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Tourism Gentrification in Urban Africa: Towards a Research Agenda

Abstract. Gentrification and the processes underlying its origin and evolution have been the subject of extensive much research, which has suggested various explanatory mechanisms or triggers of gentrification, including the impact of tourism. The study considers the relevance of tourism-induced gentrification in urban Africa and its possible consequences for tourism development and neighbourhood change in urban areas. According to the authors, tourism-induced gentrification occurs in a small number of African urban areas and is characterised by exclusionary practices that are similar to those that can often be observed in cities of the global North. A number of research avenues are proposed that consider the role of tourism-based development in urban Africa.

Keywords: Airbnb, digital nomads, gentrification, tourism, Africa, urban redevelopment, southern urbanism

1. Introduction

Gentrification and the processes underlying its origin and evolution have been the subject of extensive much research (Hamnett, 2021; Lees & Phillips, 2018; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2023; Slater, 2021 as summative references). Gentrification has been recognised in various geographical contexts (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; Smith, 2002) and is associated with physical, economic, social and symbolic transformations of urban spaces (Hamnett, 2021). A number of production and consumption explanations of gentrification have been proposed in the literature, including "mutations" of gentrification (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). It has been pointed out recently (Hamnett, 2021; Slater, 2021) that the meaning of gentrification has expanded significantly, and in many cases now incorporates an impractically broad

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set of parameters (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008). The relevance of gentrification, however, remains firm, and is likely to be explored and experienced increasingly in Africa and the rest of the world. Some authors question the relevance of gentrification as a global phenomenon, suggesting that the "gentrification theory fails in much of the world" (Ghertner, 2015, p. 552). Indeed, "it is time to lay the concept to bed, to file it away among those 20th-century concepts we once used to anticipate globalized urbanisation" (Ghertner, 2015, p. 552). Attempts have been made to identify different stages of gentrification, each one associated with a different explanatory mechanism or trigger of its emergence (Hackworth & Smith, 2002; Aalbers, 2018)[1]. These mechanisms are reflected in various levels of state policy changes, where triggers of gentrification are mostly identified as central driving forces (Cocola-Gant, 2018) often resulting in various forms of exclusion.

The purpose of this article is to consider the relevance of tourism gentrification in urban Africa and its possible future consequences for tourism development and neighbourhood change in urban areas. The article consists of three parts. The first one positions tourism gentrification within larger gentrification discourses. The authors note that after a period of overlooking the link between tourism, treated as a development strategy by various levels of state government, and gentrification, much research has been done to investigate this relationship. The second part identifies examples of urban areas in Africa which have been studied in the context of tourism gentrification, including reports of physical outcomes of gentrification, not only intentional but also those that can be regarded as by-products of urban improvement interventions. The third part is devoted to issues arising from tourism gentrification. In contrast to Ghertner's view (2015, p. 552) that "gentrification theory fails in much of the world", the authors argue that gentrification is certainly a relevant problem in several African cities, and most likely, in many other urban areas in the Global South. The main contribution of this study is to indicate potential areas for future research on tourism gentrification in urban Africa.

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[1] The first wave of gentrification was sporadic and highly localised, whereas the second wave was more geographically widespread and extended into cultural spheres. This approach is associated with Marxist explanations concerning the oscillation of capital investment. Third-wave gentrification often involves state structures, be they local, regional or national, where gentrification occurs outside the inner-city core and spills into the periphery of the city and, in some cases, to rural areas. The fourth and fifth waves are described as more intensive and more general forms of third-wave gentrification.

2. A Brief Review of Tourism Gentrification Debates

Gentrification, as a process of urban change, has for many decades been on the policy and research agenda in urban areas of the Northern Hemisphere. The argument is that the concept of gentrification has been associated with a number of interwoven discourses, somewhat removed from the more mundane analysis of urban spatial evolution (Hamnett, 2021; Lees & Phillips, 2018; Slater, 2021). Various changes taking place in urban contexts (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008; Smith, 2002) have illustrated the impact of gentrification on physical, economic, social and symbolic transformations of urban spaces in particular (Hamnett, 2021). Research conducted in recent years has identified a number of factors that contribute to the spread of gentrification.

