TOURISM IS EVERYONE’S BUSINESS: THE PARTICIPANTS AND PLACES OF TOWNSHIP TOURISM IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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To my family
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the last decade, I have visited Cape Town four separate times. I experienced my first township tour with a group of fellow college students in January 2001. We were on a whirlwind trip through Cape Town and, subsequently, the other tourist hot spots of South Africa: the wine lands, Johannesburg, and Kruger Park. En route to a local pottery project, our tour bus passed through seemingly endless shack settlements. Countless structures of rusted, corrugated tin leaned against one another and the sky at odd angles. Dirty, barefoot children smiled for our cameras. Women cooking and selling strange meats stared blankly at our massive, intrusive bus. Young men in work jumpsuits barely looked up from their cigarettes and beer bottles. The tour guide could not adequately explain this evocative, alien scenery with his microphone and we were too inexperienced to muster anything but a mixture of awe, sadness, and guilt.

In the heart of this landscape, in a barbed-wire compound, sat several long parallel buildings housing a technical college. Off the bus and walking in between the two furthest buildings, I saw colorful murals covered the walls of these barrack-like structures. The numerous doors led to classrooms, offices, and studios. We sheepishly entered and filled a small studio where painted pottery was displayed around the edges of the room on tall, wooden shelves. A few African women, artists I presumed, stopped their work and looked us over nervously. One cheerful African man began to welcome us. This was my first meeting with Lesebo.

At the time, Lesebo’s vision was stirring. He briefly told us about the many community members he employed and crafted into artists. He hoped the cooperative would serve not only as a training ground for artisans but as a source of viable empowerment for township residents in terms of life skills and wages. Easily overwhelmed by the day’s events, our bus load of visitors

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1 Please note that all interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of interviewees are withheld by mutual agreement except where noted. In most cases, a pseudonym is employed.
bought most of the wares on his shelves. We were taking home much more than guinea fowl, elephants, fishes, and geometric designs in our bubble-wrapped packages. For many of us, this experience would linger more strongly in our trip diaries than wineries and safaris.

When I entered graduate school, I had not necessarily intended to study South Africa or tourism. The project first came together through my interest in craft artists and coalesced after Dr. Richard Grinker put a copy of Chris Stiener’s *African Art in Transit* (1994) in my hands. Thus, I returned to Cape Town in June 2002, a green but eager student of anthropology from the George Washington University trying to gather enough material for a master’s thesis in six weeks. The scholarly goal of my research was to delve into the complex issues of the tourist art market given the cultural and economic struggles of the new South Africa. I think this time I was the one doing the overwhelming. I came for fieldwork clumsily armed with notebooks, questions, and a tape recorder. After a new introduction, I began spending my days at the project run by Lesebo in Gugulethu that I had visited the year before.

I learned that Lesebo was Sotho, an aspiring ceramic artist, a family man, and an amazing entrepreneur. I gathered that he had struggled in school and in his other career endeavors, such as in auto mechanics. His slow, deliberate speech in our interviews somewhat screened his battles with dyslexia and stuttering. But any inarticulateness disappeared when his instrument of communication was clay or paint. These struggles were also hidden in his humble yet excited interactions with tourists and visitors. Getting involved in art had changed the course of Lesebo’s life. Thanks to sponsors he had set up the project in 1997 and it quickly grew in recognition. He had been asked to represent his country in cultural shows in Johannesburg and overseas. He tried to impress me with phrases like: “Oh, I have many friends in Alabama. It is a big city.”
To be sure, the majority of the young men and women working at the project had not sought a career in the arts. They had sought a skill and a paycheck. Many applicants failed to complete the apprenticeship process due to life conflicts or lack of interest or talent. The staff I met seemed to appreciate Lesebo’s goals and the way he pushed them to work hard. He was both flexible and relentless. He was both a father figure and a businessman. As boss, he demanded that the project come first. The artists recreated only his designs and the name of the project, not the artist, appeared on finished works. Only the second in command, the art director Vuka, himself an accomplished potter and painter, seemed to articulate offense with the restrictions Lesebo placed on the expressive forms and the limits of personal glory.

Eventually, my tape recorder became invisible among the paint splattered newspapers. The pottery project grew to be my most comfortable field site. I spent several weeks with Lesebo and the staff of the cooperative learning about their work and personal experiences over greasy lunches of fish cakes and even trying my own hand at their art forms. In the end, we all exchanged tearful goodbyes, dismissing the uncertainty of a future meeting.

With little means of communication, I was out of touch with Lesebo and his crew for four years. I returned again to Cape Town in June 2006 for brief pre-dissertation research on the greater township tourism industry. After acquiring a cell phone, I began calling the many people on my list to set up appointments and tour dates. My voice was noticeably less shaky than during this ritual four years ago. Lesebo’s pottery project was my second call. The unfamiliar voice of a young man answered.

“May I speak with Lesebo or ND [his wife]?”

Pause.

“ND is not here. Lesebo has passed away.”
I was shocked. And no field methods manual prepares you for this moment. I introduced myself, asked a few questions, and left my number. I hurried the conversation to conclusion for both our sakes. It took awhile for it all to sink in, especially with so many unanswered questions.

Serendipitously, I found many of Lesebo’s original pupils working at a new pottery project owned by another entrepreneur and again under the artistic direction of Vuka in another township, Langa. I also visited the site of the original project. There were no customers or familiar faces or anyone doing actual work. A few young, tough-looking men smoked cigarettes outside the door. The shelves were almost bare. What crafts were present were terribly amateurish and very sad, given the project’s former reputation.

Eventually, I gathered more parts of the complicated story of the demise of both Lesebo’s pottery project and the events leading to his murder from some trusted friends. The official story goes that Lesebo was shot in a robbery in a bar in Bloemfontein in 2004. The convoluted, unofficial story seems something out of a South African soapie (soap opera), except that its subject matter for once engages the lives of the lower classes. Lesebo had been called, late in life, to become a traditional healer. He left the project intermittently for training. His wife mismanaged the project and destroyed many relationships. One person thought Lesebo had a number of women on the side and that his wife was irate. At the same time, he may have begun staffing this other pottery project with a new partner behind his wife’s back and taking money secretly for his children from a previous marriage. In his travels, he became more closely associated with his oldest son who ran drugs and who was also killed. The shooting appeared planned. By gang members? By his wife? Many different versions of this tale were told to me by persons in various levels of social distance to Lesebo, such as tour guides and artists that were
both his students and his competitors. Fortunately or unfortunately, I never met up with Lesebo’s widow.

At first, none of this made sense with the romantic idea of Lesebo the dedicated, fatherly, entrepreneur that had formed in my head over the years. Despite other cases of mismanagement and exploitation of workers, I saw or wanted to see so much hope in this cooperative in particular. My trip was overshadowed by this eye-opening uncertainty and trying to bring memory up to speed with these new bits of information. I slowly began to realize this was an important story to my research. It was a story about the total experience of what happens to an emerging middle class African man. He’s not that accomplished, but he finds what he’s good at, takes opportunities, and works hard. He is pulled among forces of survival, family, community, vocation, and tradition. When for the first time in his family’s life, the day to day becomes comfortable and financially solvent, the next steps appear unclear. And, in this case, perhaps, things begin to fall apart.

Immersed in daily excursions and interviews in the townships, the details of such news drew into sharper contrast the township worlds created by tour narratives with the complicated realities and struggles of my hosts and their families. But I also grew increasingly intrigued by the processes of tourism in shaping the perception of places and peoples and in mediating the interaction between hosts and guests, especially given South Africa’s politically charged atmosphere and racialized past. I left South Africa again with tearful goodbyes, but more significantly, I left very fearful and anxious about how I would shape my fieldwork experiences into academic prose this time around.

Finally, I returned to Cape Town again for nine months of dissertation research on township tourism in September 2007. Within a few weeks I met up with my old buddies at the
new pottery project and was greeted with more crushing news. Vuka, Lesebo’s talented artistic director who had also become an instructor at a local technical school, had passed away, conceivably from HIV/AIDS as had his wife. Again it seemed the legacy of Lesebo would shape the boundaries of my project.

By this time, I knew a great many more people in Cape Town, especially in the tourism industry. I was spending more time on tour buses and interviewing in offices. I resided variously in City Bowl, in the rough, vibey student neighborhood of Observatory, and in township-based bed and breakfasts. However, the pottery project now stationed at the Langa Cultural Center, was positioned as a primary stop for township tourists and remained a salient field site. It was home base in many respects. This Center is where I met my research assistant and key interlocutor, Siviwe Mbinda, a main protagonist in the story ahead. From there we launched our regular expeditions to interview residents and entertain tourists. After three months of observing and participating in activities around the Cultural Center, I realized the human drama taking place behind the scenes (and under my nose) among the body of crafters, “staff,” and interlopers that populated the center. Most importantly, observing operations from the Center granted access to the intriguing underbelly of how tourism actually works in the most visited township, the liaisons, the itineraries, the successes, and the desires.

Daily, I was confounded by the subtleties of different tourism strategies employed to represent the townships, the multiple descriptions and connections to townships that were spouted by members of South Africa’s various racial groups, as well as the often peculiar and arguably irresponsible ways tourism took place. Simultaneously, I was intrigued by the viewpoint of residents who were looking back at the tourists’ camera lenses. I set out to capture the various ways they chose to engage, ignore, or seek benefit. Residents and non-residents both
expressed to me their frustrations with the formal and informal red tape of tourism, including city and township politics. Fortunately, many chose to detail their failures and successes, great and small, for my recorder. Thus, the need to delineate the complex negotiations based on social, political, and historical relationships of power, agency, and space in order to elucidate this phenomenon became readily apparent. And all of this, it seems, grew out of that accidental initial encounter with Lesebo and my first, rather unplanned, township tour.

I hope to explain my place in this ethnographic project as well as call attention to the complicated endeavor of academic production. Ironically, I now study the processes that originally brought me to Lesebo’s shop: the ways tour guides and entrepreneurs conspire to get customers, the ways the historical and social reality of the townships is showcased or manipulated in the tour format (arguably to appeal to the sympathies and unfamiliarities of the tourists), and the complicated economic forces that bring township residents into an art cooperative that creates objects of “African” culture.

It did not take Lesebo’s tragic death to impart the realness, the complicatedness, or the embattled nature of my interlocutors’ lives beyond the guarded walls of the pottery project. Facts such as high unemployment, substandard housing and municipal services, the devastation of HIV/AIDS are all very visible. However, it was after learning of Lesebo’s death and experiencing much more of township life outside that enclosure, that the veracity and uncertainty of daily life in urban Africa and how tourism (and anthropology) gauchely interlopes became apparent and bothersome. In effect, I symbolically stepped off the tour bus and from behind the camera. Each day was an exercise in putting aside my own misconceptions, my own “tourist gaze” (Urry 2002[1990]).
Now a decade after first meeting Lesebo in his studio, I have participated in well over fifty township tours and interviewed countless struggling township entrepreneurs, guides, and community members. In my current home, the fingerprints and memories of these experiences take physical form in the corners of my small house. I cannot dust or wash dishes without coming across something made by the descendents of Lesebo’s vision. I tell my husband to be careful with an oil dish covered in flowers and squiggles. It really is irreplaceable. My most treasured piece will always be the blue and white coaster, painted in the original geometric pattern Lesobo called *scraffito*, which I bought on my very first trip into the townships.

In writing this dissertation I am indebted to a great number of individuals. Most importantly, I am thankful for the welcome and access extended to me by members of the township tourism business community in Cape Town, South Africa. Their openness to my presence was critical to my research endeavors. I thank these entrepreneurs for their frankness in discussing the complicated issues of tourism. I was honored to be a part of the communities in Langa and Khayelitsha for much of my fieldwork. This research would not have been possible without the stories, perspectives, and questions of many township residents. The need to truthfully tell their story to the best of my ability has inspired my commitment to this research. I was blessed to form a partnership with Siviwe Mbinda, an excellent tour guide, research assistant, and friend. I am grateful to members of Cape Town Tourism and the City of Cape Town Department of Tourism who invited me into their offices and board rooms, especially Sisa Ngondo.

The names of most of the individuals I interviewed and came to know are deliberately changed in the pages ahead to protect their privacy, despite my desire to thank them each by name. I protect the identity of my respondents with the use of pseudonyms for people,
companies, and establishments. However, the reality is that township tourism is a very public performance among a closely tied cast of characters on a somewhat small stage. Furthermore, the distinct histories of particular townships and their spatial relationships with my analysis of tourism, I feel, make it necessary to disclose the location of key events. I sincerely apologize for permitting any too striking characteristics that may lead to recognition. In this dissertation, I am certain there are some subjective interpretations that those in Cape Town might disagree with. I take responsibility for any errors of fact, misrepresentations, or errors of citation that may exist. But I do hope my offering is inspiration to both township members and tour operators to reconsider the current state of things and continue working for positive outcomes via township tourism.

At the University of Florida, I was supported by an outstanding committee. Dr. Brenda Chalfin welcomed me as her student and has added great depth and insight to the ideas presented in this dissertation as my chair. I would not have made it at the University of Florida without her gentle guidance, flexibility, and constant encouragement. She is a true model as a mentor in scholarship, research, and teaching. Dr. Luise White has greatly assisted in my understanding of South African urban history and has consistently pushed me do my best work. Additionally, I had the pleasure of taking classes with and being advised by Dr. Peter Schmidt and Dr. Florence Babb. Both have been thorough readers and steadfast supporters of my project. My research has benefitted from coursework and conversations with Dr. Victoria Rovine. I am indebted to Dr. Mantoa Rose Smouse for teaching me Xhosa, hosting me in South Africa, and becoming a trusted friend. Without the direction of these fine professors, I would have been at a great disadvantage.
Before attending UF, my current interests formed under the direction of Dr. Richard Grinker at the George Washington University. He and Dr. Stephen Lubkemann were instrumental to my master’s research and writing, as well as in guiding me toward Ph.D. studies. At GWU, I am also grateful to Joel Kuipers for serving as a MA committee member and to Dr. Alison Brooks for being an inspirational mentor.

Many fellow graduate students provided scholastic, social, and emotional support during my years in the Gainesville community. I extend my gratitude especially to Erika Roberts and Matthew Watson for always being ready to commiserate over a beer or hot meal. I am also grateful to Erika taking good care of my mischievous dog while I was abroad. I was lucky to get to share my experience in South Africa with a fellow UF gator, Steve Davis. Michelle Kiel has been a great help as an editor.

My graduate studies were supported by a number of funding sources. I am grateful for the continued assistance of the UF Center for African Studies. During academic year’s 2005-06 and 2006-07, I was funded by a Foreign Language and Areas Studies Fellowship to study the Xhosa language. Working with Dr. Leo Villalon, Dr. Todd Leedy, and Corinna Greene was always a pleasure.

My Ph.D. fieldwork episodes have been funded by the US Department of Education's Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) Program Grant, the Lewis and Clark Grant for Exploration and Field Research from the American Philosophical Society, and the Madelyn M. Lockhart Summer Research Travel Award from University of Florida Center for African Studies. I offer my sincere appreciation to the funding sources and to the people that helped make these great opportunities available.
This dissertation further developed in conversations among current scholars in the fields of anthropology, history, and African studies abroad. I am most indebted to the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town, including Dr. Harry Garuba and Dr. Nick Shepherd, for assisting with research logistics. My conversations with Dr. Steven Robins, Dr. Leslie Witz, and Dr. Sean Field provided additional resources for thinking through this material.

During the last year of writing, I have been working in Waipahu, Hawaii for Hina Mauka. I am grateful to the wonderful staff for always cheering me on. I extend special thanks to my supervisor, Monique Weisman, for being so flexible with my work schedule during this busy time.

Finally, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my family for their unwavering support through my many years of education. My parents, William Harvey and Fran Goddard, have provided much additional financial assistance throughout the graduate process. They, along with my step-parents, have been exceptionally proud and encouraging. It was a pleasure to have my mother and brother, Benjamin Harvey, visit me in Cape Town. My brother passed away during the writing of this dissertation. A sensitive and compassionate soul, Ben was made instantly uncomfortable by the township tour experience. Months into my fieldwork, he reminded me of the awkward and uneasy paths I traveled so casually each day. I am especially thankful for the support and assistance of Joshua Toney, my loving and patient husband. He has shared the South African experience with me as well as the stresses and rewards of graduate school.
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<td>BEE</td>
<td>Black Economic Empowerment</td>
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<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<td>COCT</td>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
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<td>CTRU</td>
<td>Cape Town Routes Unlimited</td>
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<td>Cape Town Tourism</td>
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<td>DEAT</td>
<td>National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAA</td>
<td>Group Areas Act</td>
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<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution Program</td>
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<td>TEP</td>
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VOC Dutch East India Company
Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

TOURISM IS EVERYONE’S BUSINESS: THE PARTICIPANTS AND PLACES OF TOWNSHIP TOURISM IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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Chair: Brenda Chalfin
Major: Anthropology

This dissertation considers how tourism, as a total social process, is enacted, interpreted, and produced within township destinations on the outskirts of Cape Town, South Africa. In focus, a niche industry providing tours of satellite African townships has grown into a standard excursion. Township tours introduce tourists to the history and effects of apartheid as well as feature local culture and development in these disadvantaged areas marked by race and economic class. This study addresses three interrelated concerns. First, I describe and examine how the practices of township tourism occur and become normalized. Second, I argue that tour places and practices are socially produced, depending on and transforming social relationships and social positions. Third, I illustrate the major paradoxes of this type of cultural tourism that emerge from deep-rooted conflicts over issues such as representation and control in this racialized and classed setting. What such an analysis ultimately reveals is the unsettled and uneven path of social transformation in the new South Africa. Overall, I consider how tourism plays out in the lives of local participants in an effort to offer new ways to consider the manifold impacts of the growth of tourism in so-called marginalized communities, especially in developing world cities of Africa.
and beyond. This analysis integrates scholarship on post-apartheid South African public culture, urban studies, place, and tourism with the personal experiences of local tourism practitioners.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Research Summary

Township tours have become solidly planted on the standard tourist itinerary in Cape Town, South Africa in the last decade. These tours visit African neighborhoods, impoverished shantytowns, and other developing areas located on the periphery of the city. Townships sit in dire contrast to the European urbanism of the central business district and natural beauty of the city’s coastal to mountain landscape. Township tourism developed in earnest at the end of apartheid, the legal system of racial segregation imposed by the National Party (NP) government between 1948 and 1994. Building on colonial era practices, apartheid limited the civil rights of South Africa’s non-white inhabitants under a system of minority rule by whites. Township tours introduce tourists to the history and effects of apartheid and feature local culture and development in these disadvantaged peri-urban areas still marked by the inequities of race and economic class.

Boasting descriptions such as the “freedom” tour, an “educational” tour, a “journey of remembrance,” or “the real South Africa” tour, operators claim townships excursions are safe, transformative, and beneficial to host and guest alike. During the typically four-hour journey, local tour guides combine elements of history, culture, and social life to honor sites of struggle or share everyday experiences. Routes also promote local businesses and their products. On their excursion, foreign tourists take in numerous and evocative snapshots of township living: rows of dilapidated shacks, open air markets, waving children, and men gathered in the shebeen (informal pub) for drinks. Township residents engage with tourists at craft markets or performance sites, or as tourists visit service projects, schools, businesses, and even private
homes. Township-based restaurants and accommodations are also becoming popular destinations.

Township tourism—the increasingly commonplace, nonetheless peculiar, encounters between hosts and guests in South Africa’s townships—inspires the research presented in this dissertation. The image of affluent, mobile leisure travelers touring the derelict homes of an immobile, disadvantaged, and ethnic underclass presents glaring questions about voyeurism, exploitation, and the reification of culture. The history of race, class, and spatial relationships in this context adds further gravity as Cape Town endeavors to revamp the city’s underdeveloped areas and become a fundamental, international tourism destination. Township tourism also embodies the progressive possibilities present in the new South Africa.

This dissertation considers how tourism, as a total social process, is enacted, interpreted, and produced within township destinations on the outskirts of Cape Town, South Africa. My analysis addresses three interrelated concerns. First, I question how the practices of township tourism occur and become normalized. Second, I examine how tour places and practices are socially produced, depending on and transforming social relationships and social positions. Third, I illustrate the major paradoxes of this type of cultural tourism that emerge from deep-rooted conflicts over issues such as representation and control in this racialized and classed setting. I probe how township tourism reveals unresolved tensions regarding social transformation in the public sphere in the new South Africa. Overall, I consider how tourism plays out in the lives of local participants in an effort to offer new ways to consider the manifold

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1 “Local” is a problematized and fraught term in the discipline of anthropology given our increased understanding of the interconnectedness of our global world and given various conceptions of the parameters of “the field” of fieldwork (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Tourism brings together an international mix of businesses, travelers, workers, and perspectives. In this case, I refer to the “local” as the Cape Town area. By “local participants” I refer to primarily South Africans citizens, largely residents of the townships of Cape Town, who are involved in or witness to the growth of tourism. See the continued discussion ahead under methodology.
impacts of the growth of tourism in so-called marginalized communities, especially in
developing world cities of Africa and beyond. The analysis integrates scholarship on post-
apartheid South African public culture, urban studies, place, and tourism with the personal
experiences of local tourism practitioners.

In the past two decades, South Africa has become a budding international tourism
destination (CTRU 2007). Tourism development capitalized on a new national attitude, hopes for
economic growth, and the promise of social and political transformation. In this vein, the
township tourism phenomenon solidified as a niche market in the 1990s, offering a fresh
alternative to long-established tours of the scenic Cape peninsula and Winelands. Cape Town
drew 1.7 million and 1.9 million foreign tourists in 2007 and 2008 respectively, the primary
period of my fieldwork. Cape Town arrivals were expected to continue to rise in anticipation of
the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup (CTRU 2008b). It is estimated that over 375,000 annual
visitors to Cape Town participated in a “cultural tour” during this time, most likely in the
townships (derived from CTRU 2008b, the Western Cape Tourism Barometer 2007 quarterly
reports).

In brief, townships are residential areas located at the city’s edges and characterized by
both formal and informal housing. They were produced by decades of legislated segregation to
contain a non-white, underclass labor pool by the South African state beginning as early as 1900.
Urban residential separation was the precedent set by the rise of the NP and formal apartheid in
1948, forcing all non-whites (Jewish, African, coloured, Muslim, Malay) out of designated prime
areas and into race\(^2\) specific neighborhoods (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999). Purposefully designed

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\(^2\) Because of its use and significance in South Africa, I use the term “race” instead of “ethnicity” to distinguish the
main demographic groups. The NP’s Population registration act defined several racial categories and decided
individual membership (Dubow 1994:359). The definitions put forth by the NP of white, Bantu (African), colored,
or Asian, referred to ancestry, blood types, country of origin, and physical appearance (ibid:360). Accordingly, each
as the quintessential apartheid city, Cape Town remains characterized by spatial segregation based on economics. That said, class is strongly linked to skin color or identified ethnic background (Besteman 2008, Turok and Watson 2001, Western 1996[1981]). Today townships largely continue to be the home of Cape Town’s non-white populations. During tours, examples of post-apartheid development and progress are confounded by the fact that many of the three million township residents endure substandard housing, limited access to urban centers, uneven development, unemployment, and slow poverty alleviation (Harrison et al. 2007, Zegeye and Maxted 2002).

Under apartheid, townships were deemed “no-go” areas. They were inaccessible to foreign visitors and rendered unsafe for most white South Africans (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999). Now townships are being lauded as “world renowned” or “not to be missed” in guide books and on the City’s tourism website. In fact, townships are being actively reconfigured as tourist destinations in a number of South African cities, including Durban and Johannesburg. These factors place once marginalized African township residents and spaces squarely on a national and global stage. As South Africa seeks to reveal townships as sites of cultural and historical heritage, I question, however, what the productions of tourism may conceal.

Township tourism is a lens on and conduit for post-apartheid transformations and speaks to the meaning and appearance of urban public culture. This research is tied to the themes of racial group was characterized by certain primordial features, physical and behavioral, and a certain mission or status. Biological notions and racist discourse were modified and: “In this context, the idea of ethnicity, combining a sense of primordial affiliation, biological descent, and cultural identity, was easily understood and internalized” (ibid:359). In contemporary usage, South Africans vary greatly in their use of race or ethnicity as well as their acceptance of apartheid era racial labels (Besteman 2008). I refer to Africans (such as Xhosa or Zulu speakers) and coloureds in the pages to come. I often forgo quotation marks or the qualifier “so-called.” Rather, readers are expected to understand that these racial definitions are cultural constructs, created in a particular historical and politicized setting. In other cases, I use the term “black” to refer collectively to non-whites.

3 In Soweto outside of Johannesburg, a host of tour providers, museums, restaurants, and accommodations have sprouted in the up-and-coming Orlando neighborhood of figureheads Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu.
integration, work, heritage, and place given the legacy of race-based, and now class-based, spatial segregation and limits on personal opportunity. My analytical approach builds on and differs from current perspectives on township tourism and issues of cultural heritage in South Africa. Interpretations of the tours as performances, analyses of cultural or place production, and pulling out instances of cultural reification are significant. However, the interwoven intricacies of local social and economic relationships as well as personal desires and experiences further build our understanding of the production of tours’ representative elements. I seek to look beyond the outwardly problematic representations of township tours to engage how such representations develop in practice as the result of social processes. What such an analysis ultimately reveals is the unsettled and uneven path of social transformation in the new South Africa.

**Setting: Cape Town past, present, and future**

This research is set in Cape Town, the “mother city” of the country established in 1652 and a continual palimpsest of histories, populations, languages, and social changes (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999, Hall 2006, Worden et al. 1998). As the quintessential apartheid city, Cape Town remains characterized by spatial segregation that follows the contours of ethnicity and economics. The historical development and contemporary concerns of this urban area serve as important background information for this study as well as key content for township tour guides to impart to their passengers.

**Historical Background**

The cultural landscape of Cape Town, in its diversity and spatial organization, matured to its current form through several episodes of settlement, migration, and legislation. In the 17th century an outpost was established on the southernmost coast of Africa by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (Hall 2006:190), what one tour guide mischievously refers to as the “first 7-
Eleven at the tip of Africa.” The traders met Khoikhoi herders on the grassy slopes of Table Mountain. Over the next century, the Dutch brought slaves (often designated as the racial group Malay) from places such as Madagascar, India, and Indonesia. The intermixing of these many ethnic groups, including European settlers, resulted in what is called the Cape coloured population. Cape Town’s appearance was shaped by early Dutch rule with the establishment of a square fortress, garrison, and eventually a castle (Hall 2006:191). Businesses and homes over time filled in the orderly grid planned by the VOC surveyor. Outside the central town square, homesteads were envisioned with garden and small livestock space. South Africa was a slave holding colony until 1838. Under British control in the 19th century, Cape Town became an overcrowded inner city, with slums emanating from the wharf towards the busy core. The farmlands on the outer sections of the city became “bourgeois garden suburbs” as wealthy landowners left the city to the underclasses, primarily non-whites (Worden 1997:32).

Before the implementation of apartheid legislation, Cape Town was arguably the least segregated urban center in southern Africa (Western 1996[1981]:3, Bickford-Smith 1995). African Bantu groups began moving toward the Cape from the rural Eastern Cape in search of work in the late 19th century period of industrialization (Worden 1997:33). As ethnic and class-based tensions mounted, laws developed to provide specific areas for ethnic workers and ensure the continued dominance, privilege, and well-being of whites (Swanson 1977). Forced removals of ethnic populations from the city center began with slum clearance by 1900 and proceeded with the implementation of the Urban Areas Act in 1923 and then the Groups Areas Act (GAA) after 1950. After the Afrikaner (Dutch South African nationalists) National Party took power in 1948, they strategically undermined black political participation, education, travel, marriage, and employment.
Spatial segregation and the maintenance of the township system was a key aspect of NP strategy. Under their apartheid policies, the city of Cape Town was transformed through spatial reorganization based on legal definitions of ethnic identities and an ideology of separate development. Such policies built on long standing de facto segregation and officially separated African and coloured communities from white neighborhoods and the city center. Along racial lines, non-white families were scattered to the barren outlying areas of the city known as the Cape Flats or townships. Social engineering and modernist planning schemes served to purposefully remove non-whites from inner city residential areas to outer suburb zones. Townships, and their African and coloured residents, were symbolically and physically divided from one another via rail lines, highways, and industrial complexes (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999). Nationally, between 1950 and 1984 the application of the GAA resulted in 126,000 families or 360,000 people and 2,771 traders being evicted from their homes and businesses (Saff 1998:50).

For instance, District Six is a significant place in Cape Town and an anchoring example of apartheid era segregation on township tours. A former mixed-race neighborhood, District Six has become the most famous case of forced relocation and its effects under the Apartheid state. On tours, the story serves as an entry point into the creation of the townships. Couched in arguments of health and sanitation, “slum” removals in the area began long before apartheid in 1897 (Swanson 1977). In 1901, Africans living in District Six and elsewhere in the city were forcibly removed by armed guards to quarantined barracks outside the city. Despite lack of evidence, the harbor men were accused of spreading the recent bubonic plague outbreak. Removal occurred regardless of infection and many were not allowed to collect their personal belongings (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999:19). In 1966, the suburb of District Six was declared a white area under the auspices of the GAA. It is argued that the laudable characteristics of the suburb, its
mixed population, integrationist ideology, and picturesque position made it a vulnerable target for apartheid planners and political agendas (Swanson and Harries 2001:64). Over the next 15 years, houses and streets were slowly razed by bulldozers. By 1982, any life in the community had ended. Over 60,000 people were forcibly removed from their homes and scattered to the barren outlying areas of the city.

During this same time period, townships, designated by race, were being developed outside the city center. The first African township, Ndabeni, established in 1901, housed many of the harbor workers removed from District Six (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999:45). Overflowing within a decade, the oldest remaining black township Langa was opened 11 kilometers from the city center in 1927. Early townships were organized for control and surveillance. Cape Town residents and increasing numbers of migrant workers lived in cramped dormitory barracks called hostels and in limited family housing. These buildings were erected along a grid of easily monitored streets with one guarded entrance. Significantly, residents were not allowed property ownership, but held long-term leases with the City Council. In addition, regulations were put in place to limit social gatherings, trading, and the brewing of traditional sorghum beer (ibid:87-88). As more African migrants flocked to Cape Town from the rural homelands, more planned townships were erected such as Nyanga (1948), Gugulethu (1958), and Crossroads (1974). Influx control was maintained by pass laws that restricted the movement of Africans, especially that of African women to urban areas, limited the growth of stable African families. Township residents faced pass checkpoints and nighttime raids as well as raids seeking out squatters, bootleg liquor making, or political gatherings (Bickford-Smith 1999:175). Coloured residents were moved to

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4 During this time period Africans were caught in a double bind between town and country. In the rural areas, Africans were forced into tribal homelands called Bantustans. Increasingly, they need to seek urban employment to sustain their families (Beinart 2001, Beinart and Bundy 1987).
separate but equally disadvantaged areas of the Cape Flats in suburbs such as Windmere, Bonteheuwal, and Heideveld (Western 1996[1981]). As black populations grew, influx control was abandoned by the mid-1980s. However, expansive residential areas sprawled over 30 kilometers from the city center as blacks were located and relocated farther from town. Mitchell’s Plain, the largest coloured area, was established in 1976 and the largest African township, Khayelitsha, began in 1985 (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999).

In Cape Town, 20th century planners were tasked with managing unprecedented, urban and industrial growth. However, the separation and control of non-whites belied the apartheid state’s conceit that blacks were necessary for labor but not wanted as permanent residents. Africans especially were characterized as aliens to the city belonging instead to their rural homelands (Parnell and Mabin 1995). Townships served to corral black laborers into safely distanced reserves for their easy exploitation in white-owned industries. Further, labor preference laws served to create class differences among racial groups as coloureds were given hiring preference for certain skilled work over Africans. A small, working class of permanent residents, made up of mostly coloured persons and some Africans, was allowed to develop as migrant Africans maintained low-skilled and temporary job passes. For work, township residents traveled by train into the city center neighborhoods. In these shared spaces or white urban areas, signs indicating “for blacks only” appeared on benches, bathrooms, and water fountains. Apartheid segregation became about knowing one’s physical, social, political, and economic place in the system (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999, Seekings and Nattrass 2005, Western 1996[1981]).

Despite attempts to isolate Africans and their political life in the townships, political groups such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the United Democratic Front (UDF) challenged the system. In light of the banning of black
political organizations and the imprisonment of their leaders—such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe on Robben Island in the Cape Town harbor—resistance continued. Nationally, community-based and student-led campaigns launched strikes against the Bantu education system, pass laws, and residential segregation. They also organized work stay-aways and boycotts. After decades of such tactics of “ungovernability” by local resistance movements, most situated in the townships, and given growing international anti-apartheid sentiment, the National Party began to concede to a power-sharing agreement by the late 1980s (Reid 2009:285-287).

As another example, after activist campaigns, the District Six area was never successfully redeveloped. Today, the District remains a mostly open, rubble strewn piece of land located just outside the central business district. The location also remains a strong rallying symbol for the causes of forcibly removed families. A museum and heritage center was created in District Six in an old Methodist Church in 1994. The museum has become a prime destination on township tours. At the time of fieldwork, housing rebuilding and redistribution to former residents was finally underway.

In 1994, the transition to majority rule was solidified with the first open elections and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress as president (Beinart 2001). In the decade that followed, the new South African national agenda centered on “transforming their society from one based on state-enforced racial inequality and infused with racially based hatred and ignorance to one of multiculturalism, tolerance, and equal citizenship and opportunity” (Besteman 2008:2), and township tourism began to blossom. The new government initiated a host of programs aimed at housing, services, and job provision, promising a better life for the previously disadvantaged (Bond 2000, Harrison et al. 2003, Harrison et al. 2008). However,
newly elected officials faced considerable crises of poverty, unemployment, and growing rates of urban migration.

As Besteman (2008) chronicles, the post-apartheid transformation effort has been an uphill battle on all fronts civic, economic, and personal. Presently, Cape Town remains highly segregated and the subdivisions of the townships continue to house the non-white underclasses. Townships serve as undeniable, visual and visceral proof that the social and economic divisions of apartheid linger in Cape Town, challenging the promises of modernist planning. Furthermore, media and popular portrayals of the townships as dangerous, violent spaces threaten the cosmopolitan glamour and touted safety of the central business district and the tourism industry as a whole (George 2003). The century of segregation left behind what Besteman calls “deeply rooted inequality and profound racial mistrust” (2008:3). The process of reconciliation was most publically carried out in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a tribunal to address human rights violations, giving voice to victims and granting amnesty to perpetrators. The TRC process has been variously interpreted as a success or failure (ibid:10, James and van de Vijver 2001). Importantly, the TRC did little to compensate victims or address structural inequality. The last fifteen years of reconciliation has not meant an equal sharing of wealth, property, and opportunity.


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5 Again these designations are a vestige of the apartheid era classification system. Many seek to do away with these labels, but such delineated figures are important in considering the current character of the city.
Nearly half of Africans families in the Western Cape live below the household subsistence level. It is estimated that over 400,000 township families are on the provincial waiting list for formal housing provision (Eppel 2007:58). This means that in the newest and largest African township in Cape Town, Khayelitsha, over 70% of households reside in informal structures or shacks. Additionally, the city is regarded as having the highest rate of per capita violent crime in the nation (COCT 2001). In many townships only 5% of residents earned a high school diploma (Besteman 2008:17). In contrast, upper class, predominantly white suburbs such as Newlands and Claremont boast 97% employment and higher education levels (ibid:18).

In sum, Cape Town became characterized by “starkly defined identities” under the influences of colonial expansion, slavery, entrenched racial segregation, and spatial engineering (Hall 2006:190). As the following examples show, this legacy holds significance and raises pressing questions for contemporary post-apartheid social identities, history and memory-making, and the meanings associated with urban places in the townships. This overview of Cape Town’s townships additionally demonstrates that townships are central to, and not outside, the story of the city and nation as a whole. In South Africa, material inequality, popular protest, and resistance are most visible in cities. As Maylam writes, “the apartheid order came up against its most fundamental contradictions in urban areas” (1995:20). In the 20th century, the issues of resistance to apartheid for Capetonians became solidified in issues of property and access to the city as well as the right to services and equal economic opportunity. These are struggles that continue in contemporary Cape Town and manifest in township tourism.

