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Bachelor Thesis
to obtain the academic degree
Bachelor of Science
on the topic of

Township Tourism through the residents' eyes

– an analysis in Katutura, Windhoek –



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Abstract

Inspired by the ToPo-Town Project (ToPo-Town: Tourism Potential of Townships – example of Katutura, Windhoek, Namibia), a collaboration between the Namibia University of Science and Technology, and the University of Applied Sciences, Neubrandenburg, Germany; this study examines Katutura's residents' perceptions of township tourism, in relation to their housing situation and environmental living conditions. ToPo-Town evaluates sustainable township tourism perspectives from an economic, social and environmental side, whilst it was established on the idea of the Windhoek municipality's Heritage-House-Project, which aims to preserve apartheid-era houses as cultural and tourism assets. As Namibia experiences rapid urbanisation and a growing housing deficit, particularly in urban centres, approximately 25% of Windhoek's population resides in informal settlements.

Tourism is Namibia's second largest economic sector and has the potential to deliver great community development through heritage and township tourism. Katutura, the historical township shaped by apartheid, is both socially vulnerable and culturally significant, offering a great opportunity to reduce social vulnerability by preserving heritage through tourism. The research question, *"Is a positive or negative perception towards township tourism related projects in relation to the housing situation and environmental living conditions?"*, should determine whether these factors influence acceptance and participation in tourism related projects. A quantitative research design, interviewing 30 residents of Katutura by using face-to-face surveys, was chosen. The survey covered questions to understand the socio-demographic profile, housing and infrastructure, and environmental living conditions from the residents' perspective, as well as the attitudes towards township tourism, tourists, and the Heritage-House-Project. Results show a high interest in participating in the Heritage-House-Project, mainly positive perceptions towards township tourism and tourists, whilst it also shows, residents actually have little to no knowledge about township tourism. The hypothesis did not demonstrate a clear link between perceptions of tourism projects and living conditions by the surveys. Perceptions rather belong to possible benefits than material belongings.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Namibia, a country located in the west of southern Africa, borders the South Atlantic Ocean to the west, Angola in the north, Botswana to the east and South Africa to the south (Fig. 2). It has a total population of 3.09 million, and its total land area encompasses 823.290 square kilometres, indicating a population density of three people per square kilometre (Schlaich 2025: 53).

As a comparative value, Germany's population is 83.6 million, and its land area is 349.390 square kilometres (Statista 2025). Namibia is almost 2.4 times bigger than Germany. However, the population of Namibia is 27 times smaller than that of Germany. It is to be noted that, in contrast to Germany, most of Namibia is characterised by sandy soil, known as Arenosols (Hartmann 2024: 148), which restricts the prospect of settlement within the country. Namibia's population is expected to increase up to 4.5 million by 2050 (Statista 2024). Even though Namibia's population density is low, around 25 % of Namibia's population already resides in informal urban settlements (Meuser 2021: 270) of growing suburbs like Katutura, caused by rural migration (Schlaich 2025: 216) driven by the pursuit of enhanced education and economic opportunities. In addition, Windhoek is experiencing a rapid urbanisation, leaving the government challenged to provide adequate housing and basic services to all of Windhoek's residents (Dalbai 2021: 297).

Katutura, a suburb of Windhoek, is one of Namibia's oldest and well-known townships. Windhoek is the capital of Namibia, situated on the Khomas Highland Plateau, in the centre of the country. Located at 22,57 degrees south latitude and 17,08 degrees east longitude (Fig. 2). It is a place of rich history and great political significance from Namibia's colonial and apartheid past. Tourism became the second most important economic sector in the country (Hartmann 2024: 23). Township tourism in general is a relatively young topic in the world of research; first studies contributed only from the mid-2000s onwards (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 15). Heritage tourism and township tourism differ from each other, but also touch in certain aspects, both topics will be explained in detail in chapter 2.2.3. (Heritage and Heritage Tourism), and chapter 2.2.4. (Township and Township Tourism). On the one hand, especially township tourism is known as a useful tool to benefit local communities and improve environmental living conditions (Auala 2019: 1), on the other hand, it also has a bad reputation (Auala 2019: 3). To keep township tourism related projects sustainable, the acceptance and inclusion amongst residents is indispensable (Booyens 2010: 285). Therefore, the municipality of Windhoek is working on a project, called Katutura-Heritage-House-Project to preserve specific houses from the apartheid era and use it as historical, cultural and touristic attraction. On that basis, the research project ToPo-Town (Tourism Potential of Townships) picks up the idea and examines the potential of sustainable township tourism with special consideration of economic, social, and ecological aspects.

This Bachelor's thesis is conducted as part of the ToPo-Town project's research, which will be specified in the following. This paper aims to ascertain the residents' perception towards township tourism related projects, in the context of their housing circumstances and their environmental living conditions. The study will also examine the existence of a correlation between these factors and what implications this has for socially acceptable and sustainable tourism planning.

1.1. The ToPo-Town Project

The project, called "ToPo-Town: Tourism Potential of Townships – example of Katutura, Windhoek, Namibia", is a one year planned project in collaboration between the Namibian University of Science and Technology (NUST) and the University of Applied Sciences Neubrandenburg in Germany. The financial resources are provided by the University of Applied Sciences Neubrandenburg from internal research funds.

ToPo-Town is inspired by a project of the municipality of Windhoek named "Katutura Heritage House Project". The objectives are to ensure that the history of Katutura, as well as Khomasdal (a township, established in close temporal proximity to Katutura, with the objective of achieving a congruent outcome), is preserved for the future, as a core part of Windhoek's colonial past, and to create an economic benefit for the local community by bringing tourists. The purpose is to identify six properties in the area of Katutura and Khomasdal, with houses originally built during South African apartheid. Those areas were established to segregate the black population by forced removals from the white population in Windhoek's city centre. To preserve certain parts of the suburb's history, it is imperative that the houses be preserved as heritage resources. The owners of the properties are given the opportunity to either sell their properties to the municipal authority of Windhoek or to transfer the properties and relocate to a new residence. The houses in the municipality's project resemble one another; therefore, the stories they tell should differ. The municipality of Windhoek has suggested that each house should possess a different, unique historical narrative of its initial owners. To attract tourists to the heritage houses, it is proposed to equip them with different facilities. For example, one creates a historical accommodation experience, while another may be transformed into a museum. Other opportunities could include transforming one house into a venue for selling local crafts and art, or offering the regional cuisine in a restaurant. The municipality is in the process of creating a trail around the township to connect the heritage houses and make it easier for tourists to find specific houses by leading them through the township (Nambadi, A., Windhoek Municipality, private E-Mail Document, 8th of April 2025).

The aim of the ToPo Town project is to determine the potential of using the municipal Heritage House project for sustainable township tourism and to ascertain whether it could be of benefit to the suburb

as a means of livelihood. The focus of the ToPo-Town project is on the economic implications, preserving the environmental well-being, and the acceptance and involvement of the residents. This involves not only the investigation of residents' perspectives towards the project, but also environmental aspects (land use, contamination, degradation) as well as the designation of areas suitable for tourism.

This work refers exclusively to residents' perceptions of projects related to township tourism. Residents with a negative perception of township tourism may also have a negative view of the project itself. The success of the Heritage-House-Project is accorded to the active involvement of the residents. Therefore, it is inevitable to generate a general understanding about the residents' perspective.

1.2. Research Structure of this Thesis

In order to keep track of the main thread, the thesis is organised into six main chapters. The first chapter describes the problem, provides the background information and context for understanding the ToPo-Town and Heritage-House-Project, and outlines the aim of the study. Chapter two provides a brief overview of the theoretical background of tourism, along with essential forms of tourism, and the research area's history. Furthermore, it presents a review of the literature on studies already published on similar projects and on township tourism in general, and specifically in Katutura. The methodology of this study is explained in Chapter Three, followed by the findings in Chapter Four. The data will be interpreted and discussed in chapter five. Finally, chapter six entails the conclusion and a recommendation for the ToPo-Town and Heritage-House-Project.

1.3. Study Area – Katutura

Namibia's population is young, with more than half under the age of 18. The majority of workers consist of 16- to 25-year-olds with limited education and skills (Dalbai 2021 I: 269).

Historically, Windhoek's rift valleys served as natural water catchments, supplying the city's early groundwater sources and attracting early settlers. Over time, erosion transformed much of the highlands into rolling hills that feed the Swakop and westward-flowing Kuiseb Rivers (Hartmann 2024 16). Today, water is stored behind nearly 8000 dams across Namibia's hilly regions, including Windhoek's Goreangab and Avis Dams (Hartmann 2024: 139). The weather in Namibia is influenced by dry and high-pressured anticyclones as well as the cold Benguela which is pushing northwards along the coast. This is causing a predominant aridity all over the country (Hartmann 2024: 74). Windhoek has an average daily temperature of 28°C, and drops to around 11°C at night (Meteoatlas 2025). Vegetation mainly consists of grasses, with trees concentrated along rivers and drainage lines where groundwater is accessible (Hartmann 2024: 163).

The study area is Katutura; a suburb located on the north-western outskirts of Windhoek (Fig. 2). Katutura extends about an area of 5.33 square kilometres, with a very low population of 63 people per square kilometre (Dalbai 2021 I: 266). Neighbouring areas are Windhoek East in the east, Khomasdal and Windhoek West in the south, John Pandeni in the west and Tobias Hainyeko in the north (NSA 2024: 20).

The name Katutura, given by councillors Alfred Mungunda and Joshua Kamberipa, originates from Otjiherero and translates to “the place where people do not want to live”. This name leads back to the forced removal between 1959 and 1968 (Melber 2023: 66-67). In other contexts, Katutura is also known as one of Windhoek’s townships. The term ‘township’ was only introduced during the apartheid era, when suburbs were casually renamed ‘townships’ and designated for black residents only. (Potgieter 2019: 4) For this reason, the term ‘township’ will only be used in this paper if necessary to aid understanding.

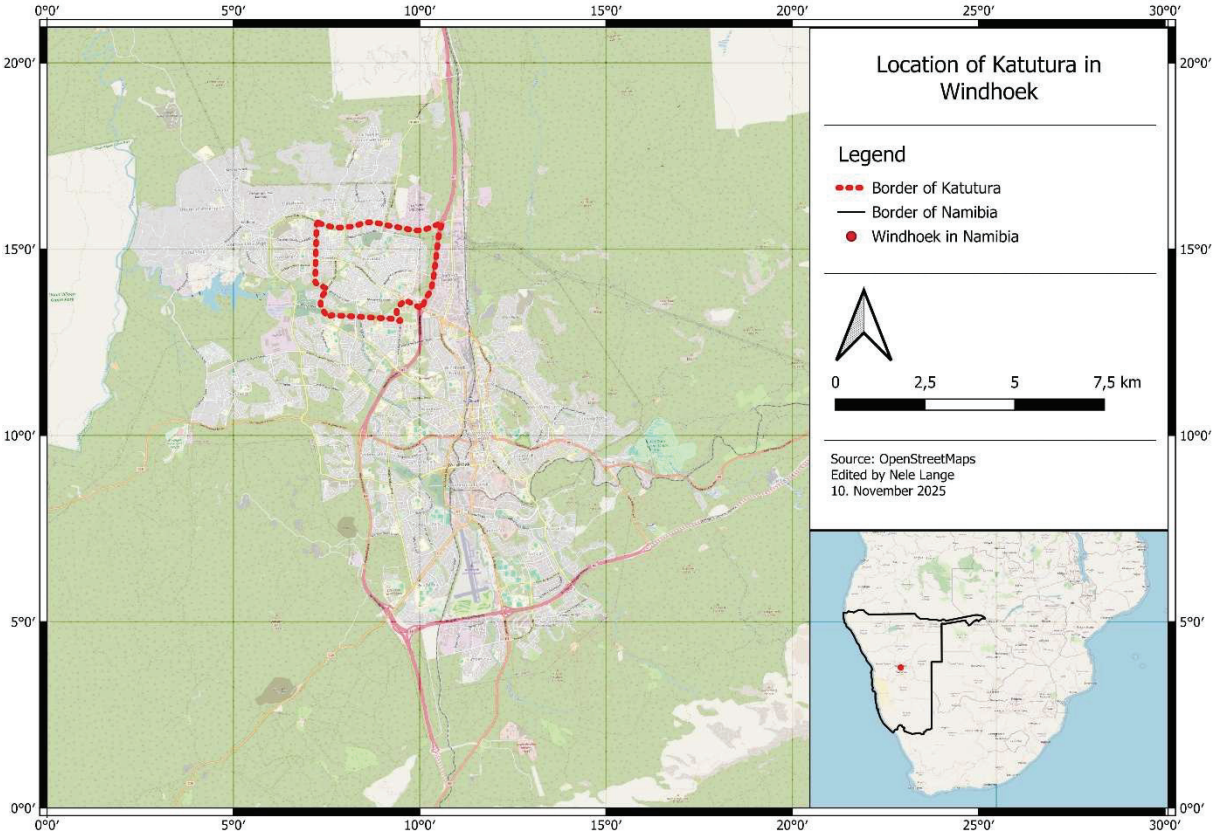


Figure 2: Location of Katutura in Windhoek and the location of Namibia in Southern Africa (Own representation).