Some of this research has focused on the role of tourism in gentrification, resulting in what Ghertner (2015) and Sigler and Wachsmuth (2020, p. 3190) describe as instances of "tourism-led, state-led and lifestyle-led urban transformation". Gentrification resulting from tourism, the confluence of private capital and state intervention, has affected various places around the world (Betancur, 2014; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Jover & Diaz-Parra, 2020; Lees & Phillips, 2018). Significant tourism gentrification has been registered in many diverse urban settings in both developed and developing contexts (Bobic & Akhaven, 2022; Novy, 2018; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017).

Evidence of tourism gentrification has especially been observed in large urban areas (Blanco-Romero, Blázques-Salom & Cánoves, 2018; Colomb & Novy, 2016; Gonzaléz-Peréz, 2020; Lopéz-Gay, Cocola-Gant & Russo, 2020; Navarrete Escobedo, 2020; Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016). In the Global North, the expansion of urban tourism in historic districts of European cities has generated more residential pressure in those areas (Bobic & Akhaven, 2022; Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Colomb & Novy, 2016; Novy, 2018). In Amsterdam, for example, an ever-growing number of tourists visit the famous canal district, an area that has, for a long time, been inhabited by many upper-middle-class residents (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). While such residents are generally depicted as initiators of urban transformation, they are, in this case, on the receiving end of tourism-induced neighbourhood change. They argue that, owing to tourism and gentrification, the relationship between established residents and their neighbourhood has changed and, as a result, they have been experiencing a growing sense of discontent and powerlessness in the face of neighbourhood change. These processes and changes not only influence urban spaces; they also affect previously undeveloped spaces such as coastal areas (Jover & Diaz-Parra, 2020). Other increasingly recurring themes include touristification, transnational gentrification and urban change caused by transnational real estate

investment (Ezema, Opoko & Oluwatayo, 2016; Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2016). Collectively, Cocola-Gant (2018, p. 10) refers to tourism gentrification as "the new gentrification battlefront".

However, it should be acknowledged that the Global North is not uniform in this respect and there are differences even between European countries. Moreover, research on gentrification has been geographically uneven. Kowalczyk-Anioł (2023, p. 104), for example, argues that "even though research on tourism-oriented urban change is growing in number, little attention is paid to policy drivers, urban change and lived-experience nexus, especially in the context of Central and Eastern Europe". The author suggests that there is a lack of knowledge about how such change, urban regeneration and urban entrepreneurial policies promoting tourism-oriented urban change and gentrification are differentially expressed (physically, socially, etc.) and negotiated. A similar view, though not directly linked to tourism, is expressed by Janoschka, Sequera and Salinas (2014, p. 1234): "certain evidence suggests that the symbolic and material expression of gentrification in Spain … and scientific discourses relating to it, differ notably from those in the Anglophone world".

There have been fewer studies concerning gentrification and tourism-led gentrification in the Global South (Liang & Bao, 2015); however, as in the case of different parts of the Global North, they, too, provide conflicting evidence and different interpretations of the problem. Arguably, some of the most comprehensive investigations of tourism-led gentrification comes from China (He, 2010; He & Wu, 2009; Liang & Bao, 2015; Zhao, Chan & Sit, 2003). By analysing gentrification from a production-oriented perspective, literature on tourism-induced gentrification concludes that tourism-related investment increases property values and spills over into other related consumption spaces such as shopping malls, cultural centres and community facilities. By reorganising the local economy in these spaces, such investment eventually leads to demographic shifts in affected communities.

Irrespective of the gentrification phase or of its underlying processes, there are certain general markers associated with gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). These are physical, economic, and social changes and are often associated with some form of exclusion at different levels, usually centred on the class ascendance of those occupying these spaces. Spaces affected by gentrification have different levels of class and other forms of displacement in common, from lower to higher income groups, gay to straight, black to white, etc. Several positive and negative effects of gentrification have been documented (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, 2023; Slater, 2021). Some key concerns relevant to this investigation are displacement, unsustainable lifestyle costs, racial segregation, black-on-black gentrification, and safety.

The debate on tourism-induced gentrification cannot be separated from the global increase of neoliberalisation in government and urban policies since the early 1980s (Sager, 2013). Over the past two decades urban development in the Northern — and Southern hemispheres have been increasingly influenced by neoliberal and market-friendly policies as public agencies, semi-independent public organisations, private companies and public private partnerships share the responsibilities and risks of pursuing decentralised goals through individualism and entrepreneurialism. The complexity of such diverse groups of role-players has accelerated the trends of entrepreneurialism, consumerism and property-led development, causing actors in the urban land and property market to be elevated to the position of key players in urban development (Tasan-Kok & Baeten, 2012). Decentralisation and deregulation of fiscal policies in most Western countries during the worldwide recession of this period was accompanied by an increased reliance on private sector capital to support urban regeneration and stimulation of local economies. A fairly attainable goal for many local governments was to increase the local competitiveness and attractiveness of cities to increase tourism. As a possibly unintentional consequence of market stimulation, many well-intentioned initiatives to increase economic growth in cities may have directly contributed to gentrification and displacement (Cocola-Gant & Lopez-Gay, 2020).

