22:07-5) I still teach Just not eh. All the time I help out That makes some money and then... eh. That helps … Now we just open a little eh. eh. Cafe there, not far away from here Where we bake eh.. fat cakes and fish
A08	Resigned as teacher and currently works as a substitute teacher. **Combines income** from these two sources. **In winter teaching** work gives most income, while **tourism** is more **important in summer**.	**Interviewee: ,** (Interview A08.mp3 00:21:48-3) I resigned as a teacher in 2007. It's just that I eh…. I want to be hands on In the business Not rely on anyone else Now I just work as a substitute If teachers go to workshop They call on me To substitute For example, for two weeks This month I only get money with teaching I did not have any tourists I work two weeks That gives me 5000 Rand
A09	Works as housekeeper in backpacker hostel and studies during weekdays. **Income** from work at **backpacker** is **required**. Owner does not want full-time job to keep her options open, instead focusing on **combining tourism** and **other work** (tourism mainly in summer).	**Interviewer**: , (Interview 018.mp3 00:03:50-3), What is your job in the backpacker hostel **Interviewee**: , (Interview 018.mp3 00:04:00-0), I'm working there as a housekeeper I'm only working there on the weekends Like Saturday and Sunday Just because Like I was studying During the week This course So I'm only working there Saturday and Sunday … **Interviewee**: , (Interview 018.mp3 00:22:55-7), So Now at the moment I'm not doing anything But I was also thinking of looking for a job or something But I don't want to mix my thing What if maybe I find a fulltime job and then someone wants to come and then I can't do it And but like in winter

		Most like you guys You don't come a lot like In winter So It's only depending on the weather, you know
R07	Also used to work for World of Birds, currently in between jobs. **No intention** to **focus** more on **tourism** business, **as tourism numbers are limited**. -> Quit second field visit	**Interviewee**: , (Interview R07) I worked for World of birds. Yeah. I was working At the same time for the To run the business for myself, So it was a little bit too hard Because sometimes I can't attend people because I've got to be at work. You know what I mean? But now, I'm not working …. **Interviewee**: , (Interview R07) I didn't make it as a B&B. It was just like a stop by shop Where you can come and sit and eat. You know what I mean? Yeah. But then they said, "Make it a B&B" Then okay, I tried it as well. I did get some people sometimes, couples, celebrities. They came to sleep over. It was all right but sometimes I don't feel I get people that will want to come And go out at night And come back at night While it's time to sleep
R08	**Both** involved as **manager** at **Iziko Lobomi** with part-time job and her combined **catering/accommodation business**. -> Quit second field visit, now combines work at Iziko Lobomi with more income-secure employed work as staff member of local nursery.	Interviewee: , (Interview R08), Okay, I'm doing two things I'm involved here at the center I'm also have got my own catering company At the moment I'm What I'm doing I've got two things Here at the center and I've also got my own business Here at the center I'm the center manager and I'm working from nine till one I'm making sure everything go smooth and I pay people And there's also some money that comes in like bookings things like that

T03	B&B is run to **provide** some **extra money besides tour operating**. Only **few tourists** come, sometimes none for over a year. When tourists come, it brings in much money, but **no interest in promoting** this business	Interviewee: , (Interview 032.mp3 #00:37:57-6#), The B&B is very slowly It's good money but it's very slowly

Interviewer: , (Interview 032.mp3 #01:00:36-8#),
And with the B&B
It doesn't get customers very often
But when was the last time there was somebody there.

Interviewee: , (Interview 032.mp3 #01:00:47-1#),
Was ehh...
From January until June last year

Interviewer: , (Interview 032.mp3 #01:00:49-6#),
Ok
So that was one person in there?

Person 1: , (Interview 032.mp3 #01:00:53-2#),
No two people

A couple
Two students
They were a couple
But they were students

They would
Drive their car
Go home
Eat too much
Wake up in the morning
Go to school
Come back
Shower
And do the art stuff that they were doing
Dancing
The girl was dancing
Was a dancer

Appendix 9: Example of owner characteristics

	Characteristics
Code	• A01
Area	• Langa
Type	• Accommodation
Business Registration	• Registered
Ownership structure	• Family business
Owner/manager characteristics	• 67 year old B&B owner. Long term resident of Langa and former nurse with no previous (tourism) business experience.
Small tourism business career	• Retired, only received lump sum which would not be enough to survive long term and wanted to do something with house now that children had left • Initially slow growth, continued in spite of negative comments by family
Business goals	• Desires growth of business • Wants to be able to fully depend on business • Very strong focus on home improvements • Integrates business and family who are living in
Current business situation	• Custom year round, but high peaks in summer • Still does counselling for local people • Takes one day at a time, limited business planning • Heavy investment in business premises, little on marketing
Relating to other businesses	• Weak connections with other township tourism businesses (initially mainly instigated by external business advisor, now few efforts) • Willing to support others, limited interest in working towards overarching township tourism organisation
Opinion of government	• Made use of starting entrepreneur courses at University of Western Cape • Continuing willingness to make use of government support • Proud not to have borrowed anything for business • Emphasises importance of business registration and accreditation

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