1.4. Problem Statement

Namibia has been facing a housing crisis since its independence in 1990. With an ongoing rapid urbanisation and 25 % of Windhoek’s population residing in informal settlements today, as housing is unaffordable to 90 % of the population. The government struggles to provide adequate housing and

basic services, working on different strategies to solve the problems. Tourism, as Namibia's second largest economic sector, and the rich history of the country, led to the opportunity to use township tourism as a form of heritage tourism to improve the housing situation within the suburb of Katutura (Nambadi, A., private E-Mail Document, 8th of April 2025).

Moreover, in the absence of the municipality's initiative, a significant part of Windhoek's history is at risk of being lost over the next few decades (Nambadi, A., private E-Mail Document, 8th of April 2025). The implementation of the heritage house project is therefore not only about improving the living situation, it is also about the preservation of the colonial past, embodied in heritage houses, to educate tourists and residents about a past that should not be forgotten. To underline the importance of preserving parts of Katutura's history by heritage houses, Melber (2023) mentioned about Old Locations history (Old Location is the place where black residents of Windhoek were allowed to live, during German colonial force, to that time called 'Main Location' (Melber 2023: 54) and before Katutura was established that it's difficult to completely reconstruct the past (Melber 2023: 35). By preserving the heritage houses of Katutura, the municipality ensures that the same difficulties with Old Location are not repeated in Katutura.

Furthermore, township tourism is a highly controversial topic known as a great tool to uplift townships residents', conversely it can exploit its residents also. (Potgieter et al. 2019: 5) However, project success related to township tourism depends on involvement and acceptance of local residents, which leads to the core problem of this research. Only minor research has been conducted on residents' perceptions towards township tourism, particularly in Katutura.

There is a need to understand Katutura residents' perceptions towards township tourism and whether their housing and environmental living conditions influence their attitude towards tourism related projects, such as the Heritage-House-Project. This understanding is crucial to ensure social acceptance, sustainable urban development and equitable tourism planning in Katutura. Without understanding local perceptions, tourism projects risk rejection or may fail to deliver benefits to the community. This study therefore investigates the relationship between residents' perceptions, housing situation, and environmental living conditions in Katutura.

1.5. Research Objectives, Research Question and Justification of the Research

The central research objective of this work is to ascertain whether Katutura residents are generally interested in township tourism-related projects, and specifically in participating in the municipality's Heritage-House-Project. For this, five objectives are analysed.

Specifically:

1. Assess Katutura residents' interest in participating in the municipality's Heritage-House-Project.
2. Examine residents' perceptions of township tourism and tourists.
3. Identify their current housing situation and their perception of their living environment.
4. Analyse the possible link between residents' perceptions and their living conditions.
5. Provide recommendations for the ToPo-Town and the municipality's Heritage-House-Project.

To maintain coherence, the thesis is guided by the following research question:

“Is the perception towards township tourism related to the housing situation and environmental living conditions?”

Understanding Katutura residents' perceptions of township tourism, and whether their housing situation and environmental living conditions are linked, is crucial to balancing tourism development with social equity and cultural preservation in Katutura. This will enable the Windhoek municipality to develop well-planned, sustainable heritage management that primarily benefits the local community.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Background and Literature Review

This chapter provides a general foundation of a theoretical background and a literature review of existing research on township tourism and its residents' perceptions in Katutura and South Africa.

The literature review showed existing studies with similarities to this thesis, in terms of content about township tourism in South Africa and Katutura, Namibia, and their research methodology. Generally, research on township tourism is conducted, especially in South Africa. Somewhat, Potgieter et al. (2019) are the only ones with a focus on the emotional life of township residents in connection with township tours. As this thesis also examines residents' emotional perception towards township tourism by viewing their housing situation and environmental living conditions in consideration. Literature analysis showed, there is no other similar study undertaken in Katutura. This bachelor's thesis is the first step to fill this research gap.

2.1. Theoretical Background and Historical Context

The theoretical background includes the relevant forms of tourism and the definitions of 'township' and 'heritage'. It also provides a historical overview of Katutura and the development of township tourism.

2.1.1. Tourism

The World Tourism Organization defines 21st-century tourism as activities undertaken by a person staying in places outside their usual environment for up to one year without being paid. (Fischer, A. 2014: 13)

As one of the fastest-growing economic sectors and the fourth largest industry in the world, tourism is a major source of income for many countries. Since it brings income to countries and their residents and helps to ease poverty by promoting local crafts and art, as well as the development of regional infrastructure, tourism has become a beneficial part of society. However, despite its benefits, tourism, especially mass tourism can have negative impacts on the environment, local cultures, natural resources, and society as a whole (Dessai 2023: 188).

2.1.2. Sustainable tourism

To counter the negative effects of tourism, sustainable tourism is defined as a low-impact form of travelling for the environment. This includes the journey to and from the destination, as well as the time spent there (Fischer, A. 2014: 35). Four principles characterise a sustainable journey (Fischer, A. 2014: 38):

- The journey should have the least possible impact on the environment and the area visited, including the landscape, the whole ecosystem, villages, and the community.
- Getting in touch with nature and the local culture.
- Trying to adapt to the culture of the visited region.
- To support the local economy.

In summary, Fischer (2014) defines sustainable tourism as follows:

“‘Sustainability’ is a concept to any kind of tourism, and it may be guiding principle for more tourists in the future. ‘Sustainable tourism’ is able to reduce the negative impacts of tourism up to a certain degree.” (p.40).

In conclusion, sustainable tourism is considered a ‘softer’ form of tourism that is more responsible and aware of its impact on the surrounding environment, including nature, social structures, and economies.

2.1.3. Heritage and Heritage Tourism

The term ‘heritage’ is rarely defined and is often confused with ‘history’, which is not correct. To clarify the difference between the two:

History isn't heritage; however, heritage that has been processed over time through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, marketing, etc. becomes history. There is a connection between history and heritage, with history being the source of heritage. (Poria et. al. 2001: 48-49)

Booyens (2010) used a citation from the National Heritage Resources Act to define heritage. It is described as 'any place or subject of cultural significance'. (Booyens 2010: 275)

With this in mind, heritage tourism can be defined as tourism focuses primarily on historic, natural, and cultural resources (Booyens 2010: 274). It can also be defined as tourism in places with heritage, or as tourism where heritage forms the core focus of the journey. Understanding the difference between these two definitions of heritage tourism, is important in order to distinguish between heritage tourism and a heritage tourist. The first approach defines heritage tourism as a place where heritage is a fixed part of the destination. Tourism where heritage is taking place as a core part of the journey, rather be defined as a heritage tourist who's travelling especially for the heritage to certain destinations (Poria et. al. 2001: 55-56). Poria et al. (2001) outlines some criticism of so-called heritage attractions, as they often represent real events or history, which is inaccurate, particularly when heritage is considered in the context of tourism. Therefore, heritage is recognised as a resource created in the past that does not need to reflect reality in order to attract tourists. Perhaps attraction can be defined here as a permanent resource that is managed for the enjoyment, entertainment, and education of visitors to such places. A problematic aspect of heritage as an attraction for tourists is its effect on the heritage being represented when the reality of the heritage is distorted for the purpose of tourism. (Poria et. al. 2001: 58-59) Heritage is not necessarily linked to tourism. It is also used as a tool for urban planning and recreation, but mostly to attract tourists. (Booyens 2010: 274)

2.1.4. Township and Township Tourism

Before clarifying the term 'township tourism', the understanding of the term 'township' is given. Here, it is defined in the context of South Africa by Rolfes et al. (2009). They describe townships as locations on the outskirts of cities and urban areas in South Africa, that were planned inappropriately due to racist classifications under the Apartheid regime. They also mention that poor living conditions still exist in townships today, and that residents still belong to the most disadvantaged segments of the population (Rolfes et al. 2009: 17). Roland et al. (2023) describes a South African township as a spatial design, seen as being estranged from cities and suburbs, and as borders between poverty and wealth. They are also seen as places of violence, crime, and exclusion, a situation which continues even in the post-apartheid era (Roland et al. 2023: 136).

Given the definitions of 'townships', 'township tourism' can be defined in different ways. Essentially, it refers to tourism in townships. Auala (2019) quotes Frenzel (2013), who describes it as the 'capitalist

commodification of poverty’ (Auala 2019: 3). Comparisons have been drawn between township tourism and a visit to a zoo, with terms such as ‘human safaris’, ‘poorism’, and ‘poverty porn’ being used instead of ‘slum’, ‘poverty’, or ‘township tourism’ (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 15). However, it is also viewed as a means of enhancing environmental living conditions for residents by improving infrastructure in townships and providing residents with income-generating opportunities (Auala 2019: 1).

The beginning of today’s township tourism took place in the 1980s, during the Apartheid era in South Africa. Township tours were usually organised by the apartheid regime for propaganda purposes or by political activists and anti-apartheid NGOs to highlight the regime’s policies (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 13). Today, township tourism is a common offering to tourists in many countries in the Global South, as shown in figure three. Steinbrink et al. (2015) describing it as one of the fastest-growing ‘new markets’ in the tourism sector, mainly visited by tourists from the Global North. A wide variety of tours are available, including guided tours by bus, van, jeep, quad bike or bicycles, or even walking tours (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 13-14).

Therefore, township tourism can also be defined as a form of heritage tourism (Auala 2019: 2), when it is linked to cultural significance, as described in Chapter 2.2.3. (Heritage and Heritage Tourism).

Slum Tourism in the Global South

Favorite destinations of slum tourists



Figure 3: Favorite destinations of slum tourists in the global South (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 14).

2.1.5. Community-Based Tourism and Pro-Poor Tourism

Community-Based Tourism and Pro-Poor Tourism are two more sustainable forms of 'township tourism'.

In order to understand Community-Based and Pro Poor Tourism, it is crucial to first understand the needs of a community. Prakoso (2020) identified two measures for characterizing a community. The first is based on location and geographical similarities, and the second is based on shared interests such as religion, occupation, and ethnicity. This leads to the basic needs that human beings have within a community. These include basic biological needs such as nutrition, reproduction, physical comfort, health, safety, growth, and movement. Social life is also an indispensable part of a community and, according to Prakoso (2020), it exists within three social adaptation systems. The first is social adaptation to the physical environment, also known as ecological adaptation; the second is institutional social adaptation; and the third is cultural adaptation. The second system is meant to maintain and regulate social life, while the third system involves the development of habits and mental characteristics that enable individuals to fit in and participate in social life (Prakoso et al. 2020: 97). To develop a community for tourism and in general, some basic values are required, such as participation, empowerment, ownership and social or institutional capital. Participation here means direct involvement in community decision-making, and empowerment means strength and utilisation, not limited to assistance and capacity. Ownership describes the awareness of being fully responsible for the success of community activities as a resident. Social or institutional capital is the influence of cooperative behaviour within the community in various forms, such as social, psychological, institutional, cultural, and intangible assets, through interaction with other people (Prakoso et al. 2020: 98).

An understanding of community needs and how to develop a community is key to achieving sustainability in the tourism sector, which is planned and managed by local communities. This forms the basis of community-based tourism, in which local communities play a central role in developing and managing tourism within their community. Community-based tourism is hoped to create a sustainable form of tourism that maximises social and economic benefits for the community, as it is owned by the community and for the community. Today, community-based tourism is considered a form of pro-poor tourism (Prakoso et al. 2020: 98).