**Relocating Tourism**

Cape Town’s historic realities, racial legacies, civic inequalities have impacted the development of commercial tourism in the Cape Peninsula past and present. Importantly, the post-apartheid transition is both an impetus and a challenge for the development and meaning of
tourism growth in township areas. Traditionally, tourism in the Western Cape has been concentrated geographically in the Central Business District, along the Cape Peninsula, and in the Winelands, which were designated white areas under apartheid (Cornelissen 2005:164). Long-standing emphasis on these core attractions based on shopping, dining, and leisure have also affected the geographic distribution of infrastructure and capital investment in the province (ibid). Take, for example, the upscale V&A Waterfront and suburban shopping complexes such as Century City (Dodson and Killian 1998, Marks and Bezzoli 2001). Questions arise about whether these high-end developments further entrench geo-spatial and economic divisions. Although the city has seen rapid growth in the affluent CBD and Atlantic suburbs, the implementation of infrastructure and opportunities in the townships has occurred significantly below expectations or in haphazard, unsustainable patterns (Cornelissen 2005b:182, Harrison et al. 2008).

After 1994, tourism development seemed to be a viable solution to a number of national challenges. Changes in the political organization and the resultant forging of a new national imaginary linked to reconciliation, multiculturalism, and development are reflected in the post-apartheid emphasis on tourism as means of a showcasing of the nation’s historical and cultural heritage. Cultural tourism holds the potential to grow the visibility of and access to neglected geographic areas, such as townships, as well as to create new avenues for employment in these disadvantaged regions. The development agenda led to national, provincial, and local programs for the extension of tourism options and training with the goals of empowerment, sustainability, and recognition of heritage (Allen and Brennan 2004, Cornelissen 2005a, Goudie et al. 1996, Rogerson and Visser 2004, Witz 2007).
Although the townships have been visible in the media, acclaimed in literature, arts, and music, and examined in academic research in the past century, they were not considered accessible areas and certainly not mass tourism attractions. Under apartheid, official tours of the townships by the state sought only to demonstrate claims of control and separate but “equal” services. Questions arise as to whether this phenomenon is being recast or repeated. As the townships increasingly gain international acclaim as sites of resistance and local culture, the viability of extending cultural tourism options to encompass urban African areas seemed a viable endeavor. However, township tourism must also grapple with the realities of the past.

In the mid-1990s, development forums formed in each township to address the implementation of changes to infrastructure. Tourism training became a goal of these forums. Encouraging entrepreneurship and pleasant attitudes to tourist visitors was at first a hard sell according to contacts who served on these boards. Yet, as tour companies, restaurants, and craft sellers began to attract the business of international tourists, expectations and interests piqued. Tourism developments sprang up in a number of configurations based on these expectations. Community arts and cultural centers were built by the municipality in a number of townships to host artists and performances. A decade on, dozens of filled tour busses pass through the townships each day and make stops at craft shops, homes, projects, even schools and guest houses.

Township Tourism in an Anthropological Perspective

Township tourism is linked to certain key national and global trends concerning inequality and integration of people and place in the post-apartheid era. These initiatives capitalize on the greater “new” South African exercise of “repackaging” cultural tourism products to reflect themes of cultural diversity and reconciliation (Goudie et al. 1996). A number of similar enterprises, such as monument and museum renovation, erupted in the new nation-building
period (Coombes 2003, Marschall 2006a, Rassool 2007). Second, township tourism’s popularity reflects a global trend of “pro-poor,” “alternative,” or even “dark” tourism (Smith 2004:90, Babb 2011, Lennon and Foley 2000, Novelli 2005). This means the tours feature environments offering distinctive cultural experiences that benefit local communities (Chambers 2000, Stronza 2001). Additionally, as part of post-apartheid restructuring, township areas are being valorized as an integral, vibrant part of greater Cape Town’s human environment. Township-based development is promoted in a municipal urban renewal mandate to create a more integrated city via revamping housing, infrastructure, and transportation schemes (COCT 2011, Harrison et al. 2003, Harrison et al. 2008). These upgrading plans are accompanied by marketing campaigns that project an image of an integrating, tourist-friendly city to the world.

In my investigation of these processes, township tourism reveals a series of interrelated paradoxes concerning representation, urban space, race, and economic and social relationships to be unraveled. Enabled by the injustices of the apartheid era, the city’s legacy of racialized, spatialized poverty (which stands in the way of integration), exemplified by the townships, is transformed and even celebrated as a heritage attraction (McEachern 2002, Robins 2002, Witz 2007). This engineered separation between racial groups is long engrained in residents’ conception of space, self, and other, affecting the way they approach cooperative work (Besteman 2008, Jackson 2005). Current considerations of township tourism are mired in new national public debates over how racial identities and cultural heritage should be represented in present day South Africa as well as how such connotative and spatial divisions can be overcome (Coombes 2003, McGregor and Shumaker 2006, Rassool 1999). Moreover, claims to responsible practices, local development, and empowerment through tourism are touted by private companies and municipal tourism agencies despite the scant evidence of sustainable success or
local control over tourism-based enterprises (Allen and Brennan 2004, Briedenhann & Ramchander 2006, Cornelissen 2005b, Rogerson 2008). Finally, South African attempts at either representational or economic restitution through tourism are complicated by the simultaneous engagement of a global public as history, people, and culture are packaged for consumption. In these instances, the goals of appreciation and development can coincide with the perpetuation of difference and inequality via tourism practices.

In this way, township tourism demonstrates the complicated social flows and forms of the public sphere which are emerging to define the new South Africa. As such, township tourism provides a medium for discussion of the junctures where social differences manifest as public phenomena (Nuttall and Mbembe 2004). In this case, public culture is solidified in both highly particular and localized events as well as global marketing and consumption. I purposely look to how tourism enters local conditions and struggles. Although tourism depends on global demand, contemporary township tourism practices are equally a result of specific, historicized patterns, cultural contestations over representation, as well as orchestrated spatial and power relationships (Bruner 2005:4-5).

Understanding township tourism as a new and multifaceted phenomenon centered in the townships, my study engages the vantage point of the places and persons that shape it. I am concerned with describing and analyzing who participates, how tourism practices are shaped, and what the introduction of tourism means in the context of people’s daily lives. I consider how toured destinations, places, and other tour content are socially produced as well socially productive, dependent on social relations as well as impacting social identities and relationships and vital to the creation of new ones. Beyond the surface product, what may be prosaic...
presentations to foreign tourists, tourism practices and places speak to how urban residents currently define, negotiate, and confront a legacy of inequality and difference.

To achieve this, my analysis delves into the underlying processes that contribute to the formation of tourism practices, such as cultural identity, community politics, as well as work and economic relations (Brennan 2004, Bruner 2005, Ebron 2002, Ghodsee 2005). Tourism has performative and essentializing elements, and tourism production depends on the malleable, multivalent quality of the facts, sights, and symbols related to tourism destinations, products, and even cultural groups (Chambers 2000, Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, Hamilton 1998, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Urry 2002[1990]). However, it is important to understand how such representations come into existence, what they do, instead of just what they show (Crang 2006:24). At issue are not solely the representative strategies that code places, but how these representations develop and become standardized through action (Crang 2006, Crouch 2000). As Crang writes, “Unpacking the images (signifiers) is not the same as analyzing the practices of signification, even if the two are sometimes closely intertwined” (ibid:52). Following Crouch, I consider tourism “as a process rather than a product” (Crouch 2000:94). The processes of tourism “occur between people, between people and space, amongst socialized and embodied subjects” (ibid:95).

As will be examined in Chapter 2, the current literature on township tourism primarily considers the phenomenon from an “on the bus” perspective, drawing connections between touristic representations and issues of cultural heritage in the new South Africa. Scholars offer a composite sketch of routes, destinations, and narratives to compare how the tours collectively package the townships and South Africa (Goudie et al. 1996, McEachern 2002, Minkley et al. 2001, Robins 2002, Witz 2007). It is established that township tours present a spatio-temporal
journey from colonial times to apartheid to the release of Mandela and beyond. Tour routes build on key thematic signifiers or sites. Tourism practices warrant analysis as deeply symbolic, as performances, and as forms of emergent culture-, history-, and place-making.

My approach grows from these underlying claims. However, as Witz (2003) emphasizes in his attention to cultural production in the public sphere elsewhere, subordinate groups construct their own meanings. Analyzing the Jan Van Reibeck festival as a multivocal and multivalent event, he shows that surface attention to portrayals, performances, and representations undermines a full understanding of the process of cultural meaning-making. Indeed, we need to interrogate the forms, practices, and social contexts that go into the production of culture or history (ibid:7). Furthermore, the emergent processes tourism participants are caught up in (i.e. culture-, history- and place-making) depend on and generate new practices and subjectivities, such as social and economic relationships, mobility in the city, or collective and individual desires.

In this specific case, as we shall see, tourism plays out in multiple, interrelated ways. Some social processes, such as creating public monuments to heroes of the anti-apartheid movement, involve contests of a more historical and political nature. Other processes, such as the experience of tourism employment, are more idiosyncratic and socio-cultural. Others still may be semiotic or place-based, such as the marketing of township home-stays at bed and breakfasts. Township places, already laden with public and private histories and memories, are overlain with new narratives and itineraries of touristic production. To examine these social processes, I delve into the purposes and planning schemes behind township tourism, the relationships between vested parties, what outcomes emerge for local participants such as tourism employment and access to tourism benefits, and tourism’s role in relation to historical and current social or cultural
concerns. I draw out these practices through six central chapters, each exploring a different aspect of the industry: company operations (Chapter 2 and 3), guides’ experiences (Chapter 4), community responses (Chapter 5), anti-apartheid struggle monuments (Chapter 6), and bed & breakfast accommodations (Chapter 7).

My goal is to reveal the layers of backstage structure that inform the tourism industry and untangle the webs of decision-making that create the final tourism products. As a field, tourism studies have been critiqued for privileging the collective over the particular or for reducing tourism to a set of economic activities and tourists to a set of preferences (Selby 2004:3, Stronza 2001). I place importance on allowing individual voices and interpretations of tourism processes. Tourism reveals their anxieties and ambitions surrounding notions of work, home, community, and identity. Township residents are working within current, inequitable, tourism structures, to achieve marginal returns and make do. The history, transformation, and growing pains cited above most vividly affect township residents. These facets serve as essential parts of township tour narratives and color remembrances of township places. Importantly, this dissertation engages the specific memories, political philosophies, and desires of those who narrate and design tours. Local tourism participants hold a range of experiences and this variance manifests in tour practice. Personal differences often depend on gender, race, and generation as well as experiences of poverty, education, and opportunity. For example, the eager, 20-something township men who predominantly lead township tours have built upon and diverged from the goals of the first generation of township tour entrepreneurs who more acutely remember the anti-apartheid struggle. I, thus, address a dearth in the broader literature concerning the agency of local actors involved in tourism in urban contexts.
Such an investigation of township tourism can speak to the current status of social transformation in South Africa in the public sphere both tangible and intangible ways, such as via economic opportunity, entrepreneurial success, power relationships, self-representation, empowerment, or inter-racial understanding. In the chapters to follow, I do not to scrutinize tourism as another failure of development or as simply a voyeuristic, neo-colonial exercise. Rather I show how tourism is working in the townships. At issue, tourism’s possibilities and limitations require a better understanding. An ethnographic investigation of the social processes behind how tourism functions can shed light on how tourism developments might be improved in this and similar community situations. The Cape Town case demonstrates that tourism plays an integral role in reshaping the social relations of people and place in a racialized and classed district in the midst of a global city.

Townships as Research Space

As Selby (2004:3) notes, there is need in the study of tourism, especially in the urban setting, to cast a wide net in terms of theoretical perspectives. Contextual and theoretical underpinnings are drawn from a variety of disciplines, notably South African studies, urban studies, tourism studies, and anthropological investigations of place, performance, and narrative.

African urban spaces such as a townships have been the focus of anthropological inquiry since the Rhodes-Livingston Institute based in Zambia in the 1900s (Schumaker 2001). Scholars such as Elizabeth Hellman (1948), Monica Wilson (Wilson and Majefe 1963), and Phillip Mayer (1962, 1980) devoted effort to evolutionary or structural understandings of the African transition from “tribesman to townsmen.” Although scholarly treatment of African culture and urbanism has developed and broadened in recent decades beyond such static characterizations to see its dynamic and syncretic qualities, a call remains in recent scholarship to reconsider our framing of urban African studies solely in relation to crisis, resistance, or modernization (Ebron 2002:23,
Ferguson 1999, Hanson 1997, Maylam 1995, Moore 1994, Parnell and Mabin 1995). In the South African case, Bank and Minkley (1999:12) argue, township sites were not “failures” or “outsides” of modernity. Squatter camps maybe places of poverty, exclusion, and neglect but they were and are still part of the creative potential of modern life (Robinson 1998:163).

Townships were and are “a private world without privacy” (Bozzoli 2004:22). Living takes place on the streets, where children grow in close proximity to deprivation and violence but also come to know the importance of innovation, resourcefulness, and resistance. Additionally, peri-urban areas are increasingly connected to the global economy through fluid strategies and activities that reach across social and spatial distances (Simone 1998:174-175). Between the spaces of township and town there were and are multiple sites of contact and socialization between various classes and ethnic groups of Cape Town. The mobility afforded by tourism employment increases such encounters.

Specifically, we should seek an ethnographic investigation of what urban change looks like in South African cities (Besteman 2008, Judin and Vladislavic 1998, Nuttall 2004, Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). As Nuttall argues, there is also a need for new kinds of studies to consider the “now” among these relationships of race, class, and space (2004). Drawing on De Certeau (1984) and Benjamin (1982), she reminds us that the post-apartheid city is “a place of manifold rhythms, forged through daily encounters and multiple experiences of time and space,” different experiences of the past, present, and future, and replete with “the heterogeneity of lives juxtaposed in close proximity” (ibid: 740). Nor should we forget that the city is a place of “fantasy, desire, and imagination” (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004:356). Within the study of township tourism, the multidimensional lives and strategies of urban actors and the artifacts and
spaces they manipulate serve as a site from which to investigate change as well as personal and collective attitudes or approaches to social and economic structures.

I draw inspiration from comparative urban studies which provide analysis of the cultural production occurring in similar underprivileged areas in Africa (Hansen and Vaa 2004, Ghannam 2002, Nuttall and Michael 2000, Simone 1998) and beyond (Caldeira 2000, Goldstein 2003, Holsten 1999, Jaguaribe and Hetherington 2004, Low 1999, Low 2000, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). Such scholars point to ethnic peri-urban areas as important sites of possibility, shaped by locals but also affected by outside forces such as local development planning or global economic practices, both elements of tourism. I build on South African research which looks beyond political struggle or race relations as the singular determinates of identity and change (Nuttall and Michael 2000). Scholars have documented practices which sustain livelihoods, such as the development of the arts (Coplan 1985), fluid networks of family relations (Spiegel and Mehlwana 1997), and informal economies (Robins 2002), uncomfortable instances of apartheid spatial and social “border” crossings (Besteman 2008), and how city spaces are invested with meanings and memories (Lee 2005, Ross 2005b). As Bozzoli points out “nothing enter[s] the townships without being given local meaning” (2004: 27, Freund 2007). Tourism, accordingly, meets the same fate. I will investigate how tourism is also an important mediator of transformation for urban spaces that involves similar practices.

Approaching tourism from such a perspective allows us to understand the way individuals actively remake the arena in which their community is marketed. As Jaguaribe and Hetherington (2004) argue, tourism creates new urban forms and highlights challenges present in the social
relations of the city, such as persistent inequalities. Writing about tourism in the *favelas* of Rio, another divided city, Jaguaribe and Hetherington argue that as the “antithesis” of the Western suburb, such peri-urban locales are best examined on their own terms.

It can only be understood at the street level, at the level of performance – from the air these zones look merely chaotic. The alternative order is a product of migration, capital, and the land itself. It brings forth new urban forms, cultural synergies, and challenges to the social relations of the city, while at the same time reproducing a social structure, power relations, and inequalities. A surface of emergence for new urban dynamics, cultural production, and forms of mediation, such indistinct contact zones are porous, contradictory, and permanently negotiated. [2004:165]

Importantly, I follow through on their conclusion that such areas are “constructed by daily social practices and imaginaries” (ibid).

Behind the scenes, township tours occur within a local drama replete with instances of success, struggle, competitive self-marketing, muddled with corruption and good intentions. Current practices have grown out of problematic development programs and entrenched historical and socio-economic relationships. Given these factors, I argue that despite a lack of transparency or adherence to a conventional model of sustainability, township destinations “work” according to their own logic. Moving beyond interpretations of township tourism as voyeurism, exploitation, or reification, I do not interpret the workings of township tourism as failed community or heritage development. Rather I seek to expose the internal social processes that fuel the persistence of certain practices, their possibilities and limitations. I show how the vested parties are strategically participating, not for dissimilar ends, but with unequal levels of control. Beyond this analysis, how township tourism takes place holds varied yet significant implications for township residents. I hope this approach, drawing out local experiences, can inform future work to improve to the sustainability and empowerment objectives associated with community-based tourism projects.
Uniting the Study of Tourism and Place

This approach to townships as research space involves an understanding of the importance of place. Tourism engages the production and construction of place. In this dissertation, the term place represents the spatial dimension of culture. Space—points on the landscape—becomes place when given meaning or when it comes to hold memories of people and events (Lawrence and Low 2003:13, Feld and Basso 1996). Places, similar to tourism practices, are socially constructed. However, I recognize that places are “politicized, culturally relative, [and] historically specific, [with] local and multiple constructions” (Rodman in Lawrence and Low 2003:203). Such meanings can be individual, shared, competing, and contested. Places can have no meaning apart from practice or human action, rather space becomes place when it is invested with conceptual and logical structures (Bourdieu 1977).

Invoking the appreciation of culture, history, and place, township tourism falls, in part, in the genre of heritage tourism. Heritage tourism may be defined as the “industry of travel that promotes cultural landscapes that hold great historical and symbolic landmarks, monuments, and neighborhoods” (Scarpaci 2005:7). Heritage, too, is socially constructed and dependent upon local contexts and practice. In effect, tourism and place-making depend on similar processes: “the mobilization of memories and performances, gendered and racialized bodies, emotions and atmospheres” (Sheller and Urry 2004:1).

The visited space of township tourism is a web of significant places. Under apartheid, townships became identified externally as no-go areas for whites and internally as enclosures for black labor. In this case, identities became linked with legislated definitions and segregated places. Society became mirrored in segregated spatial layout creating zones of safety and uncertainty, solidarity and suspicion, insider and outsider (Western 1996[1981]). It is understood that townships were built by outsiders to be practical and sparse, to define, confine, and secure.
However, townships were also complex sub-societies (Bozzoli 2004). As Bozzoli points out, although townships were hidden areas to the white minority, to insiders they were neighborhoods full of life, homes, sports, churches, *shebeens*, and all the social drama and memory-making those places entail. Overtime, the controlled spaces of apartheid design were given new and more powerful internal meanings as places of domesticity, business, culture, resistance, and the like.

Given the introduction of tourism, townships are also being repurposed as a national showcase for heritage and development. Townships are being reinvented as sites of heritage while places therein are being given a newly imagined past to be presented for a global tourist audience. Township places are part of city and national politics of commemoration (“what to remember, how to remember, when to remember”), what Huyssen calls “traveling cross-national memory discourse” (2003:99). This process takes place in spatialized ways and involves historically, communally, and personally significant places. Locals’ memories and perceptions differ and collide with this municipal and national campaign to recharacterize place, or in this case to recharacterize some places and not others, often for outsiders. In other words, the subject matter of township tours, from struggle history to Xhosa culture to the failures of development, are everyday encounters for residents. Put another way, the places referenced on township tours continually become layered with meanings.

Based on this understanding, an investigation of the significance of place or the use of place for various local tourism participants is a necessary part of my analysis. My methodology draws on work by Low, who argues that we must investigate both the social production of space (through social, economic, ideological, or technical factors) and the social construction of space.
(through phenomenological and symbolic factors) (Low 1999: 112, Low 2000). It is vital to probe how and why sites from homes to monuments are planned and built as well as how they are conceived through “patterns of use and attributed meanings” (Low 1999: 119). Moreover, my analysis focuses on how local participants perceive the representation of themselves via tourism as it relates to place and the linking of their identities to the township. Internal contests over tourism practice and representation point to places of cleavage in the public transformation of townships from neglected suburbs to heritage destinations. Or as Scarpaci writes: “Understanding how local residents conceptualize these problems is an important first step in learning how they socially construct their neighborhoods and in interpreting the public discourses that give meaning to these places” (2005:120).

The following chapters allude to participants’ relationships with space, and the production and consumption of place in a number of ways. For example, in the case of tour guides and managers, place is embodied in their concept of self and their definitions of success. Additionally, guides and other local hosts serve as storytellers and performers. Their narrations evince how people construct perceptions and experiences of place (Schmidt 1996:92). As Schmidt argues, “social memory [is] linked to place and maintained through storytelling” (ibid). Further, narration “has an interactive, recursive capacity,” it can reactivate places, renew and transform meanings (ibid). I look to the way guides variously treat significant places, such as shebeens, hostels, or monuments, to reveal how their representations of place evolve in process as a response to a number of factors. Importantly, as local participants divergently represent sites of history, culture, struggle, even everyday spaces in the home, they often enlist a selective

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6 Low builds on a number of theorists such as Harvey (1985, 1990), Castells (1989), Foucault (1975), Holston (1989), Bourdieu (1977), and notably Lefebvre (1991:286): “Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations.”
description; some aspects are remembered while other aspects become purposefully forgotten or obscured. In each of these analytical ventures, emphasis is placed on drawing out the social processes behind these practices and the unresolved tensions they reference.

**Methodological Considerations**

In the last decade, I have visited Cape Town four separate times. In 2001, I came as an undergraduate student and tourist, experiencing my first township tour unfiltered by the sieve of graduate studies in anthropology. In July 2002, I returned for six weeks of fieldwork concentrating on how African material culture was presented by black artists in township markets and cooperatives as well as how township crafters gained access to the greater Cape Town market place. I grew increasingly intrigued in the processes of tourism in shaping the perception of places and peoples and in mediating the interaction between hosts and guests. Thus, I returned to Cape Town in June 2006 for pre-dissertation research. Finally, I spent September 2007 thru May 2008 in Cape Town completing the qualitative, ethnographic study for this dissertation.

The scenarios and conclusions presented here hinge on a number of strategic methodological choices and underlying premises. Tourism as a realm of study is extremely complicated and multivalent. It involves tourists, investors, hotels, state planners and aid agencies, tour guides and companies, international travel agents, host community leaders and members, and specialists, such as academics or curators, among others (Dahar 2000). Tourism presents a methodological problem to carve out a fieldwork space in such a complex, fragmented, and heterogeneous industry (Selby 2004:2).

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7 This data served my Master of Arts thesis at the George Washington University. Afterward, I transferred to the University of Florida for Ph.D. work and training in the Xhosa language.
To understand the many perspectives and practices, a focused analysis, combining observation, participation, and interviewing with local stakeholders best served my analytical framework. My approach depends on an understanding of communities as heterogeneous entities and tourism and heritage as ideological, political, and economic pursuits. This approach allows me to investigate persons’ cultural and emotional ties to the content of township tours such as so-called “heritage,” gain insight into the different meanings various stakeholders assign to tourism, and look at interpersonal transformations and relationships (Scarpeci 2005, Wallace 2005:10). Secondly, an ethnographic investigation drawing out the relationships between local participants can lay bare the different relations of power that are served through tourism. Such analysis illuminates how different parties, especially local community members, may be excluded from the market and decision-making processes by elites, physical distance, and/or training. This method can further isolate network connections among vested parties (Rogerson and Visser 2004, WTO 2002).

That said, in practical terms, a thorough understanding of all vested parties is not methodologically viable. My primary focus grew to be an examination of the nature of tour narratives, routes, leaders, and the places, people, and objects on which tours depend. I decided to concentrate on understanding the tourism industry from a local perspective. As noted, the local is a problematic term in anthropology (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). The local social field in this dissertation refers to the Cape Town region, with an understanding that tourism and the townships are bound in a relationship with national and international forces. I found the most value in gaining extensive expertise on the point of view of a handful of “key informants” or interlocutors. Through these endeavors, I gained access to current and long-term experiences of

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8 Life histories are useful in understanding the effects of social and economic change in people’s lives as opposed to structured surveys. Structured “methods often lead to generalized results, which depict the experiences of ‘ordinary
local participants to learn how tourism impacts their livelihoods, practices, and conceptions of self and community. These persons are consequently the protagonists of the following chapters such as tour operators and guides, local participants in Langa township, and B&B proprietors.

To accomplish this, I chose a representative sample of participants from tour companies and township destinations; this includes guides, managers, entrepreneurs, and a cast of other performers, crafters, and locals who are part of the tour experience. I began by collecting and analyzing marketing materials, such as guide books, brochures, and websites, including those of government funded tourism programs. Primarily, I conducted informal, semi-structured, and structured interviews with a range of groups to collect personal narratives and life histories. Most importantly, I shadowed a number of tour guides on their daily journeys, immersing myself in the narratives they wove, their patterns of working, and relationships with other tourism personnel including township residents.

Over the course of my fieldwork visits, I participated in and recorded well over fifty township tours, with representative types of guides and companies, at all times of the day, week, and year. I completed participant-observation and interviews with around twenty different tour operators. In brief, seven companies were African-owned and operated and would be classified as Small to Medium-Size Enterprises or SMME. Three of these companies are managed by coloured owners or other non-whites and are also SMMEs. Five companies had mixed management, meaning both white and non-white proprietors shared control and ranged in size from small to large enterprise, large meaning the company has a significant number of employees and offices in multiple cities. Finally, five companies were managed by white South people”, suggesting that everyone experiences a particular event, trend, or policy in the same way (often irrespective of their gender)” (Slater 1994: 39). Methods such as life histories ‘humanize’ research on social change and impacts, allowing a more nuanced understanding of tourism outcomes besides victim or villain.

9 I employ an estimate as a number of these endeavors would merge or fission during my research.
African or non-nationals and ranged from small to large enterprises. As a constant presence at destinations on the tour route and in my interviews with free-lance guides, I was further exposed to the various practices of other tour companies.

Based on this experience, I chose a number of fundamental destinations for extended participant-observation off the tour bus. As township tours transect many African and coloured areas, my analysis of tour routes, destinations, and narratives is not limited to a particular area. However, a regional focus is advantageous for understanding particular destinations and the associated community responses. I concentrated on the established tour destinations of Langa and Khayelitsha. These two areas represent the oldest standing and newest township formations.

In a 2 kilometer radius, Langa offers two B&Bs, a community arts center, a restaurant, sites of anti-apartheid uprisings and violence in the 1960s and 1970s, worker hostels, informal and formal homes, as well as a traditional healer. As current migrants flood into the city, Khayelitsha, 30 kilometers outside of town, is most often their “new home” (the name’s translation in Xhosa) (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999). The area has a number of B&Bs, craft cooperatives, health and education centers, and dramatic overlooks of squatter-camps. (During my fieldwork, destinations in coloured townships were not as numerous but steadily developing.) One crucial concern was regular meetings with residents who opened their living spaces to tourist intrusions, especially in the migrant worker hostels.

This aspect of research was further bolstered by physically living in the townships on a part-time basis. I spent a significant number of weeks working in and around township bed and breakfasts in Langa, Gugulethu, and Khayelitsha. For example, in Langa, I stayed often at two B&Bs. From there, I could walk to the Cultural Center or to do interviews among the hostels and residents’ houses. Walking the townships, frequenting the spazas and stores, increased my
recognition with residents. In the evenings, I shared meals with the proprietors, other tourism participants, or tourist visitors and engaged in further discussion about the day’s events. These methodological choices, particularly immersion in daily township life, distinguish my work somewhat from other research on township tourism.¹⁰

To gain a full understanding, I spent time seeking insights from other stakeholders. I often questioned members of the township community not directly involved in tourism but witness to its effects. I also spent time with city and provincial tourism officials, tourism training facilitators, and some tourist visitors. With tour company managers, I collected information about the organization and history of the industry. With officials, I attempted to document the policies guiding tourism developments at the city and national government level. I wanted to determine the role and influences of each of these individuals or parties in shaping aspects of township tourism.

These methodological choices, as well as the very subject of my research, resulted in challenges of positionality.¹¹ Township residents and other tourists often assumed I was a tourist, which arguably I was in one sense of the word. Typically accompanied by tourist guides and frequenting sites for tourist consumer or donation transactions, I repeatedly had to establish that I was a visiting student and not a customer. Although in some instances, having residents assume I was a tourist and then come to know me differently yielded valuable comparative information about how tourists were perceived and treated, adding depth to my study. In one significant example of misunderstanding, I had arranged to meet with a small beading group in Samora Machel township. The women traded wares with an established co-op/store in the city center,

¹⁰ When not in the townships, I lived a few kilometers away in the student suburb of Observatory. In previous fieldwork episodes, I typically stayed in tourist hostels in City Center when not working from township B&Bs.

¹¹ Also consult the Acknowledgements for comments on positionality.
and I had met them through the white proprietor. On the day of my “participant-observation,” another group of beaders from a distant township also arrived expecting that I was a buyer. They were first angry to not have been included in the deal and then quite angry to see that I was not actually there to evaluate and purchase. Nevertheless, negotiating consumer relationships were unavoidable. Occasionally, I did purchase crafts from those I interviewed, and I always paid for my room and board at township B&Bs. I more rarely paid for tour admission as a number of company owners generously allowed me free access to their tour buses.

In all of my fieldwork episodes, I often depended on local persons as drivers, translators, and references. Significantly, during field research in 2007-08, I worked with one key interlocutor, a then 24 year-old, African tour guide named Siviwe Mbinda.¹² What proceeded became a mirrored experience and a fruitful collaboration that exceeded my expectations. Our time together yielded an undeniable impact on the substance of my fieldwork and the content of this dissertation. Our relationship became framed by mutual dependence and a somewhat mirrored experience. He, as an up-and-coming tour guide, and I, as an apprentice scholar of tourism, were both invested in understanding how culture could be made and remade or performed and manipulated. Our efforts together furthered his personal, vocational, and public goals as well as my own. We served as guides for each other, two neophytes, seeking a certain expertise in our respective fields. Expansion on this relationship and methodology is found in Chapter 4.

I asked Siviwe explicitly how he wanted to be identified in this manuscript and others to come. And though eager for recognition of his accomplishments, Siviwe was wary of any negative perceptions from his peers. Further, we do disagree on a number of fine points. I openly

¹² I worked with Siviwe between October 2007 and May 2008. He gave permission to use his real name.
insert Siviwe’s presence in the narratives that follow and Chapter 4 specifically concerns his experience becoming a tour guide. Though removed from academic burdens, as a point of fact, I think he holds an equal sense of ownership and pride. Throughout this document, I hide all other respondents’ and tour companies’ identities with pseudonyms. I have chosen to use the real names of the township suburbs and streets investigated due to their historical significance.

To be clear, the interviews, tours, field notes, and conversations referenced in this dissertation occurred during fieldwork episodes in June and July of 2006 and between September 2007 and May 2008. Where possible I note the dates of personal communications. However, given the nature of anthropological fieldwork, readers are asked to understand that analysis is based on extended participant observation or immersion in the township and tourism community.

**Dissertation Outline**

My analytical approach is carried out in the following main chapters. I employ ethnographic case studies of specific individuals and groups. Each chapter hones in on the social processes and relations behind township tourism practice including the aspirations and struggles of participants, the multiple meanings given to place, and the outstanding tensions and paradoxes of this cultural heritage industry.

Chapters 2 and Chapter 3 present a more complete picture of what township tours are, what they do, where they go, and how they developed. Chapter 2 introduces the participants and places that constitute the primary tour routes. Through a series of anecdotes, I show how my analytical approach builds on and differs from prior accounts. In relation, Chapter 3 takes up the development of tour practices from the vantage point of the beginning tour guide entrepreneurs and current business owners. I show that an empirical consideration of the role of mediators, in this case township tourism’s owner/operators, offers insight into the motivations, challenges, and interpersonal factors facing the industry’s entrepreneurs in their quest for control over African
township representations and tour quality. Such a comparative approach to current business organization and tour itineraries must take into account the variability in what seems like standardization. Despite similarity in current mainstream tour routes and narratives, the motivations behind these endeavors vary greatly as do individual and company ideas about quality, representation, and responsibility. A handful of tours fall conspicuously outside the norm. By looking at various strategies for tour itineraries and differential treatment of tour destinations, I look beyond the outwardly problematic representations of township tours to engage how such representations develop in practice as the result of social processes. Importantly, unresolved issues of race and culture are reflected in entrepreneurs’ perceived “ownership” of township tourism and their accusations of inaccuracy toward their competitors.

Chapters 2 and 3, marking the journey into a fuller understanding of key township tour sites, begin to draw out the complex, paradoxical factors of tourism practice and how they are mediated by owners, operators, and guides.

Chapter 4 focuses on making a living as a tour guide, with emphasis on my research assistant, Siviwe. This chapter continues to detail the process of creating and shaping tour routes and narratives as well as discuss the social and interpersonal aspects of tour guiding. I posit tour guides as a new social identity, a new category of worker, forged in the contemporary milieu of Cape Town’s cultural, political, economic, and global order (Alexander et al. 2006). Tour guides serve as curators, performers, and customer service agents as well as savvy, autonomous businessmen. Despite arguable impediments, such as disadvantages in the workplace and the pitfalls of get-rich-quick schemes, the tour guide is a powerful, indispensible actor working within and around the rules of company employment structures and tourism protocol to achieve personal success and autonomy. Furthermore, tour guides, as mediators of tourism’s benefits and
perceived as successful business men, face the scrutiny of their local community. The ideas presented in this chapter draw on models for thinking about labor in Africa (Freund 1988, Cooper 1987) and tourism as work (Ghodsee 2005, Gmelch 2003, Costa 2009).

As mediators, operators and guides come to control who participates and benefits from tourism. They find themselves in new relationships of exchange, even race and class-conflict with their peers and neighbors. To further illustrate these shifts, Chapter 5 looks at tourism in Langa from the local residents’ point of view in a variety of contexts and assesses how residents of various social positions are able to participate in tourism. Within its boundaries, Langa holds almost all of the elements that have come to characterize the sights, sounds, and smells of the most common township tours as well as a vivid history of labor, struggle, and reform. Weaving through a series of profiles of places and people, I describe residents’ common encounters with tourism. Each profile offers an understanding of how local actors are simultaneously vital to tourism’s success and the productions of culture, history, and place. Yet residents are often excluded from control over tourism practices, representations, and allocation of benefits. Throughout these Langa examples, the so-called responsible tourism practices proffered by tour companies, such as visiting and ensuring aid is left at local craft shops, projects, crèches, and homes, are a key feature of tour narratives. However, ethnographic attention to the backstage of tourism practices reveals competitive self-marketing, networks of commission, and locals’ adaptive strategies to gain benefit. These examples further show the tensions in township tourism between community empowerment, personal benefit, and exploitation. Building on the previous chapters, Chapter 5 illustrates the underlying, internal logic of this community-based tourism.

Chapter 6 concerns political history and monuments and the role that cultural tourism plays in the process of memorializing. As an extended example, I offer a micro-ethnography of one
strategic tour bus stop, the Gugulethu Seven memorial to seven young men who were ambushed and killed by the South African defense force in 1986. A monument to their sacrifice has been erected on the main thoroughfare of Gugulethu township. However, city planners, the monument design artists, and tour guides interpret and use the site in very different ways. I examine how each party variously invokes the themes of community, representation, reconciliation, and violence in this one significant place. I consider how events such as the Gugulethu Seven circulate in popular memory and contribute to the making of place and narrative through tourism. This case study reveals how tourist destinations, such as the Gugulethu Seven, are cultural constructs whose meaning is often contested and maneuvered by certain groups. For example, for former ANC combatants, touring the monument is personally transformative. The multiple parties involved all actively contribute to the reshaping of the post-apartheid city. Importantly, I detail how each party may depoliticize or politicize the place in reaction to new national rhetoric regarding unity and reconciliation.