Although Smith (2002) argued that gentrification had spread globally, this may be perceived differently depending on the scope of investigation. Compared to studies focused on the Global North and some parts of the Global South, little has been said about gentrification on the African continent. This may be due to processes of urban change that have to date been less prevalent in Africa. In addition, research on gentrification has been fairly limited in terms of its geographical scope.

3. Tourism-led Gentrification in Africa

Although Anglophone analyses of gentrification can be categorised into state-led and tourism-led gentrification, contemporary case studies reveal that these categorisations are often interrelated and far more complex, as evidenced by studies from cities in China, Eastern Europe and Latin America. By way of introducing case study research, the following section provides an overview of the literature on African gentrification.

Much research on gentrification in Africa has focused on Southern African (Visser, 2002; Visser & Kotze, 2008) and is mainly concerned with coastal settings. Other regions that have received less attention include Egypt (Eldaidamony

& Shetawy, 2016; Elsorady, 2018; Mahmoud, 2017), Ethiopia (Nunzio, 2022), Ghana (Twumasi & Oppong, 2016); (Cobbinah, Amoako & Osei Asibey, 2019; Nimo-Boakye & Badu-Nuamah, 2022), Kenya (Dok, 2020), Mozambique (Roque, Mucavele & Noronha, 2016; 2020), Nigeria (Ajayi & Soyinka-Airewele, 2020; Godswill & Ukachukwu, 2018), Rwanda (Shearer, 2020), Tanzania (John et al., 2020) and Tunisia (Ben Salem, 2018). Studies conducted outside Tanzania and South Africa have mostly focused on state-led gentrification often involving urban regeneration projects accompanied by large-scale capital investment, with little attention paid to tourism-led gentrification.

State-led gentrification in Africa has been predominantly associated with the establishment of new or satellite towns at the periphery of historical areas characterised by an excessive level of urban density. In Africa, many projects to develop new satellite towns are in the planning stage. The purpose of these towns is to reduce overcrowding and promote entrepreneurship (Abubakar & Doan, 2017). This renewed interest in the development of new towns is motivated by the process of rapid urbanisation in Africa and the frustration with land development conditions and land speculation, leading to a "desire to leapfrog over overcrowding and dilapidated housing conditions onto new greenfield land" (Watson, 2014, p. 6). As a result, several new towns have been designed as satellites by international planning and architectural consultants in agreement with state authorities, using a modernist master planning approach to relieve population pressures in some major African cities and so escape their urban decay. Examples of such towns include Eko Atlantic City in Lagos, Appolonia and Hope City in Accra, Tatu City and Konza Techno City in Kenya, Roma Park in Zambia, Kilamba in Angola, Kigamboni in Tanzania, and 15 new towns planned for Nairobi. Promoters of these projects promise some impressive amenities and functioning systems that will enable the urban lifestyle most Western cities provide (Abubakar & Doan, 2017). According to Watson (2014), the current new towns being built in Africa are not only "urban fantasies" that are not only beyond the reach of most citizens, who are extremely poor and live informally, but often lead to the "eviction and relocation of vulnerable low-income residents" (Watson 2014, p. 12). In addition, the proposed new towns increase the risk of inequality and marginalisation.

Other forms of state-led gentrification are observed within historical urban centres. In Cairo, urban renewal and the displacement of poorer communities were part of master plans leading to "social polarization (sic) and loss of identity" through the "upgrading of historic medinas" (Mahmoud, 2017: 427). This is a recurring theme in the literature. Similarly, in Kumasi (Ghana), low-income residents were displaced to the city's periphery and traditional buildings completely demolished rather than refurbished or remodelled (Twumasi & Oppong, 2016; Cobbinah,

Amoako & Osei Asibey, 2019). This trend could also be observed in Maputo, with the municipality's plan for modernisation, partly enabled by private real estate investment and partly by large infrastructure and housing projects promoted by the Mozambican state (Roque, Mucavele & Noronha, 2020). This has also been the case in the capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa (Nunzio, 2022) and Kigali in Rwanda (Shearer, 2020). It must be noted, however, that these examples of gentrification were state-led in conjunction with private capital, and that tourism played a subsidiary role in subsequent urban transformations.