The concept of pro-poor tourism emerged after community-based tourism was developed in the 1990s. It shares some characteristics with community-based tourism, but centres people living in poverty (Saayman & Giampiccoli 2016: 155). It should be noted that the differences between community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism are very small, depend on the specific tourism

development angle. Therefore, by definition, pro-poor tourism needs the community to remain poor in order to be successful in developing tourism (Saayman & Giampiccoli 2016: 156).

2.2. History Overview and Township Tourism development in Katutura

To get an understanding about today's Katutura and the development of its township tourism – it is indispensable to get an overview of Katutura's history, including a brief history overview about Windhoek.

Most of Windhoek's prehistoric past is uncharted, due to a lack of archaeological research and the fast growth of the city later on, making vast examinations of the ground too complex (Roland et al. 2023: 123). First settlements go back to Stone Age, as well as hints of settlement points by Herero and Damara folklore around the eighteenth century (Roland et al. 2023: 123). The first settlement by white missionaries in today's Windhoek by white missionaries happened in 1840, when the first displacement of indigenous groups has taken place. The displacement was not accepted without resistance of the indigenous people, which led the missionaries to abandon Windhoek for settlement. This changed drastically when the German colonial period began in today's Lüderitz in 1884. With the German troops arriving in today's Windhoek later in the year, Windhoek – as we know it today – was established with the foundation of the fortress through the Germans on the 18th of October in 1890 (Bähr 1970: 40-41). On that day Germany officially declared Windhoek as their territorial headquarters (Roland et al. 2023: 128).

The German settlement in its early stages already showed systematic colonial control (Roland et al. 2023: 128). At that time, today's Windhoek was separated into "Groot Windhuk" and "Kein Windhuk", before a road was blasted through the mountain ridge in 1912 to connect both places more directly (Roland et al. 2023: 131). "Groot Windhuk" was divided into a very orderly, structured area of settlement, where white people lived in the north and a military ridge in the south (Roland et al. 2023: 128-129). The indigenous huts were located in the area of the military ridge, enabling to overlook the city (Roland et al. 2023: 131). This already showed the clear spatial separation of white residences and places of military force and following a clear exclusion of non-white people. Over time, the city grew rapidly, especially after the German genocide on the Herero and Nama, as they forced a relocation of the survivors to Windhoek. During World War I, South Africa took over area of today's Namibia in 1915. Until 1946, as an interwar period, the political situation ended in a consolidated apartheid state (Roland et al. 2023: 128-130).

Before Katutura was established, the home of Katutura’s future residents was called ‘Main Location’, with the relocation of its residents to Katutura it was called ‘Old Location’. ‘Main Location’ was in today’s Hochland Park, at the border to Windhoek West (Fig. 4) (Melber 2023: 59-60). The establishment of ‘Main Location’ showed, that racial segregation has not only been executed by the South African apartheid regime, it was already implemented during the German colonial era (Melber 2023: 42). Justification by the apartheid regime for the relocation from ‘Old Location’ to Katutura was the public health hazard of the ‘Old Location’. Threats were usually used to stir up fear amongst the whites, to discourage them from spatial and moral transcend of borders (Roland et al. 2023: 133).



Figure 4: Location of ‘Old Location’ and Katutura in today’s Windhoek (Own representation. The ‘Old Location’ is taken from: Melber 2023: 59).

As already mentioned, Katutura was established in 1959 as part of the South African apartheid system, to separate the black population to the northern outskirts of Windhoek (Melber 2020: 34). The forced relocation by the South African apartheid regime ended after protests, comprising of boycotts and demonstrations, cresting in a massacre on the 10th of December 1959. The forced resettlements were completely carried out towards the end of the 60s, when the ‘Old Location’ officially closed in 1968 (Melber 2020: 34). During the protest, 11 people lost their lives and 40 people were injured severely by bullets. Reasons to refuse the resettlement were diverse. Residents had to start renting houses in Katutura, while the houses of the ‘Old Location’ were owned by its occupants. Without being given the

chance to own a house in Katutura to settle permanently (Melber 2020: 55-56). Melber (2020: 57) is concluding some of the main issues:

“With the removal to Katutura, these people were robbed of their homes as their personal belonging. The houses they lived in – even if bordering to shacks – were theirs. It was property, which was taken from them. The limited material compensation offered by the municipal authorities did not make up for the much deeper loss, resulting in feelings of homelessness. Residents were removed to the outskirts of the city and could no longer walk through the streets of Windhoek to their work places. They were not any longer an integral albeit segregated part of the city, but were moved like cattle on trucks to the margins.” (p. 57)

The spatial scheme of Katutura was typical of apartheid-era townships, planned for maximum control over its residents. The townships were constructed in right-angles only and only one road access and entry to the township. To ensure a construction that led to a maximum of control, the topography needs to be flat, to avoid spaces without insights or spaces to hide. Role models for this monofunctional planning were the British and US-American suburbs, where an optimal urban segregation was proved (Roland et al. 2023: 135).

The massacre on the 10th of December led to the formation of SWAPO, the South West African People’s Organisation (Melber 2023: 38). Since 1977, they have been fighting for today’s Namibian independence and finally reached their goal in March 1990. Since then, and especially after independence, the government experienced a rapid growth through migration to Windhoek. This development has resulted in a shortage of affordable housing and properties in the city, which led to the informal settlements at the northern outskirts of Windhoek (Roland et al. 2023: 136). Issues are ongoing, although the government invested a lot in infrastructure, especially in Katutura (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 30), since the first official tourism in Katutura goes back to 1992. The government identified the tourism sector as one of the most important parts of the national economy. Subsequently, the concept of ‘community-based tourism’ was developed at an early stage of independence, as a core part of government policy regarding tourism. The official beginning of township tourism in Katutura was established through the Penduka Project, an NGO operating as the first institution in Katutura selling handcrafted products of female residents to Western visitors. The Penduka Project expanded over the years from showrooms for selling handcrafts to establishing a restaurant, a backpacker hostel and chalets for tourists. In 1998, the first organised township tours happened around Katutura, inspired through a township tour in Johannesburg, South Africa. First participants in these township tours usually were employees of foreign embassies and other international organisations. After that, in 2002, the first township tour operator brought clients to the suburb of Katutura, to experience the taste of traditional Namibian dishes and to buy locally made handcrafts. (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 32-33)

In 2023, Katutura and Khomasdal, are home to 50% of Windhoek's population in an urban area, the size of 25% of Windhoek. Katutura, as an apartheid-era township, is, as Roland et al. (2023) described, *'a narrative point of reference central to the construction of Namibia's national identity' and 'a mirror reflecting the changes and social challenges Namibia has experienced since independence'*. (Roland et al. 2023: 138) These characteristics made Katutura township soon after independence, a highly interesting site for heritage tourism, as well as for township tourism.

2.3. Literature Review

Research on township tourism, particularly in Katutura, is limited. However, other studies on township tourism and its residents' perceptions, specifically in neighbouring South Africa, have been conducted and provide a variety of literature.

Rolfes et al. (2009) provide a good starting point for research in the field of township tourism. They conducted an empirical study of township tourism in Cape Town, South Africa, to find out more about townships as tourist attractions. Unlike this thesis, their focus was mainly on tourists. They chose Cape Town for their studies because of the already booming township tourism that side. They used survey-based research methods, both quantitative and qualitative. Rolfes et al. (2009) concludes their research by recommending a focus on tourism policy in Cape Town through *'community-based tourism'* and *'pro-poor tourism'*. Rolfes et al. (2009) highlight the involvement of residents in township tourism-related tours as a key factor in ensuring the sustainability of the community and preventing townships from being viewed solely as a tourist attraction, rather than a living environment. Furthermore, Rolfes et al. (2009) divided the results of their research into two categories: *'sensational aspect'* and *'educational aspect'*, showing how tourists are attracted to township tours. The educational aspect can be seen in tourists who confront the tour to see whether the negative image portrayed in the international media is accurate. The sensational aspect describes the interest generated by the negative image in the international media. Tour operators therefore have a great responsibility towards the township and its socio-economic conditions, as well as towards showing the authentic township.

Booyens (2010) criticises township tourism as a means of stimulating the local economy, arguing that it is not a necessary development tool as it does not automatically improve community development or benefit the poor. However, the study, conducted in Orlando Township in Soweto, pursued to understand the perspectives of tourists and stakeholders on responsible township tourism. The focus is mainly on culture and heritage tourism and was conducted through structured interviews. To avoid exploitation in township tourism, Booyens (2010) suggests developing tourism around heritage to provide visitors with unique experiences. The research shows strong interest in cultural attractions

such as museums, art galleries, theatres, and craft centres. Prepared trails, guided walks, and bus services are recommended as opportunities to explore the area. Therefore, the Boston Freedom Trail in the US, is mentioned as a great example. Another side effect mentioned of developing heritage sites is that residents may feel proud as they showcase their culture and history, especially if they are actively involved. A key point of Booyens's research is the active involvement of residents in order to achieve widespread benefits. The responsibility, she concludes, lies with the government and stakeholders.

Potgieter et al. (2019) focused on the emotional life domain of these residents as well. They declare their research as the first and most significant study to examine the relationship between the socio-cultural impact of township tours and overall life satisfaction. In summary, the study outlines residents' belief in job creation through township tourism. The research shows that township tourism has an influence on the well-being of residents, as it improves their life satisfaction in general and improves living standards of township residents. The inclusion of residents by stakeholders in township tourism is recommended, as the key point of township tourism is interaction with locals, while inherently a sustainable tourism development is implemented. Therefore, the experience should not be designed for tourists alone, but for the residents as well. Potgieter et al.'s research is a valuable addition to the limited research on South African township tours.

Ndzumo (2020) examines the sustainability and authenticity of township tourism in Langa Township, Cape Town, South Africa. The methodology is based on both quantitative and qualitative methods to firstly determine the level of growth of the tours on offer within the township and secondly to specify the motivation for township tourism. Qualitative and quantitative data are conducted through interviews. The results of the research showed that 45.1 % of participants, primarily interested in cultural experiences, visit South Africa mainly for township tourism. Another key finding of Ndzumo (2020) is the huge potential of township tourism, to provide residents with economic opportunities, as well as to break down social and economic exclusion in and of townships.

A more recently published study on township tourism in Langa, Cape Town is that of Donaldson et al. (2023). They evaluated the perceptions of residents and stakeholders towards township tourism in Langa and found that, while stakeholders are generally aware of the economic potential of township tourism, residents are more concerned about safety, poor infrastructure and a lack of interaction between tourists and residents. The authors conclude that township tourism could be used as a tool for developing tourism in a sustainable and inclusive way once the historical, socio-economic, and cultural challenges are approached. Emphasised is that township tourism should not only offer a tourist experience, but also improve the local community. This study involved a wide range of 53 qualitative interviews.

Auala et al. (2019) observed the two most popular views on township tourism: firstly, that it exploits the poor by using their living conditions as tourist attractions; and secondly, that it can improve the community's economic situation. They also found that Namibian residents were more often the objects of tourism than the beneficiaries. Their research shows that there is a link between the benefits that residents receive from township tourism and their perception of it. As expected, residents are willing to support township tourism if it benefits them directly.

A key study on township tourism in Katutura is Steinbrink et al. (2015), who analyse the township tour offerings in Windhoek, focusing on the area of Katutura, as well as residents' and tourists' perceptions of them. The main focus of their research is on tourists; there is little information about residents' perceptions. The authors describe Katutura as a tourist destination and Windhoek's tourist potential in general, as well as the range of township tours on offer. The study's findings show that income and employment rates are increasing very little through township tourism, despite different groups promoting it as a means of uplifting the local community and reducing poverty. This could be seen as assimilation for marketing purposes and as a way of eliminating the moral concerns of potential clients. Overall, Steinbrink et al. state that the potential of township tourism to alleviate poverty is much smaller than suggested in public and academic discussions. They propose an increase in market volume and an expansion of the beneficiary group as a starting point for change.

Another study, conducted in Katutura by Saarinen (2010), focusses on local awareness of tourism. The study aimed to determine whether local communities were aware of tourism, tourists, and the impact on their environment. The study should also help the local communities to develop economically efficiency, rather than being the objects of township tourism. Saarinen (2010) collected data through semi-structured interviews in two vibrant tourist areas of Katutura and a rural area in northern Namibia from residents and tourists. The interviews were conducted as qualitative data. Focusing only on the data collected in Katutura, the research presents a high percentage of residents' income gathered directly from tourism. A reason for this is the chosen location of the interviews. Saarinen (2010) concludes that a majority of interviewees had positive expectations of tourists in their community, but there were little awareness of tourism and its impacts. Furthermore, it is suggested that community residents can only become active participants in the tourism sector if they benefit directly and develop a critical understanding of tourism and its impacts.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

In order to gain insight into the research question, a survey is implemented as the investigative method, with the focus being on understanding the perceptions of the residents. This chapter describes the methodology as a whole, starting with the research design, followed by the method of

data collection, the design of the sampling, the limitations of this research design, as well as the description of the confidentiality and ethics aspects.