Chapter 7 focuses on another exercise in the social production of township tourism environments—creating luxury accommodations in the most unluxurious townships. In light of the economic and family obligations, a central role for women in township-based tourism is found in the growing number of bed and breakfast establishments that have emerged in the last decade. To foreign visitors, an overnight stay is marketed as the ultimate way to experience the “authentic” South Africa and support local businesses. The female owners of B&B’s are actively creating networks of support and knowledge, joining associations on both local and international levels as they transform once demeaned township spaces into globally renowned tourist attractions. I detail different women’s strategies as they race to earn ratings or “stars” from international accommodation guides. Comparing their methods of decorating, marketing, and
customer service, paradoxical ideas emerge concerning meanings of home, domestic commodities, and representations of African township culture in both contemporary South Africa and international travel brochures. The female proprietors express desires for modern, respectable homes that compete with accommodations offered in swank city neighborhoods, such as giant TVs and private baths. Yet at the same time, they must maintain a strategy of selling the chaos, flavor, and hospitality of township life and African culture to global consumers. As these women race to capitalize on the budding tourism market, they encounter constraints upon their expressions of modern, African domesticity. But they rise to meet these challenges in specific local and gendered ways.

Overall, township tourism invokes transformation, major and minor, on a more social level, communal and personal. Marginalized local stakeholders are not without active strategies for inclusion or aversion, voice or visibility. In the concluding chapter, I summarize how we can interpret the practices of local actors in the township tourism drama as creative social agents working in and around current structural forces. I revisit the analytical framework posited in this chapter and the contradictions posed by framing townships as cultural heritage. I reiterate how we can see the paradox of creating versus ameliorating ideas of difference based on class, race, and place given the role of townships in Cape Town’s past, present, and future.
Figure 1-1. Tourism is Everyone’s Business mural, Zimasa Community School in Langa 2008
Figure 1.2. Map of Cape Town and townships (Joshua Toney 2011)
CHAPTER 2
PARTICIPANTS, PLACES, AND ITINERARIES

In the last fifteen years, township tourism has developed from a fledging, niche project to a significant, viable market for overseas visitors. During this time, a number of tour itineraries have emerged which focus on township destinations from Langa to the far reaches of Khayelitsha. A significant number of Capetonians, primarily township residents, have found active roles to play in the daily production of tourism or are witness to its effects. At the same time, scholars have been justly preoccupied with the symbolic and ideological problems which emerge when townships are recast as heritage. A complex relationship exists between heritage and tourism. In a number of global cases, debates have raged over whether heritage initiatives, often dependent upon local history and culture, enact an important form of recovery for local communities and increase employment opportunities. Or, alternately, it is questioned whether the heritage industry only offers commercialization of selective aspects of history and culture to benefit global or national tourism at the expense of locals (Bruner 2005, Chambers 2000, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Lanfant et al. 1995, Smith and Brent 2001, Urry 1995).

To attend to such conundrums in the Cape Town case, I contend that it is important to understand how the practices and places, such as the narratives, destinations, and representations of township tourism come into existence as well as the effects of tourism participation for local actors (Crang 2006:24). This chapter introduces the representative participants and places involved in township tourism I examined during fieldwork. I argue that tourism is a mediated endeavor, negotiated by local participants in complex and uneven ways. Given this, I explore how current township tourism practices have developed, standardized, and continue to shift based on a number of social factors. Third, I draw out instances of difference or disagreement that speak to greater issues and persistent tensions in the South African public sphere. I am
concerned with how township tourism becomes normalized and meaningful in the context of people’s daily lives. I show how tour routes intersect the daily itineraries of township residents. What emerges from these examples is an understanding of the social field as well as the multiple goals, interpersonal factors, and outside influences that come together in this phenomenon. Tourism practitioners and township residents hold a range social positions and relationships to each other, to significant places, to the municipal and national rhetoric promoting township tourism, as well as unequal levels of control over how township tourism takes place. Moreover, township places, already laden with public and private histories and memories, are overlaid with new narratives via touristic production.

I also look to current academic understandings of township tourism. I offer the opening anecdote to preface how my analytical approach seeks to look beyond the outwardly problematic representations of township tours, engaging how such representations develop in practice as the result of social processes. Scholarship on the township tourism enterprise has interpreted the composite symbolic and narrative outcomes of tours (Goudie et al. 1996, McEachern 2002, Robins 2002, Rolfes et al. 2007, Witz et al. 2001, Witz 2007). These broad critiques offer compelling observations about the problems and limits of current township representations. However, representations cannot be divorced from the persons and processes that create and mold them.

Inside the Bus, Inside the Academy

Township tours quickly gained the attention of local scholars noting the changing tenor of cultural-heritage issues in South Africa and suspicious of tourist-oriented packaging of apartheid history specifically and African cultures in general (Goudie et al. 1996, Minkley et al. 2001, Robins 2002). Ongoing research concerns the reconfiguration of areas of contested heritage (Rassool 2000, Schutte 2003, Worden 1997), such as the remaking of museums or monuments
(Coombes 2003, Marschall 2010, Nanda 2004), as well as the discursive and cultural processes by which this occurs (Hamilton 1998, Nuttall and Coetzee 1998). Other researchers have questioned the development and pro-poor aspects of such endeavors (Allen and Brennan 2004, Rogerson 2008, Briedenhann & Ramchander 2006). During my study and afterward, I met both established researchers and fellow graduate students from the disciplines of history, anthropology, tourism management, and geography, all keen on studying this evocative aspect of post-apartheid tourism, and each vying for a new way to address the salient issues of history, memory, culture, heritage, place, and commodification among others.

For example, Dr. Leslie Witz, an esteemed historian at University of the Western Cape (UWC), along with South African colleagues Ciraj Rassool and Gary Minkley among others, has published widely on issues related to the intersections of heritage and tourism in the South African context, including township tourism (2001, 2003, and 2007). As a part of his 2008 graduate seminar on “Public History and Tourism,” Witz engaged his students with a series of field trips. Students embarked on a township tour, and Dr. Witz graciously invited me to attend the pertinent afternoon of discussion following their tour.¹

Witz argues that tourism options and marketing in Cape Town have changed dramatically in the last two decades (2007). Three key factors serve as evidence to this claim. First, Cape Town is being promoted as proudly multicultural, as in the city festival slogan “One city, Many cultures” (capetownfestival.co.za). Second, apartheid history has been transformed into new kinds of heritage products. For instance, many profitable tourist options are “excursion into images of apartheid’s past” such as the Robben Island Museum (featuring the cell block where

¹ I attended the class discussion on April 17, 2008. All referenced quotes from the class occurred on that date. The class was comprised of around 25 students and exhibited a mixed demographic make-up. Students of various ages and backgrounds, from all over Africa and Europe, were present. Witz was joined by a visiting American Fulbright scholar, a recent Ph.D. in history, who served as the class co-moderator.
Nelson Mandela and other prominent political prisoners were detained) or the District Six Museum mentioned in Chapter 1. And third, Cape Town planners want to showcase development and progress of city services, infrastructures, and people. Township tours accordingly attend to all of these factors: culture, history, and development. One issue for Witz is how the tours represent townships as “living museums” of these features, actually leaving visitors with a static, essentialized view of African urban culture.

In response, the class discussed how tours are a spatial and temporal journey through apartheid and its effects, couched in the history of forced removals and culminating in proof of progress and change. This argument is established in much of the current literature and is often explicitly spelled-out by tour narratives and brochures. Basically, tours move from the central city, following the path of coloured and black citizens removed from designated white residential property under pre-apartheid and apartheid policy. Tour guides almost invariably begin at the District Six Museum. This part of the tour, engaging the history and emotions of communities removed from central Cape Town to the outlying townships, enables later narratives and provides context as participants move to see the townships for themselves.

Regarding Witz’s second argument, as the class reiterated, the theme of culture is invoked in examples of Xhosa language or rituals and during stops such as the traditional healer (sangoma), or informal pub (shebeen) to taste traditional beer. History (and politics) is invoked in key places, such as at the old migrant labor hostels, or the site of the 1960 pass laws march, or at the Gugulethu Seven Memorial which marks victims/heroes of the anti-apartheid struggle. Finally, the theme of development, also noted by Witz (2007), is invoked with visits to community projects, daycare centers, arts and crafts cooperatives, or the entrepreneurial B&B’s. As Witz writes, tourist participants are thus brought full circle in the temporal journey through
the history of the townships and strategically left with images of contemporary progress (2007). The class also saw this aspect as placing their tour in the genre of “responsible tourism,” meaning that tourists were granted opportunities to give back, not just appropriate.

A few remarks from the students’ lengthy discussion are relevant here. For one, class members picked out pieces of the tour experience that were somewhat inaccurate or problematic. As an example, the places toured are not necessarily where former residents of District Six were removed to. And significant time was spent analyzing aspects related to culture that appeared to be purposefully staged, such as the stop at the shebeen to taste umqumboti, the traditional beer, or visits to hostel homes in Langa. Many remarked that it was clear the residents knew the tour was coming. Others suggested that the specific pub and rooms visited were sites of a performance. One woman from a black township in another city argued that township people do not drink and fill up pubs during the day or just lie about on their beds. Another student was skeptical if people actually drank traditional beer at all. They questioned: were the residents “performing poverty” or paid to reenact these typical scenes? The traditional healer stop seemed the most egregiously staged aspect. Students could not help but notice the sign placed strategically out front demanding five rand per tourist. Another male student was put off by the visit to the daycare, feeling the young children were forced to sing and look happy for the tourists, thus garnering donations. He questioned if all the examples of development on tours were just places to give handouts instead of seeing real empowerment.

A turning point in the discussion came when the co-moderator addressed concerns about representation. He asked how time was presented in the tours. Were township tours showing African modernity? Students’ reactions were mixed. Most cited that the shebeen, hostel, and sangoma aspects relegated township to the past and ultimately had a village/rural or apartheid
referent. The class co-moderator, then asked, who was in control of these narratives? This led to discussions of power and the weighing of tours exploitative possibilities. Was this just voyeurism? Were tours invading people’s privacy? Was donating to a daycare so bad? In the end, students seemed exasperated by a host of unanswered, pragmatic questions. Is this tourism responsible? Who is really benefiting? Is tourism creating jobs and independence or rather dependence?

Taking in the conversation, I was at an advantage to know more details about the so-called “backstage” of their tour experience (MacCannell 1999[1975]). Most elements of their tour, whether taken for granted or problematized, can be elaborated on. The guides’ tour practice and content were influenced by a number of factors and incongruencies. For instance, the black-owned tour company they hired is considered “local” although the proprietor moved out of Langa to an up-and-coming suburb development as soon as success would allow. The address of the company headquarters is still listed as his families’ address for legitimizing reasons. All of the guides he hires are from Langa and Xhosa-speaking, but not all have afforded the time and money to become certified through coursework or registered with the provincial tourism board. This means the guides are not technically or legally qualified to give tours of their own neighborhood. At the time, the students’ specific guide had just broken ties with another company over personality issues and was generally bored and jaded about having to give township tours every day. He sought advancement to leading Cape Wineland and Peninsula tours instead of being cast only as a township guide. During the last tour I had taken with him that year, the guide had seemed tired, disinterestedly repeating a tour he knew by heart. That day he

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2 As noted “local” is a contentious term. In the context to township tourism, localness lends itself to authenticity. The proprietor grew up in Langa and is in Langa on a regular basis. Importantly, he pointed out that he must come to Langa for family and cultural rituals. He felt that his neighbors in the new suburban area would not tolerate a lamb sacrifice in the backyard.
decided not to even get out of the bus at some stops, at one point telling the tourists to just go on into the daycare without an introduction and come back when they were finished. Frustrated, he appeared apathetic about whether he was successfully constructing a spatio-temporal journey or providing meaningful images of hope and change.

On tour, when the UWC students reached the shebeen and hostel district in Langa, the guide turned them over to a sincere and knowledgeable local man named Reginald. Many companies informally employ Reggie as a site guide, under the pretense that the official guide will be busy moving the bus ahead so tourists can do some walking, meeting, and greeting. The students commented that it was never clear who this man was. Reggie takes his position very seriously, however, his approach is secretly mocked by the families he visits. If the students knew Reginald had spent 20 years in jail for violent crime, that his compensation was not guaranteed, or that the guide just wanted a break, they might have been more alarmed. Likewise, the shebeen, the homes, the daycare, the B & B, and the sangoma they visited each have an intricate back-story.

I ultimately left the class discussion recharged. The unanswered questions the students’ concluded with were also my questions. Moreover, their concerns were similar to the inquiries I often received from interested tourists in the many groups I accompanied.³

Similar in scope to this class discussion, much of the current literature on township tourism offers an “on the bus” vantage point and analysis. My analysis builds on the underlying claims cited above. Interpretations of the tours as performances, analyses of cultural or place production, and pulling out instances of cultural reification are significant. Attention to the

³ Once after leaving a musician’s cramped Cape Flats house during a township jazz tour, a young Englishman in front of me turned to his companion and iterated that there was no way he believed the musician actually lived there, when, in fact, he did.
national rhetoric of cultural appreciation or issues of heritage and community responsibility are also important to this emergent aspect of public culture in the new South Africa. Yet, as Witz (2003) has argued in another context, subordinate groups involved in such public performances construct their own meanings. Thus, I argue that rooting out the intricacies of local social and economic relationships and the personal desires of participants provide a fuller understanding of the production of tours’ representative elements. I begin this investigation with a detailed accounting of the types and routes of township tours mediated by tourism practitioners.

**The Mediation of Township Tourism**

Tourism is a mediated process with various local and international stakeholders’ influencing tourism marketing and practice. In tourism analysis, a distinction is often drawn between hosts and guests. Many times, guests, or tourists, are indicated as the agents of social change, commodification, and standardization. However, research increasingly shows that hosts, or local persons and their communities, are actively shaping the ways their areas are marketed and toured (Werner 2003, Stronza 2001, Jaguaribe and Heatherington 2004). Dispensing with a simple dichotomy between host and guests, insiders and outsiders, Werner draws attention to the various mediating roles in the tourism encounter:

> The anthropological literature on tourism has dealt extensively with how tourism affects local culture, economy, and environment through use of the concepts of hosts and guests. One of the unintended consequences of this dichotomy is that there has not been adequate attention paid to those who actively mediate the touristic process. As a result, guests, rather than mediators, are often credited or blamed for changes that occur to a society...While hosts are typically portrayed in the literature as passive recipients of externally driven change, tour operators are actively working to develop tourism. [Werner 2003:156]

In other words, mediators are trendsetters. They are prime actors in the process of tourism production. In this case, tour guides and operators are key mediators of township tourism. Their decisions can control where tourists go and how local residents may participate or benefit.
Additionally, their practices, such as selective itineraries, performances, and narrations translate the African township experiences for tourist visitors.

**Itineraries**

Mediators’ intentions and ideas are solidified in the itineraries they design and manage. In township tourism, itineraries, as non-materialized or materialized form are a protected commodity. Non-materialized routes are “sold” via brochure as companies list the sites they will visit. Materialized routes are the actual course taken by guides and tourists that may be directed by the same philosophy as the non-materialized route. Although creating an itinerary is a standardizing mechanism, in practice the individual adoption of a route as well as the day to day running of the itinerary are met with all other kind of factors, strategies, and moments of agency.

As Wang suggests, “Rather than being trivial, itineraries act as important media through which the tourism industry interacts with the tourist…Itineraries shape how tourists experience and consume place” (Wang 2006:65). During township tours, guides overwhelmingly employ a symbolic use of the township landscape as routes follow the trajectory of forced removals from town to township to freedom (McEachern 2002:96-97). Tour busses make stops at “strategic moments” to evince the historic legacy of apartheid, class and housing differences, as well as daily life. McEachern argues that these sites, as places to stop and narrate, become more important than the actual significance of the event or practice being described (drawing on MacCannell 199[1975]). These markers become a part of the individual ways guides and operators, as mediators, craft the message of their tour. Moreover, the choice of a route and destinations directly influences how other township residents come in contact with or participate in tourism.
Common Routes

A number of over-lapping styles of township tours exist. The first and most prevalent, I call the “Shebeen Route.” Such tours are primarily cultural in content and forward looking, offering a mix of historical and contemporary social information as well as discussing Xhosa traditions and including home visits. The main thematic markers: living culture, political resistance, and modern life, also allow tourists a glimpse of daily township existence. Companies in this genre often label their tours as a “Cultural Excursion” or an “Educational Tour,” highlighting a more historical and informative focus.

The three to four hour journey of these township tours has a number of beginnings. Guides get their daily assignments around 7:00 a.m. Tourist pick-ups occur between 8:30 and 9:00 am. Thematically some tours begin with the end of apartheid and the dramatic transformation of the country. Other tour guides first explain the history of forced removals at the turn of the 20th century and culminating in the District Six example of the 1960s. Others begin with Dutch arrival of 1652 and the populations of slaves that forever changed the culture and character of central Cape Town.

For so-called “Shebeen,” “Cultural,” or “Educational” tours, the first leg of the journey is often a history lesson. When driving to the District Six Museum or to Langa clients will get an overview of apartheid and Cape Town facts. Many times guides will call attention to the unmanicured, urban “bush” areas where Xhosa male initiation ceremonies take place during December and June. Upon entering Langa, the closest township to the city center, tourists are in awe of the different types of housing, business establishments, and projects. The Langa Cultural Center and similar enterprises, including schools and daycares get frequent visitors. Many tours use a “step-on” guide available at the craft centers to facilitate a walking tour and entrée into township homes. The walking tour highlights include the sight of the 1960 march against pass
laws and the former pass office building, the police station, and several types of housing including council built duplexes, hostels, new middle class housing, and informal settlements. As a part of the walking or bus tour, visitors to Langa also may take time for stops at a shebeen or the traditional healer’s place of work (Chapter 5).

Tours continue away from the Langa Cultural Center, moving through Gugulethu township to visit memorials for acts of violence committed under apartheid rule (Chapter 6) or other development oriented centers. The driving route usually is designed to weave through the township suburbs, showing various kinds of housing, the differences between coloured and African neighborhoods, as well as interesting sites such as restaurants, cemeteries, or urban farms. Then, Khayelitsha, the most remote yet largest African township, is typically the final area covered. Here again, if not yet attend to, a tour may visit a number of capacity-building programs. Finally, a shack turned bed and breakfast in Site C is a major draw (Chapter 7). Tours then usually wind back to the N2 Highway and return to town.

A number of factors and strategies can affect a tour guide’s daily route. Plotting against the traffic, one owner and guide, Kabelo, essentially runs his tours backwards. He starts his tour by driving all the way to Khayelitsha, effectively avoiding the suspicious convergence of busses at places like the famed Khayelitsha shack B&B or the District Six Museum. Kabelo emphasizes that routes and tours must be flexible. He tells of once trying to preemptively distract his group’s attention away from a man relieving himself on one side of the road by excitedly describing the row of houses on the other. There are always going to be sights in the townships that are new or elusive. He adds that he can usually assure that a tree or a building will be there the next day, but as to the person selling meat or crafts, you never know (personal communication, October 3, 2007).
Factors as seemingly negligible as a security gate can change a tour itinerary. For example, another operator and guide Sis Layla always patronized one Gugulethu tourism center and craft market until they put in a security gate. She noted that the gate is a good measure considering the prevalence of petty crime in the area. At the same time, she wondered why, if the guard can see her coming in a tour bus with tourists, they wait to sign the guestbook and waste time. Further, if the power goes out—a central concern, considering the rolling black outs plaguing the townships—she and her guests could be stuck on the inside (personal communication April 29, 2008).

Secondary Strategies and Alternative Tours

Outside and somewhat in opposition to the “Shebeen Route” tours, a number of alternative tours stress specialties such as music, food, or volunteer opportunities. They promise to be the most authentic, interactive experiences. These tours take the border crossing metaphor, a reference to the physical and social boundaries of apartheid, of the township experience to another level.

For instance, Helen, a white South African, gives personalized walking tours, facilitates photo tours, or sets clients up with service organizations in the most remote informal settlements. Focusing on the people and lifestyle of Khayelitsha, she offers some historical background on the 30 kilometers journey from town. However, her true passion is connecting people. Often she takes groups first to visit the home of her dear friend, Anne. Anne is a Xhosa woman, a retired community health worker, and she is HIV positive. Helen hopes that by sitting down in Anne’s house, hearing her story, and exchanging questions that real connection will take place. With

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4 Kabelo and Sis Layla will be discussed further in Chapter 3 on the role of owner/operators. Please note that descriptions of tours and personal styles in this chapter are based on multiple excursions during the dates of fieldwork.

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Anne’s family, she then leads the group on a walking tour through the sandy shack settlement nearby, being sure to greet everyone, enter homes, and play with children. Over the past few years, Helen herself has struggled to keep a home and worked another job for support. Her deep connection to Khayelitsha is evident. However, this forced interactive tactic does not always work if the clients were expecting a tour with more conventional boundaries.

Another company, Red Bush Routes,\(^5\) led by a young white South African, Edward, was also inspired to make scenarios for real exchange possible. Their method is a bit more refined and planned than Helen’s interactive excursion. Red Bush Routes began in 2005 with emphasis on music and allowing for “genuine” interactions. History is not explicitly part of their tours, but emerges nonetheless in encounters with jazz, reggae, or personal stories. They currently offer a jazz tour, a reggae tour, a cooking tour, a soccer tour, and a number of other specialized experiences. The tours work by moving between venues and homes all over Cape Town. For example, the Jazz Safari may start at a little club in District Six to meet and hear some talented young musicians. Then the group may travel to a township home to hear about the history of Cape musical traditions, or have dinner in a coloured neighborhood as the patron plays and tells stories. Blessed with a number of contacts in the music industry, the combinations for their routes are unlimited.

Edward is passionate about making the border crossing tour meaningful. At the same time he seeks to down play ideas and perceptions of social difference.

Edward: This is where tourism is so fascinating to me. It is a bridge building experience. You are bringing together people from other countries, and they’re normally Western, first world countries, and they come with their perceptions of what it must be like over here. And people here who are locked in their own spaces and unable to move on and get other perspectives, suddenly that perspective is being brought to them, which is where township tourism can be extremely

\(^{5}\) Please note I employ pseudonyms for company names as well as personal names.
powerful... The way that most township tours seem to operate is that it’s not about creating a space for two different worlds to come together and discover more about each other. It’s more like a glimpse into living conditions and maybe types of food... The space isn't created for people to get to know each other. And I think that the kind of tourism where it’s like you are being hosted in somebody's backyard, and they take you around and introduce you to their friends, and you can have the time to sit over dinner. Those are the kind of experiences that break down boundaries (personal communication, July 6, 2006).

Alternative tours in this genre advertise the responsible nature of their tours, in Red Bush Routes’ case providing transparent employment and exposure for budding musicians, or as in Helen’s case, offering a space for visitors to serve and give back.

Another alternative, one tour provider, stands out as motivated by remembrance and ideology. Cape Liberation and Remembrance Center (CLRC) excursions are led by former members Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed resistance wing of the ANC under apartheid. Importantly, the group does not want to be considered a tour company at all, rather considers their “Journeys of Remembrance” an educational excursion (Chapter 5). The excursion focuses on historical and political information, more often than not looking backward in time to commemorate apartheid struggles.

Participants and Places

To understand this phenomenon from an “off the bus” perspective, it is important to appreciate how the itineraries of tourist visitors criss-cross the multiple daily itineraries of township residents. As guides enact a journey transporting and informing tourist clients, guides meet additional goals, such as ensuring partnerships with homes and destination personnel. Locals, going about their daily lives, again have a separate itinerary that variously coordinates and synchronizes with that of tourists or guides. Many of the persons, sites, and concerns introduced in the anecdote below will be elaborated on in future chapters.
Initial Mediations of the Tourist Experience

Eager to experience the culture and excitement of South Africa, nearly 10 million visitors a year now make their way to this large country at the tip of the continent (CTRU 2007, 2008a, 2008b). The decision to take a township tour or plan any other activity is often first mediated by local and international guidebooks and websites and can depend on their hotel’s connections with certain touring companies. Tourist itineraries and tourism marketing intersect the working lives of many township residents who labor in the service industry as well as those who wait for tourist visitors to enter their neighborhoods.

For instance, one Cape Town travel guide reads:

Cape Town, the "Mother City," is the oldest city in our country and has a cultural heritage spanning more than 300 years. It also has the top five national attractions in South Africa that should appear on every visitor’s itinerary all year round...

Don´t miss a visit up Table Mountain; the V&A Waterfront, a unique shopping and holiday experience on a scenic working harbour; Robben Island, the former home of Nelson Mandela; the Cape Town Wine Routes, where some of the world’s best wines are produced and Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, internationally acclaimed as one of the great botanical gardens of the world…

The people of Cape Town are the ultimate attraction. Go on a township tour and experience true African hospitality, dine with a difference and experience our Malaysian heritage or meet a truly Afrikaans family. Our history is rich and diverse and a tapestry of stories is ready to be told to an ear willing to listen. Meet our artists, find out what inspires us and be inspired yourself. [Cape Town Tourism website 2009]

Thus, in a number of ways, visitors to South Africa are primed to expect meaningful human encounters as much as instances of adventure and luxury.

Any foreign tourist to Cape Town could begin the retelling of their experiences with an account of their chauffeured drive from the airport. As they make their way to the lustrous City Bowl and their overnight accommodations, they must pass several kilometers of shantytown. Arriving at night, the landscape appears somewhat unremarkable, tiny stars of warm light
emanate from a mysterious mass of dark shapes. Arriving in the daytime, the visitor’s gaze is likely drawn to the informal settlements that line the outside of township communities along the N2 highway, concealing the more formal construction of the interior. Residents move along the paths in between, barely mindful of the passing traffic. If they are not too distracted, visitors may be reassured by a row of bright billboards proclaiming “there will be houses, comfort and security for all” to advertise an upgrading real estate development scheme. Perhaps this forlorn scene is not the one the visitors expected, but it is their first taste of the spatial and economic dynamics of South Africa. Just ahead, the imposing Table Mountain they remember from their travel guide welcomes them.

Next tourists’ activity choices are somewhat mediated by the hotel or other service providers they have chosen.

Hotel Brochure: Located in the lobby, a dedicated travel, tours and activity desk offers transport and touring services as well as a full range of activities and excursions to all of the attractions in and around Cape Town and the Western Cape.

Township Tour Brochure 1: Just twenty minutes from the centre of Cape Town is an experience you cannot afford to miss. A once in a lifetime unforgettable adventure. This tour of world renowned Langa Township and others, has been meticulously planned to promise you a lasting and deeply personal impression of the culture, history and pace of township life.

Township Tour Brochure 2: If you have come to see the new South Africa, this tour is a must!  

Encountering Local Participants

Across the city in Langa township, at around 10:00 p.m., Thando’s cell phone buzzes in his pocket. Music plays loudly in the background where he’s sharing tall bottles of Black Label beer with his homeboys. It is the end of the wet, grey winter season. Although business is slowly

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6 Citations withheld to maintain confidentiality.

7 Homeboys is an established, colloquial township term referring to the abakhaya, literally those from home or those men coming to Cape Town from the same rural location (Wilson and Mafeje 1963:47).
revving up as more foreign visitors arrive in the Western Cape, he does not expect to be working tomorrow. Yet here is the boss of one of the companies he contracts with asking him to do a tour in the morning, maybe another in the afternoon. He is mindful to appear sober answering the phone. Certified since last May, he is qualified to accompany any tour in the region. However, he is only hired for township tours. Despite the intrusion, he needs the money, and is accustomed to the late night calls.

Thando rises early the following morning to boil water for bathing in his flat. He catches the minibus taxi from Langa, making it into the office in Sea Point by 7:00 a.m. By 8:15 a.m. he is off to fetch several sets of vacationing guests at various hotels in the 15-seater minibus or combi. His passengers today are from all over, Denmark, Ireland, the United States. Winding through morning rush hour traffic between Tamboerskloof and Camp’s Bay, he gives an entertaining monologue about the historically rich sights of City Bowl.

Driving down Wale Street towards Adderly, one township guide remarks:

Guide: On your right coming up, that is the Mother Church of England, the St. George's Cathedral, also home of Desmond Tutu, the first black archbishop in our country. It’s right next to our Company Gardens. They’re nice for walks on a nice day. And right next to that is the slave lodge, the green windows, that is the slave lodge. Now guys, you must have heard of that saying “the stinking rich.” Now that saying originated from this church that I am pointing at on your right. That is Mother church of the Afrikaners. Underneath that church is a graveyard and only the very rich members of that congregation got buried in that graveyard. And on a hot summer’s day there is a smell in the church. They say it’s the smell of the stinking rich.

The first point of interest on his “educational” tour of the townships is actually in town, the District Six Museum which commemorates communities devastated by forced removals under apartheid. By 9:00 a.m. he is circling the block to maneuver the one-way street and park among a

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8 Thando is described further in Chapter 3. Please note that the tours and situations described in this anecdote are based on the extended fieldwork experiences not particular dates. Again I employ pseudonyms or keep identities anonymous.
number of other tour buses. Inside the converted old Methodist church building, he hurry
through his introduction as a number of other tour groups are also waiting to view the main
display boards about pass laws and identity booklets. This initial embarkation frames the
historical background of his tour for visitors unfamiliar with the particular details of South
Africa’s political past of inequality. Thando’s speech introduces South Africa’s once legislated
racial identities (African, Cape coloured, Indian, and white) and sets a serious tone flush with
remembrance, personal connections, and pungent absolution. But with a slight hangover, he is
happy to let the wall placards do the work today. Graciously, he gives the clients twenty minutes
to explore the museum. Slipping outside, Thando jaunts to the corner for an egg sandwich, a
smoke, and the daily chat with the other tour guides busy on the same mission.

After the allotted time, each guide’s passengers eventually file out of the museum and hop
back into their buses. Now awake and energized, they slowly become acquainted with one
another:

“Where are you from?”

“Is this your first trip to Cape Town?”

“Oh really, we were just in Port Elizabeth...beautiful weather...”

Moving from City Bowl, the passengers of the now half-dozen buses parked outside the museum
will experience two to three hours of time in the townships located 12 to 30 kilometers outside
the city bowl along the N2 highway. On the way, Thando continues his informative monologue,

9 Coloured (so-called because of apartheid era South African mixed race designation) or Cape Malay history and traditions are emphasized on some tours, but African townships are the primary focus for the industry.
need tourist support. He knows that today, his tour group will encounter an array of people calmly awaiting their arrival although anxious for increased visitor numbers after a slow winter.

Township Tour Brochure 2: Witness and experience our everyday life and share our struggles, hopes and achievements. See why the birth of the New South Africa was such an important day in our lives. We are sure you will leave with a richer understanding of our country.

Township Tour Brochure 3: Discover how the squalor and the deprivation of the townships of a previously disadvantaged community is being transformed and provided with modern schools, clinics, electricity, clean water, livable homes and sport facilities. Their struggle against apartheid and their endeavors during these difficult years to uplift themselves through the establishment of community centres and informal trading initiatives like “spaza” shops and “shebeens” (informal pubs).

Two crafters are setting up their wares outside a shack in the Joe Slovo squatter area in Langa. The N2 Highway traffic streams by in the background. In an adjacent lot, security guards are in position to report vandalism or riots at the construction site of new housing modules. These women are among the many shack dwellers slotted to be forcibly removed to allow housing upgrades.

One of the women sets out a bowl of glass and plastic beads. Her occupation for the day will be threading the complicated isicawu or spider necklaces. Although the beaded bags are getting lots of compliments, very few have sold. Maybe they are too big. She likes the table to look full of colorful options. The two women know that the tourist rush hour for them will begin around 10:00 to 11:00 a.m., maybe again 3:00 to 4:00 p.m. if they are lucky.

A few blocks over, Pamela is preparing sheep heads to sell for lunch time snacks to local customers. Up since dawn to visit the butcher and get the children to school, her day of work is well underway. She sets aside one “Smiley” as show and tell for the tour groups that stop to

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10 Citations withheld to maintain confidentiality.
gawk at the meat and ask questions. Previous service as a nanny greatly improved her English skills, so the other women at the meat stand prefer that Pamela talks to the tourists. In the back of her mind, Pamela schemes how to scrape together the money and time for the tour guide training course.

Down the street, the preschool children are having a breakfast snack after a morning lesson on shapes and colors. Soon their favorite part of the day will come. Many amadwendwe (visitors) will arrive to clap for their song and dance performance. During the program, their teacher is always quick to roll out the donation box.

Farther away, in the township of Gugulethu, Mr. Mpho arrives at his daily post. Unemployed, probably on a pension, he is unclear some days. Confounded by dementia, he remembers that his last job was as a community watchman, a volunteer security guard. Now he perches by the Amy Biehl Memorial, honoring a white American student who was killed during a violent riot in 1993, and he watches over the busy NY1 thoroughfare. Soon Mr. Mpho will have tour buses to wave to.

At a bed & breakfast situated far from the city bowl in the heart of Khayelitsha, the proprietor’s many children are busy with their morning chores around the modified shack. Each day the elder girls compliantly sweep out the dust from the streets of Site C and tidy up the traces of the seven children that live there and the constant construction from adding an unprecedented second story. The girls fluff up the bedding in the guestrooms, bathe and dress the youngest children, and wash and replace the sofa slipcovers. Each girl hopes that today they will be the one chosen to greet the visitors, welcoming them to the world’s smallest hotel.

After a few hours visiting multiple sites from Langa to Khayelitsha, Thando turns his bus towards the city bowl where the tourists will return to their hotels or continue on an afternoon
tour of Robben Island, the infamous prison that held Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners during many decades of apartheid rule.

One township tour guide ends his narrative with these words:

Guide: That was our day inside the township that I also enjoyed to be with you. Just one thing to tell you that, understand that guys, that by doing this tour that was a good decision to take for you. If you do talk about 80% of the people of Cape Town living over the township side, and you say that you've been in Cape Town while you’ve seen only the city. The city, it sometimes does not differ from big cities in Europe, the beauty and all that type of life. It's perfectly good to see it, because it’s another city in Africa. But what is good is to see the other side where you will meet those people that are working the food in the restaurant. If you go to restaurant, these are the guys that tonight, they will be giving you food. If you go to the shops in waterfront, you will be served by the guys that are coming from here. The security guards at the gates in your hotel, at the front desk, you must know that these are the people that are coming from here. But the only thing you can do to understand them better is to take a township tour.

And believe me, I’m not lying when I say that this is the only tour that you directly contribute to the life or the economy of the township. Not far, just in front of you, I live in the township, he [the driver] is living in township and we do have this work because of these tours. If there were no township tours maybe we would still be jobless today. But the crafts that are existing are existing because of you. The kindergartens that are built like that are existing because of you. Do you get me? So that is why I am saying that the tour that you've done, that is a great thing to do and I want to thank you for taking this tour (tour, October 29, 2007).

Returning to the hotel after a day in the townships, tourists experience varied reactions. Have their preconceptions been met or challenged? Do they better understand the complicated social worlds of South Africa? Did they buy a township souvenir? Were they uncomfortable taking pictures? Do the people like to be visited? Do they feel we are intruding? Is that shebeen set up just for tourists? Are the locals benefiting from tourism? Should I buy crafts there? What is being done? How long will it take those women to get a proper house? The journey often elicits a number of questions for visitors rather than satisfactory answers. These same uncertainties drew me back to Cape Town time and again after I encountered the townships for the first time in 2001 as a tourist and college student.
Between Problems of Heritage and Problems of Research

Such questions have also been fodder for academic research. Scholars were quick to be skeptical of new tourism developments and content related to heritage, culture, or empowerment across South Africa after the transition to majority rule. Critiques probe the expansion of heritage and the representation of African identities. For example, Witz, Minkley, and Rassool (2001) point out that in cultural village tours, clients are fed a timeless and reified view of African culture and tradition. They placed township tourism in new touristic genre of “repackaging the past” along with cultural villages and theme parks. A vital concern was whether township tourism was to be a source of black empowerment or whether it simply presented ethnic stereotypes and difference in a shiny, new package with just enough attention to history, struggle, and development to appear legitimate.