Gentrification in South Africa in many ways resembles various stages of gentrification that can be observed in the countries of the Global North, although it has taken place within the context of the urban history of apartheid planning. An important characteristic of the South African gentrification research is the fact it is conducted by a very limited number of scholars. In addition, urban contexts analysed in these studies are not always comparable to other urban areas in South Africa and Africa in general. The process of gentrification in South Africa has a unique starting point. It was not, as in other case studies, led by white middle class but was associated with a coloured community in Woodstock, adjacent to the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD). However, the mechanisms or triggers were typical of first-wave gentrification processes and subsequent residential changes that took place in the area during the 1980s were tracked by Jayne Garside (1993). The significance of Woodstock stems from its multiracial character that survived the deliberate race-based removal of non-whites from South African cities during the apartheid era. Garside's (1993) study analysed a major threat to the longstanding multi-racial composition of Woodstock, posed by the state's attempt to designate part of the suburb exclusively for coloured residents under the Group Areas Act of 1950. Nonetheless, while community resistance in the form of the 'Open Woodstock' campaign was successful in halting enforced residential change, processes of gentrification have shaped a new class composition in this inner-city suburb.

Another investigation of gentrification in other neighbourhoods close to Cape Town's CBD was carried out by Kotze, Kotze and Van der Merwe (2000) and later confirmed by Visser (2002) in former "white group areas" and "coloured areas", such as the Bo-Kaap (Donaldson, Kotze & Visser, 2013). These instances of gentrification were reminiscent of first and second-wave manifestations of gentrification seen in the Northern Hemisphere. It is important to note that there is no real evidence of any mechanisms or elements that distinguish tourism gentrification in the African context from that described in the mainstream Northern literature. Studies on urban Africa do not, for example, provide the kind of fine-grained analysis that Kowalczyk-Anioł (2023) conducted in the Central and Eastern European context

or comparable to the work of Janoschka, Sequera and Salinas (2014) with respect to Latin America. That, said, this might be owing to the fact that the examples are few and not well-reported in the Anglophone academic press.

It is noteworthy that the neoliberalisation of government policies in Africa occurred much later than in Western countries (Robinson & Parnell, 2012). It is therefore to be expected that the effects of private capital and the entrenchment of investment-driven regeneration and tourism opportunities have to date not been fully recognised in the literature.

4. Effects of Tourism-led Gentrification

A number of studies conducted in the global North and South address the displacement of the working class as a result of gentrification (Hamnett, 2021; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008, 2023). Different authors have defined gentrification in various ways, but most agree that the process involves the displacement of long-term residents, often of lower social status, and changes in the local infrastructure, housing costs and availability. According to Smith (2002), the displacement of original residents is the most damaging and controversial effect of gentrification, irrespective of its geographical manifestation. Gentrification often leads to unsustainable increases in lifestyle costs, resulting in the social exclusion of residents of lower socioeconomic levels. Sutton (2020) points out that gentrification can be treated as a spatial manifestation of economic inequality and that social exclusion resulting from expensive pricing can lead to the exclusion of vulnerable segments of society, such as the elderly; moreover, the process of gentrification varies from one neighbourhood to another.

One example of mainly *tourism-led gentrification* can be found in Zanzibar, which is part of Tanzania. The problem of gentrification has existed in Tanzania since the mid-1990s. According to Marks (1996), restoration programmes aimed at preserving individual notable buildings destroyed many of the town's fragile social and cultural networks and much of the urban fabric that was inhabited. It was observed that while a tourism-driven conservation approach was interpreted as a means to the economic and cultural revitalisation of Stone Town, it resulted in the marginalisation of poorer communities. Since then this problem has got worse (Jasiński, 2021). Heritage protection has had similar impacts in medina cores of North African cities such as Algiers in Algeria (Marks, 1996) and Tunis in Tunisia (Sutton & Fahmi, 2002), as a result of government policies incapable of addressing the challenges of urbanisation and impoverishment, leading to fragmentation and

a tendency to favour tourist-oriented projects. According to Horn (2019), the local population's attitudes and potential participation remain largely ignored in most African redevelopment projects (Horn, 2019).