3.1. Research Design

For the research design of this study a quantitative approach has been chosen to examine residents' perceptions towards township tourism in Katutura. Quantitative methods have been favoured against qualitative data collection in terms efficiency and comparability. Also, a quantitative approach suits the research question and objective of this thesis, as it allows to calculate statistical parameters for a population, which is indispensable if a population's opinion will be gathered. (Schnell 2019: 3-4)

3.2. Data collection method

Data is collected through standardised surveys in which the interviewees answer possibilities are limited and closed. This ensures a streamlined process, collecting necessary data only, which leads to answering the research question and objective of the study. It is a descriptive survey and planned as so-called Face-to-Face Surveys. This type of survey was chosen since some residents may not be able to read due to educational barriers. Furthermore, some participants also have a lack of access to smartphones and the Internet, making an online survey impractical.

The survey is divided into four sections, from A to D. Section A is about general information of the interviewed person, to be able to analyse possible relationships between perceptions and personal circumstances, comprising age, gender, or status of employment. The second part, "B", is including questions about their type of housing, followed by Section C about their neighbourhood. This part wants to enquire how Katutura's residents value their neighbourhood in terms of infrastructure, environmental living conditions, and accessibility to daily goods. Section D is examining the attitudes towards ToPo-Town and township tourism in Katutura. The complete survey form can be found in the appendix.

A weekend is chosen for the conduction of the survey, as residents are usually in Katutura. Each survey was designed to take a maximum of 15 minutes. Students from the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) supported the research. Working in teams of two, four groups collect data at the specified points described in Chapter 3.4. (Sampling Design).

3.3. Sampling design

Adult residents of Katutura are the target group for the survey. The sampling design is based on randomized sampling. Sample locations are chosen by a random point layer in QGIS. 30-point layers were set randomly on the streets within a polygon layer covering Katutura. Each point stands for one

survey to be conducted. Participants are chosen randomly within a range of 100 meters (Fig. 5). They must be residents of Katutura and cannot be underage to keep the research ethical and representative. Sample size is 30, which accounts for approximately 0.1% of Katutura’s total population of 2023 (NSA 2023). Results can only convey an impression, since the sample size is not able to reflect the total population of Katutura.

This sampling design is chosen to archive results of the survey, as the idea of a survey is based twofold: firstly, on a standardised survey, as already described in Chapter 3.2. (Data Collection Method), and, secondly, on random samples of the interviewees (Schnell 2019: 3). With that, data collection within Katutura’s population can be gathered, through only describing what’s happening, without exploring how, for example, attitudes emerge, as needed in this study (Schnell 2019: 4).

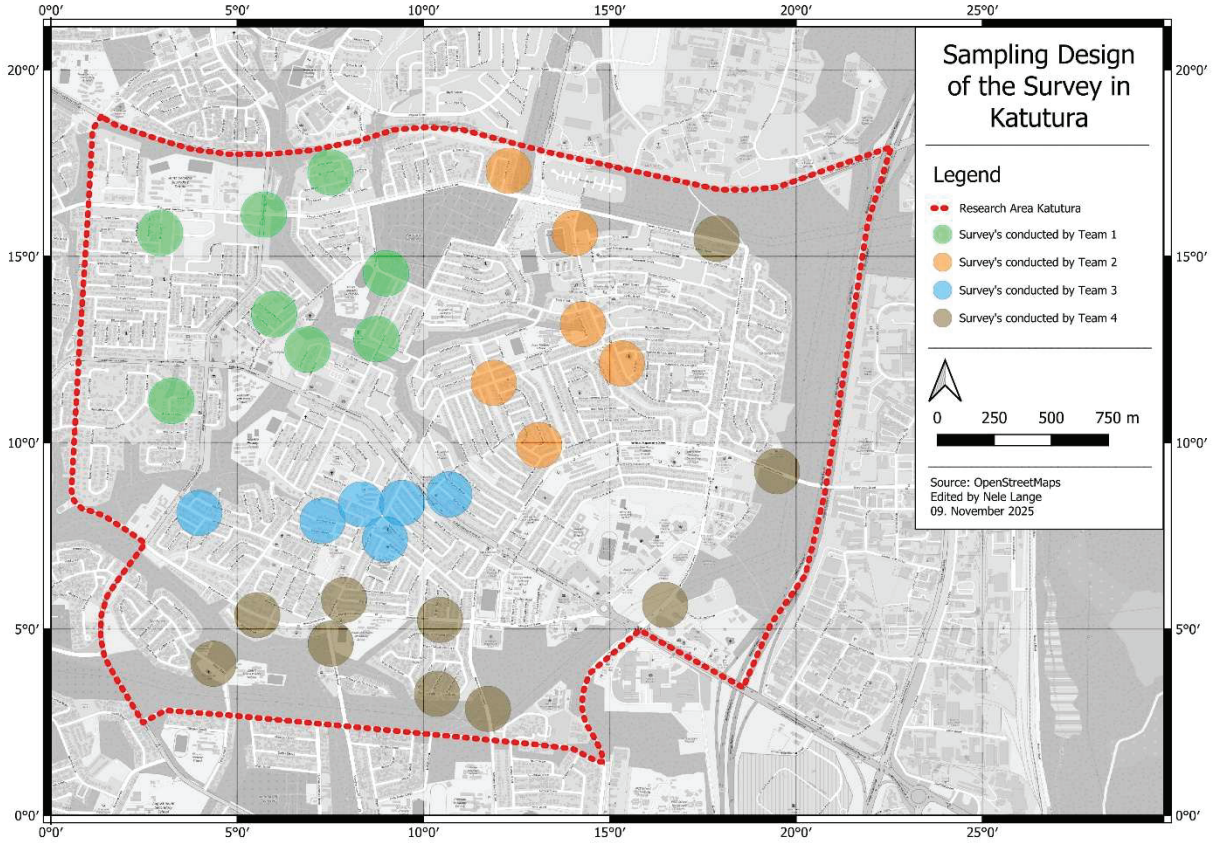


Figure 5: Sampling Design of the Survey in Katutura (Own representation).

3.4. Confidentiality and ethics

To make sure the survey data is handled confidentially and ethically, the data are only going to be used for the research of this thesis and for the ToPo-Town Project. The survey questions are not asking for any personal identities, to protect participants’ personal information and keep the survey anonymous. The participation is voluntary, and the right to withdraw is possible at any time.

3.5. Limitations of the research design

The absence of transparent information from Katutura's municipalities has resulted in the inability to ascertain its precise geographical area with any reliability. As illustrated in figure six, the various borders of Katutura are depicted alongside their respective sources. The border information provided by Sam Mwando of the Namibian University of Science and Technology (NUST) was rated the most reliable and was consequently utilized in this study.

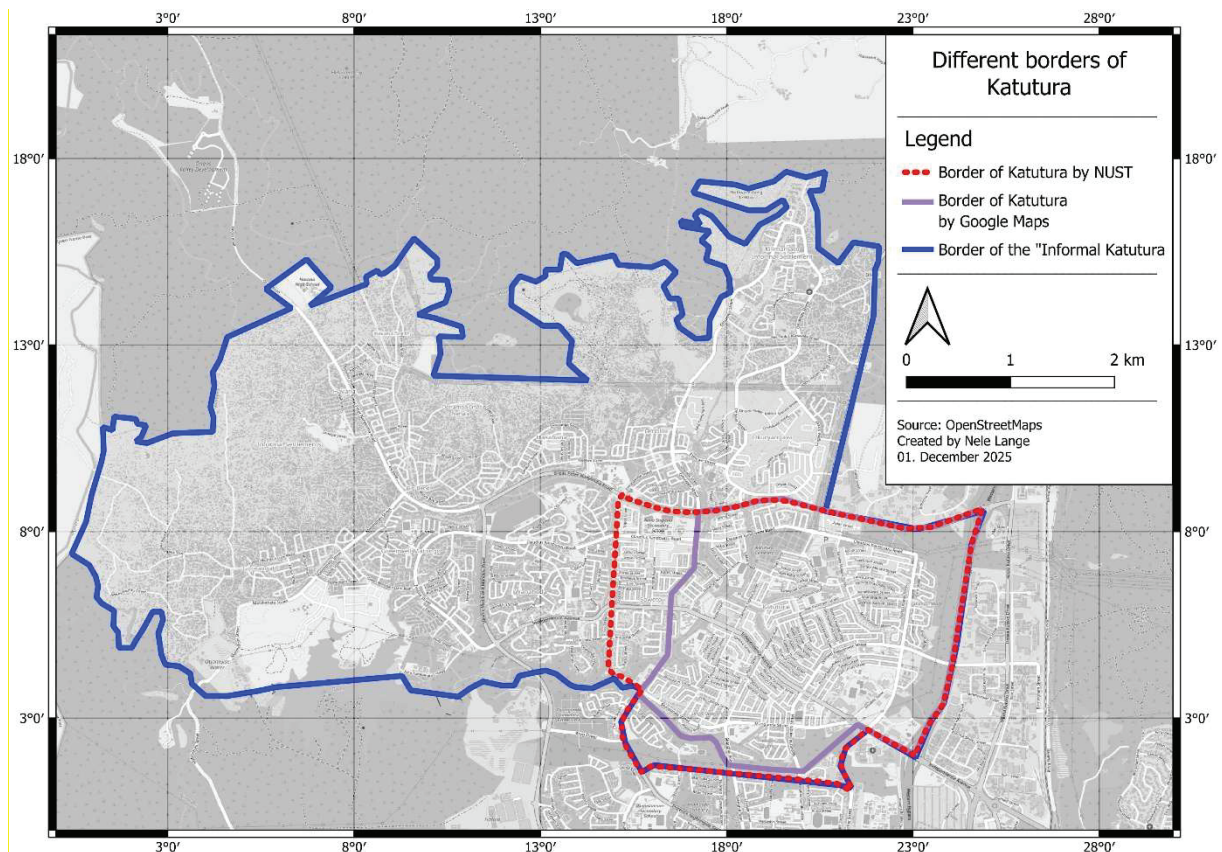


Figure 6: Different borders of Katutura (Own representation. The 'Border of Katutura by NUST' is taken from Mwando, S., private E-Mail, December 2025. The 'Border of Katutura by Google Maps' is taken from Google Maps and the 'Border of "Informal Katutura"' is an own representation based on interviewees responses).

Following the participants of the survey do have different understandings of the borders of Katutura, making it difficult to determine whether one is a resident of the township. This led to a shifted view of housing situations and environmental living conditions, as residents living, for example, in informal settlements are also counting themselves as Katutura residents. As already mentioned, a lack of provided information by the municipality of Windhoek was one issue, a lack of participation another. The main project was established by the municipality of Windhoek, the already conducted data were asked to share to be implemented in the theoretical background. Especially the location of the chosen heritage houses throughout the suburb of Katutura would have been crucial information. During a meeting with the municipality, this thesis was seen as a competition to their own project; for that

reason, they were not keen to share any further data. They offered to add the survey questions of this thesis to their survey and to share the survey data once the surveys are evaluated. Unfortunately, the focus group differs from the one of the presented study, and due to lack of time, it was not possible to agree on their offer. The municipality's focus group was on the current house owners of the already chosen heritage houses, while the focus group in this thesis is on Katutura's residents in general. Surely it would have been possible to conduct the data through the municipality surveys, which would have been ten surveys in total, if every participant agrees to participate in the survey of this study as well. As the aim was to figure out about the residents' perception about township tourism, data of ten surveys of the current house owners, which are about to leave the suburb, are not quite representative for residents' perception of the suburb towards township tourism.

The collection of data was impeded by a limitation regarding the small sample size; this was a consequence of the municipality declining to grant approval. The results of this study were anticipated to be representative, but the feasible samples can only indicate a tendency in the perceptions of the local residents.

Furthermore, the communication with the participants was challenging, as they understood some of the questions differently than they were intended, which also shifts the results.