In its early stages, it was unclear whether the commodification of struggle, apartheid, and urban poverty occurring through township tourism could be done with respect and responsibility or whether the risk of perpetuating apartheid era stereotypes and divisions was too great to ever overcome with such seemingly voyeuristic pursuits. In scholarship, the prevalent cultural township tours come under criticism for implicitly characterizing the townships as 1) an “exotic destination” that is still hidden, separate, and outside the city, 2) presenting “living museums” or a “timeless past of tradition”, or conversely showcasing 3) “a world of social and economic development” (Witz 2007:261-262, See also Witz et al. 2001). Further, Witz argues that the common tours predominantly fail to give a high-quality sense of political history. He contends that the tours characterizes the townships as outside spaces, as distinct and separate and thus “inadvertently confirm the spatial arrangement of apartheid” (2007:265). Importantly, he argues history and modernity are portrayed as rooted in the city, whereas tradition and authenticity survive in the surrounding townships.
In my observation, certain tour sites arguably contribute to reification of African cultural identities and practices such as a visit to meat market or shebeen establishments. Or townships are still being set apart as fundamentally different in terms of space, ethnic identity, class, and daily life practices through some of the examples above. Township tourism presents an almost unavoidable conundrum for those seeking to draw attention to townships as sites of heritage and change. Historically, from colonial times through apartheid to the present, local and national projects have attempted to define national spaces. The urban geography is inescapably bound up with race and identity. As Marschall writes:

During the past fifteen years of democracy, the imaginary of the ‘new’ South Africa has been unstable and contested, not least because race still plays a key role in it. Public policy hovers uncomfortably between concepts of nonracialism and multicultural pluralism and a more affirmative push toward Africanization in the interest of transformation…Race-specific behavior and activities are performed in particular geographical spaces—townships, rural areas, and racially homogenous spaces in the city, thereby perpetuating race-based identity discourses. [Marschall 2010:40 drawing on Erasmus 2008]

Township tourism depends on reference to the apartheid past and calls attention to space-specific activities and identities (McEachern 2002:xii). However, even if ultimately seen as different or appalling, facets such as meat markets, homeless dogs, dirty children, the harshness and deprivation of township life are no longer hidden aspects of South African life. In this way, township tourism engages current reconsiderations of spatial segregation, South Africa’s “landscape of memory” (Marschall 2010:39).

On the other hand, in some presentations, the realities of life in a squatter-camp are arguably distorted by some operators to evince primarily positive changes. Guides may misinform visitors while promoting alternative images of townships as safe, happy, creative spaces. Robins (2002) found the themes in one township tour to uncritically go along with the discourse of the Rainbow Nation, presenting ideas about unity, multiculturalism, and
development. In Robins’ critique, the greatest problem with the tours he joined was that in allowing ahistorical or exocitizing moments, guides obscure the hyridity and fluidity of urban African life, as well as the dire realities of poverty (ibid:416). On the other hand, McEachern argues that tour guides strategically provide examples of progress to counteract negative perceptions. However, she finds that guides provide new representations of township people as actors and not as victims of history.

In privileging the role of mediators, I do not wish to downplay the dialectic of the perceived “tourist gaze” (Urry 2002[1990]). In other words, mediators react to their own goals at the same time they seek to satisfy the perceived or imagined desires of their tourist audience. Their acts of creation and mediation are tied to larger local, national, and global concerns about reconciliation, development, and responsible tourism. Externally, tour practice is impacted by municipal and national campaigns for community-based programs as well as standards for safety compliance, tax benefits, and need-based aid. For example, most tour operators work under the perception that foreign tourists will prefer a non-white or “local” guide for township tours. Furthermore, placing township tourism within the greater post-apartheid shifts in tourism practice means we must contend with issues of representation past and present. The shift, inciting multiculturalism, community development and promoting South Africa as safe, modern destination, impact the tone and the goals of township tourism. Cape Town’s current image-making depends as much if not more on pleasing a global audience as on serving local citizenry. But these tactics, such as the measures to remove presence of street children from tourist areas (Samara 2001) and build shopping complexes to international standards at the exclusion of local consumers (Dodson and Killian1998, Marks and Bezzoli 2001), are being criticized as deceptive.
and unjustly imbalanced. Questions arise as to how township tourism’s practices and messages may be another outcropping of this aspect of the new national imaginary.

Along these lines, a great deal of scholarship on township tourism reads as a cautionary tale against the claims of reconciliation, appreciation, and development. For example, drawing on Urry’s work, Goudie et al. warn that in “appealing to the romanticized expectations of tourists…there is an inherent risk of creating simplified and politically sterile spectacles” (1996:66). They write:

If black histories are to be incorporated within the mainstream heritage tourism industry, how is this to be achieved without compromising the integrity of both the past and the present?...Without rigorous assessment, there is a danger that the South African tourist industry will simply perpetuate past divisions and replicate the negative impacts of tourism elsewhere. [1996:66]

Although companies hiring local guides and visiting township businesses provides employment, Goudie et al. question if the industry is really fixing imbalances of power. Even though local persons are in charge, this does not mean that all tours will avoid stereotypes and other pitfalls.

Furthermore, Rolfes et al. (2007) caution:

As the tourist industry is basically a commercial domain it is neither surprising nor should it be criticized that the tour operators are motivated by financial interests…Nevertheless they should be aware that beyond economic concerns they also have political and cultural responsibility. There is a risk of tour operators primarily try[ing] to present what they assume their customers do expect. If that is the case, the conveyed township image would mainly reflect the stereotyped pictures of townships (or of ‘Africa’ as a whole). Indeed, the tendency that the tour operators increasingly offer a kind of standardized program is already noticeable. [23]

Despite their survey data indicating that tourists leave the townships with an improved positive image of the townships, Rolfes et al. note that the possibility still exists for showing Africans as poor but happy, believing in witches, and glad to dance and sing for money.
Similarly McEachern warns,

This [township tour] narrative is filled out with detail about people’s everyday lives which overall, has a rather contradictory tendency. On the one hand there are the details directed at producing a realization of people’s humanity; information about family life, education, self-help projects, work networks for assisting each other in times of crisis and so on. Here is the message of normality and sameness. Yet at the same time, the tours, some more than others, will stress difference, pointing out the cattle and goats, taking tourists to visit sangomas and to see beer-making or pointing out circumcision schools. Here the townships are constructed to some extent in liminality, as borderlands between urban and rural. [McEachern 2002:97]

Rolfes et al. and McEachern pick up on the fact that tour performances and narrations can reinforce ideas of difference despite efforts at education and appreciation.

Given the examples and scholars referenced in this chapter, the paradoxes of race, representation, and participation remain a powerful problematic. Do tours represent the townships as inherently set apart or seek to bring townships into the urban whole of Cape Town? Do tours present an alternative local view of history and culture or continue to draw upon reified conceptions? Furthermore, do township tours evoke concerns about what counts as heritage and who gets to decide how it is managed? Does the growth of tourism create opportunities for empowerment in the townships or further an ethos of dependence and backwardness?

The following chapters build on this introduction of the salient issues and overview of the participants, places, and itineraries of township tourism. Rather than see tourism issues as merely instances of failure, voyeurism, or exploitation, I seek to understand how and why certain practices have been allowed to develop and continue. To reiterate, my approach to analyzing these paradoxical issues flows from understanding tourism as a process. I selectively draw on the anthropology to tourism to approach these identified problems of heritage more fully by emphasizing an “off the bus” perspective. In identifying more fully the persons and places of township tourism, one can begin to sort out the social positions of those involved as well as the various power relationships and factors influencing tourism practice and the creation of
representations, performances, or benefit. Instances of cooperation or disagreement serve as locations for further investigation into underlying social relationships and persistent tensions.

Seen in the examples above, operators’ and guides’ strategies for how to best represent the townships given the constraints of a three-hour tour differ in large and small ways. A great number of elements coalesce to form the final presentation. Their mediations are brokered by social forces, positions, and relationships. Some of these representations, such as characterizations of cultural and historical sites, are problematic. But they are also questioned and contested among members of the township tourism community. A comparative analysis of different township tour types as well as attention to the decisions behind conflicting treatment of the same place by various tour guides best exemplify the processes in play. Overall, tourism’s outcomes in the townships are constructed by daily practice and daily encounters.

The processes of mediation control where tourists go in townships and influence the flow of tourist dollars, awareness, and assistance. However, local residents are not without their own strategies to ensure participation and benefit. The active pursuit of partnerships and opportunities with operators and guides is evidence of this claim. In this case, destinations also compete to be on the itinerary. Over time craft centers, homes, schools, monuments, and B&Bs have become “must-see” components of the promised route accented by authentic experiences with local residents. Following chapters (Chapters 5 and 7 specifically) will examine the role of mediators in relation to the people who find their homes and areas, environments and cultures objects of tourism.
CHAPTER 3
TOUR OPERATORS AND THE MEDIATION OF TOWNSHIP TOURISM

The larger question is, therefore, how to find a method of reading the social which is about mutual entanglements, some of them conscious but most of them unconscious, which occur between people who most of the time try to define themselves as different [Nuttall 2004:737].

This chapter offers a refined understanding of how tour operators function as mediators, the extent and limits of their roles, as well as the corollary processes that have implications for tourism practices and the social and economic world of the townships. Consideration of township tourism’s owner/operators offers insight into the motivations, challenges, and interpersonal factors affecting the industry’s entrepreneurs in their quest for control over African township representations and tour quality. Secondly, analyzing conflicting treatment of specific cultural moments and places within the tour allows us to begin to theorize about what fuels and inspires the social processes of tourism as well as the problematic paradoxes that emerge.

The variation of township tour routes, specifically the treatments of certain themes or places, serves as a window onto the social processes behind their production. Identifying differences among mediators, the operators and guides who direct township tourism, can point to underlying conflicts, in this case regarding representations of and claims to local, cultural, and racial knowledge. As Bruner suggests, “the breadth of meanings, ironies, and ambiguities in tourist performances emerges from a critical comparison of the processes of their production” (Bruner 2001:882). And such critical comparison, he adds, should privilege local voices and social complexities. ¹

¹ Consider also the methodology of Witz 2003 in regard to understand heritage festivals. He writes, “There is still a major responsibility both to investigate the intentions and strategies in the planning of the festival as well as the significance of the imagery of the festival and its historical depictions” (2003:10).
In the case of township tourism, operators and guides most often direct tourism practice as well as the construction of representations. Their decisions, idiosyncrasies, and relationships shape the tourist experience, the timing and content of itineraries, and they often shape how other locals may or may not participate and benefit in tourism. Moreover, their narrations serve to translate a range of African experiences for tourist visitors. Mediators can use their position to assert certain identities, topics, or business and employment models. The variation is grounded in the particular social interests and positions of the specific operator or guide. It is an outcome of social structure and social action.

**A Brief History of Township Tour Operators**

The current township tourism industry grew from the small efforts of a group of entrepreneurs in the 1990s. New career ambitions, building on an African entrepreneurial spirit and skills cemented in the hard times of social inequality, accompanied the many hopes flourishing in the “miracle” decade for citizens of color. The city of Cape Town’s steady tourism industry was not exempt from the flood of new ideas, projects, and products inspired by the national changes. Historic sites such as Robben Island and District Six gained popularity as post-apartheid tourist attractions. National museum displays depicting African groups were scrutinized for their appropriateness and altered to reflect the modern dynamism of African culture (Nanda 2004).

As the tourism arrivals to Cape Town grew, so did township tourism become an established excursion for visitors, and so did the venture gain the support of municipal agencies

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2 When McEachern (2002) did her fieldwork in 1996, she identified and reported on seven new township tourism companies.

such as Cape Town Tourism (CTT), the tourism and business information center for the city. Township tourism options were quickly listed in local guidebooks as well as international sellers like *The Lonely Planet*, *The Rough Guide*, or *Frommer’s*. During fieldwork episodes between 2006 and 2008, I regularly checked the brochure stands at the main and satellite CTT offices. Of the estimated 300 tour companies in Cape Town at the time, all major operators, such as the large enterprises Hylton-Ross or Springbok Atlas, advertised township tours, making the excursion part of a tour group's standard Western Cape itinerary. Increasingly, all classes of enterprises provide townships tours either by offering the tour as one of many common routes with a permanently employed guide, by contracting with a casual labor guide or smaller company to provide the tour, or as their only specialization.

Before the 1990s, few non-white South Africans were active in the tourism industry in a mediating position as operators or managers (Goudie et al. 1996, Theide 2005). Tourists encountered African cultures in fairs, cultural villages, or as part of the safari industry (Witz 2003). Or alternatively, foreign visitors most often encountered non-whites in low skilled, service positions. In summation, the apartheid era was characterized by a Eurocentric approach to heritage and largely controlled by Europeans. This is the milieu in which many standard tourist options in Western Cape were solidified.

The following examples illustrate how non-white owners and guides have crafted the representations, landscape, and participatory elements of township tourism through the creation of specific itineraries and destinations. Evidence of prolonged racial tensions, pressure to convey positive messages about townships, and differences over quality and responsibility demonstrates that representations are constructed out of the specific experiences of mediators. By experience, I
suggest that tourism practices are informed by distinctive social positions, such as the negotiation of interests, opportunities, and limitations presented to people of color in this industry.

Furthermore, operators and guides networks of operations extend both outward to local and international accommodation providers and customers as well as inward to the local township sites and persons on whom tourism depends (Steiner 1994:131). In many cases, operators occupy a liminal space despite connections to the local. Through their relationship with customers they perceive and craft what will meet tourist demand and the character and description of townships to outsiders. As I discuss further in following chapters, in mediating where tours go, operators and guides also curtail how local residents may participate in tourism. In this way, operators and guides serve as a “cultural broker” or “middleman” who “manipulates, mediates, or ‘processes’ the information transmitted between two groups” as well as instances of social or economic exchange (ibid:155, Kasfir 1999, Smith 2001).

**Mediators’ Intentions and Dilemmas**

In analyzing various tourism practices and how they relate to brokering by mediators, I address questions of intention. I found it important to ask operators and guides why they developed certain philosophies concerning business models and tour content, ascertain how their intentions solidified into particular routes or chosen destinations, and watch how these elements may change over time. To develop this critical comparison, I look at the aspirations and social lives of a few particular tour operators. I begin with three profiles of key entrepreneurs in the industry from the first generation of post-apartheid township tourism. These persons share a common story of grassroots entrepreneurial spirit and all have continued to be successful, although their business plans and growth have varied. Langford is the co-owner of a growing local company, partnering with international investors. Kabelo runs a one-man operation for tours in the Cape. Sis Layla, tour guide and guest house proprietor, has made tourism the family
business. All of these entrepreneurs provide a variation of the cultural or educational type of
tour. My experiences and conversations with these entrepreneurs, for one, reveal the structure of
business and employment relationships present in township tourism. Moreover, consideration of
their goals, biases, and struggles reveals factors at work behind the final tour product. In the
following examples, I look at what drives businessmen and women into tourism, what they want to
accomplish, and what kinds of challenges they encounter. Their comments, as well as comparisons
with the experiences of the second generation of township tour entrepreneurs, point to underlying
issues of social position and the trenchant racial and cultural tensions in the niche industry.

**Langford's story: New beginnings, old obstacles**

Langford’s story is a prime example of the first generation of township tourism entrepreneurs. I interview the successful proprietor of Gateway Tours in his suburban office. The double-story space of offices, cubicles, and garages in the southern suburbs is the morning hub for a dozen guides and a handful of office staff. He recounts, “People like me, we obviously wouldn’t be in tourism if it wasn’t for 1990 and 1994.”⁴ In 1996, Langford left an unfulfilling career teaching high school and signed up for a Western Cape tour guiding course, certifying him to guide to the primary sights—the winelands, the Cape peninsula, and the central business district. In 2008, he is part owner of a large tour company. If not number one, his company is consistently in the top three of current township tour providers during my fieldwork, sending out over a half-dozen packed minibuses a day in high season. He describes himself as black and African (though not Xhosa-speaking), not wanting to be called by the label “coloured.” Growing

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⁴ I completed participant observation with Langford (pseudonym) and his guides in June 2006 and again in October 2007. I interviewed him on July 13, 2006 and again on May 12, 2008.
up in a poor, coloured-designated area, and now living as a very successful business owner, he says he has experienced all that both apartheid and freedom have to offer.

The inclination to develop township tours was solidified while completing his tour guide training course. He remembers the experience as a long lesson in history. Specifically, he recalls, it was a “Eurocentric” history, privileging Europe’s effects on Africa. He points out, “If you [as a tourist] go on a Winelands tour or a Cape Point tour, you’re learning more about Europe than Africa. And that bothered me.” Thus he decided to design his tours differently: “I imagined that travelers come here to learn something about Africa, not about themselves.”

When he began leading township excursions in 1997, only one or two companies were providing township tours. Langford took loans from friends because he lacked business start-up capital or credit to afford the vehicles, licenses, and insurance required to legally provide tour services. He served as the sole driver, guide, and operator. Langford recalls that any profits in the first few years went to paying off his informal loans and developing marketing materials, beginning with a one-page, black and white, photocopied flyer. He was equally challenged to provide tour content. At the time, the current, popular community arts centers and projects did not exist. Seeing tourists in neighborhood businesses and homes was new for township residents. His strategy was to roam the townships, enter shebeens, and try to meet people and make connections alone before bringing in tourist visitors. Langford recalls experiencing some resistance because he was considered coloured. But with persistence and a positive attitude, his tour route developed steadily.

A few years ago Langford’s Gateway Tours was purchased and subsumed by a larger foreign owned company, Lion Tours. This is not an unusual merger considering that a number of

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5 Some of these “companies” were as small as one person and one vehicle.
the established tour companies in Cape Town are increasingly financed or partnered by outside European investors. Langford stays on with part ownership in the company and continues to manage the township tourism initiatives. This model, or the presence of any non-whites in leadership positions in township tour companies, can elicit hushed criticism, especially, but not solely, from black proprietors and guides. In Langford’s case, he knows that other operators call him a stooge. Critics assume that he is a paid off stand-in, assuring that large companies can get Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) tax credits (Tangri and Southall 2008, WTO 2002).

Langford still has a strong hand in the daily management of Gateway Tours and interviews and hires the guides. He hires primarily black guides from townships, especially he says those old enough to have experienced and reflect on township life. Some of his African guides are not certified, meaning they have not passed a training course or registered with the Province. One mature coloured man, who Langford says has “lived the system,” also does a township tour each morning. Langford keeps an eye on the community-oriented aspects of his tours, encouraging the guides to vary their route among the many charitable projects in the townships. Especially for this reason, he admits it worries him that township tour routes are becoming more and more similar. As a guide, he was always seeking out new places. Now, he feels, other companies go to the places he established as destinations.

In 2004, after using some resources to help the projects he encountered in the townships, Langford co-founded a Community Trust with other tour operators. Five percent of each township tour ticket price his company earns goes to the fund. By 2008, the trust was well-known to Cape Town tourism and accommodation providers, who now boast their Trust giving level on their websites. The fund supports crafts and sewing projects, soup kitchens, daycares, and schools, such as the current building of a primary school library. During each daily tour, his
guides must visit at least one of the supported projects sprinkled throughout the townships. As the company and tour destination options in the township have grown, Langford still deems his company a pioneer in developing tour content, assisting township projects, and practicing responsible tourism.

In Langford’s case, the particular character of his tour and business practices are influenced by his desire to give township tours a local perspective. He defines this local perspective from the ground up, hiring African guides, despite perceptions that as a coloured person he himself is an outsider to townships. Further, his business model becomes driven by the need to give back to the underprivileged areas his guides tour at the same time recognizing that company responsibility is a marketing boon.

**Kabelo's Story: One Man, One Combi**

A great number of township tour entrepreneurs begin as Langford with “a van and a vision.” Langford's success, growing into a major company, is, however, not necessarily common or desired. The lack of resources and credit can make the evolution of a new business slow and arduous. Yet a great number of tour guides, of all ethnicities, who can maintain a steady stream of clients, prefer to go it alone. As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, these guides take great satisfaction in their independence, in terms of schedule, tour content, and practices, despite the hard work, long hours, and flexibility actually required. Siviwe expressed this aspiration often.

An exemplary independent operator, Kabelo entered the tourism business in 1996 as a freelance guide. In 2008, he has a bright blue van emblazoned with his logo and custom designed blue shirts or pullovers for every day of the week. He continues to work alone as a small, one-man company.
We met for coffee one morning in the noisy food court of the Gardens Center shopping complex in town. I often passed Kabelo here in our respective trips to the internet cafe. Lacking a home computer, he regularly visits the Center to check his emails, website, facebook account, and do some grocery shopping after dropping off his clients for the day. It was the middle of the winter season, so he had the morning off because of a rain cancelation. Regardless, he was not stressed this winter. Finally, he explains, his combi (van) is paid for (personal communication, October 3, 2007). As owner/operator and the only employee, his overhead is low. He just has to make sure the rent is paid.

Now living in a small apartment in the mixed, middle class suburb of Rondebosh near the University of Cape Town, Kabelo has developed a number of hobbies and acquaintances that distinguish him from most township residents. In his van, I noticed he was listening to an audio book of *The Gift*, the latest self-help tome advertised by Oprah. He has a great passion for dancing, hitting the town for events many nights after a long day of tours for lessons or events. Then he gets up early to do it all again. I often caught him practicing his steps while waiting around for tourists to finish visiting or shopping. Dancing gives him a good posture that complements his confident yet unassuming and tender demeanor.

He keeps a steady stream of business from partnerships with hotels and other booking agents, about 65% he guesses. The agents often require a hefty commission, 20% of the ticket price or more. From my collection, I know he is always redoing his brochures. However, he thinks that only about 25% of his clients find his brochure and contact him directly. Occasionally, he gets word-of-mouth referrals.

Township tours provide the bulk of his business, but Kabelo also regularly leads other Western Cape tours. He is one of very few guides who consistently take tourists on a walking
tour through the shacks of Khayelitsha. Kabelo's narrative style is very free-flowing. Despite participating in his tour four or five times, his narrative always seemed a bit different from the last, never rehearsed. He likes to make jokes, but comes across as contemplative about how he describes the townships and about his business decisions.

After a decade as a one-man operation, he has learned a lot in the trenches of company and brand development. In his promotional video he states, “The advantage of being a small company is that your tours can become personalized and you can give a client full attention” (personal communication, July 21, 2006). He has taken to heart lessons from business development and marketing workshops. But more personally, as the primary driver and guide, he likes to maintain control over the content and service associated with his name and his brand.

Kabelo does not contribute outright to any township development projects, but is sure to visit at least one or more during each of his tours for tourists to give support. Again, he is one of few guides who frequents the neglected and out of the way Khayelitsha Craft Market. In another respect, Kabelo has a great passion for customer service and tourists' well-being. For example, he only provides half-day Winelands tours because he believes the full-day tours are a waste of clients’ time and money. At the traditional healer's business place, Kabelo deftly guides his clients away from the aggressive, Kenyan craft sellers who can make visitors uncomfortable.

Talking over the coffee and the din of the busy Garden Center, he gives an emotional explanation for this enthusiasm. Township residents, he explains, misunderstand what tourists are and what they do. Early in his career he understood that it was most people's dream to be on holiday. The tourists he served had often schemed, saved, and planned to come to South Africa. Sentimentally, he recalls the client visitor from Eastern Europe who had brought a take-away snack from his hotel’s complimentary breakfast, delicately wrapped in a paper napkin. Kabelo
marveled at the man munching on wheat toast and jam, as the other tourists went off to get hot lunches. The man was also Kabelo’s last drop off. In conversation, the client expressed that he still needed to get to Table Mountain, but was going to have to plan to walk as the cab fare was too high. Kabelo took him to the Table Mountain cableway. When Kabelo refused a tip of R50 for the good deed, the man broke down in tears in gratitude.

Now Kabelo is appalled that township projects, residents, and even tour companies treat white tourists as "cash machines." So despite supporting many projects, he tries to avoid the homes and centers that conspicuously place out donation boxes, especially when he cannot answer for how donated funds will be used. Township people should be proud, he exclaims, not asking for handouts. Further, he believes tourists should be able to learn about a life different from theirs without that pressure, without being told what to feel sorry for. He has seen the good donations can do, but feels that donating should happen because the persons are moved, not because they are begged.

That said, Kabelo is similarly weary of some tourist bad habits. He never advertises with the many city bowl hostels, trying to avoid young backpackers. In his assessment, they fail to take the educational excursion seriously and are often late. Additionally, he does not allow pictures from inside the van and will not accommodate purely "photography" tour requests. He does not appreciate tourists who only want “ugly” pictures of poverty. His township “visit” is an educational tour, not a photographic tour. He is exasperated when clients seem unable to engage with his tour or disengage from what they think they know about townships. I recall his disgust at a tourist who asked at the end of the tour why they did not see more pregnant teenagers.

In Kabelo’s interpretation, tour guiding is a service not just to deliver moneyed tourists to township locations but to care for and educate foreign travelers. In this way, he has been able to
afford to move out of townships and find success in global and local networks of advertising and commission. He takes responsible tourism seriously, but doubts the intentions and follow-through of township donation box culture. He has little patience for residents or customers who do not distinguish tourism’s potential as earnestly.

Sis Layla's Story: Family, Identity, and Business

Notably, in a niche industry dominated by men, a small number of the primary entrepreneurs in township tourism were female and called on an extended family effort to make a go at tourism. For example, since the early days of township tourism in Cape Town, Sis Layla has been consistently listed in guidebooks as a local expert. Despite a stature just above four feet tall, among the tourism community she is regarded as an intimidating force to be reckoned with. Upon staying in the family home, freshly turned into a bed and breakfast, I realized Sis Layla simply holds herself and those around her to a high standard.

Her work ethic is tireless. Although plagued by high blood pressure, high blood sugar, and back pain, this grandmother of four works a near 18-hour day. She runs all over town carting tourists and spreading marketing materials, only coming home to cook and clean for family and guests, endlessly dirtying and washing dishes. An entrepreneur since her teens, working out of the home is nothing new. She had variously sold grocery goods and used clothing in her Heideveld home from an attached spaza (informal shop).

The B&B venture is a new part of her business plan, but she is quick to point out the idea was not inspired by recent World Cup fever. Rather, she is always plotting how to diversify her products or means to income. Sis Layla speculates that the township tourism trend will decline in the next decade. But Cape Town is hosting more and more conferences drawing local and international guests seeking affordable accommodation. Citing the World Cup 2010 fever bringing many new entrepreneurs into tourism, she fears that many newcomers, especially young
entrepreneurs, do not understand how much hard work and flexibility sustainable success in tourism requires (personal communication, April 29, 2008).

Before Sis Layla paid her dues, she was similarly seduced by the conspicuous signs of success distinguishing some tourism workers. She vividly remembers, getting her hair done at a salon in the Cape Flats and being mesmerized by another black woman with a cellular phone and a shiny microbus. This was 1992, before cell phones dominated the townships. Sis Layla had to know what this woman did for a living to be able to afford a cell phone and her “dream car.” The woman was in tourism, working at the downtown information center. The encounter inspired Sis Layla to take the tour guiding course. Her husband and eldest son would follow.

With little outside support, the family learned the industry from customer service to business management skills to web design. Now, she says, Cape Town Tourism is urging her to attend classes on branding and networking taught by people half her age who are new to the industry. She goes hoping it will not be a total waste of her time. But Sis Layla finds it both vexing and encouraging, she admits, to see such support for young black entrepreneurs now when she had nothing starting out.

The influx of young black guides and the expansion of township tourism troubles her for another reason. In her appraisal, the new guides do not know the history of the townships. She explains, they are only telling you about something they have read, not something they have felt and experienced. Upon seeing white and coloured guides in the township, she thinks, wouldn’t you rather go with me? What can they tell you about living here? In terms of company responsibility in township tourism, Sis Layla sees attention to content and the qualifications of guides as a paramount issue. She sees lack of knowledge, combined with over-eagerness, leading to diminishing quality for the tourists and for representations of the townships. For instance, Sis
Layla knows from her own son’s experience that when freelancing for a white owned company, guides may be told not to engage the past, only focus on the present, the future, and examples of positive change.

Her husband adds that they saw township tourism as one way to take back control of the narratives about the townships, to give people a nuanced experience. But they feel the newcomers are just following a set routine. The family understands that they themselves are capitalizing on the popularity of black culture, but now even white companies have Xhosa names. Sis Layla laughs describing how one of the white-owned companies she contracts with tells her to “put on an African dress and smile.” The family is adamant that big companies should be giving local companies an equal “slice of the pie” and not mandating tour content. She clarifies that she does not want to sound racist herself, not as if she is still in the “old South Africa.” But, she says, the new South Africa is not only in the townships.

Both Sis Layla and her husband come from mixed race backgrounds. For Layla especially the apartheid policies of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act wreaked havoc on the stability of her natal family. Because her father was classified as African, her siblings and coloured mother were moved from the “better” coloured school and neighborhood to Gugulethu. Her parents agreed to divorce so that her mother could retain her career in nursing, a career not open to those classified as African, if only by marriage. Sis Layla grew up learning to “pass” between both group areas and speaking both languages.

I took a tour with her son during my fieldwork. Driving through the Gugulethu streets, he recounted deeply personal memories of visiting his two grandmothers, one in the African township and one in the coloured suburb. He talked fondly of the differences, the foods, the
people, and having to sneak past township border officials after curfew. However, a German client interrupted his recollections to ask how many schools were in Gugulethu today.

As a mediator of tourism, Sis Layla is helping to define who participates in township tourism, and she is helping her family reap all possible sources of revenue. Despite the ambiguities in her own family’s ethnic story, she is adamant that white people have no place in this industry. Tacit acceptance of her role as a smiling, African guide to the companies she contracts for, however, speaks to the contradictions and limitations inherent in drawing static lines between dynamic concepts such as localness and authenticity. Further, it is not always clear how these mediated distinctions can be conveyed to tourists.

**Growing Apart Together**

Langford’s, Layla's, and Kabelo's stories are representative of the experience of many of the non-white players in the nascent township tourism industry. Most told me they were optimistic, but had no idea how popular and competitive the niche market would become. The three joined an elite group of other early entrepreneurs who gathered in a 2004-2005 workshop for non-white tourism business owners (Mellet 2005). Their resultant publication, a collection of individual profiles, further present reveals issues of continuing concern for township tourism business owners and their personnel.

First, one of the organizers' goals was to address township tourism as a niche market and further develop cultural tourism packages that would address “untold narratives” and “under-exposed sites” featuring the Cape’s indigenous, slave, and African settler populations. Most of the entrepreneurs were already offering or developing a number of tourism options beyond township tourism. Yet organizers felt the need to respond to a stereotyped industry characterization that black persons can only do township tours. They write:
It provides a challenge to change the limitations that have been faced by black tourism entrepreneurs competing with well-organized, well resourced and entrenched traditional tourism businesses. It presents an opportunity to break out of the ghettoized mould of black entrepreneurs being restricted to ‘township tours’, without suggesting that this is not an important component. [ibid:8]

In this vein, the organizers provocatively suggest that black populations generally lack the educational opportunities needed to “go more deeply into their heritage and history” (ibid:8) and this workshop provided these materials and outlets.

Second, organizers’ held high expectations for the growth of lasting partnerships among the attendees. Yet Langford and other participants variously report that engrained racial issues and competition resulted in the members accomplishing more for individual than collective aims. The participants hold various conceptions of who has a right to provide and lead township tours. Divisiveness and competition over who should control the market is as great outside the confines of the townships as it is inside. Company proprietors often accused one another of appropriating brochure text. Langford suggested that a number of the newer companies’ guides began following his guides as the industry grew and commandeered his route. In many cases, partnerships among operators appear to have formed along racial lines.

In effect, the issues highlighted in the three profiles, such as generational and racial differences, disputes over access to the township tourism market, and differing goals, such as quality or community responsibility, for their products, would persist as consistent, paradoxical questions for the industry.

The Second Generation and the "Real," "New" South Africa

Seeing the seemingly easy success of fellow township residents was a strong incentive for educated, skilled and uneducated, unskilled entrepreneurial types alike. Inspired by the tour bus phenomenon, the next generation of township tourism proprietors has grown with much encouragement from the city in the form of subsidies and awards. These new companies did
build upon the destinations identified and nurtured by earlier entrepreneurs and community development forums. But they have also helped to develop new places for consumption of the townships to take place. Many have quickly adopted the rhetoric of community responsibility as a selling point.

Cape Town officials were happy to see tour options promoting non-white culture and using non-white guides. Publicly funded programs such as Tourism Enterprise Program (TEP) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) assisted first time business owners or rewarded affirmative action in employment (Verhage 2004, www.tep.co.za). Township tourism was connected to and bolstered by wider local and national initiatives. The head of CTT expressed that township tourism should be about authentic, local experiences that empower people (CTT director, personal communication, July 20, 2006). Rhetoric and goals associated with community and responsibility soon affected township tourism marketing and practices. However, although satellite CTT offices and community development forums were put in place to monitor and assist growth, the township tourism industry, company practices, and destination forms largely grew without much regulation or oversight (Chapter 5).

Success in tourism is not guaranteed, of course. But some second generation tour companies that began with one man and one combi, like Kabelo, quickly grew to hold a small regular staff and a troupe of guides. One such company, made “Freedom Tours” their main product. The company is based on a business partnership between two men, one white and one African. The older, white man, Daniel, found the tours a lucrative investment. A business owner and former Rhodesian soldier from Zimbabwe, he surmises that township tours are the one in the basket of tours in the Cape Town area that requires a professional guide. For all the other tours, such as Cape Point, the Winelands, or Table Mountain, tourists can reasonably and safely go on
their own. Secondly, as the route is very close to town, he does not have to worry about stranded tourists and a bus breaking down a half days drive away. Finally, he was persuaded by Ayanda, his partner and the head guide. Before coming to tourism, Ayanda had held a number of unrelated jobs such as with the electric company. But as Daniel remarks, “The talent is there. I've been with a number of guides, and he is the best. He is passionate” (Daniel and Ayanda, personal communication, July 24, 2006).

Freedom tours faced similar issues of community participation and racial tensions. When they began, the company helped found and furnish a day care center with tour proceeds. They took their tours to visit the day care each day, hoping clients would be inspired into donating more. By 2008, the daycare project had fallen through and their guides simply visited the same projects in Langa as most other tours. I believe Ayanda took measures to occasionally reward the hostel and shack homes the company visited on a regular basis with monetary compensation.

When I met with him again in 2007, Ayanda’s position at the helm of the tour bus was transitioning. Now he manages the other guides. The company now has two to four busses running each day, instead of just one. Ayanda’s worry now as then, however, is the same. He feels stigmatized by his African associates for having a white business partner (personal communication, October 24, 2007).

Another successful black tour company owner from the second generation, for example, Dumisani, is not easily impressed by his competitors’ mixed race partnerships (personal communication, January 30, 2008). He fears that some, especially white owners, are only interested in profits leading their tours to take more risks, such as not having a site guide and offering night tours in unsafe situations. He is worried about the increasing presence of white and coloured guides not only because of tour content and representational aspect but because of
patron safety. He recites to me the two familiar types of stories of clients being mugged—narrative legends in the industry. For one, a coloured guide and his group are relieved of their bags and cameras in the Joe Slovo squatter area. Dumisani adds that it is not impossible for a white or coloured person, but when it comes to safety and neighborhood knowledge, an African guide will fare better. He gives another few examples; all stories end with negative consequences tied to outsiders.

Caught in a contradiction, Dumisani would not suggest that township tours are unsafe, only that his local guides can better assess risks and safety precautions. He admits, invoking the second key story, that at times tourists’ items have been taken from an unlocked van, but the items are always quickly retrieved by valiant local lookouts. He argues that the prevalent use of step-on site guides in Langa is evidence that his competitors agree. He would never take tourists to the Bo Kaap because he does not have any local knowledge there.