Another common challenge is that African states often do not have the tools or are not capable of managing gentrification processes once they start. Possible reasons include the state's desire for external investment or developer-driven initiatives seeking profitable opportunities. In addition, municipal authorities in many African countries struggle to cater to the needs of a growing urban population due to a lack of financial resources. Neoliberalised state policies continue to support developer and market-driven processes of urban land development, which involve the occupation of conveniently-located and well-serviced spaces, which are in demand from both poor communities and private-sector developers (Watson, 2012, p. 90, also see Janoschka, Sequera & Salina, 2014 in this regard). Added to this are aspirations of some cities to achieve world-class status, which means they tend to support urban projects and urban forms compatible with elite tastes and consumption. Such processes are frequently at the root of growing social and spatial exclusion and reflect and promote socioeconomic inequalities that seem to accompany processes of globalisation and democratisation (Watson, 2012).

Visser (2003a, 2003b) investigated tourism-led gentrification in De Waterkant and later in the CBD of Cape Town (Visser & Kotze, 2008). More recently, Visser (2016, 2019a, 2019b) reported how leisure and tourism development nodes developed, and how, over time, these nodes consolidated into leisure and tourism urban redevelopment frontiers that radically reworked Cape Town's CBD along with the city's adjacent neighbourhoods. In the 2016 study, he demonstrated that urban redevelopment was spilling over to ever larger parts of central Cape Town, a situation that could potentially lead to vast areas of central Cape Town becoming accessible only to higher-end earners. The same study revealed that the roles of local government and corporate capital had become increasingly evident.

Follow-up investigations relating to the role played by Airbnb in urban change, reinforced the concerns that tourism-led investment could lead to the exclusion of poorer residents (Visser, Erasmus & Miller, 2017). These concerns have been repeated in later investigations concerning the City of Cape Town (Visser, 2019a, 2019b, 2020; Visser & Horn, 2021). Another potential contributor to tourism-led gentrification in the Woodstock area is the Heritage Protection Overlay Zone proposed by the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality as part of its municipal by-law. It is proposed that many historical buildings and public spaces within this heritage overlay zone should be preserved in their current state, and that alterations or changes in land use should be considered as part of a consultative process with the City's Heritage Committee. This may lead to parts of Woodstock being

preserved as cultural and tourist attractions, whilst the remainder of the suburb is subjected to tourism-related neighbourhood change.

5. Future Prospects

It is important to understand where and by whom the majority of research on African gentrification is produced. The limited number of authors cited in this brief review are conducted within disciplines as African studies, archology, cultural studies, sociology, tourism studies and various geography and urban studies. Consequently, results of these studies related to gentrification are not "naturally" aligned since they are presented in the context of specific debates conducted within different disciplines, which are not necessarily directly focused on gentrification from an urban spatial change perspective. This disconnect is exacerbated by the fact that most of the studies cited in this review represent anglophone scientific community (cf. Janoschka, Sequera & Salina, 2014; Kowalczyk-Anioł, 2023). More attention should therefore be paid to franco — and lusophone contributors, outlets, and publishing practices that could potentially reveal different results and experiences.

Gentrification is a process of urban change and its presence in some African cities — sometimes because of tourism-related processes — has been recognised. The phenomenon of gentrification may appear to be in conflict with the general developmental narrative of urban Africa, which is so severely critiqued by a number of Southern urban researchers (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014), who do not embrace Northern urban theory and its key concepts. However, gentrification also challenges aspects raised by these critics, who argue that standard Northern urban change processes, such as gentrification, are not particularly relevant to Southern urban contexts. We argue that gentrification in general, but tourism-led gentrification in particular, is, in fact, relevant to urban Africa. What is perhaps more interesting is that those who advocate Southern-specific urban analyses mostly fail to acknowledge the role of tourism in generating an alternative urban development narrative. It is ironic that two very standard Northern discourses about gentrification and tourism are registered in urban Africa, yet they receive limited acknowledgement in the research on Southern urbanism. In general, urban tourism research has been dominated by a silo approach, which ignores results of studies which indicate aspects tourism that should be treated as agents of change in Africa. This oversight has led to a range of debates involving tourism researchers in the global South, perhaps most rigorously articulated in studies concerning South Africa demon-

strating the relevance of various Northern debates in the Global South (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021).