Also, a general limitation whilst conducting surveys is the objectivity of the participants. Even though the question answers were limited and closed, emotions can shift the perspective of the question and also lead to a less objective view. Another possibility is participants lying, as they might feel embarrassed to answer a question, but also don't want to reject answering, as it could seem rude.

Conducting the survey presented a number of challenges. Establishing a productive dialogue with the participants proved to be a considerable hurdle, as their comprehension of the questions diverged from the intended interpretation, thereby resulting in altered outcomes. Another possibility is that participants may be inclined to provide false answers, as they may feel embarrassed about answering a question, yet also be reluctant to decline to answer, as this could be perceived as impolite.

Chapter 4 – Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter presents and interprets the empirical results. Following the response rate, respondent profile, and objective-based analysis aligned with the purpose of the study are described. Data is given in percent and rounded to the nearest integer. All raw data can be found in the appendix.

4.1. Response Rate

The questionnaire contains 39 questions, which was completed 25 times, missing out on a total of 16 unanswered questions, resulting in 1154 answered questions in total. Only six questions were not answered by respondents, giving a response rate of about 99 %. The 1 % of unanswered questions relate to monthly household income, feelings about tourists in Katutura, what tourists in Katutura do, and whether respondents would consider working with the Heritage-House-Project.

4.2. Respondent Profile

The gender distribution of the survey is even with 15 women and 15 men participating. The average age is about 35 years old; the youngest participant is 19 and the oldest is 67. Most participants reached secondary education level (18 out of 30), while only one out of 30 had primary education or lower. Six out of 30 stated that they have completed vocational training, a diploma or a college degree, and four out of 30 held a university degree. This shows that the average respondent's level of education is basic. The employment status of the participants shows an unemployment rate of 22 out of 30. Seven out of 30 are employed and one person works in the informal sector. The informal sector is defined as an economic segment that provides subsistence and income for many people through work (Fourie 2018: 3).

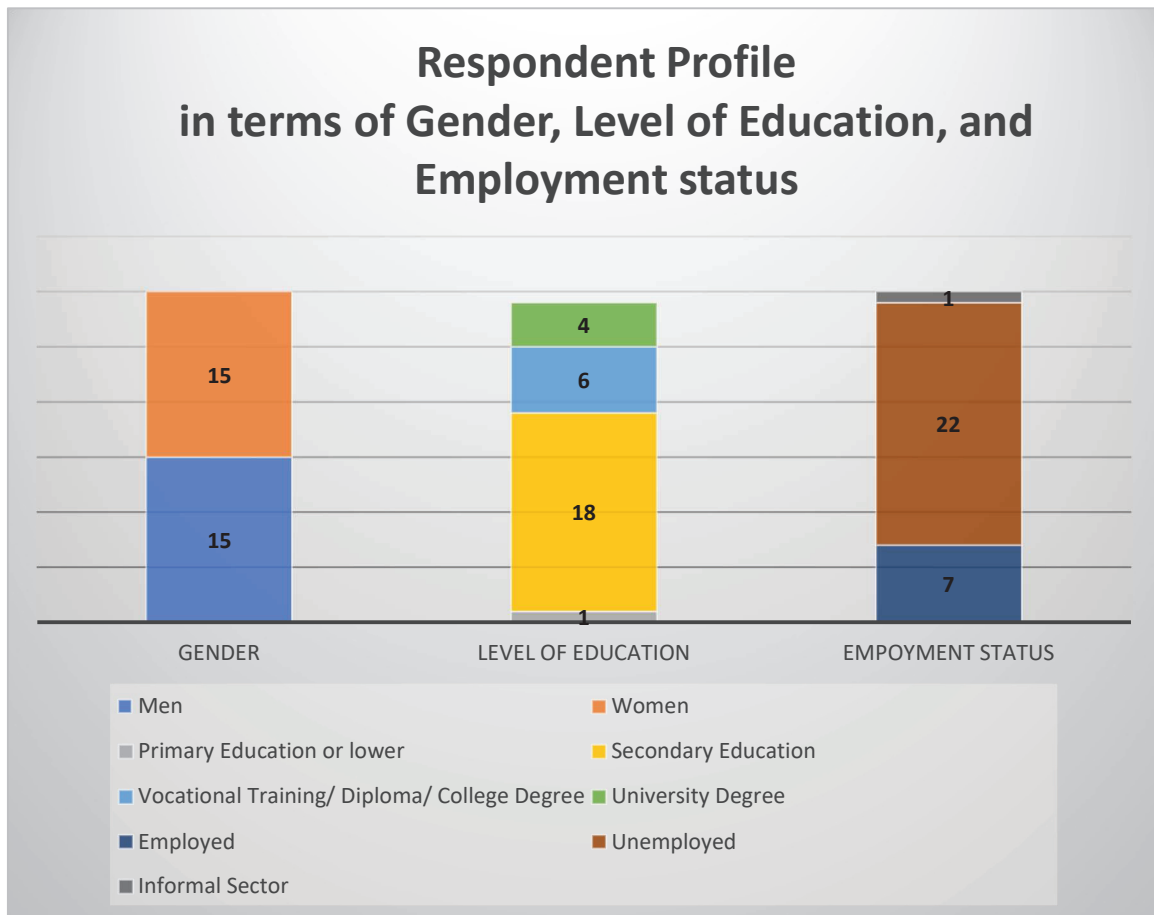


Figure 7: Respondent Profile in terms of Gender, Level of Education and Employment status. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

In terms of housing, 14 out of 28 respondents earn more than 3.000 N\$, while 11 respondents earn less than 1.800 N\$ and three earn between 2.600 N\$ and 3.000 N\$. The main sources of monthly household income are business in non-farming (11 out of 30) and salaries (nine out of 30). The average respondent's household consists of seven people (three men and four women) and has an average of three bedrooms. The average respondent profile also shows that 24 out of 30 respondents live in a standalone house and 19 of them have a garden or a yard. Five respondents live in a flat or apartment, while one person states that their housing differs from both. 25 out of 30 state their houses are made of brick and seven that they are made out of zinc. Furthermore, the average respondent states that they have electricity, running water, a toilet and waste collection services in their home. 27 respondents have access to electricity and waste collection, while 27 have a toilet in their home. The least common feature is running water, present 25 participants' homes.

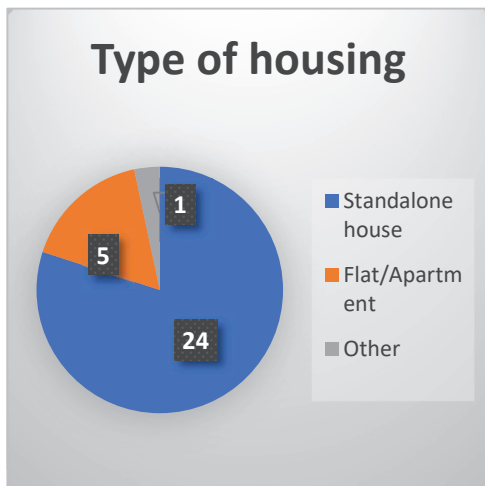


Figure 9: Type of housing. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

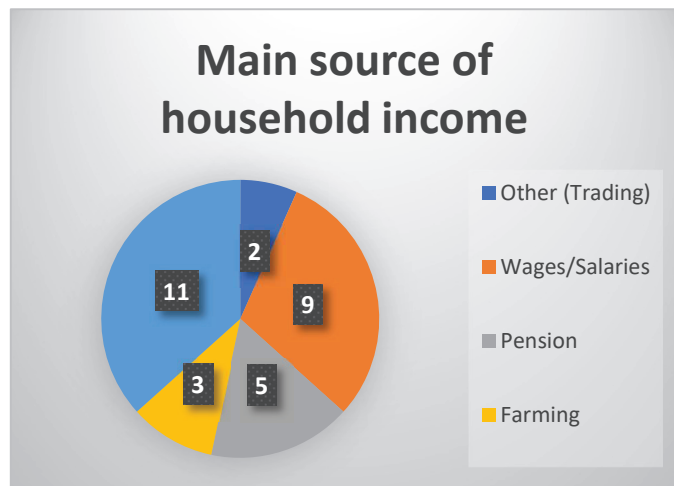


Figure 8: Main source of household income. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

In conclusion, the respondent profile is as follows: male or female; aged 35; with a secondary education; unemployed; with an approximate monthly household income of more than 3.000 N\$ earned through a non-farming business. Living in a standalone brick house with a garden or yard, three bedrooms, and a total household size of seven; with access to electricity, running water, a toilet, and waste collection.

4.3. Data Presentation and Analysis by Research Objective

First, interest in township tourism projects such as the Heritage-House-Project will be examined, followed by residents' general perceptions of township tourism and tourists in Katutura. Next, the housing situation and perceived environmental living conditions will be identified, before analysing the possible link between the perception of township tourism (Objective 2) and living conditions (Objective 3). The final chapter will offer recommendations regarding the Heritage-House-Project and ToPo-Town project. The Appendix contains a summary of the raw data from all survey answers.

4.3.1. Objective 1: Assess residents' interest in participating in the Heritage-House-Project

The first question relates to housing and asks if the participant lives in a house of interest to the municipality's Heritage-House-Project, as described in Chapter 1.1. (The ToPo-Town Project).

20 out of 30 respondents state that they do not live in a house of interest to the Heritage-House-Project, while 10 do. Those who answered 'yes' were asked if they would consider to being part of the Heritage-House-Project. Eight answered 'yes' and seven 'no'. When asked if the Heritage-House-Project could improve the participants' housing situation, 12 out of 30 respondents state they were not sure, 11 state 'yes' and seven state 'no'. The final question gauges interest in working with the

Heritage-House-Project. The bar for the answer option 'yes' rises to 22 out of 26 respondents, while two stated 'no' and 'maybe' each.

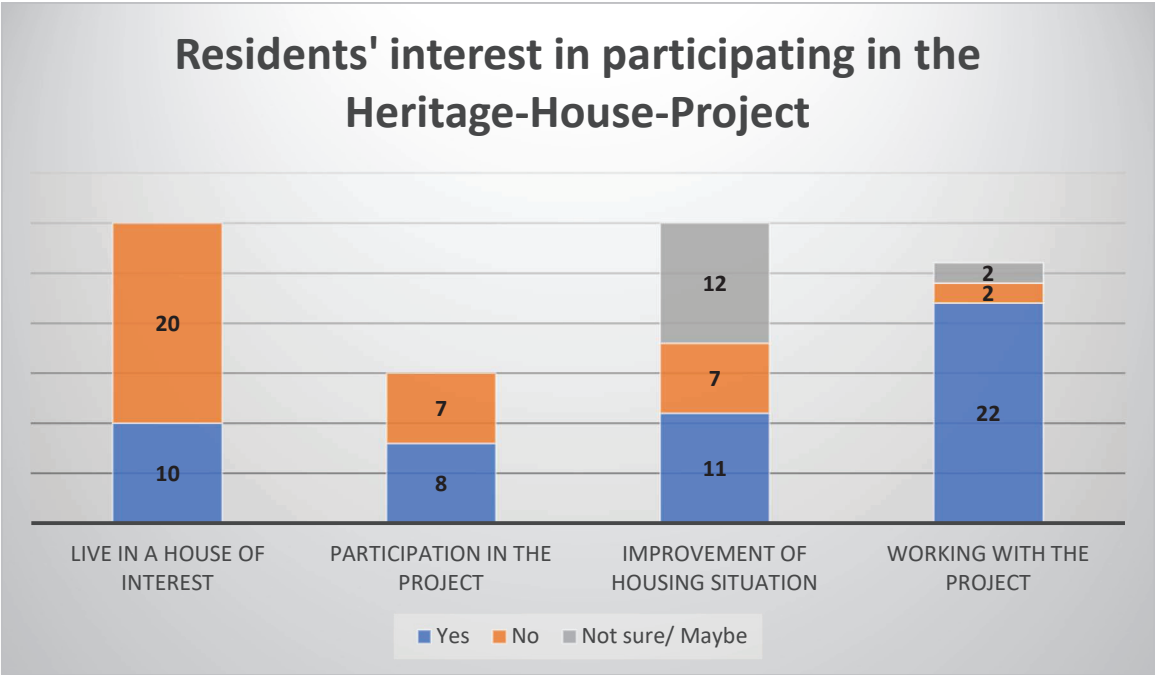


Figure 10: Residents' interest in participating in the Heritage-House-Project. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

4.3.2. Objective 2: Examine residents' perception towards township tourism and tourists

This section examines residents' perceptions of township tourism and tourists in general. The survey comprises a total of seven questions related to township tourism and tourists. Including four questions that were already discussed in Chapter 4.3.1. (Objective 1: Assess residents' interest in participating in the Heritage-House-Project).