I often asked whether or not the ethnicity of the tour guide mattered for giving a township tour. The answers from respondents varied in significant ways. Langford, hiring both African and coloured guides, reflects a common position that only non-white have the appropriate knowledge and experience. Others like Dumisani feel that even coloured guides should not give township tours in African areas. Interested in reconciliation and equality, Langford says he knows his opinion is contradictory, but just as a business model having whites do township tours is seen as less credible. White guides have a different assessment of this argument as I will discuss. But overwhelmingly, it is overtly implied that black Africans, as township residents, will know their own history and give the best tour. This reasoning is built into a number of tour guiding training programs (Chapter 4).

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6 He says he has received negative feedback, especially from African American clients, when his coloured or white guides do townships.
As with accusations of deception, risk taking, and lowered quality for profits, internal criticism of tour content and rights to the townships rose as competition grew among tour companies. One company is charged with bribing staff at Robben Island for access to tickets. Another companies’ guides are accused of being uncertified. A black, female guide is teased for picking up tourists in her shiny black BMW. A large company’s sign, purposefully put in front of a daycare it “sponsors,” is defaced.

But given the growing standardization of township tour routes, the market held room for diversity with new types of tours and the continuance of prevalent white and coloured personnel. Further, the enticement of tourism continues to grow for township residents. However, among guides and small companies there exists a proliferation of company fissioning. A guide will contract with many different companies as a casual laborer. And many guides will seek to start their own company, again while providing private tours on the side as contracted per diem labor (Chapter 4). Frequently, new brochures still appear at Cape Town Tourism for small operators striking out on their own and specializing in township tours, claiming they have devised yet another new and different route.

In sum, although township tourism is growing and expanding, fundamental issues such as how to talk about and account for racial difference or community participation continue to feature prominently. Tour operators, as mediators, are influenced by their personal social positions and past experiences as well as concerns for consumer satisfaction. These positions effect day-to-day operations, but are most visibly present in actual itineraries and narratives presented for tourists. In their preference for African guides and non-white control over township tours, operators like Sis Layla and Dumisani are staking claim to insider knowledge about townships to the exclusion of other possibilities or opportunities for cooperation.
Destinations

Established in Chapter 2, itineraries are the medium through which tourist consumers are “circulated and delivered” to destination producers (Wang 2006:70). The more subtle differences among the conventional tour operators’ practices are most evident in critical comparison of visits to the same destination. I learned of a number of internal critiques and disagreements as well as the multiple ways guides use places and representations to express information, values, or meaning. In these facets of township tourism the realms of cultural production—place-, culture-, and history-making—are drawn out of social processes of mediation. The first example elicits one set of contrasting representations mediated by owner/operators. Below, Ayanda and Fikile are not only seasoned guides with several years of experience in the industry; both are now business partners in their own tour companies.

Two Shebeens

Ayanda leads his troupe of six tourists down the narrow, muddy alley called eMdhaka. It’s about 10am on a grey July morning (tour, July 4, 2006). Unsure of where they are headed, the tourists nod and greet the many local residents curiously peeping out the undersized doorways of the informal shacks lining their path. The smell of burning wood and fermenting drink billows out of these dimly lit rooms, wafting around the impaired patrons of the shebeens. The ear to ear grin never weakens on Ayanda’s middle-aged face as he motions for his group to enter the last small tavern on the left. The tourists take a seat along the wall, squeezing in among the regular clientele. A fire warms and lights the tiny, dark room to reveal a hefty woman wrapped in a soiled apron, busy tending to tubs of beer made from corn meal and sorghum. An older black gentleman appears passed out in the far corner. Ayanda greets the whole room as if they are old pals and again assures his guests.
Ayanda: We have to get seated. Some of you guys can sit even here. Can we say ‘Molweni madoda?’

Tourists: Molweni Madoda.

Ayanda: And for the lady you say ‘Molo Mama.’

Shebeen Woman: Molweni.

Ayanda: We are in the pub. And the name of this pub it’s known as a shebeen. Shebeen is an Irish name that means illegal pubs.

You know my tour combines three expertises. I don't talk of what did happen before only, no, people they want to know of course, but people, they want to know what’s going on now. They want to know more about the culture of the people living in the townships...

What about shebeens in South Africa? In South Africa it’s a different case. The apartheid government decided to ban the political organizations, more especially after 1963. This is very important. After 1963, after Mr. Mandela was locked in prison, the apartheid government decided to ban all the political organizations for the blacks. White people they could continue with their politics, but black people were not allowed...

So they decided to ban all the political organizations after 1963. They introduced the law that was not allowing more than five people gathering together. You know, if we were more than five talking seriously to each other as I am doing now, the policemen, they were to come and lock us up as the black people. And you were to try to defend self in police station and say “No, I was not talking politics.” So after that law was introduced, the apartheid government realized in our pubs there can be more than 20 people. You can see it’s more than 15 of us now. And they realized people, they are not coming to these pubs in order to drink to get drunk. But people they are coming to socialize and get drunk later. They realized that is a problem, because it is where people can teach each other politics. And they decided to close these pubs and they named them shebeen...

Our beer is very healthy, very healthy ingredients. It’s made from maize corn and also sorghum. It takes three days to ferment. And the percentage of alcohol in this one is between three and three and a half percent, same like any other normal beer, meaning that there was no reason for the a government to close down our pubs. It’s very healthy and highly recommended by the doctors even for people suffering from sugar diabetic or high blood pressure...The name of the beer is umgumbothi.

The men that you see here are the shebeen members. They contribute three rand per head because a bucket like that one is 12 rand. And this lady is the shebeen queen. She is the one who is keeping the gentlemen here smiling all day.
And now I'll join. I'll be paying for you to be members. If you don't want to taste the beer, it's alright. And if you want to taste with me you are welcome to do so. The slogan that these gentlemen are using, you will hear them saying "hamba phekile"...which is “move the bucket man”...”rotate the bucket.”

Ayanda kneels down to taste. The cameras and flashes snap all around the small room as Ayanda grins with the silver bucket to his lips.

Ayanda: Ok, is there anyone who wants to taste with me? I'm telling you it’s mama mia, lovely beer! [Ayanda passes around the bucket.] It's just like a cider. It’s very nutritious. You'll see the men here the whole day not getting hungry.

Dance music booms in the background from a stereo outside as the tourists curiously and cautiously pass the brew around the circle. They hand off their cameras to one another, capturing pictures of themselves with the frothy bucket to their lips. A few more squeamish people pass on the experience. Other tourists comment on the sour mash taste as beer aficionados. One woman giggles: “I usually don't drink in the morning.” As the beer makes it way around the room, Ayanda says: “According to the pub laws, the last one to drink must finish it all.” The room erupts in smiles and laughter.

A number of companies bring their tour groups down this same muddy alley way or frequent similar drinking establishments hidden among the winding streets of Langa township. Shebeens are a key part of Langa’s informal economy, each representing a club of men who pay admission by the day or month to gather for a drink of home brew. The fortunate patrons in the visited pubs get a free bucket every now and again from the tourists.

For Ayanda, a visit to the shebeen is about “culture.” The beer, umqumboti, is an integral part of ceremonies and celebrations in both the rural and urban setting, such as weddings and initiations (McAllister 2006). And as he alludes, the shebeen also provides a way to discuss the political repression of the apartheid era. These speakeasy establishments served as clandestine meeting grounds for rebels and were also a source of internal controversy. Youth admonished
their elders for spending time on drink in municipal beer halls instead of struggling against apartheid (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999:88, Anderson and Field 2003, Bozzoli 2004). Ayanda proudly plays up this boisterous and historic piece of urban life in the context of the present.

Given the scene, however, a visit to the shebeen can be an equally shocking and eye-opening experience, if not downright uncomfortable for foreign visitors. In Langa, Ayanda’s first stop is often the busy Cultural Center. Here the rules of engagement may initially be awkward, but as a market and a site of commerce, they are reasonable to negotiate. In the shebeen, some tourists are pushed out of their comfort zone to sit next to, shake hands with, and share a not so clean drinking vessel with some questionable township characters, many who may not speak English, and many who may have been drinking for several hours. Even for tourists seeking an interactive tour, this may not be the experience they envisioned.

For these very reasons, other guides avoid going to the shebeen at all. As another African guide, explains, he refuses to walk foreign visitors into the muddy streets of eMdhaka. Fikile feels that such shebeens present a “negative” and “dirty” representation of African township life (personal communication, July 26, 2006). He says that encountering a number of unemployed, full-time drinkers, maybe marijuana smokers in that alley gives off an unnecessary, bad impression and can result in uncomfortable situations. However, Fikile still sees the home-brewed beer as an important cultural topic. Thus he cultivated a relationship with a community elder, Mama Busi, who is also in training to be a traditional healer. She brews beer in her clean, private council home not far from Langa’s entrance. Fikile enjoys boasting that he is providing a job and assistance to an upstanding local resident. He pays her about R600 a month. He comments: “We honor her credibility, her wealth in knowledge, because she does bring a lot of value to the experience.” Rather than a jarring confrontation, he thinks visiting Mama Busi
“settles the visitors.” It is his tour’s first stop and provides an opportunity for a comfortable, ice-breaking exchange.

Dressed in traditional Xhosa gown, apron, and headdress, Mama Busi shares information about townships dwellers’ rural roots in beer-making, beading, medicine, and other cultural elements. By contracting with Mama Busi, Fikile can also avoid taking tourists to the crowded and dingy traditional healer establishment on Washington Street that some tour groups visit.

In this instance, it has to be asked what this says about the social positions of mediators in relation to the representation of township life offered by Mama Busi, stoic in her traditional garb and accoutrements in contrast to the vibey, dank shebeen of eMdhaka alley. In their various strategies, Ayanda and Fikile bring forth contrasting representations of African and urban culture for their tourist visitors. With his amicable and outgoing personality, Ayanda endeavors to make his guests feel comfortable among the homes and businesses of Langa. A visit to the shebeen elicits a number of important questions from his guests about housing, crime, drinking, employment, and when and if they can take a picture.\(^7\)

Jovial and accommodating, Ayanda’s township tour highlights a bustling, “living museum” (Witz 2007). Moving between dilapidated hostels and renovated homes, Ayanda comments that this is a “normal way of life” and that the tourists are welcomed. Now and again, he mentions that some urban practices depend on rural traditions. Fikile, on the other hand, walks the same paths as Ayanda but with a more subtle style and reserved demeanor. Despite his goals of knowledge and respect, Fikile, calls on an out of place performance. His tour depends on a more static referent of the Xhosa past. Tourists sit quietly and attentively to Mama Busi’s presentation, asking few questions.

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\(^7\) Despite some cynical interpretations, the *shebeen* is not a “staged” performance. With or without the tour bus presence, these informal pubs would be in business.
Additional Destination Comparisons

Such contrasting treatment of the same place by different guides or operators is frequent and most often occurs at sites of cultural practices. Take for instance the scene at the sheep head *spaza*. At several junctures throughout the tour route, guest pass open air meat markets, a key feature of the township informal economy. Again, this facet of township landscape is potentially shocking to first time visitors. Near the train station on Washington Street in Langa, women throw every cut of meat from sausages to entrails to cow’s heads on rusty, blackened wood fired grills. Stray dogs and flies circle the stalls. The main row of sheep head vendors is located adjacent to Mdhaka Alley. Here several women each set up a station complete with boiling water, a roaring fire, simmering metal rods to burn off the fur, and a table of wrapped wares in newspaper print.

Pausing at the station and letting his clients catch a glimpse of the row of uncooked, smiling sheep heads, Ayanda launches into a popular joke; he knows today many of his clients will claim to be vegetarians. Telling the group how good and sweet the meat of cheeks is, Ayanda leads them over to take pictures of the women and their work. Ayanda introduces the group to one of the cooks, Pamela, and allows her to speak and answer questions.

In a similar manner, Fikile describes the sheep head from inside the bus early one morning.

Fikile: Sheep head's here people. Sheep heads are a delicacy. Again this come from the culture that in rituals an ox head, a sheep head, the feet, the liver are eaten by elders. The most respected members of a family attending a ritual are the ones that entitled to eat a sheep head. Now in a township, it’s all about who has the money. The women come from where slaughtering is done. They'll buy the sheep heads. They'll buy the liver. They are probably still dressing up now to come and make the fire with the firewood which they would have collected also, and then they will start burning the fur of the sheep head, cut it in half, wash it, take the brains out, they don't eat the brains. Then boil it. Once it’s boiled, it's displayed here. The

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8 See Sindiwe Magona’s *To My Children’s Children* (1990) for nonfiction, narrative account of memories of cooking and selling sheep heads.
market serves the very same people living here. The train station is down that way so when people are coming back from work the sheep head are there cooked and ready. Take it home and share with the family. So if you have money you can enjoy what elders enjoy in rituals back at home. That’s the culture. And you won’t necessarily find this in Zulu townships in Sotho townships. It’s the Xhosas because that’s their culture. The sheep heads are eaten by the elders so it differs. The culture that you get in one township differs, you have to therefore know which tribe is it and only then you’ll come to understand why it happens (recorded tour with Fikile, October 2, 2007).

In much contrast, a young African guide, Freddy, who gives township tours regularly for one of the large companies, made it a point to shock visitors with the scene. As we approach the meat stand, he tells the clients that we are stopping for lunch. Already, frenzied by his rather awe-inspiring presentation of the township landscape, the bus load emits audible gasps of “Oh God!” Freddy turns to me in the passenger seat with a wink and a grin as if we are both in on some prank (tour, November 14, 2007).

In yet another instance, an older, coloured guide who works for Langford, points out the need for informal food markets, citing lack of access to proper shopping areas and kitchens. At the same time he draws continued attention to unsanitary practices: “You will notice the flies, not hygienic, but for many people this is the only way they can buy food is along the road” (tour with guide, October 30, 2007).

Categorizing the causes and instance of such arguably distorted or exoticizing characterizations of township features is difficult. I do not want to draw an over determined relationship between race and representation. Rather, characterizations more often depend on personal experiences: such as a guide’s balance of information and entertainment, ideas about cultural knowledge, relationships to the townships, as well as opinions about social ills. For example, in the following exchange, a female, African newcomer to Cape Town from Johannesburg describes Mdhaka Alley to a group of white South African tour guiding students.
Her negative characterization is very different from the emphasis on culture and history invoked by both Fikile and Ayanda.

Guide: In front of us this is the typical spaza shop and shebeen. Can you see? People are sitting in the morning and drinking. This is the type of life they do.

Female Student 1: [Gasps] Where do they get the money to drink?

Guide: Ask me again. That is the million dollar question.

Female Student 2: The woman comes back with money.

Female Student 1: Why don't they get up and clean it up?

Female Student 2: They don't want to.

Guide: They just want to live like that. That's why I say they don't even see the concept of "vukuzenzele." That is what they wake up and do.

Female Student 2: But they obviously try to steal things to get money… [She is interrupted by Instructor explaining that the women do the work, while men sit around the fire and discuss important events] (tour, May 22, 2008).

Beyond these questionable characterizations and more common lessons in history and culture, tour guides additionally often accentuate positive changes in the new South Africa through their descriptions of destinations or places along the route. For example, walking past the Langa police station, Siviwe points out the old caspir, the armored tank used during former times of township riots. Yet, he spends more time noting that the current Langa police force has a mixed demographic and that residents now see police men of all ethnic groups working together. Siviwe's description evolves from a need to optimistically reaffirm tourists' image of South Africa. Another guide, Vusi, spends time explaining the importance of the informal

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9 Vukuzenzele translates to “Wake up and do it yourself.” It is an initiative by the Presidency. The “slogan puts emphasis on partnership of government and society in all sectors and communities on the basis of active participation in the programme of action. It evokes the spirit of volunteerism and civic responsibility. It stresses the task of Nation building in the context of joint action towards eradicating the imbalances of the past” (http://www.nia.gov.za/EVENTS/vukuzenzele.htm).

10 I accompanied Siviwe on dozens of exemplary tours between October 2007 and May 2008.
economy in the townships. He tells his clients not to see home-grown markets, meat stalls, and shebeens as signs of poverty, but rather as signs of entrepreneurship and cooperation. In contrast, he is clear not to just present a positive spin on the townships to, rather he is driven to clarify the underlying structural forces as he understands them.

Other mediated aspects of destinations depend equally on internal social partnerships with township residents. Visits to community projects, such as daycare, soup kitchens, recycling centers, further serve to show the good they are doing rather than the problems they developed to combat in the first place. A number of companies, like Langford’s Gateway Tours, require that guides visit at least one of the projects that tourist proceeds help support, such as a day care or soup kitchen. Guides can switch between a number of community oriented stops to give themselves some variety. In this scenario, guides preferences and partnerships influence the flow tourist dollars and donations. Furthermore, commission-based partnerships between local and guides, such as at craft markets, affect what spaces are visited. Guides may be rewarded with money or goods for ensuring tourists leave donations certain places. The “Sheeben” or “Educational” route, perhaps because of its pervasiveness and congested nature, is rife with behind the scenes relationships that determine the destinations, character, and tempo of tours.

Similarly, guides have various strategies for making tours feel more interactive with local residents, intensifying the sense that tours offer a beneficial experience for all involved. These instances also depend on social relationships between guides and residents. For some of the least interactive tours, the ease of the B&B stop in Khayelitsha has long provided a remedy. However, in high season, such places are packed with buses each on a similar day schedule. Many companies continually seek out new avenues for providing both interaction and the feeling of exclusivity. Fikile’s visits with Mama Busi, the traditional healer and beer brewer, is one such
example. Times of interaction and donation are a source of much controversy, resulting in some equally contrasting and problematic situations to be discussed further in Chapter 5 on tourism in Langa.

**Discussion**

Early entrepreneurs like Langford were instrumental to the founding of common routes, destinations, and themes of township tourism. Established in Chapter 2, for operators and their respective guides, the strategies for how to represent the townships differ in large and small ways. A great number of elements coalesce to form the final presentation such as personal beliefs about race, customer service, and how townships should be presented to an outside audience. The examples in this chapter show how their mediations are brokered by social forces, positions, and relationships. The vested parties come to the table with various set of intentions, backgrounds, and experiences. Despite similarity in current mainstream tour routes and narratives, the motivations behind these endeavors vary greatly as do individual and company ideas about quality or “responsibility” to the communities they visit.

In looking the social processes that build tour routes and narratives, a number of paradoxical situations emerge. Tourism practices intersect private goals and struggles as well as community and individual ideas about self, race, and place. Tour operators are confounded by attempts to couple customer service with educational goals in a quasi-politicized sphere. In other words, those who shape township tourism are similarly entangled in the dilemmas of the South African public sphere that they invoke.

Langford, Sis Layla, Kabelo and the others mentioned above come to township tourism with heterogeneous life experiences of apartheid, struggle, and economic success. At the same time, they share certain social positions as a part of the budding, non-white middle class, non-white business owners, and previously disadvantaged outsiders to certain economic activities
based on race. Now, they are more freely able to physically, socially, and economically cross the borders of apartheid. The entrepreneurs are also insiders to the township experience in a way that distinguishes them from most of their white counterparts in the tourism industry. Their philosophies towards race, representation, and business speak not just to idiosyncrasies but rather reveal the characteristic desires, pitfalls, and conflicts for themselves and their peers.

As with many of the new ventures in the public sphere, the growth of black-owned tourism businesses and the reinvention of tourism options emphasizing black cultures encountered growing pains, obstacles, and attitudes formed during the past century of legislated racism (Coombes 2003, Goudie et al. 1996, Rogerson 2008). I argue that the representations and narrations of tourism more often reveal how people are being reflexive through tourism practices, how they are making sense of the world around them, identities and policies, old and new. In process, these responses can be shifting and contradictory. As Crouch writes, “this is not, however, a practice of resolution, but can unsettle, rework, provoke” (Crouch 2000:92). Given the South African context, some of the perceived “errors” of practice or presentation, such as the training guide’s portrayal of township drunkards, are understandable, others are inexcusable.

Unresolved race issues are simmering in non-white entrepreneurs’ perceived “ownership” of township tourism and their accusations of inaccuracy toward their competitors of all racial groups. Despite Cape Town’s current mix of ethnic groups, tourism content and its practitioners are stymied by the continued prevalence of apartheid-born boundaries. In her recent work, Besteman asks “Does speaking of race continue to keep discredited categories alive, or does it provide a way to acknowledge how the injustices of the past continue to structure the present” (2008:13)? How township tourism should speak to current racial identity politics is a complex issue among participants as seen in the examples of contrasting destination representations or
opinions about white participation in township tours. Although seeking to convey non-racialism or multiculturalism, tourism narratives often depend on reductive statements. As Urry argues, representations of places and cultures more often “occlude” rather than assist mutual understanding, especially if operators are focused on maximizing other objectives such as visitor numbers and profits (in Crouch 2000, Lash and Urry 1994, Smith 2003, Urry 2002[1990]). Clearly operators also broker who participates in township tourism. Currently there exists a preference for non-white participation in township tourism as the entrepreneurs note and practice. Being “local” and non-white is linked to ideas of authenticity as point of personal pride and as a selling point.

Thus another key point to address is that, at the end of the day, this is still a business. Any counter-hegemonic, community empowerment, or heritage-from-below mission is affected by the dictates of what the market will stand. The “economy of signs” is impacted by a more pragmatic economy of time, space, and money (Lash and Urry 1994, Urry 1995). Tour content and business practices are constrained by the 3 to 4-hour time frame, the hectic schedule of guides, the demands of tourist visitors, and the pressures of contending in a competitive international industry.

Finally, I reinforce that the conditions affecting how tourism takes place are equally, if not more so, dependent on specific local practices, cultural contestations, and power relations. Without oversight, however, the circulation of responsibility rhetoric often results in a paradox: the goals of appreciation and development can coincide with the perpetuation of difference and inequality via tourism practices and structures. Discussion of these issues continues in the following chapters. For example, the ever increasing competition, standardization of
destinations, and high number of free-lance guides (Chapter 4) hired by operators intensifies the difficulty of attempts for responsible practices or quality control at the local level (Chapter 5).
CHAPTER 4
MAKING A LIVING AS A TOUR GUIDE

Workers have frequently responded to the growing power of a capitalist class and the growing importance of wage labor by doing all they could not to become a class, to be something more than anonymous labor power. [Cooper 1987:8]

**Jomo’s first tour**

Siviwe had not yet arrived at the Langa Cultural Center that November morning. I was enjoying the early Cape Town sun and interviewing a bead-worker out at the picnic table. Directly over her shoulder, I could see that Siviwe had posted a paper sign on the message board. It read “Ghetto Child Tours: Langa Walking Tours and Township Tours,” advertising his informal business and listing his contact information. Some time into my small talk with the beader, Luanda, another informal tour guide who had stationed himself at the Center, unlocked the message board, nonchalantly tore down the paper sign, and crumpled it into a ball. He looked around at the many witnesses, and the beader and I looked at each other. I was now party to the Cultural Center practice of quietly minding my own business (a stretch for any anthropologist).

When Siviwe and his partner Jomo finally came traipsing down Washington Street, I was returning from the *spaza* shop with lunch. I nod in the direction of the empty message board and continue into the small kitchen. He follows, curious, but I do not tell him anything.

Enthusiastic about the unfolding drama, a center “staffer,” Walter, thrusts his head in the kitchen doorway. He grins widely and says to Siviwe in his usual dramatic and joking tone: “The person you are looking for is in room 322. If you give me a dollar, I will tell you their name. If you give me another dollar, I will even give you the key.”

Siviwe replies: “You saw all this?”

Walter: “Yes, I was here I saw the introduction. I saw it unfold. I said to the person as I said to you, the key is in the cupboard. She (meaning me) was sitting there, that side.”
I respond: “I didn’t see the introduction, I only saw the conclusion.”

We laugh at our little play. At least Walter can joke, but neither of us is giving up the ghost. Siviwe follows Walter back into the office, but he still does not tell him who-dun-nit. Coincidentally, today is the day the three guides are slotted to lead a giant tour of 30 tourists together. The group will preferably be split into three smaller groups of 10 people. Siviwe’s plan. One group will go with Luanda.¹

The Role of Tour Guides

The face and voice of township tourism, tour guides most directly shape and represent the excursion experience for visitors and fellow local residents. Tour guides serve as curators, performers, and customer service agents as well as savvy, autonomous businessmen (Costa 2009, Huang and Weiler 2010). Despite arguable impediments, such as disadvantages in the workplace and the pitfalls of get-rich-quick schemes, the tour guide is a powerful, indispensible actor working within and around the rules of company employment structures, tourism protocol, and local dramas to achieve personal success. In looking at township tourism, symbolic and representational issues are paramount in the current literature as reviewed in the previous chapter. However, it is also vital to assess the social and political economic relationship of tourism employment to people’s daily existence. In the case of tour guiding, representation and social processes are duly entwined. Tourism work affects the totality of workers’ social and economic lives. Guides not only create and transform depictions of the townships, but are themselves affected specifically by tourism employment in a number of important ways that can be drawn out for analysis. Tour guides constitute a new social identity, a new category of

¹ This exchange occurred on November 19, 2007 according to my field notes. In this chapter, attributed quotes by Siviwe are taken from multiple days as we worked together from October 2007 to May 2008. We discussed developments and ideas on a weekly basis. I completed a formal interview with him October 25, 2007 and a follow up interview about our partnership on February 11, 2009.
worker, forged in the contemporary milieu of Cape Town’s cultural, political, economic, and global order (Alexander et al. 2006). To this end, I draw on models for thinking about labor in Africa (Beinart and Bundy 1987, Cooper 1987, Freund 1988) and tourism as work (Ghodsee 2005, Gmelch 2003, Costa 2009).

As this dissertation is concerned with exposing the social lives and processes behind the phenomenon of township tourism, this chapter focuses on the experience of tour guides, with emphasis on my research assistant, Siviwe. Again I employ detailed personal accounts, as opposed to composite generalizations, to best illustrate the experience of tourism employment (Ghodsee 2005:5). Using this narrow focus allows examination of specific processes such as tourism participants’ concerns, and adaptations, and their production of tour knowledge and content. Moving through a series of key topics, the chapter details the processes of creating and shaping tour routes and narratives as well as draw out the pervasive paradoxes for local participants. Further discussion of the methodological significance of having a research assistant is woven into this chapter as a parallel exercise in cultural production.

Tourism employment is transformative for the young men drawn into the vocation in terms of interpersonal factors, social position, and social knowledge. I consider how Siviwe strategically encounters the changes wrought by the new form of employment. First, I describe how South Africa’s burgeoning national and global image as a tourist destination influences many to seek a career path or entrepreneurial endeavor related to tourism. I explain the process of becoming a tourist guide. The second section concentrates on the trials and errors of seeking employment with established tour companies. Third, transformation in guides’ economic situations also holds consequences in their local social realm. In the final section, I investigate why tour guides prefer casual per diem contracts to full time positions or, similarly, why so many
tour guides attempt then to break out on their own, forming multiple new “companies” in what is already a saturated market. I probe why the need to be one’s own boss is so prevalent among this set of workers. Some of Siviwe’s decisions as an aspiring member of the working, middle-class are constrained by entrenched patterns of employee-employer, European-African relations in South Africa. But new types of strategies, associations, and meanings related to work are emerging for Siviwe and his peers as well.

**Tour Guiding as Work in South Africa**

TOURISM Transporters and GUIDE: Persons with own vehicle (4 passenger) needed urgently to transport tourists and guide on various activities and facilitate tours in the Western Cape. R800 registration fee to be paid by the applicant and have a registered vehicle. Your monthly income will be R26,000 per vehicle per month. [15 April 2008 *Die Burgher* Classifieds, trans. from Afrikaans]

The above advertisement ran in the classifieds section of the Afrikaans language newspaper *Die Burgher* in April of 2008. The incident was quickly reported as a scam to the provincial tourism authorities, and the perpetrators disappeared before they could be interrogated. The significance of the ad, however, is that the imagined ease and availability of tourism employment, specifically driving and guiding, made such a scam viable and profitable, drawing a line of eager applicants to a nondescript, rented office building.

Across South Africa, half of the non-white labor force is consistently unemployed. As Altman (2006) reports, the nation has seen insufficient formal sector job growth and no new demand for jobs in mining and manufacturing, South Africa’s traditional key industries. These sectors have continued to diminish since the 1980s (ibid:628). However, service sector employment has seen healthy growth since the 1990s (ibid:632).

A noticeably high interest in tourism employment among the township residents I came in contact with stems in part from the pervasive South African rhetoric on tourism spouted in television commercials and local development forums. Just as South Africa is being marketed as
a safe and exciting world destination, tourism is being promoted as a prime opportunity for township communities. These efforts have made tourism the number one job creator, surpassing traditionally strong vocations such as mining (WTTC 2002). According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) tourism employment supports over 1.2 million in South Africa (2004 figures cited in Altman 2006:635, Theide 2005). SATOUR uses this estimate to advertise that for every 12 foreign visitors, one job is created for a South African (ibid:636)—a repeated phrase throughout the townships.

Globally, tourism enterprises generally provide low skilled, poorly paid employment with few benefits or opportunities for advancement (Ghodsee 2005:59). The prominence of casual, seasonal, and part-time workers as well as high levels of turnover and minimal on-the-job training makes for low chances of unionization (Verhage 2004:40). This results in a small permanent core of tourism workers and much larger flexible group of contract employees (ibid:49). Such trends are prevalent in Cape Town’s industry.

Tour guiding, differing somewhat from other service sector jobs, involves a great deal of interaction with clients, customer service skills, and mastery of English. Success as a tour guide also has a great deal to do with personality (Costa 2009). In Cape Town, tourism is moderated by seasonal demand. Tourism companies are generally less busy in the winter months of May through August. A heavy demand in the summer, especially around Christmas holidays, serves to sustain annual budgets. Although tour guiding can become profitable and regular work, there is little room for advancement within company employment structures beyond being listed as a preferred guide. Furthermore, a great number of guides serve as contract day laborers without permanent contracts, union representation, pensions, or benefits.
Tour guides constitute a meager but growing segment of the South Africa working class. Siviwe is one of some 3,000 tour guides who started or renewed their registration in the Western Cape in 2007. Provincial Registrars, put in place by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), monitor tour guides and provide quality assurance by overseeing certification and training programs (DEAT 2001). The agency provides the magnetic oval shaped badges, ornamented with the South African flag and the guide’s name, that denote an official guide. In the Western Cape alone, the Provincial Registrar has a database of approximately 4,500 names. Within this group, non-white guides are underrepresented. Statistically most of these guides are white and male according to the Registrar. Nationwide, the 2007 South Africa Tourism Yearbook reports:

It is estimated that 2010 will require 30,662 guides, at least half of whom should be black. By mid-2007, South Africa had about 10,000 guides, with only 30% black representation. Updating the database of tourist guides and ensuring that it interfaces with provincial structures, will also be a priority. [SATY 2007]

The Department of Tourism is actively recruiting non-white guides and offering sponsorships for training to overcome this barrier.

Notes on Methodology

Tour guides are busy. As one African guide, Vusi explained in high season he can lead up to three tours a day, seven days a week (personal communication, October 29, 2007). This means making pick-ups and narrating a 3-hour tour at 9:00 a.m., 1:00 p.m., and 6:00 p.m. The schedule becomes so intense he can forget what day of the week it is. He admits to accidentally pulling up to the District Six Museum on a Sunday morning only to find it closed on more than one occasion. Furthermore, per diem contract guides rarely know their day to day work schedule ahead of time, but rather receive assignments the evening before or that morning. In order to do participant observation with tour guides, it was necessary to fall into this schedule myself.
Requesting time for a formal interview with a tour guide during the busy summer months is close to impossible.

Thus, in the initial period of fieldwork, when not meeting a tour bus at their office or a hotel, I met up with groups at the District Six Museum between 9:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m. every morning. The majority of top selling tours begin their journey here and groups would file in behind me. Each day I greeted the museum staff, bypassing the entrance fee only to encounter the “you again?” look on their face. I enjoyed being there on Thursdays, when Goema jazz star Mac Mackenzie played guitar from the old pulpit area, drowning out the competing voices in the echoing hall. I found the small, open sanctuary of the former Methodist church a charming and peaceful place for catching up on notes and observations. My schedule had become as hectic as the guides and I soon understood this museum as they did, a place to quiet the sympathetic vibrations of the bus tires that crept into your nervous system.

From my perch on one of the remaining church pews, I watched and participated in this time of socializing, joking, and relaxation for the guides. “You again?” with the guides, turned into what seemed an eager question of “Are you with me today?” for some and polite avoidance for others. Those guides not rushing to get a bite of food or a smoke would sit down and chat with me. This tactic of being in the right place at the right time became very valuable. I realized that the guides I could never track down for an interview were accessible in the pockets of downtime built into the tour, here and at a number of other sites along the route. In these pockets, once I became unthreatening and familiar, many guides seemed to slide off the mask of front man and loosen the tension in their shoulders. They shared complaints about that morning’s busload, their bosses, their competitors, and so on. Moreover, seeing me in what seemed to be intimate conversations with their competition or comrades piqued the curiosity of others. From
this vantage point at the District Six Museum, as pre-arranged, I then inserted myself not so stealthily into a group for the rest of their tour.

**Meeting Siviwe**

The Cultural Center in Langa served as another anchor point to meet guides and tourism participants, observe their interactions, and make inquiries during their breaks. And it was here that I was first introduced to Siviwe in October 2007 by one of the crafters I knew from previous fieldwork. He had moved to Cape Town as a student in 2001. When we met, he had just finished the tour guiding certification course at a college in town. He was serving, somewhat informally, as a guide for walking tours from the Center through the streets and sites of Langa. This opportunity gave him exposure and experience while seeking to attain regular daily employment as a free-lance guide with companies.

Siviwe is called Svij for short by his close friends. At 24 years old, he is tall, lanky, and still boyishly handsome. His wardrobe was meager and somewhat unprofessional. Dressed in a white long-sleeved t-shirt, faded jeans, and black and white Converse All-Stars, he carried a backpack with notes from his course. He was making ends meet, gaining experience and exposure by giving the walking tours. To the Center regulars he was just another new face trying to enter the tourism world and encroaching on their business space. In the coming months, Siviwe’s entrepreneurial wit and determination would make him a fierce competitor in the Center’s daily contest for tourist attention and money.

At the time, Siviwe was the definition of impetuous: young, over-eager, analytical. However, he also possessed the cool, thoughtful head needed for survival in the township social and business world. Beginning his career, he was still moving between the rough and ready township tough guy and his forming professional self. Away from his parents, Siviwe’s life in the townships depended on a network of friends and relatives, connections and bargains. At night
he was still running with his homeboys,\(^2\) tempting young women, and plotting the next get rich quick scheme.

He was living in a one-room flat, on the bottom story of a high rise hostel in the back corner of Langa or eSquatini with his brother and Jomo. For a long time, he did not let me venture in past the security gates. Created and owned by one of the rail line companies, the hostel held the families, relatives, and tenants of rail employees. Jomo’s father had worked for the rail. There are also a growing number of foreign Africans and prostitutes making claim to the space. The three young men shared a queen-size bed, large fridge, hot plate, and wardrobe. Patches of dark mold shaded the corners of the small room above the bed. They kept their money hidden in a plastic bag inside several layers of socks, protecting their earnings from the rodents that crawled through the cupboards at night. Their fridge would soon wear out and mold after a series of week-long power outages at the building. The young men boiled water and washed in a small, plastic tub in the room. As I later came to understand, the men waited to use toilet facilities at the Cultural Center or elsewhere. The building’s plumbing was in disrepair. Any working toilet rooms were locked and guarded by the adjacent families. Climbing up to take in the view of Langa from the fourth floor, one could not ignore the stench of human waste in the stairwells.

Jomo was Siviwe’s main business partner. They had attended a business course together in 2000 and tried to start a construction business with the R10,000 loan awarded to qualified students. However, they soon realized they knew nothing about construction permits or hiring labor. So they bought a car with the money, which promptly was stolen and returned stripped. Then the rest of the funds had to be sent home to the Eastern Cape to pay for an unexpected

\(^2\) Again, homeboys is an established, colloquial township term referring to the abakhaya, literally those from home or those men coming to Cape Town from the same rural location (Wilson and Mafeje 1963:47).
family funeral. Not to be outdone, the two started a fruit and vegetable stand in the hostel complex and used the now less impressive car to transport hostel kids to school for a small fee. Never mind that neither one had a driver’s license.