Much of what is emerging in new African urban development practices in relation to tourism-led gentrification can be described as "demonstration effects" (Sharpley & Telfer, 2014). In the context of tourism studies, this term generally refers to residents imitating the behaviour and consumption practices of mostly Western tourists. We argue that the same practices can be observed not only in the regeneration of De Waterkant in Cape Town or in Stone Town in Zanzibar but also in new-build developments in and beyond those areas. This phenomenon should also be monitored in relatively recent practices of poverty tourism and tourism activities in informal settlements (Rogerson & Mthombeni, 2015). The unintended consequences of neoliberalised urban policies to generate local economic development and regeneration should form a significant focus of studies on tourism-led gentrification in Africa, a continent severely affected by urban poverty.

Beyond these concerns, there is the increasing impact of new tourist accommodation providers that cross the line between the development of residential redevelopment or new developments, and tourist accommodation. In this regard, the emergence of Airbnb cannot be overlooked. Even the most casual searches of such accommodation, particularly in places like Cape Town (South Africa), Maputo (Mozambique), or Dar Salaam (Zanzibar), point towards potential gentrification risks. Residential and mixed land use developments can and are likely to lead to tourism-led or tourism-oriented property investments for foreigners or wealthy local residents. In places like Cape Town, the potential of Airbnb is often directly presented as a motivation for investors considering new developments in desirable areas. Indeed, in the absence of policy mechanisms designed to regulate such tourism instruments, many neighbourhoods could suffer from the effects of investor-driven tourism gentrification. A practical example is Zanzibar Island, where the Fumba development actively markets properties that are aimed at foreign investors. A range of truly Northern themes, such as mixed land use, walkable cities and digital nomads, are introduced in these developments, which are very much analytically akin to third-wave gentrification from an Anglo-American and European perspective (cf. Liang & Bao, 2015 — on similar issues). Another possible avenue of investigation is brownfield development in African cities, which can be analysed in reference to similar experiences in Northern countries. This is easily noticeable in the way tourist destinations try to create their image to have international appeal, copying design ideas that are very clearly influenced by perceptions of wealthy investors, especially if marketing materials are priced in us dollars.

These developments are further related to the relatively new phenomenon of digital nomads and their role in driving urban developments in a range of locations

through interventions such as Airbnb. The blend of investment in tourism, both local and global, and the practices of digital nomads, is certainly not unique to Africa or the global South (Hayes, 2015, 2018, 2020), but can also be found in debates around urban development and tourism in the Northern Hemisphere. There is limited empirical evidence on the role of digital nomads as consumers or producers of (tourism) space(s) (urban or rural) in re-enforcing or contributing to tourism-led gentrification in Africa. However, the presence of digital nomads can be observed in areas such as Central Cape Town, Green Point, Camps Bay and Newlands, but this phenomenon and its impacts will require detailed empirical investigation. It is related to the more basic question about the distinction between and defining characteristics of tourists and residents and the types of urban environments each of these groups seek and create. This topic should be analysed in relation to issues such as cultural appropriation, citizenship and communicative planning.

6. Conclusion

Conceptual and empirical studies of gentrification have been conducted for some time, as indicated by Liang and Bao (2015, p. 477) and Beauregard's (1990) discussion on the "chaos and complexity of gentrification". The authors of this article have considered the relevance of tourism-led gentrification in urban Africa and its implications for tourism and urban development. It was argued that tourism-led gentrification, even though still limited, is a legitimate concern in several African urban areas, causing exclusionary outcomes that can be observed in cities of the global North. The authors have identified a range of topics for future research.

The main conclusion is that only few gentrification processes in Africa, as documented in the English academic literature, are directly linked to tourism and that the scale of tourism-led gentrification is still limited. Yet, where tourism-led gentrification has begun, it has been extensive and has been accompanied by a range of worrying effects. It is clear, however, that by supporting activities that trigger gentrification, authorities are attempting to make cities more "attractive" to foreign investors and/or tourists. This means that tourism-led gentrification can potentially increase in many African cities, exacerbating the situation of the most vulnerable informal communities, where poverty tourism activities are being promoted. In this regard the City of Cape Town can serve as a cautionary example of what can happen when a city is willing to direct development to sustain its appeal to international tourists and tourism infrastructure investors, all in the name of tourism.

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Słowa kluczowe: Airbnb, cyfrowi nomadzi, gentryfikacja, turystyka, Afryka, przebudowa miast, urbanistyka globalnego Południa