The first question examines how familiar the term 'township tourism' is to the participants. More than half (17 out of 30) answered 'no', which is surprising regarding the answers about participating in the Heritage-House-Project. This is followed by a question about the residents' opinion of township tourism, which is difficult to answer if residents' have never heard of it. Those who were unfamiliar with the concept were given a brief explanation. Nevertheless, 14 out of 30 respondents answered the question with 'neutral'. One said their opinion was very negative, while five said 'somewhat positive' and ten state 'very positive'. A clear answer was given to the question of whether the participants had ever been involved in township tourism: all respondents answered 'no', making the subsequent question about how long they had been involved redundant. Another question asked about the participants' feelings towards tourists in Katutura. Once again, respondents were given five answer options ranging from 'very positive' to 'very negative'. Interestingly, most of the respondents

misunderstood the question. Initially, most of them stated that they felt very negatively about tourists in Katutura and explained why: “It’s very bad cause it’s not safe for them”. This implies that they were not talking about how they feel about tourists in Katutura, but rather how they feel about tourist safety in Katutura. The intended meaning of the question was explained to the participants, 12 out of 27 respondents stated that they felt very positively about tourists in Katutura. The bars go further down, with seven state to have ‘somewhat positive’ feelings, five state ‘neutral’, two state ‘somewhat negative’, and one respondent state to have ‘very negative’ feelings (Fig. 11). Furthermore, eight of the participants state that they have never seen tourists in Katutura, while 22 out of 30 respondents state that they have. The next question is about the activities tourists engage in while visiting Katutura. Respondents could choose from the following options: ‘have a traditional meal’, ‘buy local products’, ‘see the neighbourhood’, ‘get historical information’, and ‘being part of a guided tour’. The most popular option was ‘have a traditional meal’, chosen by 16 out of 25 respondents; followed by ‘seeing the neighbourhood’ by 12 and ‘being part of a guided tour’ by ten. ‘Buy local products’ was chosen by nine respondents, and ‘to get historical information’ by four.

This analysis clearly shows that the residents of Katutura have a neutral to very positive perception of township tourism and tourists.

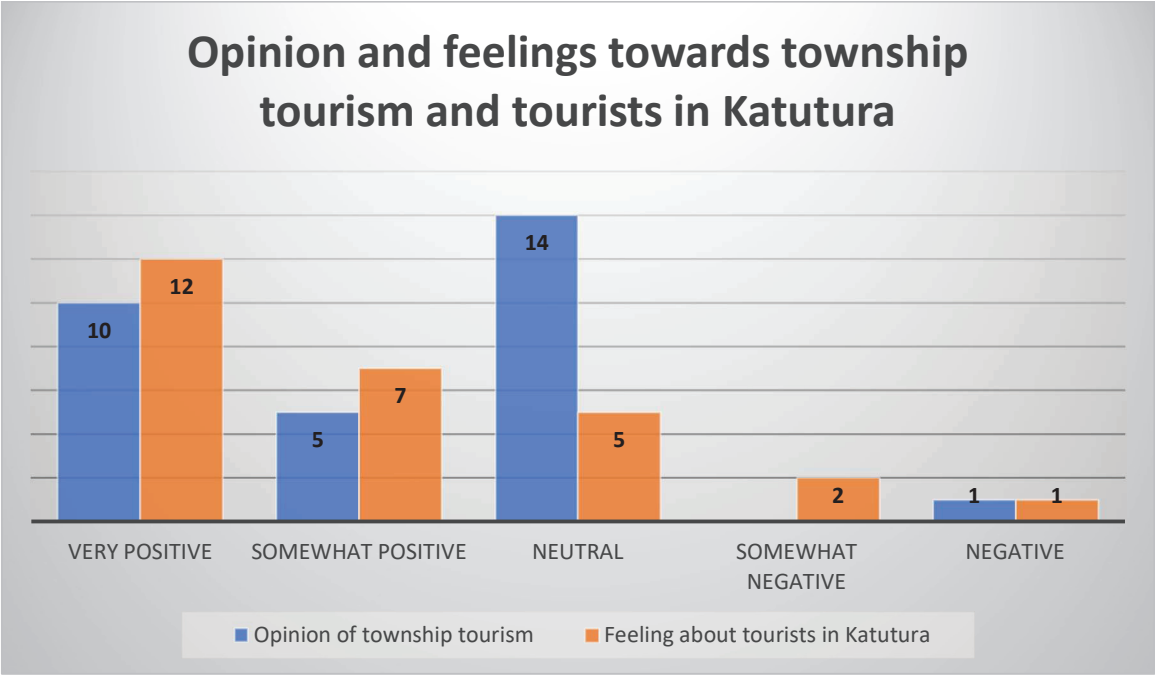


Figure 11: Opinion and feelings towards township tourism and tourists in Katutura. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

4.3.3. Objective 3: Identify housing situation and perceived environmental living conditions

The overall housing situation has already been explained in Chapter 4.2. (Respondent Profile), which examined the average respondent. This chapter will analyse the housing situation and the participants perceived environmental living conditions differently. The survey includes a total of 22 questions to identify the housing situation and environmental living conditions of the participants, including the six before mentioned questions in the respondent profile.

Furthermore, 19 out of 30 respondents indicated that they possess a yard or garden, of which all respondents reported the presence of at least one outbuilding on their property. The type of outbuilding remains undefined, but speculation suggests that outbuildings are toilets. This follows from the fact that 26 of the participants have a toilet in their home. Almost all participants have electricity (27 out of 29) and waste collection (27 out of 29) in their homes. 25 state that they have running water in their homes. Twenty respondents state that they have problems with their housing, of whom 11 have problems with a leaking roof, eight have plumbing problems and five have cracks in their walls. One person admitted to have dirty walls and other undefined problems. Furthermore, 22 respondents own their home, while eight rent theirs.

It is difficult to identify environmental living conditions as perception is highly individual. However, the survey conducted two different sections to identify the residents' perception of their environmental living conditions. The first section asked about the distance to different places from the participants' home. Respondents were able to choose between 'in walking distance', 'in walking distance with heavy bags', 'in need to take a taxi', and 'not in Katutura'. The last option was not selected at all, which implies that Katutura provides its residents with grocery stores, pharmacies, medical facilities, shopping locations, and educational facilities. Most participants stated that most facilities were within walking distance, except for shopping locations, medical facilities, and pharmacies (Fig. 12).

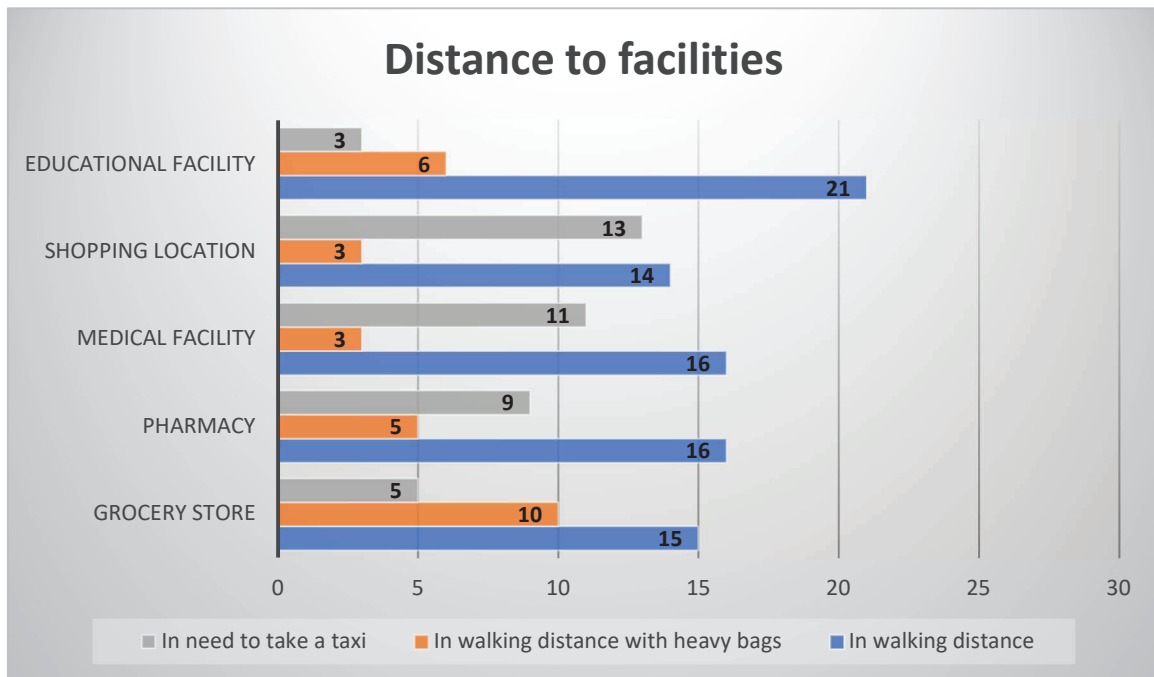


Figure 12: Distance to facilities from the respondent's home. Data in real figures. (Own representation)

Section two covers how the participants rate their neighbourhood, primarily in terms of infrastructure. The scale went from one to five, with one describing 'very poor' and five, 'excellent'. The general rating of the participants' neighbourhoods is positive: 11 out of 30 respondents gave a rating of five out of five, and one gave a rating of three out of five. Five rate their neighbourhood as a four, showing that the general opinion ranges from okay to excellent. In total, 27 respondents rate their neighbourhood as good or better, while three rate it as very poor. Access to transport is generally rated as excellent by 20 respondents, with one rating it as very poor. Perceptions of the overall cleanliness are mixed: ten respondents rate it as a three and seven rate it as either a four or a five. The majority still rates the overall cleanliness as somewhere between 'okay' and 'excellent'. Safety at night is rated as very poor, with 14 respondents rate it as a one, four as a two and nine as a three. This contrast with the three who rated the safety at night as 'excellent'. The picture changes when it comes to safety during the day. 15 respondents rate safety as okay by choosing a three, while four choose a four and seven choose a five. Compared to the four who rated safety during the day as 'very poor', the majority perception is 'okay', heading towards 'excellent'. When it comes to community support, the majority opinion is 'okay', with ratings ranging from 'very poor' to 'excellent'. Rating one to three was chosen by 20 respondents, while four and five were both chosen by five respondents each, making a total of ten. The last two questions are about the conditions of the roads and pavements. Opinions differ on the conditions of the roads. 12 respondents rate the conditions as 'okay' by choosing a three, while six rate them as 'poor' or 'very poor'. Five also chose a four, indicating that the majority opinion of road conditions ranges from okay to excellent. The opposite is true for the condition of the pavements The majority (11 out of 30) rate the conditions as okay, while the same amount of respondents chose to

rank them one and two. This was dominated by eight respondents who chose four and five. This clearly shows that the general majority would rate the condition of pavements as from okay to very poor. Overall, the average rating of participants' views of their neighbourhood, calculated using all eight rating scales, is three, showing that the average perception of their neighbourhood is neutral (Fig. 13).