Soon the pair decided on tourism as a venture at which they could excel. They needed to start a business with no employees where “we’ll be the only specialists.” Siviwe recalls they “saw these buses passing by, people driving, said yes, let’s research about this.” Inspired, their quest led them to the Cape Town Tourism center at the Langa Cultural Center for the first time to ask about guide certification. Although he passed the building daily, Siviwe admits they had no ideas what was going on there before this inquiry.

After acquiring some money and permission from his father, Siviwe was to be the first of the team to complete the tour guide training course. The plan was to grow a tour company together. Siviwe’s English pronunciation was considerably better and he had access to the funds. Jomo was working to cover costs for his children with girlfriends, but he would follow, attending a tour guiding academy as soon as the men raised enough money.

A few months into my fieldwork, Siviwe’s brother left the flat to live with their sister in a formal house in Khayelitsha and work on a career from his computer training. Dibbs, another childhood friend, swooped into the spot in the room. He was escaping the mounting pressure of being an unwed father in Gugulethu. Habitually employed, fired, and unemployed, Dibbs eagerly joined the pair’s tourism business efforts. Within the year, Svij’s brother would give up on formal employment and return to tourism as well.

**Working with a Research Assistant**

Anthropology depends on intense participation with local peoples as sources of information. In our discipline, field researchers commonly employ local assistants who serve as translators of language but also as guides to culture and behavior. In the era of a decolonized and
more reflexive discipline, and in an effort to scrutinize practices, in the field and office, and offer
due credit to affiliates, I include this exercise in deconstructing the experience of fieldwork
Schumaker 2001, West 2005). For in that collaborative and dialogic process, ethnographers
become party to a shared effort in knowledge production that shapes both our research practices
and the monographs we eventually produce. Furthermore, we find ourselves enmeshed in the
daily dramas, however mundane, of the local Other. Such partnerships may impact the
professional and social lives of our assistants, just as they affect ours.

The South African setting allows for discussion of concerns inherent in cross-gender, inter-
racial, inter-class working relations and the disciplinary need to correct any exploitation of
research partners. Concurrently, I am examining how anthropologists might find ways of
meaningful engagement with our research subjects in complex, urban field sites. These issues
reflect tensions and contradictions presented by the township tourism industry which capitalizes
on the cultural heritage of historically marginalized and impoverished ethnic areas. Both so-
called community-based tourism and anthropological field research raise questions about
obligation, responsibility, and recognition.

This framework poses anthropology and tourism as continually shifting processes, not
fixed and known entities. Our collaboration elucidates if not creates multiple levels of knowledge
and cultural production and reproduction. Conflict adds another key dimension to this backdrop.
I was explicitly interested in how township residents synthesized and marketed their community,
culture, and history. Working with Siviwe as he developed his business, I was drawn into debates
about tourism products, such as tour routes and narratives, even connotations of the word
“ghetto.” Discussion of these types of conflicts over tour practice illuminate how my presence as
a researcher intervened in cultural production by and for Siviwe and vice-versa. Furthermore, my participation made me complicit in the intricate local web of competition for tourist dollars (Marcus 1997, Adams 2005). Such conflicts shed new light on the social, spatial, and power relations in which tourism operates.

Our collaboration worked because, despite different objectives, we were equally invested in building up a base of expert knowledge centered on the same spaces and subjects. This overlapping interest led to questioning our assumptions about township tourism and each other. As a research team with newcomer and outsider status, Siviwe and I legitimated our respective awkward presences and quests for knowledge. As an interlocutor, Siviwe occupied a novel space. I was not concerned with his abilities as a local guide of some deep or finite knowledge base, but rather I focused on his process of learning and creating.

Tour Guide Training

Professional certification serves as a primary, global mechanism for standardization and quality control (Huang and Weiler 2010). For Siviwe and others, tour guide training begins the process of reconfiguring structures of time, mobility in the city, new types of access and exchange with people outside of their neighborhoods, and new structures of authority over their behavior and knowledge. Once they have acquired the funds and time to attend class, township participants, overwhelmingly young African males, face a number of dilemmas in becoming an international spokesman, especially knowing they will be type-cast as a representative of the townships. Siviwe regards his time in class as both a struggle and a mind-opening event, the beginning of a year of trials, paying dues, literally and figuratively, and gaining experience.

In Cape Town, there are two types of training programs. Students can choose to attend the full semester, 13-week course at a local technical college. Tuition for the course is R5,000 (approx. US$625). Students are evaluated through the semester on their presentation skills,
research, and written test. Class meets twice a week as well as for practicum session on Saturday mornings. Alternatively, there are two main privately certified short course providers, offering two weeks of classes and practicum, then two weeks of personal study time before a written exam. The cost for the short course is around R3,500 (approx. US$430).

Each instructor has a specific methodology for providing information on the history and cultures of Cape Town. In the college course, each toured area in the Cape is covered for a week, after introductory sessions on customer service and first aid. Students are given a list of recommended books to buy. They are expected to do reading and research on their own using these general texts on history, flora and fauna, and wine. In the short courses, typically classes of 30 students, participants are also encouraged to seek out other reading materials, history books, and websites to supplement course packets.

I interviewed one of the main short course providers, Charles, a grey-haired, white South African who began his career as a tour guide in 1984. I then attended the practicum on township tours he provides to his students with the help of a township resident and certified guide. Charles told me that he takes the ten active days of class time to turn his “learners” into “info-tainers,” guides giving information in an entertaining way (personal communication, May 13, 2008). In Charles’s course, he has an elder of the Xhosa community come to speak for a morning session about African cultural heritage and is adamant about having a local step-on guide provide the practicum experience: “First of all, I don't know enough intimate information about the area. Secondly, I don't know about what's happening now.” He is also concerned about safety. He tells

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3 I was allowed to copy Charles’ course reading materials. Jomo participated in and passed the short course in 2008 with another provider and I was able to copy his course materials as well.
his learners to never go into the townships alone. His course book provides a short, two-page section on Xhosa culture and a slightly longer section on Cape Malay and Muslim communities. Charles says, “We give you the whole history of South Africa in four pages…We give you the skeleton and you go and fill it in.” In this way, he believes, tour guides learn more and develop their own individual interests and narrative styles.

In the other short course, the two-volume, 443 page course book (dated 2008) dedicates pages 440 to 443 to township information. These pages provide brief, unverifiable statistics and contradictory population numbers on the main townships. In listing potential destinations, the text notes that the Nyanga Taxi Rank is “most interesting” with “animals on pavements [sidewalks].” The market stands have “fires, other products: herbs, socks, radios.” Despite the appearance that this township section is a quickly compiled afterthought, the packet does have other sections thoughtfully discussing the South African social transition. Another section asks students to consider what “cultural heritage” means and how to “understand and speak about cultural heritage in a way that acknowledges diversity and avoids stereotyping.” I was unable interview this course’s instructors for comment.

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4 In Chapters 3 and 6 I cite examples from my experience on Charles’s township practicum. The guide he uses to teach township tours, an African woman and a recent transplant from Johannesburg, in my analysis, provided a disservice. She listed incorrect information and, in many instances, confirmed the negative suspicions of the white South African participants, playing up exotic stereotypes, that blacks like to live in these conditions, and that they are too lazy and drunk to clean it up. It was, by far, one of the worst of my many tour experiences. Perhaps the impact of such a bad tour is magnified because it is an approved training session for the next generation of tourist guides. In qualification and to reiterate that all tours differ, when interviewing one of Charles’s other students, Susan, also an employer of Siviwe, she stated that she was changed and moved to tears by her different township tour experience with the class. Throughout the course she was “blown away by [Charles’s] wealth of knowledge” (personal communication, April 30, 2008).

5 Charles notes that his students from the townships, especially those over 30 years old, struggled with the course because of “lack of exposure” to the information and because the English pronunciation was new to them.

6 Citations withheld in this section for confidentiality.
What emerges from conversations with instructors and students is that guides must meet some parameters to acquire certification but largely create their own knowledge base, especially in the short course scenario. Then, best practices, preferred narratives or destinations, may be dictated by individual tour companies that hire guides. In most certification programs around Cape Town, township tourism is characterized as a niche market requiring a local “step-on” guide. Townships are canonized as a realm of specialized culture and, as noted above, all but omitted from some training manuals. It’s clear that training instructors are struggling to keep up with changing social realities and how to present townships as a modern, urban area of Cape Town after treating them as a silent, unfortunate, historical reality for so long. These shortcomings lead some African guiding students feel cautious about the course materials or to reject being taught about their own communities by white South Africans. Further, many African guides feel pushed to specialize in township tour information.

**Siviwe’s Class Experience**

Siviwe was nervous about beginning the tour guiding course. He knew it would demand interaction and public speaking outside of his comfort zone. His first strategy was to stay quiet and listen. He entered to find the class roster mixed among the ethnic groups of Cape Town. However, his fellow students were sitting in segregated groups. Siviwe was fortunate to find Thando, an African student of the same age, was also in the class. He was an artist with the pottery project at the Langa Cultural Center and already an informal walking tour guide. Siviwe quickly followed Thando’s lead and advice. Thando even started helping Siviwe practice walking tours in Langa. However, Siviwe fostered a lingering skepticism about friendships with non-African members of the class, the instructors, and about speaking out.

During the first week, class members are assigned a five-minute presentation on a topic or site they knew something about to break the ice. Thando talked about the pottery project in
Langa and appeared a real professional. Siviwe decided to share about the Gugulethu Seven incident. As noted, this piece of anti-apartheid history involves the death of seven young men at the hands of the South African Police Force in 1986 commemorated by a new memorial in Gugulethu township (Chapter 5). The overt political theme of his choice, he felt, inadvertently turned the non-African members of the class against him and led them to characterize him as a racist. During the daily class break period, a white South African woman came up to tell him that all white South Africans were not like that and that she did lots of volunteer work in those areas.

Because of access and finances, Siviwe did not always have the necessary materials to prepare for class. On their first Saturday practicum, each class member was assigned a piece of the Cape Peninsula route to research and narrate. He was given the Misty Cliffs. This was the first time for Siviwe to ever take the scenic peninsula drive. Unaccustomed to using and searching the internet and still nervous to stand in front of the class, he did not prepare anything. The class sat in awkward silence on the bus as they traveled through the Misty Cliffs stretch of the route. By his third practicum, Siviwe got the hang of it. Then assigned to talk about the famous Groote Schuur Hospital located off the N-2 Highway, he easily rattles of the number of beds, rooms, and doctors now imprinted in his memory.

Training for township tours at the college was overseen by a knowledgeable, seasoned guide, Trevor, who himself has given township tours for several years. Trevor, however, is a white South African. His affinity for the townships grows out of his interest in social and political concerns and as his clients, and Siviwe eventually, agreed, his understanding of the townships is exemplary. Trevor told me he tried very hard to draw Siviwe out of his shell, repeatedly calling on him in class (personal communication, December 20, 2007). In fact,
Siviwe, after the fact and after some months of experience, was well pleased with the training he received.

Siviwe: I thought I knew about townships, until I listened to them and I realized things I was taking for granted…They were opening my mind, in terms of the township, why the township is like this...White people and educators may not know about daily life, but will know why things are like they are.

However, Siviwe also recalls that the township tour subject and practicum was not popular among the entire class. Just as some township students stumbled over English and Afrikaans pronunciations, the non-African majority of the class had a hard time with Xhosa words. Moreover, Siviwe argues, his classmates were reluctant to confront delicate issues of history and racism. He adds, on the township tour, “[Trevor] said it as it is, and some of the class resented that.”

By the end of the term, most of the township residents, including all of the African women, had dropped out of class. Only Siviwe, Thando, and one other African man passed the exams and were qualified to register. Many of the non-African members of the class decided that they would not want to give township tours alone. Animosities mended, Siviwe was quick to slip them his contact information so that he could be a step-on guide for them in the near future. Thando quickly negotiated a standing per diem contract with a small, established company.

**Monitoring Tour Guide Registration**

In a series of meetings with the City Department of Tourism, the subject of tour guide training arose. As a consultant, I joined a task team consisting of officials, academics, and tour operators created to discuss cultural tourism in Cape Town. The committee invited the Provincial Tour Guide Registrar, whose office was conveniently right down stairs, to a question and answer session at one of our weekly meetings.
A township resident, she conceded that training content, such as the education materials, is not regulated and that her office currently had little control over the training process (personal communication, April 21, 2008). Training programs are accredited by the Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority (THETA), but regular follow ups are not being done to check for updates to materials or how materials are taught. This oversight, she says, is due to limited staffing. However, she also said that “we realize there are so many gaps.”

Registrar: That's basically one of my responsibilities, but I'm one person in the entire province. I'm not making an excuse for not doing it though. You see what I always encourage, especially, tour operators that are affiliated to organizations like Cape Town Tourism, SATSA, or TOURACT, that when they appoint or employ the services of a tourist guide, they must request proof of registration. That doesn't mean that they are the best, it just shows they have some training.

Further she noted that for a long time many training providers did not teach about townships. She explained that THETA is supposed to be performing quality assurance and material updates every five years. But she does not see that happening. “So,” she says, once certified any of the “cultural guides can do all these tours, but the information they give on a township tour, it is appalling.”

The Registrar commented on what makes a good, successful guide and about how others slip through the system despite bad habits.

Registrar: During the training, guides are encouraged to always do research, that is you are deciding that you are going to be doing township tours, that you need to do research on your own. So that when you take people to Khayelitsha, for instance you know exactly what you are going to be telling. But that happens post-training. So some good guides do that, some bad guides, if I may call them that, don't do that. You know they thumb some information and they give people the wrong information. And to be honest no one monitors that. That is why we are getting rotten apples in the industry and they are giving the industry a very bad name. So what I am trying to say in a nutshell is that there are definitely huge gaps when it comes to training.

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7 THETA is now called the Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality, and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority or CATHSSETA (http://www.theta.org.za/).
Again, she feels success in class and in the field is related to personal drive.

Registrar: The only way most of the guides have survived is that it’s someone who is inquisitive, who then out of his own will and curiosity, you know, feel that look, I feel the information has not been adequate enough and do research and yeah read more…I believe it is not everybody who's going to make it in this industry, you need a certain personality, certain qualities, so if you do not display that we are not going to consider someone who doesn't have that passion, that oomph, to become a guide.

Although Siviwe’s experience was positive, many other township guides expressed their frustration with being taught how to guide through their own neighborhoods by parties seemingly so removed from those experiences. The Provincial Tour Guide Registrar admits:

Registrar: Most of the training providers are white training providers and we don't have any black providers. And I believe that you cannot teach the history of Khayelitsha or any other area if you have not really, not necessarily lived, but you can read, but sometimes you need some who understands the culture to be able to understand. There is nothing written even about what township tourism is all about.

The cost of training and maintaining certification (or having a “badge”) has resulted in a high number of “illegal” guides. This is especially the case in township tourism. A number of African guides I worked with get away with not having their badge because of their local expertise. Other times, companies will use step-on guides informally and at a lower pay rate to accompany their certified guides through the townships. Illegal guiding is a noted national issue, as commented on by the 2007 South Africa Tourism Yearbook:

Illegal tourist guides undermine the efforts of legitimate guides. In February 2006, the Tourism Branch of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism launched a campaign against illegal guiding. Provincial tourist-guide registrars were trained and illegal guiding was monitored, resulting in illegal guides being stopped from operating. The branch continues to work with the industry and South African Police Service (SAPS) to curb illegal guiding. [SATY 2007]

The Department of Tourism issued a brochure in advance of the FIFA 2010 games advising tourists against uncertified guides.
An attitude of defiance and skepticism leads many others to avoid tour guide training all together. For example, Vusi explains why he does not need a badge and why he only does township tours.

RH: When did you start tour guiding?
Vusi: 1996, I think, but slightly not as a career.
RH: Where did you do the certification?
Vusi: For what? For tour guiding, I didn't do that.
RH: You don’t have a badge?
Vusi: No I can't do that.
RH: But isn't that illegal?
Vusi: I'm not illegal. Who's illegal? I'm legal.
RH: How?
Vusi: I'm doing the tour the good way. Everybody is saying so.
RH: But you didn't go to [certification course]?
Vusi: No, how could I go to someone who doesn't know the township and have them assess me about my township that I know. Because, me, I don’t usually do other tours. And if I was interested to do other tours I would do [the course].
RH: But the Winelands, Cape Point, you don't do that?
Vusi: I don't like that.
RH: It's not your area?
Vusi: No, it’s not about my boundaries. But I do not like them. It is a tape record[sic] tour. The way that you've done it 15 years ago is the same way.
RH: But this one isn't?
Vusi: No. You talk about the people, all the changes. Right now we can talk about the problem of xenophobia, all the causes and how it started...We talk about people.
RH: So every day is different. You don't get bored?
Vusi: Me, no, not at all. I can do the tour five different ways. Sometimes if I like I can start the tour in Khayelitsha and go down this way. Sometime I start from the Group Areas Act, sometimes from bubonic plague. Sometimes I start in the Land Act of 1913. I start the tour lots of different ways so that I can't be a tape record[ sic] (personal communication, December 12, 2007).

Despite some evidence to the contrary, Vusi contends that specializing in township tours is not about his personal and cultural “boundaries” but about the ability to enjoy and educate and not be bored or fatigued by rote narratives.

**Starting Out as a Tour Guide**

In June, one month after he finished classes, Siviwe began giving walking tours on a regular basis from the Langa Cultural Center. He planted himself as a presence at the Center and worked to capitalize on a few leads from Thando’s referrals. His new strategy was to engage the many coloured guides giving tours, he knew they preferred a walking tour step-on guide. For R20 per person he offered to assist. Company guides, en route with a bus of tourist visitors, would call ahead and ask him to be ready. Others simply showed up and hoped to find Siviwe or another of the eager informal guides. At the time, Siviwe was the only walking tour guide actually certified and registered, a point of pride for him and of contention for the other informal guides. After shadowing Thando, Siviwe began following the primary walking tour route through the landmarks and living spaces of Langa.

Interested in innovation, pleasing his partners and customers, Siviwe often schemed about how to make his walking tour experience more unique and appealing. Once comfortable with his mastery of the route, he paid close attention to his guests.

Siviwe: I am observing when doing a walking tour. What kind of questions are these people asking me all time. What exactly they want to hear. I don't want to lie to you. Walking from [Cultural Center] to talk about the history, it’s very lucky to find people interested in apartheid, what happened, you know. These people they know about apartheid. They heard about it. They want to know what are we doing now: What are we doing to move forward? What are these people who were oppressed doing? What are their initiatives doing? What is the government doing to
help the people who were oppressed to move forward, to take this country to
greater heights?

This insight led him to continually adapt his narration and route.

Having had a number of paid translators in the past, I was surprised to find Siviwe eager to
participate in my interviews of township residents. When my list of questions was exhausted,
Siviwe offered a couple more. These additions led to interesting conversations and ideas. As he
explained to me, he realized that the information I wanted about reactions to tourism from
residents was supplemented by remarkable life history details and commentary about Langa that
would add depth to his tour narratives. Moreover, concerns about social or community
responsibility were not covered in his tour guiding education.

In asking Siviwe about this, he points out how we had different levels of knowledge about
the townships. He had access to and experience in daily township life and the complexities of
Xhosa culture, but was still learning about “history” and how to think critically about the effects
of tourism. I also provided a window into what his clients were after and the construction of the
“tourist gaze.” Translating during my interviews, he remembers thinking, “Why didn’t I ask this
question?”

Siviwe: When I started work with you, I thought I was helping you...I didn’t expect
you could tell me anything about townships. I thought I was the one who was going
to give you something. You, coming from America, you know nothing about South
Africa. That was my perception about you...until I was surprised that you were
telling me things about South Africa, you.

In the reverse, the cultural knowledge Siviwe possessed shaped the tone of my excursions
and informed the deciphering of a significant portion of the story unfolding for my dissertation.
Importantly, from these interviews we both understood how tour operators gained access to
township homes and the multiple reasons their presence was tolerated if not welcomed. The
answer to the question of whether walking tours are noble or invasive is much more complicated than that simple dichotomy (Chapter 5).

As our partnership developed, I was able to become a participant in his daily activities. I witnessed how certain touring practices take shape, the trials of making it as a freelance guide, and the effects of this employment on his social life in the community. Although I have become well acquainted with a number of tour guides in my years of study, very few think of me as a knowledgeable confidante instead of a dubious busybody. A number of companies inquired how I could be source of feedback about their products, but Siviwe was more open to my constant questioning and eventually appreciated my tactics as beneficial. This small breakthrough momentarily relieved my personal and disciplinary self-consciousness about being useful. In turn, Siviwe quickly became a sounding board for my research and accompanied me outside of Langa for other interviews and experiences. In effect, we became guides for each other through a number of new encounters.

I do not mean to imply that this exchange of perspective and information was always straightforward or easy. We were not without our disagreements. Yet these temporary stumbling blocks opened up new avenues of inquiry and conversation.

Siviwe and I now laugh about our dispute on the population size of Langa. Because he had learned in tour guiding class that the population was 250,000, it took textbooks and census print outs for me to convince him that it was much closer to 50,000. Even then, he occasionally persisted in citing the higher number. Though it may be a trivial detail, the population data on Langa, spouted as tourists enter their first township landscape, shapes their perception of the gravity of daily life, poverty, housing, etc. This instance made us both look closer at the ways “factual” data is presented in tourism narratives in relation to time and space. Truth be told,
census figures in suburbs with extended families, migrant workers, and informal housing are hardly reliable.

Satisfied with the changes to his route, Siviwe’s growing understanding of tourist interests and his new position in the community led to a number of community-based and business initiatives. For one, he decided that he was going to be a “humanitarian,” bolstering his image as interested in local affairs. At the time, his homeboys, Dibbs and Jomo, were still using the “company car” to do pick-ups with the school kids from eSquatini. Close with the many young boys in the car pool, Siviwe began teaching them gumboots dancing, a rhythmic dancing performed in Wellington boots made popular by African miners. Over the summer school holidays, the troop of boys and one tiny girl, began performing on the main stage at the cultural center. Rapidly a hit with tour groups, the kids continued to perform on Saturday mornings once school resumed. Siviwe took up donations at the performances and used it to feed the kids a good lunch. However, his control over the money made many locals at the Cultural Center skeptical of his motives. The initiative won Siviwe a lot of contacts and attention. Eventually he acquired sponsorship and uniforms for the dancers.

**In/ Formal Employment**

By March, Siviwe had garnered enough experience and contacts to begin offering full township tours beginning the route from town with the District Six Museum. He had paid the fees to register as a guide and suffered through the long lines and months-long application processes to get an appointment to get his professional driver’s license. He also paid to join Cape Town Tourism. He was unaware that CTT would list his information on its website and was soon surprised and unnerved to begin receiving inquiries by email.

Impressed with his walking tour skills, a number of companies invited Siviwe for interviews to become a regular per diem guide. We took a day trip to the mall to look for some
collared shirts, chinos, and nicer walking shoes to prepare for his interviews and eventual tours. Siviwe had encounters, both off-putting and encouraging, with different managers. In one interview, the operator, an older white South African woman, told him outright that she was seeking a township guide who is black, clean, on time and “speaks good English.” This attitude, he says, is the “old South Africa…but this is what I must do to get a job.” Such an agreeable, accommodating attitude, although a key customer service skill, was not an effortless shift for Siviwe. Initially, he expressed much indignation at clients who expected him to open van doors and act in servitude.

Siviwe formed a number of partnerships to keep him busy. Another white South African, Susan, with a small company was referred to Siviwe through Thando. Susan explained that she enjoys township tours, and although they are her lowest profiting excursion, she feels it is an important learning experience for visitors. She also is adamant about being accompanied by a local guide:

Susan: Siviwe and [Thando] have roots. That makes it more special. They have personal experiences. They know the people. And apart from that, you look at the safety side of things as well. I mean I know the roads but Siviwe always jokes with me and says ‘I see you know where to go now, next time I'll see you on your own.’ But no, I won't do that, you know (personal communication, April 30, 2008).

Susan and her father, also her business partner, were impressed with Siviwe’s skills and drive.

Susan: When I met [Thando] and Siviwe I thought: They are very young. How are they going to tell us what is going on, they are the same age as me? But they are fantastic. And every time that I go out on a tour with Siviwe he gets better. He's always learned something new.

Susan also enjoyed being able to share Siviwe’s gumboots dancers with her clients. Once she got to know Siviwe and his living situation, she was again awed: “The fact of where he lives and he's still groomed so well.”
The transition to full tours was another adjustment for Siviwe. Long sheltered by the comfort of Langa, he had to begin learning the names and locations of hotels and guest houses throughout the CBD and toward Camp’s Bay. He was not fully prepared to begin driving the big combis through the busy Cape Town traffic. One of the greatest tests, he had to begin presenting at the District Six Museum within hearing distance of all his competitors and buddies. He studied to refresh his knowledge of other areas of town and township. Many times before a new tour, he would stop by my house to use the internet to brush up on his facts and figures. Further, getting clean, dressed, and to town on time was becoming a problem for him due to the conditions at Squatini hostel. With unpredictable water and power outages, he was tempted to move, but he also greatly wanted to keep teaching the gumboots dancers. Not to mention that living there increased his credibility with employers and clients alike.

**Encountering Community Issues**

From my work with Siviwe, most importantly, I began to better understand the internal power structure and fierce competition at work in Langa as a result of the current township tourism practices and local politics, much of which depend on historical and spatial relationships. Tour guides are exposed to both the perks and pitfalls of success. Perceived as successful members of the new working class, guides often face the scrutiny of their local community. Siviwe grappled new expectations from the community members he made a part of his tours, complicated competition with his peers, and extra pressures to give money to his extended family. Guides, he found out, are engaged in the subverted local battles over representation and control of tourism’s impact.

It was important that he speak in Xhosa around the flat among peers and especially when he traveled home to the Eastern Cape. If he were perceived as too removed from rural roots or acting “white,” others would call him a “coconut,” a pejorative term denoting someone who is
“black” on the outside and “white” on the inside. The prestige and financial benefits of tourism employment made Siviwe an attractive catch to the hostel girls. Siviwe was adamant that he didn’t have time for a girlfriend, but rather needed to focus on his career. Then as relatives in the Cape and back home were assured of his success, they called more often to ask for monetary assistance.

At the same time that a new career complicated his relationship with family and community, guiding transformed his relationship with the city in a way he could never explain to them. The types of places, peoples, tastes, and ideas he was exposed to dramatically altered. He laughs that in meetings in town with prospective business partners, he learned by watching how to order his cappuccino and “fancy muffins.” However, township social worlds have a way of keeping people in their place, leveling class-based change. He became caught in this push and pull process.

By directing where most tourists go, he began to understand that guides become stewards for local businesses and charities. Tour guides can impact tourist behavior, what they do, see, buy, or donate (Huang and Weiler 2010). However, in the townships and out, guides also become linked in a chain of commissions and partnerships that have community and social impacts. He faced weekly arguments over the cost of walking tours and how much commission those who recommended him or were visited by him should receive.

One striking example of conflict follows from the opening anecdote of this chapter, the drama between Siviwe and Ayanda. As noted, the Cultural Center anchored our daily interactions. The Center was populated by a number of crafters, local performers, paid staff, and informal “staff,” or a cast of characters hanging around to see what benefits they could accrue.
Generally, this stop was the first chance along the tour route for tourists to open their wallets. The content and timing of their experiences in the Center was closely choreographed.

From the described encounter I took away two key bits of knowledge. Luanda’s actions, the blatant removal of Siviwe’s sign, grew first from sensitivity to the word “ghetto” as Siviwe had named his company “Ghetto Child Tours.” In the townships a line is fiercely drawn between “Cape-borners” and “migrants” (Wilson and Mafeje 1963, Eppel 2007). And in the Cultural Center the old guard took great offence to referring to the historically and culturally rich suburb of Langa as a ghetto. I was drawn in to discussion with Siviwe about this matter and the many connotations “ghetto” might carry. He eventually dropped the moniker.

However, Siviwe’s explanation of why he chose that name is salient. It elucidates how he understood his experience of city life as distinct, as culturally different from rural areas where he grew up, even bereft of “culture” in one sense of the term. And it shows some of the motivations for his tour content, focusing on daily township life, as well as his developing business sense.

Siviwe: The idea behind the name, you know, um, was along the fact that townships are not cultural [to one] coming from the Eastern Cape. You know, I am coming from the Eastern Cape. I know culture, Xhosa culture, and coming here it was like all different. And I saw people [tour guides] are focusing on culture here. But also the question really in my mind was how am I going to be different from those guides around here?...And I thought, you know what, let me just do 100% what is happening around here [in my tours]. And also what is another name for township that is famous, you know, like an international name. And I found out that ‘ghetto’ is like your image that side [abroad] of townships. So I also wanted a name that each and every person would understand.

Secondly, at the time of the conflict over “Ghetto Child Tours,” Siviwe and his partner, somewhat newcomers to the Center and to Langa, had prematurely staked a public claim to the walking tours. The next month, when they began to coach and introduce the children’s gumboots dancing group, they further upset the balance of tourist timing and donation giving at the performance stage.
This competition put a strain on our collaboration. Arguably, I was somewhat shielded by my outsider-insider status as a foreign researcher. But Siviwe’s role was transforming. After a few months, it was impossible to hide the fact that Siviwe and I worked together. In collaboration with me, he was becoming an insider-outsider (Bhoju and Gold 1992). In many instances at the Center, we tried to maintain an air of social distance. Neither of us wanted to be considered double-agents. We embarked on separate missions, mine for accord and information, hid for business and influence. We began having more of our discussions in private.

That afternoon of the large tour, Jomo’s first, I watched the complicated exercise from the sidelines, observing each tour guide’s technique and the simmering rivalry. Of course, Siviwe and I would soon discuss all the details of the missing paper sign and the tour over dinner. But Luanda and Walter would never know that.

Homeboys

New conflicts and decisions for Siviwe were not limited to his anonymous classmates and community acquaintances. In the course of his budding success, Siviwe’s relationship with Jomo and Dibbs also began to transform.

From Thando, Siviwe had received instruction and apprenticeship regarding the walking tours through Langa. Per their original plan, Siviwe, now the experienced guide, started teaching Jomo and Dibbs, taking them out on practice sessions during the week. Despite the threat of ridicule, they stood on the street corners of Langa, speaking in English to one another going over the basics. Siviwe also trained Dibbs to take care of and introduce the young gumboots dancers, freeing up Saturdays for Siviwe to get more tours and tips. Finally, Jomo saved the money and enrolled in a short tour guiding course. Frequently, I came to visit eSquatini and found Jomo huddled in the back of the spaza cart, pouring over his course work and guide books. Siviwe tells
Jomo often that, no matter what happens, the career must come first and encourages him to study.

During our outings, Siviwe would complain that Dibbs was hard to get a hold of or late or not doing something to suit him. He changed the proposed name of their tour company to “Way Forward Tours,” again attempting to capitalize on the township tour theme of progress. However, he quickly, decided upon simply “Siviwe Tours.” We made a stack of business cards with his contact information as well as a website profile about him and the gumboots dancers.

I expressed to Siviwe that perhaps he was treating his so-called business partners as his subordinates. I encouraged him counteract Dibb’s perceived errant behavior by extending to him a feeling of ownership over the project. I inquired if he ever shared his bookings for walking tours with Jomo. But Siviwe was not open to these lines of discussion.

One afternoon during a session of translating and transcribing, Siviwe and I began talking about the subtle differences among guides’ walking tour routes. He emphasized how his route and his ideas were different and how they would benefit him. Dibbs sat across the room on the sofa, thumbing through my Cape Town history books. I asked Siviwe if he and his flat mates were still a team.

Siviwe: Now let’s describe a team. Each person's got a role to play on a team…if now we are still like a train. A train, you know, is a team whereby there is a head pulling carriages. This thing is still like that now. And we are trying by all means to establish whereby we are all heads. [Dibbs], [Jomo], they are still trailing behind me. And I tell them, you know, guys, let's pick up the pace. That is the only way to defeat this…. Guys out there, you know, are highly motivated, guys with businesses. [Dibbs starts laughing.]…He needs to create his own company.

Dibbs: You see the problem is, Rachel, he always wants to lead. If I come up with something, he’s like ‘aaawww.’ He’s the leader, but leadership goes to his head (personal communication, May 12, 2008).

In the final months of my fieldwork, Jomo received his certification and began seeking his own tour guiding experience. There was tension in the small flat over guiding, but the trio
continued to shared meals, expenses, and good times. In the coming year, each would move out of Squatini to their own flats.

**Seeking Independence**

Siviwe like most tour guides, especially those doing township tours, was not employed full-time. Rather, he was a contracted day laborer working to become a preferred provider for an established company as well as solidify Siviwe Tours as a formal, stand alone business. Siviwe’s attitude about independent entrepreneurship was common among his peers. After adjusting to the new employment and communal demands, tour guide workers often seek ways to “bend the system” (Cooper 1987:11) through calculated moves evincing both acceptance and resistance to the casualization of labor. Many, like Siviwe and Jomo, eventually use their networking as day laborers to move toward creating their own company or new partnerships, even taking over contracts from their previous employers.

The high number of companies as well as ease of transition among companies means little fear of unemployment for certified guides. These factors combined with high tourism demand create a sense of security. For some, steady work is not desired, instead the guides prefer setting their own schedule. Others even refuse to sign an offered full-time contract to avoid office work in slow winter months. Vusi told me he would never be locked up in an office. Siviwe had to make this decision during his first year, turning down an exclusive contract. On the other hand, a number of tour companies are equally happy to avoid an abundance of full-time employees during seasonal shifts.

At the time of fieldwork, as Siviwe explained, becoming a full-time employee would not work for him and his vision. He did not like having to make township tours conform to the 3-hour schedule nor did he want to give up his time with the gumboots dancers. He felt self-employment was the only route. He did not mind working 12-hour days like Vusi, but he wanted
to do it for his own benefit, not someone else’s. He continues, linking his plan to a new
generational shift and grasping opportunities open to him that were not available for his parents.

Siviwe: And I’ve realized something that during apartheid times, eh, things like
that, we were not supposed to know, that we could do our own things. Our
grandfathers, our fathers, everyone, you know. And my father and my mother was
always preaching to me like: ‘Go to school and go look for a job. Go to school and
go look for a job’ you know. I want to break through from that mindset you know.
And I know it, this route I'm taking, it’s not easy. I know there is an easy way out,
you know. But I want to break through from that thing of ‘Go to school and go look
for a job.’ This job you’re looking for, that person did everything, created his own
job, created his own logo, created his own mission statement, created all those own
things. Then they are bringing you in to believe toward what they created, you
know. I can also do it myself, you know. They made me realize that, no, I don’t
have to go and look for a job I can create my own thing…It will be hard for me to
give up all that and go take a job. Because it’s going to be like, I know for these
people I am making them 40k, but I get 10k. I'm willing to take this route, not for
me for my kids (he laughs at his own dramatic statement)...So I'm just telling you
where this comes from. There are four of us at home, the others can work. I don't
have to follow the same path.

Tour Guiding and Social Identity

The evidence above suggests reasons why tour guiding is attractive and challenging
personally, economically, and socially for township residents, especially for the many African
men, most in their twenties and thirties, who I interviewed and shadowed over the course of my
fieldwork. As with the experiences, motivations, and business decisions of the tour operators
discussed in the previous chapter, guiding also encounters tensions hinging on racial and social
identities. Non-white tour guides, often new members of the South African working class, are
dealing with, on the one hand, what it means to have financial stability, wages, and new kinds of
authority and management relationships and, on the other hand, what it means to represent and
narrate the story of South Africa’s townships. Of course, any kind of cultural production in
Africa encounters questions of power and inequality. However, I do not want to over-emphasize
class or race-based identity at the expense of understanding the nuances of everyday life in the
townships or more transient forms of culture (Nuttall and Michael 2000).
Alexander et al. (2006) remind us, social identities in South Africa are often characterized as fixed in relation to the ethnic identities formed under apartheid. Even anthropologists in the era of the Rhodes-Livingston Institute working in budding urban areas of Southern Africa were “observing but unable to characterize the African miner as not just townsmen or tribesmen, but as an emerging, new social class, with hybrid, even contradicting, forms of social organization and daily practice” (Freund 1988:17, Ferguson 1999, Hansen 1997, Shumaker 2001). As many have argued, a more complete understanding of the lives of Africans depends on an analysis of cultural responses and the creativity with which individuals meet a changing scene (ibid).