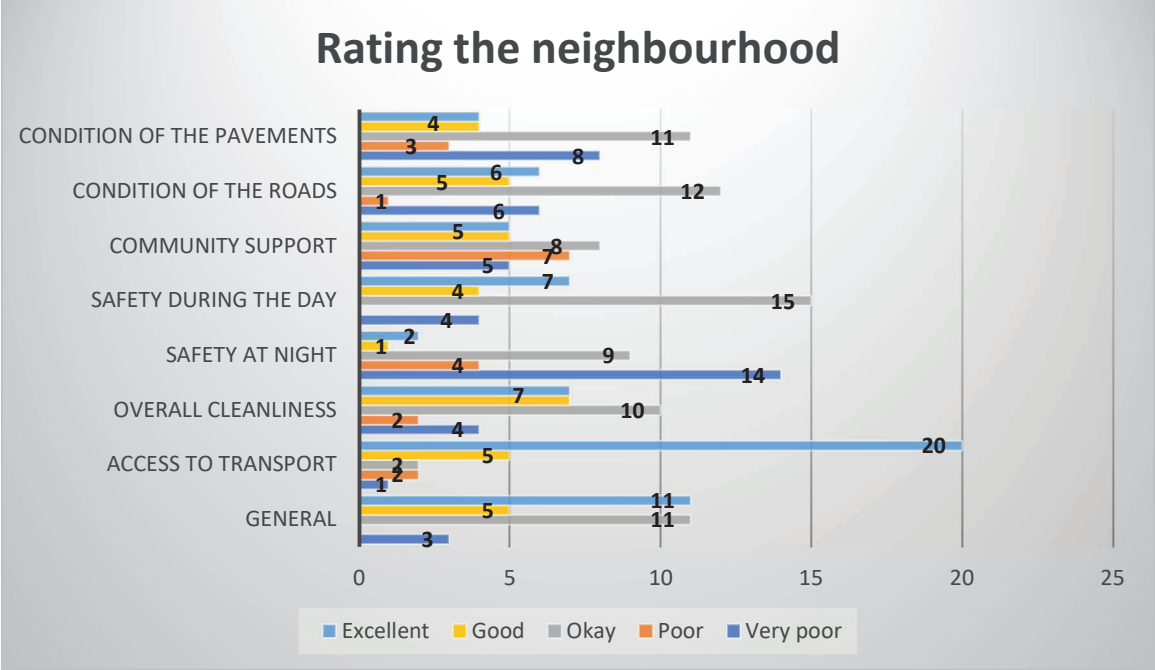


Figure 13: Residents rating their neighbourhood. (Own representation)

In summary, the analysis of Katutura residents' housing situation and their perception of environmental living conditions highlights a generally stable situation, but also some notable infrastructure and safety issues. Common housing issues include leaking roofs, plumbing problems, and cracks in the walls. The majority of respondents live in houses that, by European standards, are overcrowded, but they generally have access to electricity, waste collection, an indoor toilet and running water. Essential facilities are generally within walking distance, although some individuals still need to take a taxi to access health facilities and pharmacies. The neighbourhood is mostly rated positively, with 27 respondents evaluating it as satisfactory to excellent. Access to transport is perceived as excellent, while the overall cleanliness is perceived as ranging from poor to excellent, but mostly as neutral. The same happened with community support, which is mainly seen as low to moderate. There is a strong contrast in safety perceptions: the majority rates safety at night as very poor and safety during the day as okay to excellent. Similar patterns can be seen in the condition of the roads and pavements: the roads are mostly rated as okay to excellent, while the pavements are mostly rated as okay to very poor. Overall, the findings show relatively stable housing for participants, but there are infrastructural issues, especially regarding safety at night, which need significant improvement.

4.3.4. Objective 4: Analyse of a link between the perception of township tourism and living conditions

One of the main objectives is to determine whether there is a link between perceptions of township tourism and residents' living conditions. These living conditions include both housing and environmental factors. As analysed in Chapter 4.3.2. (Objective 2: Examine residents' perceptions towards township tourism and tourists), the majority regards township tourism and tourists positively. Also, the housing situation is generally stable, as shown in Chapter 4.3.3. (Objective 3: Identify housing situation and perceived environmental living conditions).

There are no obvious links between the participants' perception of township tourism and their living conditions. One person states that their perception of township tourism and tourists in Katutura is 'very negative', while two other participants describe their feelings towards tourists in Katutura as 'somewhat negative'. The rest of the respondents' have a perception ranging from 'neutral' to 'very positive' towards township tourism and tourists in Katutura. Also, no clear link could be found between environmental living conditions, housing situation and perception of township tourism and tourists. For example, the three respondents who view tourists in Katutura 'somewhat negative' or 'very negative' do not have much in common in terms of their environmental living conditions and housing situation, except that they all live in standalone houses. They all rated their neighbourhood differently, between a two and a four. Two of them share a room with at least one other person, while the other respondent shares a room with three to four people.

While analysing the link between perceptions of township tourism and living conditions, other anomalies were identified. Overall, there is a difference in the answers given by men and women. When asked if they thought the Heritage-House-Project could improve their housing situation, two out of 15 women answered yes, whereas nine out of 15 men did.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

The following section interprets the results and examines their implications within the broader scientific context, as well as the author's further thoughts during the research process. It highlights alignments and divergences between theories on township tourism, heritage tourism, and the findings of the survey. This allows for contextualising the observations made throughout the survey in Katutura to be contextualised within broader academic debates.

In general, it can be said that the findings of this research largely confirm to the findings of previous studies on township tourism in Katutura, as well as in South Africa, even if the overall research data is

still limited. The findings of a generally positive association towards township tourism by residents is getting support by other studies assuming the case that residents see a potential of benefits.

This research shows a predominantly neutral to very positive perception of township tourism among residents. This aligns with the residents' perception about tourists visiting Katutura, for which where the majority state they feel somewhat positive to very positive about it. Especially in response to the question, if they would consider working with the Heritage-House-Project demonstrates their willingness to get employed. Likewise, more than half of the participants who live in a house of interest to the municipality's Heritage-House-Project would consider taking part in it. The high percentage in response to the question of whether participants would consider working on the project indicates a general interest in township tourism projects. The response to the question of whether the residents who live in a house of interest to the municipality's project can relate to the fact that residents are unlikely willing to move out of their homes is also notable. This is not necessarily a sign of a lack of interest in township tourism projects; it is more a reflection of people's desire to remain in their homes. Saarinen (2010), Auala et al. (2019), Ndzumo (2020), and Potgieter et al. (2019) highlight the significant interest in tourism by residents as they expect a personal benefit. This can be confirmed by reflecting the high rate of unemployment (22 out of 30) and with the 22 participants who would consider working for the Heritage-House-Project. Even though, 17 respondents state they have never heard about township tourism. Under the aspect of Steinbrink et al. (2015), saying that the potential of uplifting a community through township tourism is smaller than introduced by public and academic discussions (Steinbrink et al. 2015: 129), leads back to the importance of acknowledging local residents' and the sensitive tourism development by the government and stakeholders. The neutral up to positive responses towards township tourism and tourists, compared to the finding that most of the respondents have not heard about township tourism before, allows a reflection of a very limited knowledge of tourism by the residents, rather than rejection of tourism. That more than half of the respondents have never heard about township tourism, also stands in contrast to Steinbrink et al. (2015), who is describing township tourism in Katutura as an already established product (Steinbrink et al.: 16-17). Therefore, Katutura being a well-known township tourism destination, all of the respondents state they have never been involved in such activities. This can stand in relation to the small number of interviewees. The authors perception while gathering data in Katutura showed, that tourism focuses on only a few centred places in Katutura, which is also shown in the research of Saarinen (2010), which concentrates on two vibrant tourist areas of Katutura.

According to Saarinen (2010), the relatively low percentage in awareness of township tourism and the high rate in the interest of participating in township tourism projects compares to the findings that respondents in this study state to have never been involved in township tourism projects before. This

can only suggest that high expectations are combined to tourism, as Saarinen (2010) states, respondents who were aware of township tourism, mostly regarded it as positive when they were benefiting. This implements the possibility that heard and seen experiences from others is shaping enough hope for Katutura's residents to see township tourism related projects in a positive way, without being fully aware of the concept. But also, Saarinen (2010) states that the amount of existing data is too small for wider conclusions. This underlines that positive economic expectations or experiences are a key driver of positive perceptions towards tourists (Saarinen 2010: 721).

None of the respondents in this study has ever been involved in any township tourism project yet, but the result of 20 respondents living in a heritage-relevant house who would consider working with the project shows that there is a will to participate in township tourism projects by residents is abundant, while the involvement is still little. This supports the hypothesis of people being more willing to participate due to the high rate of unemployment. This is coherent with the findings of Auala et al. (2019), who figured out that Namibian residents are more often the object of a tour instead of being the ones benefiting from it (Auala et al. 2019: 1). Those findings of the active will of residents to be involved in township tourism projects support the statements of Rolfes et al. (2009) and Booyens (2010). Who highlight the involvement to avoid exploitation (Booyens 2010: 277) and emphasising community-based tourism (Rolfes et al. 2009: 53).

The living conditions of the participants can be seen as stable, as only one person stated to live in another type of housing (undefined). It is suggested; this person is most likely staying in 'shack'-like accommodation. 'Shack' like accommodation is unlikely in the research area of the presented study, according to the research findings and the author's observations. Mostly, those types of accommodation remain to the informal settlements, which are seen as part of Katutura by residents (Fig. 6) and therefore, this person counted itself as a Katutura resident and participated in this research survey. Despite from that, most issues seen by residents lay in the infrastructure and safety of the suburb. In this context, Booyens (2010) mentioned a possibility of improving in safety and security within the suburb when residents get more involved and benefit by tourism. (Booyens 2010: 276) Seeing township tourism from that perspective, it can be considered as a tool to improve local living conditions. Also, a community is not automatically benefiting from tourism as development in infrastructure usually happened where the tourists are concentrated and far from the actual local community (Saarinen 2010: 721). This is a risk, Katutura is facing, regarding to the authors personal observations, as the tourism in Katutura is mostly centred.

The hypothesis of the respondents' living conditions being linked to their perception of township tourism is considered wrong. This may be because there are simply no connections, or because the sample size of 30 participants is too small to detect differences. Aligning to Potgieter et al. (2019), the

perceptions towards tourism are not solely determined by their material living conditions (Potgieter et al. 2019: 11), but by the benefits gained from tourism (Auala et al. 2019: 8). This can be related to the findings of this study. None of the respondents has ever been involved in township tourism, but still, 29 respondents state to have neutral up to very positive opinions of it, also the feelings of tourists visiting Katutura are mainly neutral up to very positive, as only three respondents state to have somewhat up to very negative feelings. With that, it must be considered that there is still a possibility the question got understood in the wrong way, as mentioned in Chapter 4.3.2. (Objective 2: Examine residents' perception towards township tourism and tourists). The high quota of positivity towards township tourism and tourists, without any experiences in that field, must come from the hope of benefitting from it. Previous studies did not find any links between residents' perception towards township tourism, tourists and their overall living conditions, it is likely there are none. Considering Saarinen (2010), the amount of provided data was too little to make wider conclusions (Saarinen 2010: 721), which has not changed much since today. Also, the number of respondents is small, as the results could not reach representativeness. Therefore, the examined data of the presented thesis can be seen as a sample survey instead of a representative survey.

In theory, the study shows little contradiction to implementing the Heritage-House-Project, as most of the respondents have positive perceptions towards it. The literature overview shows that implementing a tourism project within a township, needs more than only the will of participation of its residents. Tourism in townships can easily become exploitative. A huge problem is seen in the lack of knowledge about township tourism among the surveyed. To avoid exploitative tourism, the residents need to benefit directly from the tourism sector in Katutura, but this can't happen without an overall awareness of township tourism. Without being aware of all negative implications, as well as positive impacts of township tourism, it will be difficult to create a real benefit for the community, as they don't know what other potential 'cost' they have to pay. Negative implications of township tourism can especially include exploitation of the residents. With that in mind, control and participation by residents can only take place by acknowledging them beyond positive impacts of township tourism, to balance a sustainable, rather than exploitative, township tourism development (Saarinen 2010: 722). Furthermore, positive perceptions can easily change into negative perceptions, especially when residents are not fully aware of the impacts of township tourism, and those are colliding with expectations (Saarinen 2010: 721).

Community-based-tourism and pro-poor-tourism are created tourism concepts to avoid exploitative township tourism without excluding tourism from the townships. Especially community-based-tourism is focusing on the support of local development (Saarinen 2010: 721). Therefore, these concepts can build a guideline for implementing the Heritage-House-Project. With the heritage development

throughout the municipality's project, a focus on smaller markets and heritages can be set to avoid a possible mass tourism and exploration of residents (Booyens 2010: 284). This could help to decentre the tourism in Katutura. Furthermore, Booyens (2010) showcased that visitors would like to see more cultural attractions, which can be given and combined by a well-planned and organized tourism development, when barriers like a generally small exchange with residents are broken down. Mentioned solutions are created trails and specific public transport options, though visitors can decide themselves where and how to go next (Booyens 2010: 284). Solutions, figured by Booyens (2010) lay in concrete efforts by government and stakeholders and the sensitive tourism development (Booyens 2010: 289). A huge potential to counteract the unsafety during the night is seen in the local involvement and their benefit, as this can create goodwill amongst the participants and with that, an improvement in safety and security (Booyens 2010: 276). Furthermore, residents who are involved in heritage development processes, not only in construction but as personal testimonies, can ensure commemoration of Katutura's past and let local residents' feel proud (Booyens 2010: 285).