To a number of people in township areas, weary from waiting for the government to provide the infrastructure upgrades and employment opportunities it had promised, tourism appears as an easy way to turn existing skills into a business. Many eager entrepreneurs did not first stop to question the selling points of the townships: cultural difference, hospitality, or history. For Siviwe and Jomo, tour guiding seemed a good opportunity for handsome, confident young men. Furthermore, the perceived profit and benefits of tour guiding employment has elevated it to a job of high status within township communities, especially in areas that see a lot of tourism traffic. Many are attracted to the prestige and mobility associated with tour guiding. In their attraction, however, most are unaware of the challenges and expenses of training, certification, and gaining and keeping employment. Upon entering the profession, these young men find their lives reorganized by a new daily rhythm and time schedule, new access to spaces and persons in their city, and new rules of authority (Cooper 1987).

When Siviwe’s life started changing, his ability to deal with change was determined by certain interpersonal, social, cultural, and economic aspects of his situation (Ghodsee 2005:12). Ghodsee argues that tourism employees, especially in the aftermath of political changes, depend
on social, cultural, and economic capital. Ghodsee argues workers “rationally chose to rely on different forms of capital in response to those changes” (ibid:13). Social or political capital is defined as “an individual’s knowledge of and ability to utilize social networks and spheres of influence” (ibid:13). Cultural capital, then, is the acquisition of “good taste,” also known as “symbolic capital.” This involved the ability to publicly perform discerning taste. Not to be reductive to this interpretation alone, Ghodsee’s insights enhance my analysis of Siviwe’s experience.

In this case, Siviwe’s decisions, most thoughtfully considered and strategic, reveal his manner of utilizing his sources of capital. Siviwe was aided in his successful transition to formal employment by the economic assistance of his father, his slow savings from tips and the carpool, and his ability to garner donations for the gumboots dancers. Socially, Siviwe exploited his local bond with persons such as Thando to gain and expand contacts for employment. Attributes, such as certified training, excellent English speaking, a tempered awareness of social hierarchy, and a creative, entrepreneurial attitude helped Siviwe appear qualified and marketable. These assets, or “cultural capital,” mean greater opportunities of employment.

Beyond this interpretation, I believe Siviwe’s story shows how he navigated a new and unfolding local drama and the complicated networks of the townships and the tourism industry. This profile is not just one of success, but points to remaining paradoxes and obstacles in this employment sector. In South Africa, relationships between white and blacks have often centered on labor (Freund 1988). Entrenched patterns of authority and power have emerged in Siviwe’s experience. For example, Siviwe’s treatment by white company owners evinces stereotyped ideas about Africans as workers in terms of ability, sanitation, and civility (Burke 1996). Secondly, some employers limit choices for African guides based on their imagined aptitude as
well as assumptions about the “authenticity” and local knowledge of township guides. Many African guides feel pushed into or stuck being township tour specialists while other local tour guides gain the opportunity to tell the story of their neighborhoods but must work within the racially demarcated employment structures of the tourism industry to do so. Finally, guides are drawn into arguably exploitative casual labor relationships that suit both themselves and their employers.

As in Siviwe’s experience, a number of the young guides I accompanied and interviewed were adamant about maintaining their independence or even starting their own company. Not wanting to limit his choices, Siviwe remained single, maintained autonomy from his family, and began keeping his loyal homeboys at arms’ length. He used his multiple company connections to maintain a steady stream of employment that suited his schedule and goals. In this way, guides share not just awareness that they are being exploited as casual labor, but an awareness of how they can use the current employment structure to their advantage (Freund 1988:59). As Freund argues, employees often engage in small, hidden forms of resistance (ibid). Township guides may change the prescribed tour route to suite them and their local connections. They may stay out all night drinking before a tour or send their tourists into a destination with an informal, local guide while waiting in the bus for a smoke and a snack.

In the larger comparison, some of these trends can also be interpreted as generational. I found that older male tour guides, those over 35, were often more resentful of controls over their township tour content and practices. The older guides were also more indignant about needing a “badge” to tell their history. They were more apt to speak back to tourists with ignorant comments, questions, or assumptions. Their opinions about historical and current events were more fully informed and powerful.
Siviwe was initially suspicious of the obedience aspects of tour guiding as customer service. He was swayed, however, when “then you get a big tip!” and, moreover, as his understanding of tourism expanded during our research. In this vein, I found younger guides, ages 20 to 35, more wrapped up in the challenges and learning experience of becoming a guide and gaining steady income. In one sense, naïve younger guides may be eager to “jump through the hoops” necessary to please trainers, employers, and community members. On the other hand, having seen their parents suffer subservience in wage labor, domestic service, and industry, they are just as eager to be their own boss. As another guide in Siviwe’s cohort explained, he left a company because the boss continued to call him “son.” He says he just wanted to do his job and go home. Thus, even if paternalism emits from a place of goodwill, it is often quickly rejected.

Tour guides’ experiences reveal patterns of behavior and meanings associated with work in relation to the new types of opportunities in current labor markets. However, not all of these patterns are necessarily new. Writing about Cape Colony men who joined work teams heading to German South West Africa in the early 20th century, Beinart (Beinart and Bundy 1987) explains how the African workers strategized to avoid the declining employment in the Cape and yet also avoid going to work in the mines. Significantly, this group of workers sought jobs “at dispersed points of production” (ibid:19). Working in the hinterland afforded them mobility, options for self-organization, as well as decreased supervision and proximity to their European bosses. In the young tour guides’ case, many are seeking the same types of freedoms. Becoming day laborers in a somewhat secure market, they assure control over their schedule. They are away on the tour bus all day with little close supervision. They can easily chose and change who they work for and how. They recognize the patterns of authority and control mediated by tour company owners, but use creative strategies for self-benefit within this system.
What is arguably new in the case of tourism employment and in other budding sectors in post-apartheid South Africa, is the sense that non-whites can be entrepreneurs, that they can more easily aspire to run their own business, be self-employed and autonomous. I argue that this need for autonomy is a key feature, linking other aspects of the tour guide persona earlier described. The attitude of being your own boss allows some mental and physical control over the contradictions inherent in employment politics and heritage representations. Such patterns can also be aligned to the changing place of African workers and non-European ideas about labor and success in post-apartheid South Africa. These aspects of tour guiding speak to how new identities are emerging in the post-apartheid labor force.

As mediators, guides and operators are also establishing new types of relationships within and outside of their own community. The meaning of township places is growing to accommodate their new symbolic and economic values rendered by tourism. Young and novice guides, just like Siviwe, may initially underestimate the scope of their influence as mediators of tourism practice, participation, and benefit. They may also be unaware of the gravity of their choices for representation, as in Siviwe’s initial use of the phrase “Ghetto Child.” To be further developed in Chapter 5 from the township residents’ point of view, these shifts in community social relations are not racial divided, as Europeans are absent from most of the interactions and negotiation, rather class and power based issues play a stronger role. These new relationships can also reinforce stereotypes of gender, class, and patriarchy (Alexander et al. 2006, especially chapters by van Rooyen and Ichharam). Outside of their home community, guides are increasingly able to cross the spatial, social, and economic borders of apartheid. They are gaining access to other communities and areas of Cape Town.
Working with a Research Assistant Reprise

During our partnership, I remained cautious about my input to Siviwe’s tourism practices regarding interpretations of culture and history. In a similar case in the Indonesian field setting, Adams recounts that researchers in tourist areas are inadvertently drawn in to interpretations of culture for consumption or to mediate conflicts (2005:46). Outsiders, viewed as a knowledgeable source of assistance, are unwittingly pulled into local dramas. Adams further points out the awkward position we find ourselves in as anthropologists who recognize the constructed nature of “culture” and “authenticity.” Yet we may encounter hosts who think of tradition in more static terms (Adams 2005:47). Significantly in this case, Siviwe was open to seeing tourism as a production and engaging in critique of his profession and behavior. This openness greatly informed my research conclusions about township tourism products and places as in the making or “in play” (Sheller and Urry 2004).

I was also concerned about upsetting the social balance and any ethical quandaries presented by my collaboration. However, Marcus, reviewing work from Geertz, calls “complicity” the necessary “evil twin” of rapport building (1997:87). Complicity is an integral part of learning cultural competency during fieldwork. Gottlieb points out that our discipline has increasingly “begun to recognize the field endeavor as a site occupied by a group of interacting, positioned actors-the anthropologist and various "others"- whose attempts at a conversation are inevitably shaped by mutual images, suspicions, assumptions, and histories” (1995:21). Further, she notes that we have almost disposed of the myth of the lone, invisible fieldworker seeking some solid truth.

In this vein, Southern Africa is a renowned place in the development of our discipline given the legacy of the Rhodes-Livingston Institute, later known as the Manchester School. My analysis here stems from the model provided in Schumaker’s 2001 interrogation of the RLI
anthropologists’ field practices emanating from the Zambia headquarters, women’s roles in the field, and their use of African assistants. She details how anthropology worked as a team endeavor. Her study also shows how our methodology and knowledge production are situated in the political, social, material, historical contexts of place and time and very much mediated by assistants, if not many other interlopers.

Impetus for this digression is further drawn from the now two-decade-old call to understand anthropologists’ participation in colonial or post-colonial practices and draw out the overt differential of structural power in the ethnographer-subject relationship (Marcus 1997:98). Beyond being fearful of having a heavy hand in interpretation of cultural tourism products, my relationship with Siviwe was fraught with concerns over paternalism, cross-gender relations, and responsibility. A white woman working with an African man is not exactly taboo in South Africa anymore, but our partnership was still prey to our respective, perceived ideas of customary, gendered, and classed behaviors and the predisposed appraisal of the public eye. Let it suffice to say that how our collaboration works comes down to personality. Over time, we found a precious balance between professionalism and personal vulnerability. I resolved that proper fieldwork demanded this give and take. As well, our complicity did not result in dishonesty but rather the level of confidentiality and discretion one would extend to any close colleague. Marcus quotes Geertz in this regard:

> To recognize the moral tension, the ethical ambiguity, implicit in the encounter of anthropologist and informant, and to be still able to dissipate it through one’s actions and one’s attitudes, is what the encounter demands of both parties if it is to be authentic, if it is to actually happen. And to discover that is to discover also something very complicated and not altogether clear about the nature of sincerity and insincerity, genuineness and hypocrisy, honesty and self-deception. [Geertz 1968 in Marcus 1997:90]

Gottlieb argues that: “Interrogating our own research and writing practices—including our various collaborations—and the often unconscious assumptions that underlie them, is one means
of taking responsibility for the assertions we make about others” (1995:23). There was a time, for some it remains, that close fieldwork associates were only customarily acknowledged in the preface or a scant footnote but not made integral to finished texts (Bhoju and Gold 1992, see also Sanjek 1993). In these examples, I hope to applaud the agency Siviwe brought to his entrepreneurial venture and to our partnership. His challenges to my ideas and the interests he brought to the project shaped my data collection and analysis.

Siviwe’s experience, comparable to that of other young African men in his generation, provides the detail for understanding tourism employment. Although this experience cannot and should be over-generalized, Siviwe’s experience is representative of the outcomes and challenges of a growing non-white working class. Successful guides most often strategically build on economic, social, or cultural capital to make it. This trend perhaps mirrors larger patterns in new South Africa as township residents and other traditional members of the lower class attempt to capitalize on new opportunities. As in this case, success in and attitudes toward guiding depends on personality, encounter generational patterns, responses to new structure of time, mobility, and authority as well as how guides face the personal and professional transformation with their community. Finally, this profile shows one aspect of how township residents negotiate opportunities, especially when decision-making power appears to be held by tour companies and mediated by hired guides. Such internal and local practices will be further investigated in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 5
TOURISM IS EVERYONE’S BUSINESS

Some observers looking on the new urban African communities see only chaos, but in fact there are regularities in the breaches of law, logic, and convention. [Wilson and Mafeje 1963:181]

Langa is the township visited most by tourists. Its popularity is due in part to its proximity to the city, relative safety, and its small, manageable size. Within its boundaries, Langa holds almost all of the elements that have come to characterize the sights, sounds, and smells of the most common township tours as well as a vivid history of labor, struggle, and reform. Tourism literature has most often considered how mass tourism destinations cater to and fashion attractions to fit the imagination of tourist consumers (Chambers 2000, Smith 2004, Urry 2002[1990]). In this case, Langa township meet tourist desires for apartheid history, authentic urban poverty with tinges of ethnic tribalism, and evidence of progressive development.

Community participation is a vital aspect of township tourism. Tour guides often strategize ways to make their tours interactive, mixing tourists with creative local crafters at markets, with hardworking members of the informal economy at shebeens and meat stands, with shack dwellers via home visits, or with lively school children at daycares (called crèches) and kindergartens. In relation, tourism officials in the nation and metropole promote tourism as a source of sustainable, community-based development, a local economic and empowerment opportunity. However, the touted claims of companies and organizations demand questioning. In fact, the most common inquiries of the countless tourists I encountered during my days on the tour route were about how townships are benefiting from tourism or how residents feel about being visited, having their picture taken, and their bedrooms inspected. Tourist and resident interactions can be both awkward and rewarding. Such exchanges involve the vexing and
paradoxical forces of difference and normalcy, reinforcing one while attempting to project the other. Cultural heritage issues take on greater emphasis when encountered face to face.

In this chapter, I examine how local residents come to participate in tourism, how participation operates in social context, and what tourism participation means to various local residents and entrepreneurs. As Stronza argues,

In teasing apart differences in how local hosts participate—or choose not to participate—in tourism, we may begin to analyze the range of factors that determine who gets involved, why, and in what ways. Only by asking these latter questions can we explore what tourism determines in people’s lives and what factors in people’s lives define their connection with tourism. [Stronza 2001:267]

Building on the idea that tourism is something people do (Crouch 2000), I examine how township residents, marginalized from the mediating and decision-making processes, reconfigure their daily lives, relationships, or environments in conjunction with the introduction of tourism. I examine what types of persons or social positions are drawn into tourism participation and how. In many cases, however, residents appear excluded from control over tourism practices, representations, and allocation of benefits. Thus I probe how certain persons or groups are excluded or included in tourism practices. Weaving through a series of profiles, I describe a select group of representative residents’ experiences with tourism. The persons profiled here help complete the picture provided in this dissertation of the specific social spectrum represented among participants in Cape Town’s township tourism industry. I show how township tourism operates within a certain social context, the outcomes of which are complicated and uneven.

This chapter is premised on the assertion that although touristic interactions may be planned and constructed, township tours do not meet a manicured, staged cultural village, but rather a bustling, shifting urban scene. As Crouch writes: “It is frequently the case that tourist places are already someone else’s lives and livelihood and environment, setting of human relations, values, meanings” (2000:94). In fact, in the townships, the set tourist itineraries
encounter and interact with a multitude of local daily itineraries, histories, and mundane or private spaces. Throughout these Langa examples, the so-called responsible tourism practices proffered by City office and tour companies, such as visiting and ensuring aid is left at local craft shops, projects, crèches, and homes, are an important feature of tour narratives. Yet, behind the scenes tour practices actually encounter a local theater of competitive entrepreneurialism, social difference, collusion, and corruption. Current practices have grown out of problematic development programs and entrenched socio-economic relationships. In Langa, any planning initiatives encounter a host of historical divisions and associations based on race, class, and culture. That said, residents’ conceptions of their social position and the meaning of township places in a divided city both transforms and is transformed by tourism participation. Importantly, current tourism practices also present examples of the continued innovation and global linkages present in African urban spaces (Simone 1994).

In illustration of these claims, I consider the organization of performance and participation at the Langa Cultural Center as well as locals’ strategies for inclusion in the Langa walking tour route. Each profile offers an understanding of how local actors are vital to tourism’s success and engaged in the productions of culture, history, and place via social processes. I conclude that despite a lack of transparency or adherence to a conventional model of sustainability, township destinations “work” according to their own logic (Simone 1994). Building on my established points concerning tour guides and operators as mediators and interpreters, this logic works according to forces of time, space, and money. It depends on different types of social connections and beliefs, both historicized and new. For example, throughout Langa, entrepreneurs actively manipulate the established itineraries of tour busses to their own advantage. Tourist paths are created based on known divisions, exploited connections,
carefully monitored timing. Any successful future work to build sustainable practices in relation to township tourism, or other similar community tourism manifestations, will depend on an understanding of this situated knowledge, the underlying social arrangements that differ from township to township, city to city.

**Historicizing Divisions and Development in Langa**

Forced out of sight by apartheid, Langa now extends this welcome to its fellow Capetonians, to South Africans and foreigners visiting the city and celebrates its heritage as one of the older suburbs in a growing metropole. It is a place full of stories, laughter, tears, heroism and villainy. Its vibrant expression of politics, religion and culture is both unique to Langa and a lens through which South Africa’s tumultuous past may be viewed. [COCT Heritage Brochure n.d.]

Heritage tourism, in one sense, is about relationships between history and place (Bruner 2005, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, Scarpaci 2005, Walkowitz and Knauer 2004). There exists an obvious relationship with people in the townships and how space was used, optimized, or tied to identities. The orderly, planned, even monotonous, township was the key institution of segregation and apartheid (Maylam 1995:35). Segregation and apartheid era policies not only ensured separation among ethnic groups, but also led to deep divisions within township communities (Bozzoli 2004, Wilson and Mafeje 1963). Internal organization based on political or religious affiliation, birthplace, language, work, and class continues to influence social processes in these urban areas (Anderson and Field 2003, Eppel 2007, Ullmann 2005). To understand the internal logic of tourism participation in Langa, it is crucial to first understand how residents interact with one another and their various conceptions of outsiders. These conceptions are tied to the meanings of place. However, given the influx of tourism, these social relationships take on new significance as places take on new meanings.

Langa is the oldest standing township in Cape Town. The first, Ndabeni, was raised for industrial construction. Black residents were moved from Ndabeni due to over-crowding
between 1927 and 1936 (Field 2003:5). The name Langa means the sun in Xhosa. This naming also defiantly refers to Langalibalele, a rebel Hlubi chief held on Robben Island in 1875.

The township is located 11 kilometers from the center of Cape Town. Langa’s landscape was purposefully planned for control and surveillance in the layout of streets, buildings and guard towers. It has one entrance and one exit. A central market area formed around the train station platform. Under apartheid control, independent economic activity was curtailed or monopolized by council and authorities (Anderson and Field 2003:148). However, a small entrepreneurial class emerged of general store managers, butchers, and hairdressers.

The current home and hostel areas were built over several phases, dividing the township into zones of dormitory and multiple bedroom style barracks, semi-detached housing, flats, single-family homes, and, most recently, an informal squatter area was supplied with communal water taps. A characteristic feature of segregationist planning, hostels are single-sex male housing dormitories for migrant workers who were, in this case, primarily Xhosa men from rural Eastern Cape (then the Transkei and Ciskei Xhosa homelands or Bantustans). The cramped hostel living quarters are one of the most undignified aspects of township design (Ramphele 1993, Elder 2003). For example, the “Special Quarters” built in 1925 featured asbestos roofs with no ceiling and no electric lights. The row of buildings held 128 single rooms, 8 blocks of 16 rooms, and 6 blocks of 6 rooms. Five ablution blocks and lavatories were provided separately for the original 300 male residents (Anderson and Field 2003:44). Women, and their children, also braved pass laws to live with husbands or male relatives in the city and lived clandestinely in these hostels.

A number of legislated and cultural factors in the development of Langa contribute to current formations. For one, the generation of Africans who had settled permanently in Cape
Town was set apart from the migrant male work force. “Cape-borners” were placed in semi-detached family housing while migrant workers were placed in single-sex male residences. This tactic of inner-township segregation created a class of semi-skilled African workers among the preferred “Cape-borners” and a class of low-skilled, temporary workers among the migrant population. Both groups served as an available reservoir of cheap labor to white-owned industries (Eppel 2007:40). As Parnell and Mabin write: “Despite state rhetoric that identified Africans as temporary sojourners, restrictions on urbanization really meant that new migrants were prevented from competing with Africans who had urban jobs and legitimate accommodations in the locations” (1995:44). By creating townships in this way, the state, on the one hand, upheld the national myth that Africans were only temporary to urban areas. They belonged in rural areas (also known as homelands or Bantustans). On the other hand, such policies created a posture of employment and residential entitlement among the “borners.” Within townships, these physical and symbolic separations deflated sentiments of solidarity among residents (Maylam 1995). Such divisions were exploited by authorities to maintain control over the non-white population (Anderson and Field 2003:82, CASECT 2004, Maylam 1995).

When Wilson and Mafeje completed their community study in 1963, Langa was the most middle class of the townships because of its more permanent workforce. They report continued recognition of differences within Langa. The migrants or amagoduka (lit. those who go home) were characterized as backward, more traditional outsiders or foreigners by the self-identified, respectable, civilized “borners.” In turn, the migrants characterized their urbanized counterparts as lacking decorum and respect for traditional cultural beliefs.\(^1\) Additional conceptions of social

\(^1\) Among migrants there was an internal division among Red and School migrants (Wilson and Mafeje 1963). Red migrants maintained traditional religion while School Xhosa were educated, Christian converts.
differences among religious groups, traditional and modern, gender and generation, even sporting clubs, are equally important to the shaping of Langa.\(^2\)

In sum, the distinctions among Xhosa residents of Langa in its formative period were often explained by local residents in terms of culture. However, the divisions were equally, if not more so, rooted in urban labor policy and influx control leading to classed difference. A continued scarcity of resources and shortage of housing for both ‘borners’ and ‘migrants’ fueled anxiety and claims of entitlement by ‘borners’ (Eppel 2007:44).

These segregation and apartheid era distinctions persist among residents of Langa in contemporary times. In many ways, it is a suburb of contrasts. For one, the host community residents hold various degrees of time and attachment in the city. A high number of present residents still identify as “Cape-borners.” This group persists in displaying particular attitudes, such as an evident sense of pride in being a Langa resident. According the 2001 Census only 36% of Langa is employed (COCT 2001). Meaning most of the population is dependent on other wage earners or working on an informal or casual basis. Most household survive on R1,600 (approx. US$230) a month or less, 88% below R3,400 (approx. US$480) a month, well below the amount needed to qualify for a bank loan for personal home or business development (Eppel 2007:77-78, COCT 2001).\(^3\) At the same time, Langa also arguably exhibits a growing middle class with 5% earning above R7,500 (approx. US$1070) a month (ibid). In the townships, social factors such as poverty, clan, and identity coalesce to create certain attitudes and habits. In this

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\(^2\) Understanding the transition from “tribesman to townsmen” and internal classification was the focus early anthropology such as that by Wilson and Mafeje (also Mayer 1971, 1980). Such an evolutionary paradigm has been critiqued and improved (Hansen 1997, Ferguson 1999, Magubane 1973). That said, Wilson and Mafeje’s structural-functional work captures the subtle urban and cultural differences that were significant to Langa residents, such as age sets, dress, education, or observance of Xhosa traditions. These functional cohesive elements are still important. Secondly, as Eppel points out, the boundaries of these distinctions were not always clear and straight forward (Eppel 2007:46). For example, “Cape-borner” men without a wife and family could be sent to live in hostels. And marital relationships did exist between the two groups.

\(^3\) The exchange rate in 2007-2008 fluctuated between R7-R8 per US$1 on average.
divisive yet close community, leveling mechanisms, such as gossip and vandalism, help maintain the status quo. As in Siviwe’s case, such factors fuel the importance of individual over communal goals as well as high instances of nepotism and collusion. As Luanda from the Cultural Center once remarked, “Everyone here in Langa is carrying around a score card.”

Plans for development since the end of apartheid have crossed paths with these established community issues in complicated, even violent ways. Leading up to the 1994 elections, township residents were made promises about housing, civil services, and employment. Such promises have not come to fruition for many and, in other cases housing policy has failed to account for local conditions. This results in continued, heightened tensions over issues such as class and housing.

For example, housing upgrades in Langa have renewed and reinforced identified divisions leading to legal action, arson, and protests (Eppel 2007). The up-and-coming Settler’s Way section, referred to as the “Beverly Hills of Langa” by walking tour guides (not residents) was built in the 1980s. The manicured, single-family brick homes purposely obscure passengers’ view of the internal township from N2 Highway leading from airport. In the late 1980s, after influx control and pass laws were relaxed, families left the cramped back yard or hostel conditions to create shack settlements on the open land between Settlers and the highway. The area became characterized as a place where migrants go (Eppel 2007:34). The growing squatter camp, named after Housing Minister and prominent ANC member Joe Slovo, is considered a safety threat and eyesore to those in the “Beverly Hills.” Hostel and squatter camp families, although spending 9 to 11 months a year in Cape Town, are still largely self-identified and labeled as migrants and outsiders.
Under the Public Hostels Redevelopment subsidy, or the Hostels-to-Homes project, many old hostel buildings have been converted into single family apartments. Additionally, despite much protest, the approximately 5,000 Joe Slovo residents are slotted for forced removal to allow building of apartment complexes, part of the N2 Gateway Project. In brief, despite the good intentions of these upgrading schemes, the transition has upset work informal and formal, schooling, and transportation of Langa’s most vulnerable residents. Further, the migrant population is typically unable to afford rent in the new accommodations built on their previous land (Robins 2000). Hostel residents pay around R20 to R35 (approx. US$2.5 to $5) a month for a “bed-hold” (like a household), plus shared electricity costs. However, the new converted single family units start at R250 (approx. US$35) monthly rent for a one bedroom apartment, a serious increase in price for meager family budgets. The outcome of upgrading of hostels and squatter areas into family units elicits paradoxical charges. “Borners” argue that upgrading is favoring historically migrant residential areas like hostels even though “borners,” especially those living in backyard shacks, have been waiting longer for housing. However, typically only working class “borners” can actually afford the new housing units in the long term. Eppel argues that a continued disconnect between housing policy and local conditions, combined with further in-migration, corruption, and local politicking perpetuate the housing backlog (Eppel 2007:73).

In a similar manner, plans for tourism, ill-conceived or only partially implemented, have encountered long simmering divisions and entitlements. Whereas segregation and apartheid era policies increased self-awareness of differences based on class and color, the introduction of cultural tourism encounters and works within these established divisions. Furthermore, in recognizing the opportunity, the value of their presence as an integral township tour element,
residents become aware of their particular identities and social positions in carving out roles on the established tour route (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

An additional concern is the increasing presence of foreign Africans immigrants in Cape Town’s townships. As Dodson and Oelofse (2000) write, “Conflict is thus best understood not as being simply between locals and immigrants, but rather as being between different groups of immigrants, some South African and others foreign Africans, competing to establish themselves in a new social, economic, and physical environment” (ibid:137). In comparison to other cities, like Johannesburg, Cape Town had been a relatively safe option for foreign Africans (Masade 2008)

However, the tenuous nature of the immigrants’ success was brought to the fore at the end of my fieldwork in May 2008 as xenophobic violence became widespread across the nation (Sharp 2008). Attacks in Johannesburg and Durban had locals worried that the strife would come to Cape Town. Attacks in Cape Town occurred in more marginalized (if that distinction even makes any sense) townships, and really seemed almost an afterthought. No significant incidence were recorded in Langa. That said, foreign Africans, often called “amakwerekwere,” a derogatory term referring to the sound of their languages, were worried about their place in the Cape Town township tourism markets.

Meter (1996 in Dodson and Oelofse 2000) reports that the local and national rhetoric against foreign Africans concerns the following popular beliefs based on his study in the peninsula township of Imizamoyethu:

1. Immigrants are mostly illegal and put a drain on the community’s and the country's limited resources. 2. Immigrants steal jobs from South Africans by undercutting local wage rates, accepting inferior employment conditions, and refusing to unionize (this applies particularly to the fishing industry.) 3. Immigrants are perpetrators of violence and assist those guilty of violent crime in evading arrest and prosecution. 4. Immigrant numbers are expanding, with immigrants encouraging friends and family members to move to Mizamoyethu. 5. Immigrants have no interest in maintaining or improving the physical environment of the
community. 6. Immigrants are better off, dress smartly and "flash money around." They thereby corrupt local womenfolk and encourage prostitution, even by very young girls and by married women. 7. Immigrants have no respect for the cultural practices of the community.[ibid:134]

Yet if immigrants choose to live or work in the townships, it is more often the similarities not differences that create tension. Foreign Africans, also marginalized and seeking low-skill employment are considered a threat. Race, class, and ethnicity generate and coincide with geographical space issues. As argued below, sometimes these differences create spaces for solidarity, especially in the midst of the migrant/“borner” conflict in Langa.

Community-Based Tourism in Townships

Tourism is increasingly understood as a significant development option (Nel and Binns 2002, Rogerson 2000). Globally, tourism revenues and opportunities can serve as a boon to marginalized areas, especially in the developing world. International authorities such as the WTO promote this idea and offer guidelines on how to increase community participation through “pro-poor” development strategies (WTO 2002). They argue that tourism brings powerful consumers to Southern countries, can help diversify stagnant local economies, and promotes gender equality by allowing job creation for women. At the same time, responsible tourism has increasingly grown as a marketing tool and attraction for consumers.

The WTO states that the primary goal of Pro-Poor Tourism is to “maximize the linkages into the local economy and minimize leakages” (2002). Minimizing leakage means that a high amount of revenue remains in the local market. Maximize linkages concerns increasing the competitiveness of local products, formal and informal partnerships, and SMME development. Further, they suggest promoting cultural assets, minimizing adverse effects on local communities, and ensuring that local residents in poor areas become decision makers.
Since the 1996 White Paper, *Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) has been working to promote tourism in “previously neglected communities.” In 2002 they added “Responsible Tourism Guidelines” for registered businesses to promote economic, social, and environmental sustainability. A number of other national policy statements, such as GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution, this program replaced RDP) contend that “entrepreneurship and community shareholding in tourism projects should be aggressively promoted” (Verhage 2004:52).

However, in Cape Town, there is a disconnect between policy formulation and implementation and a slow trickle of benefits beyond the tour company coffers. In the case of Langa and most other townships in Cape Town, feasibility studies, development forums, and new buildings for tourism related businesses followed the 1996 White Paper. A number of positive endeavors have come and gone, like the Cape Care Route, a set of routes marketed by various companies that tourists could request that visited social and environmental programs around Cape Town primarily in outlying areas. Tour companies found that this specialized tour was not requested enough and, when it was requested, the cost was too high to maintain. In addition, residents refer to the many cultural and tourism centers, like the ones built in Langa and Khayelitsha by the City Council or the City Department of Arts, Culture, Sport, and Tourism (DACST), as “white elephants,” well intentioned plans that lacked follow-through. That said, a number of private businesses, inspired by the original development forums, persist such as restaurants and guest houses. These businesses, however, are not often part of the common tour route. They depend on outside bookings and occasional partnerships with tour companies for a catered lunch.
The issue of community involvement and benefit has concerned scholars analyzing township tourism. In 1996, Goudie et al. reported that despite public and private efforts at awareness and inclusion, locals remain peripheralized and often lack knowledge about how to get involved in tourism. They also critique the lack of broad, coordinated strategy on the part of public officials. Rather they found that government entities provide support and encouragement for responsible tourism but expect companies to accomplish it on their own. In this regard, Goudie et al.’s research suggests private sector-driven tourism developments are rarely associated with real community empowerment (1996:69). Robins (2002) is equally suspicious of the claims to community involvement or development. He argues that such claims follow new national narratives but may lack tangible outcomes. Drawing on Hutnyk (1996), Robins notes that tourism, especially when veiled in themes of charity, can actually obscure the “conditions of production” and exploitation or inequality taking place. Tourists may be glad to see craft markets and projects as the evidence of flourishing cottage industries and entrepreneurial self-help. These facets calm anxieties, as Hutnyk argues, and unrealistically make tourists feel their presence is beneficial.

At the same time townships are called to be examples of positive development in marginalized areas, they are being recharacterized as sites of heritage. In this vein, Davies (2003) goes further in his critique of community responsibility, noting that cultural and heritage tourism becomes another form of hegemony overlain on place with a history of domination by outside groups. He writes, “In the current climate of reconciliation and democracy it would not be appropriate to impose another structure, formulated by outsiders upon this area” (ibid:22). He additionally questions whether township tourism is a “genuine cultural and social tourism…or is
it an exploitative tourism, one that arises from a distorted curiosity to view the hardships of other people’s lives” (ibid).

In response to such criticism, this chapter considers similar incidents, such as the malfunction of community centers and the difficulty of home visitation. But rather than see such issues as merely instances of failure, voyeurism, or exploitation, I seek to understand how and why certain practices have been allowed to develop and continue. I offer a behind the scenes view of how tourism is working in Langa. Drawing on the claims and questions from Goudie et al., Robins, and Davies, this chapter considers how we characterize these emergent strategies that often lack transparency and sustainability? Moreover, I examine how tourism encounters the specific historical landscape and divisions of Langa.

As noted, tourism development in Langa began around 1996 as a topic of discussion and training for the Langa Development Forum (LDF) forged under RDP. Established in the previous chapters, tour companies and their guides have been able to set the agenda, routes, content, and economic organization of township tours without much intervention from above. However, from below, entrepreneurial local residents, attuned to the perceived benefits of tourism, have found ways to make the “white elephant” complexes and established routes function. Beyond flaws in development planning, the unique character of Langa influences how programs function in practice. The historical and contemporary divisions of Langa impacts residents’ ability to participate and benefit from tourism. For example, although the divisive underlying elements of Langa social organization are not expressly mentioned in tours, the enhanced social position of “Cape borners” impacts the growth and management of many tourism facilities. On tours, the historical legislation, events, and buildings in which these divisions are solidified are key topics and destinations, especially for walking excursions. Beyond information on class differences
based on housing, the status of so-called migrants arguably impacts whose house is visited or invaded by guides and their groups. Hostels and squatter camps are interesting to tourists and are visited far more regularly than any single-family or middle class homes.

**Participation and Performance at the Cultural Center**

Nine in the morning at the Cultural Center is quiet and calm. Only a few regulars are leisurely preparing for the day. A handful of artists begin to populate the corners of the entrance hall, making their booths ready for potential visitors. An older Xhosa gentleman hangs up beaded bracelets, earrings, and necklaces. He also has some pins with colorful, tiny glass beads strung in the design of the South African flag. He flashes me a big, toothless grin from under his cap. Although its only 2007, he is busy weaving pins that say FIFA 2010. Next to him the pottery project has two tall cases of wares. Everything from coffee cups to sushi plates are painted with guinea fowl feathers, zebra stripes, and thatch huts. Across the hall, an artist from the Congo delicately places his original paintings down a long table leading to the amphitheater and pottery studio. A pair of brothers from Zimbabwe, Melvin and Martin, specialize in wire sculptures. Moving swift and effortlessly with their pliers, they craft charming safari animals covered in beads. The best sellers, however, are miniature versions of their talents, palm sized trinkets in the shape of animals, insects, hearts, and stars serve as tree ornaments and key chains.¹

The first rush hour of the day falls roughly between 10:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. each morning. Tour groups have finished at the District Six Museum or the Bo Kaap and made their way down the N2 highway to exit number 11, Langa. Turning onto Washington Street, the bright blue and gold cone of the theater at the Cultural Center catches their attention. Their guide prepares them for disembarking.

Guide: Now we are coming to a place called [the Cultural Center]. It is a community center whereby they are teaching people skills who are not working. People who are unemployed, they teach them skills so that one day they can open up their own business. As you know, in South Africa there is a big problem of unemployment. I think the unemployment rate is about 40%...So in the townships they have all these types of places to try to alleviate unemployment where they give them a skill or a trade. This place, they teach people pottery, needlework, metal works, acting and drama. This place is non-government funded. The way they make their money is they sell goods and they put the money back into the center to train people, to keep them off the streets. So we’ll go inside, you can chat to the people. Don’t forget “Molo” (tour, July 13, 2006).