The information gained from the presented research provides a solid basis for recommending the ToPo-Town and Heritage-House-Project. First, it should be noted that the majority of respondents had not heard of township tourism. The municipality should address this educational gap, as increasing tourism in Katutura is their responsibility. It would be unfair to make decisions about tourism development in Katutura without fully acknowledging its residents. Furthermore, respondents expressed interest in working with the Heritage-House-Project, which is notable given the suburb's high unemployment rate. Another issue to consider is the number of complaints about environmental living conditions, such as safety, and the conditions of the roads and pavements. Almost half of the respondents stated that safety at night was very poor, as were the conditions of the pavements. These issues fall within the responsibility of the municipality, not only to improve the living conditions of Katutura's residents, but also to keep the suburb attractive to tourists.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This study provides new insights of township tourism in Katutura. Katutura is a relatively under-researched area within academic field of township tourism worldwide. Therefore, this thesis provides new empirical insights into residents' perceptions of township tourism and their housing and environmental living conditions, a connection that is rarely studied. The study also makes recommendations to the ToPo-Town and Heritage-House projects on how to implement sustainable tourism in Katutura. The study can also serve as a guideline for similar projects.

The main results represent a high level of interest in participating in the Heritage-House-Project, and a generally positive view of township tourism and tourists in Katutura among its residents. This is

contrasted by the findings that none of the respondents had ever been involved in township tourism projects and had little to no knowledge about township tourism. Previous studies display that the perception of and motivation to participate in township tourism projects, such as the Heritage-House-Project, is related to the experiences that residents have gained from tourism (Saarinen 2010: 721). As none of the study's respondents have experience of being involved in township tourism, their perception and motivation is related to their high expectations of benefitting from tourism. This can be reflected in their positive responses to the question of whether the Heritage-House-Project could improve their housing situation.

The possible relations between residents' perceptions of township tourism and tourists and their living conditions needed to be examined. The majority rated their neighbourhood as generally satisfactory, citing a lack of safety and poor road and pavement conditions. The housing situation can be considered moderate, as only one of the respondents lives in a different type of accommodation, such as shacks. Furthermore, the majority lives in standalone houses with access to electricity, running water, an indoor toilet and waste collection. There is no connection between negative perceptions of the township and a better or worse housing situation or environmental living conditions. The reverse assertion may also be made.

Therefore, the central research question: "Is the perception towards township tourism related to the housing situation and environmental living conditions?" can be answered 'no'. There is no direct link between residents' perceptions of township tourism projects and their housing situation or environmental living conditions. It is more likely that a relationship exists between residents' perceptions of township tourism projects and the benefits they can gain from them. Consequently, the Heritage-House-Project could be successfully implemented if the local community benefits directly. These benefits could include improving the weak points concerning the infrastructure and safety issues mentioned in the survey responses, not only increasing cash flow.

The presented study has overcome various limitations. Certain aspects relate to communication and the research area of 'Katutura', the borders of which depend on different perspectives and research intentions. For now, the data from this study is only reliable within the specified border (Fig. 2). Communication is often considered a limitation in studies conducted abroad. For example, communication with Katutura residents was difficult at times, leading to misunderstandings, similar problems appeared in communication and participation with the Windhoek municipality. Furthermore, the lack of research data on township tourism in Katutura and the small sample size due to organisational issues and the limitations of a bachelor's thesis are also among the research limitations.

For future investigations into township tourism and general research in Katutura, it is recommended that, before interviewing a participant, a shared understanding about the concerning sample area must be established, to determine if residents belong to the research group. Any issues that need to be clarified with the Windhoek municipality should be resolved before the research begins. Researchers should consider spending some time in the research area before gathering data. Understanding the culture and how residents arrange their daily lives is key to successful research, as is formulating well-fitting questions to minimise misunderstandings.

Topics for future research could include a closer investigation of Katutura's infrastructure to gain a clearer understanding of the current situation, given that opinions and perceptions can differ. The ToPo-Town project can provide the framework for investigating the tourist potential of Katutura and how to best implement projects like the Heritage-House-Project, ensuring the local community truly benefits. Once the Heritage-House-Project has been implemented, it would be a worthwhile pursuit to research residents' perceptions of the project and compare them with the findings of these studies. It would also be interesting to research any changes in the benefits gained by the local community through tourism. In the authors' view, growth within the scientific field and further studies on township tourism are expected over time. However, it is questionable whether local residents will really benefit differently, or whether township tourism can provide better living conditions, job opportunities, and proper housing, especially for people living in informal settlements on the outskirts of Katutura.

Conducting research abroad can be challenging, but it can also be a valuable learning experience. During this research, experiences included solving of many problems without being prepared for such situations. Nevertheless, the scientific and personal growth was enormous. Immersing in a completely new culture with only theoretical knowledge is an experience in itself. It involved finding a way through difficulties to keep the research going. Language improved generally, as did the ability to adapt to a new culture and society that works completely different to what was familiar. Ultimately, more positive experiences and learnings were gained than negative ones, and skills in problem solving and autonomous working were developed.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Nele Lange, hereby declare that I have independently written the present bachelor's thesis with the topic of:

“Township Tourism through the residents’ eyes – an analysis in Katutura, Windhoek –”

and that I have not used any unauthorized assistance.

All passages that are taken verbatim or in meaning from published or unpublished sources have been clearly identified as such.

I hereby confirm that I have used no sources or aids other than those indicated.

This thesis has not yet been submitted to any other examination authority and has not been published.

I am aware that a false declaration may have legal consequences.

Appendices

Appendices 1: Raw data of the summarized survey

Table 1: Age of the respondents (n = 29)

Age	Count	%
19 - 20	4	13,79
21 - 30	11	37,93
31 - 40	4	13,79
41 - 50	4	13,79
51 - 60	4	13,79
61 - 70	2	6,9

Table 2: Gender of the respondents (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Male	15	50	1
Female	15	50	2
Other	0	0	3

Table 3: Highest level of education (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Primary education	1	3,33	1
Secondary education	18	60	2
Vocational training/ Diploma/ College	6	20	3
University degree (Bachelor's/ Master's or higher)	4	13,33	4
Other	1	3,33	5

Table 4: Employment status: (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
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Employed	7	23,33	1
Unemployed	22	73,33	2
Informal sector	1	3,33	3

Table 5: Monthly household income (approx.) (n = 28)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Less than N\$ 1.800	11	39,29	1
N\$ 1.800 to N\$ 2.500	0	0	2
N\$ 2.600 to N\$ 3.000	3	10,71	3
More than N\$ 3.000	14	50	4

Table 6: Main source of the household income (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Wages/ Salaries	9	30	1
Pension	5	16,67	2
Farming	3	10	3
Business (non-farming)	11	36,67	4
Other (Trading)	2	6,67	5

Table 7: Household size (number of male and female) (n = 30)

Answer/ Count	0 - 2	3 - 5	6 - 8	9 - 11	12 - 14	15 - 25
Male	17	9	1	3	-	-
Female	12	13	3	1	1	-
Mixed total	4	7	15	2	1	2
%	13,33	23,33	50	6,67	3,33	6,67

Table 8: Garden/Yard attached to the house (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	19	63,33	1
No	11	36,67	2

Table 9: Type of housing (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Standalone house	24	80	1
Flat/Apartment	5	16,67	2
Other	1	3,33	3

Table 10: Material of the house (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%
Brick	25	83,33
Zinc	7	23,33
Traditional materials	0	0
Other	0	0

Table 11: Number of bedrooms in the house (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%
1	5	16,67
2	8	26,67
3	9	30
4	7	23,33
6	1	3,33

Table 12: Outbuilding in the yard (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	19	63,33	1
No	11	36,67	2

Table 13: Facilities in their home (n = 29)

Answer	Count	%
Electricity	27	93,1

Running Water	25	86,21
A toilet	26	89,66
Waste collection	27	93,1

Table 14: Problems with their housing (n = 20)

Answer	Count	%
Leaking roof	11	55
Plumbing problems	8	40
Cracks	5	25
Dirty walls	1	5
Other	1	5

Table 15: Ownership of the current home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Own	22	73,33	1
Rent	8	26,67	2

Table 16: Live in a house of interest to the municipal heritage project (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	10	33,33	1
No	20	66,67	2

Table 17: If yes, consideration to be part of the municipal heritage project (n = 15)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	8	53,33	1
No	7	46,67	2

Table 18: Distance to the next grocery store from the respondent's home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
In walking distance	15	50	1

In walking distance with heavy bags	10	33,33	2
In need to take a taxi	5	16,67	3
Not in Katutura	0	0	4

Table 19: Distance to the next pharmacy from the respondent's home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
In walking distance	16	53,33	1
In walking distance with heavy bags	5	16,67	2
In need to take a taxi	9	30	3
Not in Katutura	0	0	4

Table 20: Distance to the next medical facility from the respondent's home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
In walking distance	16	53,33	1
In walking distance with heavy bags	3	10	2
In need to take a taxi	11	36,67	3
Not in Katutura	0	0	4

Table 21: Distance to the next shopping location (e.g. clothes) of the respondent's home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
In walking distance	14	46,67	1
In walking distance with heavy bags	3	10	2
In need to take a taxi	13	43,33	3
Not in Katutura	0	0	4

Table 22: Distance to the next educational facility from the respondent's home (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
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In walking distance	21	70	1
In walking distance with heavy bags	6	20	2
In need to take a taxi	3	10	3
Not in Katutura	0	0	4

Table 23: Rate of their neighbourhood (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	3	10
poor	2	0	0
okay	3	11	36,67
good	4	5	16,67
Excellent	5	11	36,67

Table 24: Access to transport (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	1	3,33
poor	2	2	6,67
okay	3	2	6,67
good	4	5	16,67
Excellent	5	11	66,67

Table 25: Overall cleanliness (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	4	13,33
poor	2	2	6,67
okay	3	10	33,33
good	4	7	23,33
Excellent	5	7	23,33

Table 26: Safety at night (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	14	46,67
poor	2	4	13,33
okay	3	9	30
good	4	1	3,33
Excellent	5	2	6,67

Table 27: Safety during the day (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	4	13,33
poor	2	0	0
okay	3	15	50
good	4	4	13,33
Excellent	5	7	23,33

Table 28: Community support (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	5	16,67
poor	2	7	23,33
okay	3	8	26,67
good	4	5	16,67
Excellent	5	5	16,67

Table 29: Condition of the roads (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	5	20
poor	2	1	3,33
okay	3	12	40
good	4	5	16,67
Excellent	5	6	20

Table 30: Condition of the pavements (n = 30)

Description	Rating	Count	%
Very poor	1	8	26,67
poor	2	3	10
okay	3	11	36,67
good	4	4	13,33
Excellent	5	4	13,33

Table 31: Knowledge about township tourism (Have you ever heard about township tourism?) (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	13	43,33	1
No	17	56,67	2

Table 32 The opinion of township tourism (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Very positive	10	33,33	1
Somewhat positive	5	16,67	2
Neutral	14	46,67	3
Somewhat negative	0	0	4
Very negative	1	3,33	5

Table 33: Engagement in township tourism by the City of Windhoek before (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Only Once/ only a few times	0	0	1
Less than half a year	0	0	2
Up to one year	0	0	3
One to two years	0	0	4
More than two years	0	0	5

Table 34: Feeling about tourists in Katutura (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
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Very positive	12	44,44	1
Somewhat positive	7	25,93	2
Neutral	5	18,52	3
Somewhat negative	2	7,41	4
Very negative	1	3,7	5

Table 35: Viewing tourists in Katutura (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	22	73,33	1
No	8	26,67	2

Table 36: Tourists activities in Katutura? (n = 25)

Answer	Count	%
Have a traditional meal	16	64
Buy local products	9	36
See the neighbourhood	12	48
To get historical information	4	16
Being part of a guided tour	10	40

Table 37 Improvement of the respondent's housing situation in terms of income through the Heritage-House-Project (n = 30)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	11	36,67	1
No	7	23,33	2
Not sure	12	40	3

Table 38: Consideration of working with the Heritage-House-Project if given the opportunity (n = 26)

Answer	Count	%	Value
Yes	22	84,62	1
No	2	7,69	2
Maybe	2	7,69	3