Walking into the complex, intricate mosaics made from colorful little tiles welcome them. The crafters have manned their stations to smile and nod as the group filters in. The tourists glance around the room, enticed by the tables of crafts, not noticing the spots of peeling paint leading down a hallway to a block of offices where Andiswa, the Center secretary, has a cubicle. Farther along the corridor Walter holds dominion over a small computer lab, his booming laugh occasionally echoing into the alcove. A local woman has set up a catering business in the small kitchen. She makes spicy egg and chutney sandwiches for the guides.

Distracted from the shopping impulse, the tourists are led first to a presentation in the theater by local actors or dancers. Luanda and another male artisan often perform a short one act play about an old African man voting for the first time in the 1994 elections. It’s written by Langa playwright Fatima Dike, also their teacher. The pathos and joy of the piece, along with their talent brings tears to my eyes every time. After a round of applause, Luanda passes the donation box, and the group marches to the pottery studio.

A number of artists sit in the dusty back room, warmed by the heat of a large kiln. A group of women work silently, delicately painting on a number of freshly fired pieces. One of the male members of the cooperative takes time to tell the visitors about the creation process.

Artist: This project here was started in 2002 by artists in the township of Langa, with the help of one of the local business men, so they managed to survive. So now what is happening here, people are just creating these shapes out of clay from that
mix. And then from the mix we will start creating the shapes by using the molds. The molds are pieces like this. [He holds the mold aloft.] Like from here you will get a cup. So they guide us to get the right shapes—once they get dry then we have these ovens which we use for the firings. Then we do the painting which we are doing now. The only reason all these paintings look the same is that it is an order for someone. Otherwise if it’s not an order every artist will come up with his or her own ideas. And then once you finish painting them you fire them again so the paint will stick to the item...This is the finished product. So you can put your food your tea here. They are all lead-free. And then we take these items and display them out front as the finished product. That is where you can buy one for your friends your family or maybe just for yourself (tour, July 13, 2006).

The artist continues, explaining about their orders with outside agencies such as a new cup that looks resembles the World Cup trophy.

If there are no questions, the artist points to the donation box, explaining that they are saving for a new kiln, and the group is led back out to the entrance hall for shopping. In the hall, pottery and painted prints are big sellers. The crafters share a supply of bubble wrap, tape, and rubber bands, helping each other get products out the door, wrapping, making change, and commenting on the customers’ choices.

As this group files back out to the bus for the next leg of their township journey, several other tour groups are being passed along the intricate path of stations at the Cultural Center, snapping photos, exchanging pleasantries, and occasionally opening their wallets. By all appearances and descriptions, the Center is an indispensable, highly functioning community program. The visitors are pleased to have contributed and to take home a sample of the local talents.

In the Center, hosts and mediators have wordlessly conspired to create what Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett call a “carefully and collaboratively constructed ethnographic present” in another context (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2005:33 in Bruner 2005). But instead of a pristine, planned cultural village performance, the Center regulars have crafted scenes of community creativity, empowerment, and ingenuity in a contemporary urban scene. Attuned to
the popular, circulating tourism themes of cooperative work and responsible tourism (Salazar 2010), regulars fiercely protect the positive image of Center. The so-called backstage (MacCannell 1999[1975]) of the Center, although somewhat different from its toured outward character, is nonetheless full of ingenuity.

Seeing the Internal Logic of the Cultural Center

Perched on the steps in the corridor of the entrance hall, I often watched the rush hour shuffle. After several months observing and engaging the players in the Center, I started to understand the subtle organizing forces that created and sustained this intricate dance. These processes, of course, came into high relief when Siviwe introduced his young gumboots dancers into the Center and was met with resistance, accusations, and skepticism. But before that, I started to hear stories. In private interviews, Center regulars quietly complained about missing inventory or missing donations. One older woman’s wares were repeatedly vandalized until she was forced to leave the Center. Most reserved from explicitly implicating their neighbors in suspicious deals or wrongdoings. Things were amiss but ambiguous. No one and someone were to blame. Someone and no one were in charge.

In 2007 the Center has faded from its original condition. The walls show signs of abuse with scratching and peeling. A broken toilet in the men’s restroom gushes water 24 hours a day. Although a host of staff fill the Center, the custodian and the secretary, Andiswa, are the only two formal paid positions. Others merely staked a claim to economic and creative spaces through various means. For example, Walter was one of few with limited computer knowledge. So he changed the lock on the iron gate to the computer room and charged admission for usage. Residents come in sporadically to print a resume, but the internet capabilities rarely work. Artists have also gained access and a semi-permanent stall in the Center. In the townships, one knows better than to ask much about where money comes from or where it goes. But by reputation, I
believe most all crafters pay commission to the secretary and the “local businessman” who backs the pottery project, perhaps even to Walter, to maintain their place. However, many internal Center relationships are more complicated. The application process to join the craft market is equally uneven. I once watched a local man bring in a bag of wire sculptures to Walter’s computer lab. Walter explained that they already had wire sculptors and sent the man away. Other days, new products with price tags would mysteriously appear on a communal table.

Interestingly, at each juncture of transition in the Center’s history, the management council have been identified “Cape-borners.” Few so-called migrant crafters find an easy time staying in the center. Rather, rather foreign Africans, who present less of a perceived claim or threat to Langa “borners,” and who often come to Cape Town with more art training and art import connections, are allowed in the Center.

It was in this social network that Siviwe was accused of exploiting the elementary school-aged gumboots dancers and taking the donations they earned for himself. Founded or unfounded, such vocal suspicion was rare in an environment flush with clandestine deals and minor and major exploitations. However, Center regulars were not only questioning Siviwe’s motives, they were questioning his right to be in the Center. Noted in Chapter 4, the introduction of a new element into the intricate workings of Center tours disrupted the delicate yet planned flow of tourist visitors. This arrangement works according to a logic based on time, space, and money. The tourist path from performance hall, to studio, to shopping occurs for almost every group of tourists. This tactic fits the tour guides’ needs and schedules. When Siviwe introduced the dancers, he took away time and potential donations or purchases from the other Center participants. Again, it did not help that Siviwe was a newcomer to Langa and that the Center was predominantly organized by Cape “borners.”
That said, other types of personal relationships and social positions influenced the running of the Center. For example, one morning, Martin, one of the Zimbabwean wire workers, arrives to the Center visibly fuming. He is dragging his brother Melvin’s wife who seems equally enraged but too sheepish to enter. Andiswa creeps to her office and closes the door. Melvin runs out, trying to keep any impending fray from occurring in the busy entrance hall with everyone watching. The curious but knowing Center regulars go on about their business. That was the last time I ever saw Martin at the Center and Melvin’s presence became noticeably diminished.

A few Saturdays later, I pass Martin and Melvin hawking their wares at the robots (stop lights) in Rondebosch near the university campus. Melvin, weary from this new type of salesmanship, hops into my car to unload his frustrations. He admits he had been having a romantic affair with Andiswa and, unbeknownst to his brother, he was gradually increasing the amount of commission she received from the wire crafts as well as use of their vehicle. Now his brother refuses to do business in the Center and, by involving Melvin’s wife, Martin had ensured Melvin would also be self-banished. However, dependant on the craft stall, the brothers sent a young female cousin to the Center to watch and sell their crafts.

The Center functioning is overshadowed by multiple instances of corruption and collusion. The biggest mystery at the Center concerned the large donations that the crew’s performance of a total sustainable business operation procured. In interviews, staffers mentioned instances of several thousand rand being given to the Center by tourists or charitable organizations. But no one could account for where the money went or what it was used for.

**Creating Community Centers and “White Elephants”**

Initial plans for the Center grew out of a partnership between the LDF and the then Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs (now DACST) in 1996. Nkosazana, a respected member of the community, sought to make the building a community affair (personal
communication, March 31, 2008). She helped orchestrate a partnership with local design firm known for participatory community architecture. The leading architect, Maretha, a white South African, remembers that Nkosazana was active doing household surveys and organizing community forums (Maretha, personal communication, March 28, 2008). At some of the monthly meetings 500 residents were in attendance. These meetings for community feedback about the design and purpose of the Center lasted until building was complete in 2001. The project culminated in the R3.5 million building that stands today. It was only to be phase one of a larger, community complex. Phase two of the plan has been indefinitely stalled. The Center is purposefully located in the heart of the older section of Langa adjacent to the old Pass Office Building, the site of the 1960 and 1976 riots, and the old location supervisors home.

Nkosazana recalls attendance at the workshops was voluntary, and the members of the group present for meetings were not consistent. Rather, she says, people came and went as did their interests. The issue was that their needed to be growth, Nkosazana argues, however, many in the community did not know what tourism was. At the time, before a successful township tourism industry was visible, she found the community lacked real passion for tourism. Most thought tourism was something for white areas and white visitors.

At the meetings, the first design request of the community concerned creating a Xhosa cultural park with rural village elements: rondavels (round mud and thatch houses), farm animals, and traditional foods. Maretha and her team politely struck down these requests as unsustainable and inauthentic to the urban character of Langa. However, a circular dome, the theater of the Cultural Center, is supposed to mimic the rondavel design. Maretha also saw that design elements, such as decorative mosaics, reflected Xhosa culture and Langa history. Artwork and labor were completed by local community members. At the time of completion, the Cultural
Center, along with Maretha and her firm, were cited in national and international publications as a good example of participatory, community architecture (Danner 2001, de Beer and Smuts 2001).

In Nkosazana’s assessment some of the community’s plans were not adequately integrated into the final product. She recalls that they wanted the Center “to capture the African lifestyle, reminiscent of the rural areas…This would be to inform students in the urban setting who were separated from growing up in the rural ways…The area should reflect that picture of African life and our connections.” The final product was smaller than she expected and they eagerly awaited the Phase II project that has yet to be built.

Beyond disagreements over design, Nkosazana and Maretha remember that many of the zone councilors from the LDF were absent for meetings and discussions. A UCT architecture student who completed a thesis on the “participatory” project draws connections to the historical and social world of Langa:

It is significant that conflict emerged with in the process. It appears that the reason for its emergence lies in the existence of hierarchy amongst participants of any sample groups. Furthermore, it was pointed out that trust and confidence amongst different sample groups was lacking, which I probably rooted within the former apartheid system that encourage segregation between race and gender. [Ullmann 2005:173]

Thus Ullmann points to the historical division within Langa. He also argues that the residents were unaccustomed to being asked or adequately involved in planning.

Once the Center opened, Nkosazana and an appointed board, primarily consisting of members of prominent ‘borner’ families, were tasked with running daily operations. After a few years of trying to work with the Council to maintain a transparent application process for crafters and develop regular community programming, she was relieved of her duties. Now she states: “As far as the running of the center, a great disconnect grew between the original intention and
the current functioning, and now there is still a further disconnect. There is no one there with a vision, not the vision we had. The focus got lost.” She feels the Cultural Center became populated by too many artists, as opposed to training programs, and people too concerned with their own interests. As Nkosazana eased her involvement, she was offered a job in Johannesburg. Now she does not visit the Center nor talk about it unless she happens to run into someone on her visits home. To her, the current state of the Center is heart breaking.

Again Maretha holds a different assessment of the Cultural Center. Although she is continually unhappy with the upkeep of the facility and lack of management, she says: “The fact that it does survive for me is phenomenal.” And she argues that “the place looks damn neat and clean in comparison” to the centers built in other townships like Khayelitsha that may host traditional church services but no functioning local businesses. Maretha stays involved, writing letters to the mayor and provincial government about the need for maintenance. She has arranged for charity groups to visit and even helped secure large donations. However, she gave up on giving donations after the board could not provide plans or receipts for expenditures. Nonetheless, Maretha feels the talent there could result in great things for the Center if a dependable organizer would emerge.

After a decade of involvement, Maretha harbors no utopian expectations of community participation; rather she is happy for individuals to make it work.

Maretha: In our work we believe that we can empower people to become economically sustainable in their own right. I don’t really believe in the collective sort of…everyone believes things happen collectively. That’s the biggest misnomer anyone can ever have about what happens in South Africa…people fight for survival and its individual survival. It’s not the group.

It is “diabolical” she argues that the City of Cape Town “can’t take it seriously” or that former township residents, who “fought to get out” don’t go back and help. However, as long as something is happening, she feels the Center is actually functioning.
Walking Tours and Local Participation Strategies

The Center anchors the entrance of tourists into the local Langa economy at the craft market. It further serves as an indispensable port of embarkation for tourists, who continue their spatio-temporal journey through the township on foot. Visitors, leaving the Center organization-based on time, space, money and personal relationship, travel into the similarly complicated social network that has arisen around the walking tour phenomenon. Again the social positioning of participants is vital to their level of control over the terms of their participation.

After shopping at the Cultural Center, many tour groups are handed to an informal walking tour guide, like Siviwe, for an excursion into the streets and homes of Langa. On the most common route, sometimes called the “Evolution of Langa,” guides exit the Cultural Center and pass to the police station, pointing out an old caspir (armored car), the site of the 1960 pass book riots, the old pass office building, and then continue down a block of council houses. From there, Siviwe takes visitors into the migrant labor hostel complex, usually touring an old hostel and squeezing his guests into a cramped, squalid, multi-family room before pointing out the new, refurbished one family apartments. Next, Siviwe pauses for a stop at the local daycare to see the children playing, dancing, and singing. Finally, he walks his guests past the nice homes of Settler’s Way or the “Beverly Hills of Langa” to the Joe Slovo squatter camp. Tourists enter the first shack in the settlement and perhaps purchase some beadwork from the women there. At this time, the original guide reappears with the van to move the tourists on to the next stop. Along this walking route, others may visit a number of other stops, such as the craft market strategically set up in the hostel blocks or a shebeen.

In the following profiles, I show how a number of residents have tactically made themselves valuable parts of the walking tour experience. Residents such as Pamela at the sheep head spaza, Reggie at the shebeen, and inhabitants of hostels and shacks find ways to participate
and benefit from tourism. These arrangements are worked out in behind-the-scenes social networks among locals and guides. Although removed from most mediated decisions, from below they manipulate the standard itinerary to their advantage. Such processes transform the way residents understand their township environment, transform their livelihoods, and affect their conceptions of self and identity.

Conversely, the issues of interaction and participation are rife with paradoxical arrangements for residents. Interaction with locals can just as easily reinforce notions of cultural difference or preconceptions of exoticism. Although residents may gain intangible benefits from exposure to tourist visitors, their access to tangible benefits is not always secure and sustainable.

**Pamela and the Sheep Heads Spaza**

Pamela saw her neighbor coming briskly up the street towards her place of business waving some newspaper. The neighbor shoved the travel section in Pamela’s direction. Her own image covered almost all of page 3 of the *Cape Times*. In the photo, Pamela was sitting working diligently over a pile of boiled and singed sheep heads as she did most every day. A tour guide, Sis Layla’s husband, stood in the background of the photo (Chapter 3). She exclaims, “Jesus, God, there is my name!” Her full Xhosa name was printed in the caption and in the story, a feature on township tours (personal communication, March 30, 2008).

Pamela immediately felt embarrassed and undermined, believing that the tour guide should have told her when he was touring local reporters and that her image could be used. News of her unhappiness spread quickly among the Langa guides. Pamela, the young, charismatic, English-speaking member of the sheep head meat stand by the New Flats. Her participation in the tours was important.

On a Sunday, her only day off, we visit Pamela at her wooden shack on the edge of Joe Slovo. The floor and the walls are covered in plastic advertisement cast-offs, the larger than life-
size image of a blond woman frolicking in her underwear cascades on the floor of the small kitchen and over the walls of the bedroom. These are the only two rooms. An adjacent shack houses her mother and her sister’s family. The smell of fresh fried dough wafts in from where her sister is preparing mounds of greasy, fat-cook (amaquina) to sell.

At work, Pamela wears multiple layers of clothing to shield her from the heat of the cooking fire: ratty sweaters over a long skirt, covered by a wool hat, an apron, as well as soot and sweat. Today she is dressed like any other 28-year-old township girl in pink, short-sleeve top and tight jeans. The high contrast between her weekend appearance and our usual encounters, bright and clean among the dust of the squatter camp, make her a real beauty. Her arms are shapely and firm. She has nice chin, length braids. Her two young daughters jump on the bed and watch TV as Siviwe and I make space in the kitchen. We have our interview while squatting on the face of the beautiful blond in lingerie on the floor mat.

On a work day, Pamela leaves before dawn, taking the train to Salt River to gather the sheep heads. She pays R13 a piece for 15 heads that she scorches, boils, and sells for R26 each. That is a profit of R200 (approx. US$26) for a long, hard day’s work. The spaza site, across from Mdhaka Alley (Chapter 3), holds the fire pits of around five women, each a separate informal business. Pamela’s elderly mother, who taught her the trade, still helps her.

As tour groups began to visit the area, the women demanded some incentive to allow their pictures to be taken and their work interrupted. Guides started to leave money or food donations on a regular basis for the women as a payment for their time. Pamela says this money was distributed among the group. It was helpful but easily disappeared. So the women decided to start logging any contributions from tourists and guides in a shared ledger. They say are saving the money to purchase better selling tables or even a cover for the rainy winter months. Amidst
this development, Pamela emerged as the one in the group that spoke English and as a leader. Since guides were seeking interaction, especially at a tour site that inspires such voyeurism, they were eager to have Pamela’s assistance.

Now when busses arrive, Pamela stops her work to answer questions for the groups. Learning from her mother, Pamela says she believes that the sheep head *spaza* is a township and Xhosa tradition that deserves to be celebrated on the tours. She is happy to tell them about her work. Pamela explained to me that she was embarrassed to have her picture in the paper in her dirty, work clothes for other locals to see. But does not she get her picture taken countless times each day by tourists? She responds, “No I’m not worried about that. Those pictures go wherever.”

For Pamela, tourism visits reinforced her belief in the meaning and importance of her craft as both a rural and urban tradition. Along with her companions at the *spaza*, she demanded to be recognized for her role in the successful execution of township tourism. Her involvement and proceeding compliments from tourists and guides has resulted in increased confidence, even prompting Pamela to consider saving for tour guide training herself.

The sheep head *spaza* is only one of several places on the tour route where residents, recognizing they were becoming integral attractions, demanded compensation. This particular site of everyday informal work already holds some significance for the township community. The cooking of sheep heads is a long-held tradition, part of the flavor of township life. Through tourism, this smoky and fragrant area is overlaid with new designations of heritage, curiosity, and meaning.

Social positioning of tourism participants bears on this and the following examples. The payments or donations given to the *spaza* women are not guaranteed nor necessarily regular.
Rather an operator might make a monthly visit or a guide might give some rands when he gets ahead. This kind of commission-based and casual relationship dominates the walking tour route. The informal nature of Pamela’s business makes it attractive tour content. However, such informality arguably gives the impression that tours are not intruding on her day of work. Also, despite being well-known among the community, Pamela and her co-workers are identified with migrant status. That said, tourism participation outcomes also depend on subjective responses.

Tourism provides a boon to the women’s enterprise and to Pamela’s pride in her work. Savvy to her position and her importance, Pamela is quick to not be undermined by tour guides.

**Reginald: Informal Site Guide**

Passing time at the Cultural Center, Walter spins stories about growing up in Langa. I ask him when the shack settlement by the N2 Highway began to grow. He recalls (paraphrasing):

Before there was a squatter camp, the Joe Slovo area was bush and a trash dump. We used to play there as kids. But there was a guy down by the little stream; he would kill children that passed too close. We called him uMcongo. He went to jail for that (Walter, personal communication, January 12, 2008).

I offer a series of questions to figure out the veracity of this old tale, perhaps told to children to keep them from the run-off water canal and busy road. But what happened to uMcongo? Walter says, now I think he is giving tours.

A few blocks over that morning, Reginald wakes as his three young children rush off to school. His wife is busy with the tenants in the backyard of their small council home. Already he has a headache. Finishing dressing, he finds his current, tattered paperback novel and stuffs it into his waist band. He makes his way down Iscawu Street and right to the opening of a muddy alleyway, eMdhaka. Down the gully, the women are stoking their fires and getting ready to open the *shebeens* for business. Here he will wait to take his position as a step-on guide for the tour.
busses. He will try to stay sober until he makes some rands in donations from the first round of
visitors.

When a guide he knows drives by to park in front of the meat market, Reggie jumps from
his perch on an upturned bucket, again tucks his paperback into the front of his trousers, and
jaunts to meet the van. Despite his disheveled clothes and the faint hint of alcohol on his breath,
Reggie stiffens into a steady, professional. His large, blood shot eyes take in the group and the
alleyway, always aware of hazards to point out or dangers to avoid such as muddy puddles or
rickety stairs. He makes grand gestures with his large, cracked hands as he explains about the
homebrewed beer then walks groups through the old, unrenovated hostels. He is articulate and
serious about his “recitation.” In my many encounters with Reggie’s tours, I rarely heard him tell
or respond to a joke. Rather he answers all the tourists’ questions with “No, Ma’am” and “Yes,
Sir.” Focusing on his task, he is aloof to the other residents, his drinking buddies and neighbors,
who laugh at the old man spouting facts and acting important.

Reggie is quick to send away the many small children in the hostel area that come out to
see the tourists. Although the visitors enjoy snapping photos of the kids in the yard, Reggie feels
they waste “precious time.” He needs to give his information and get the group to the curio stand
within twenty minutes. As Reggie recounts, the “professional tour guides” do not like when time
is “dragging.”

Meeting up with Reggie for a talk one afternoon, I call him over to the car from his hang
out near eMdhaka. One of his friends yells after him to tease. He shouts for “uMcongo.”

In our interview, Reggie is emotional about his turbulent past and time in jail for alleged
assault (personal communication, February 7, 2008). In 2007, Reggie is 52 years old. He was in
prison from ages 19 to 32. He is still in and out of the courts settling domestic disputes with his
wife. These continual problems, along with unemployment, led him to become a regular among the *shebeens* and social gatherings of Mdhaka alley. He says sometime he even considers “leaving this world.” However, being involved in tourism has changed his outlook as well as the pace and possibilities of his days.

Importantly, Reggie is Ayanda’s “cousin.” Ayanda began asking Reggie to escort his group on foot between the sheep heads, Mdhaka alley, and the hostels. This allowed Ayanda to move his vehicle while the clients walked ensuring that tourists got time on the streets yet no time was wasted for Ayanda. Soon, other guides without drivers also allowed Reggie to assist. Overtime, as Reggie accompanied the groups, he memorized their various narratives about the *shebeen* and hostels and created his own “recitation.” Eager for a break, guides soon let Reggie do his thing. I never heard a guide explicitly tell tourists to tip Reggie, but many visitors slipped him R20 or R50 notes. If they did not, the guides often came back and gave Reggie at least R20 for his services.\(^5\)

In this way, Reggie, like Pamela, made himself indispensible. His entre into tourism is based on family relationships as well as his skill level. He speaks excellent English and is careful with the clients. In terms of tour quality, Reggie’s presence arguably increases the interactive feel of tours and extends participation benefits to another resident. However, some companies, such as Langford forbid guides to leave their group. Despite Reggie’s local reputation and some ridicule from his neighbors, this endeavor gives him confidence and supplies extra rands for his family or his celebrations in Mdhaka alley. However, Reggie also remains an informal employee, used or skipped over by tour guides at will.

\(^5\) Reggie was also unable to make appointment with guides because he did not have a cell phone. I gave him one of the inexpensive phones I had purchased for fieldwork a few months before I left South Africa. He eagerly gave the number out to all of his contacts.
Site and Sentiment: Hostel Home Visits

Ayanda: We're driving to the hostels... we will be walking, taking some pictures. Get in to people’s houses. You must know that you are welcome in the township. No one will chase you if you get into someone’s house. You know we people in township we are just unlike people in town. Because if you want to visit someone's house in town, you have to first make an appointment with me and they will be welcome. If you go in someone's house in town they call the police (tour, July 4, 2006).

A handful of old hostel buildings remain in the heart of Langa. The old, grey structures stand in contrast to the bright orange and newly refurbished hostels. The hostel area is austere, monochrome, and monotonous. Yet the yards between the hostels are often flooded with refuse. Laundry, strung on wires, decorates the courtyards. In most structures, two doorways on the bottom floor open into large common room furnished with a sink and two sets of tables and benches. Down the corridors to each side, there are four smaller rooms, a wash room and three bedrooms.

By 2007, the Hostel-to-Homes project was out of funds. Hostels scheduled for conversion sit in disrepair half demolished. Those families, as well as single men, not rehoused by the program remain in old buildings. Women in hostels share cooking, cleaning, and childcare responsibilities. They are accustomed to the constant noises of their neighbors and the crowded spaces for sleeping and cooking. Children at play in the dirt courtyard are easily monitored.

Many tour groups visit the hostels to talk with women that live there on a daily basis. Men are typically absent during the day for work or other pursuits. Reggie or another guide usher the tourists in to the main room and bedrooms to point of the cramped, squalid conditions. Tourists’ reactions to the place are varied. Acclimated to different customs, some are too uncomfortable to enter what they perceive of as private spaces. Others seek ways to greet and exchange niceties, or to give donations, or are moved to tears. Siviwe and I visited the hostels often to interview
residents both privately in their rooms and in focus groups in the common room. Most of the women, despite 20 years migrating between the city and the rural areas, are not comfortably fluent in English. Siviwe helped to provide translation.

In the following transcription, translated from Xhosa, we held an informal focus group in one of the main rooms (interview with hostel residents, April 25, 2008). The most vocal woman, for example, Noludwe (Woman 2 below) arrived in Cape Town in 1987 after the pass laws were eased. In this instance, I include her extended comments, and those of her companions. Our conversations best illustrate their understanding of tourism in Langa.

RH: Tell me what you think about being visited by tourists.

Woman 1: I don’t see any problems with tourists. It’s us who are allowing them to come.

Woman 2: No, we don’t have a problem because we’re not going to stay here like this forever. If we were going to stay like this forever then we would not because it would be like they were humiliating us or laughing at us. But this is going to change. There are changes which are happening around us. And can some of them when they come they see where they can help. Where we are lacking they give us money. We now staying here but we know time to come we are going to go to better places. It is always good for people to see where you come from before. Not just to see us in nice places. We are coming from the ground before we got to nice places.

RH: Do you feel your privacy is being invaded?

Woman 1: When the tourists come in to the living room, it’s like they haven’t visited anyone. Until they go to Madlamni’s room, then they are visiting Madlamini. No here we don’t see this place as we have privacy here. There is no privacy they can invade, because already we do not have privacy.

Woman 2: You know when these visitors come to this place, our homes more especially, we get scared, embarrassed because our rooms sometimes are dirty. You want to clean up the room, but they just want to come in. They say: ‘We want to come in. We don’t care if it is clean or dirty, we just want to come in.’ And we love them for that. They do not have this thing where they will come in and it’s dirty and they don’t want to come in. They are cautious about hygienic things. We are feeling bad when a tourist just comes takes a looks and then goes back outside. Maybe they think it’s dirty. Maybe the tourist is undermining my living space.
Woman 1: It is also very good when they come inside and sit next to you (in the bedroom). They make you feel more human even if we are staying in a place like this. Good to come in and be relaxing by them. They tell us not to clean up when we try to. So we love them because they are nice to us as poor as we are. In our culture visitors are very important.

RH: Do you residents have any problems, appointments, or relationships with guides?

Woman 1: We have come to the point where we know them and one guide introduces us to another. We know them all...So others when they are passing and they see that [Vusi] is doing a tour and the people of this hostel are very friendly and so they come here because they see other tourist in there having a good time. So there is no need for them to make appointments to say we are coming, we are used to it this way.

RH: Do tour guides tell the real story?

Woman 1: For the most part, they are saying exactly what is going on here. Some of them they do not know what they are talking about. They are just saying something you can pick it up that they have heard it from others. They do not know the situation of the hostels. Sometimes we say, no this person should have just given the tour to us because he or she doesn’t know what they are talking about. (Siviwe laughs.) Most of the people who are coming here are who give the wrong info are these spoiled brats coming from the suburbs (khula ntofontofo).

And we are not ashamed of how we are staying so there is no need to cover up or say nice things. You know, [Vusi] is the best person to do the hostels because he was staying here. And he tells the tourists he was staying here. No need to correct him. He tells it like it is. If someone does not know something it is better for them to ask or give it to someone who knows

We asked the women how they felt they were compensated or benefiting from tourism visits.

Woman 1: I do not know if it is the tour guides are telling the tourists to give or not to give the money. Sometimes you see the tourists taking out money and then they put it back in their pocket. As we are unemployed and the kids are in school, that money really helps

Siviwe: We cannot tell the tourists to give you money, because before the tour we tell them they way you welcome people in our culture is with warmth, so it will go against that. It depends on the tour guide, there is no standard. What I do is be the first to go out, so tourists can leave something without tour guide or residents knowing...It depends on the tour guide to make a sensitive story so that the tourists will take out money
[Siviwe tells me residents are finding money under phones or under cans probably left by tourists. During translation, Siviwe laughs at his comments to the women.]

RH: How do you feel when they leave your rooms without giving you anything?

Woman 1: We don’t have a problem. We know they didn’t come here to give money, but at the back of our minds there is that hope

Woman 2: As visitors, when you are going to visit someone, you go prepared. Sometimes you go with a chicken. You bring something.

I asked the women what they do when tourists arrive and they are busy with the responsibilities of their day.

Woman 2: When the tourists arrive we greet and then we carry on with what we were doing. If we are chatting we keep our voices down because we do not want to disturb the tour guide. Here in our room we welcome visitors, we do not have the politics of saying we are not animals, this is not a zoo…We know the visitors came to visit other human beings.

Some of the tourists will just stand at the door and look and we invited them, but they don’t come in. They say ‘it’s ok.’ But that is not our problem; the problem is with them when they are doing that. There are tourists who stand outside, can see they do not want to come in. You ask yourself why did they come to the township if they going to act like this. There are still people when they come here and the see a black man or woman they stand outside, not chatting, and when the others go out, he just goes out.

RH: It is because they feel uncomfortable.

Woman 2: But I hear [Vusi] explain to them, and say they are welcome, to see where we live, sleep, and bath. I know there are some who are touched. I see them crying.

RH: What do you think when people cry?

Woman 2: [laughs] We understand. We think that even if she gives or doesn’t give she has that feeling that this should not be happening to other people. At least there is someone who feels the pain.

Turning the tables, Noludwe asks us what we tell the tourists about the places they will visit.

Woman 2: Because when we see tourists who want to stand outside. Maybe there are tourists that can be left in the bus if they don’t want to visit the hostels. To stand outside by the door, that is insulting us.
Finally, I inquired how the hostel residents felt about having their picture and their children's pictures taken by tourists. I wondered if this felt like an intrusion. The women responded that the visits were a positive encounter for their children.

RH: Do you have any problems with your children and the tourists?

Woman 2: We do not have a problem. But when the kids are holding and pulling the tourists we stop that. Even if they are tourists, they are elder people and they kids should not be allowed to do that. Do not have a problem with photographs.

Don’t mind tourists taking pictures of us because if I want the picture to be returned to me then I just say it and the tour guide will bring it to me, so pictures are welcomed. One tourist, a Dutch lady, took pictures of the little twins, took our address, and sent back food, peanut butter, and the pictures as well. The pictures we are receiving, we send back to our mothers in the Eastern Cape so they can see where we are staying.

The tourism business is really increasing, when I started seeing the tourists I was still a newlywed, and since then they have been coming more and more…(The woman brings out pictures from her room and shows them around.) Tourists are really helping with the kids, getting them used to speaking English. The tourists have made a big contribution by coming to the townships. For example, the crèche had no mattresses and now they do all because of tourists. They are even helping with local businesses, buying food and cool drink.

When Siviwe and I would go over these translations, we often talked about how he would design his best practices for the hostel tour experience for both visitors and residents. As a guide, Siviwe remarks that he goes to hostels and informal settlements to show what kind of living choices for people without jobs and money in Langa.

RH: But do the residents understand what they are an example of for the tour?

Siviwe: To see a white person in their room is a big thing. They do not know they are the highlights of our tours. It is brilliant for my tour, but if there was no money given to them it would be easier to educate the residents. But as long as tourists are leaving money it will be very difficult for them to open their minds to something else.

Growing out of general critiques by scholars, tourists, and practitioners alike is the question of whether allowing tourists off the busses to physically walk in the busy streets and
enter homes of Langa residents serves to build goodwill, understanding, and generally make for a more “authentic” experience. Alternately, it is asserted this tactic further entrenches discomfort, ideas of difference or inequality, sets up points for performed “authenticity,” and is generally invasive. The hostel dwellers responses to such questions, in terms of both meaning and tangible benefit, complicate notions of the “impact” of tourism. On the one hand, tourism means exposure to outsiders as well the exposure of township’s harshest realities to an outside audience. However, compounded by stumbling blocks such as a language barrier and immense cultural differences, tour guides often fail to create a space of true interaction between hosts and guests in these non-market based exchanges.

In this example, the dilapidated hostels are designated as site of heritage and given much historical significance. However, the residents, long disadvantaged and disrespected in Langa, are quite powerless over how tourism enters their place of home. Although, in general, the women describe positive experiences, a number of issues remain unresolved. For one, the distinction between public and private space in hostels is exploited. Guides make use communal nature of the homes to justify their entrance. Long exasperated over this very issue, the hostel residents are unclear over who can say no to tourist visits. Second, the women of the hostel block are left with exaggerated expectations for tourist based-aid and, perhaps more damningly, a sense that they continue to represent a downtrodden class of people. As one woman expressed to me: “We know we are the black people and the white people are bringing the light.” At the same time, hostel dwellers form alliances with tour guides in hopes that aid will flow into their household. In some cases, residents have started selling crafts from their rooms. For the most part, residents still lack physical and control over these private, if desolate, apartheid era spaces.
Other Langa Destinations and Foreign African Crafters

Throughout Langa many other destinations have been created by tour guides or capitalized by residents in response to the growth of tourism. Ordinary sites become must-see tourist attractions because of their historical, cultural, or developmental appeal. These manifestations again depend on social relationships and efforts from below to enter the mediated tour routes.

After the hostels, tour groups frequently visit the nearby daycare center. For each group, several each morning, the school teachers stop what they are doing and shuffle the young children into the main room. The children perform the national anthem and dance to a number of preschool tunes in both Xhosa and English. The head teacher plays “drums” on the cardboard donation box while the tourists take photos. In Joe Slovo, a number of women have started a craft stand near the entrance. They also allow tourists into their small homes to observe their living conditions. In the hostel block, a Zimbabwean trader has established an extensive craft bazaar and hired local residents to be his assistants. At the traditional healer’s place of business near the taxi rank, a group of Kenyans have aligned themselves in a cooperative craft market. They pay commission to the healer, who also charges tour groups R5 per head for entrance.

For example, Noah’s booth is at the end of the row of craft vendors outside the traditional healer’s office in Langa. Each morning around 7:00 a.m., Noah begins hanging his sun-faded batiks and setting out his soapstone bowls, both purchased from fellow Kenyan traders in town. He places down rows of earrings and necklaces he has strung together in the hours of free time at night not spent staring up at the stars through the holes in the tin roof of his shack. He studies the newspaper until business begins to trickle in around 10:00 a.m. Noah is the newest member of gang of Kenyan traders allied with the community’s well-known traditional healer. The healer’s office has been in this converted garage on the busy main street of Langa for almost two decades.
Since the healer has become a fixture on the township tour route, visited by up to a dozen tour buses a day in the busy season, a number of hanger-on-ers have planted themselves at his shop, hoping for the promised trickle-down of tourist dollars.

For these foreign Africans gaining entre to township system means gaining acceptance in the political economy of trade in Langa. They must negotiate their way not only into the tight, historically significant fabric of the Langa community, but into the established hierarchy of traders and crafters. In the central markets of Cape Town, like Green Market Square, imported goods, such as masks and statues from the forests of Cameroon, reproduced Nigerian bronzes, colon figures from Cote d’Ivoire, stone statues from Zimbabwe, and woven cloth from Kenya dominate the market. Now these items are finding their way into townships. In fact, to a savvy visitor, it would seem that South African arts and crafts are now under represented even in townships.

In other local industries, such as construction and retail, locals charge that non-nationals are hired because they can be paid less or because they have had the opportunities to get more skills. In the CBD markets, foreigners can afford to pay the rent for stalls and have the connections to import African wares. However, the township markets are clearly on local African turf and the spaces for stalls are owned and managed by black South Africans. In these cases, immigrants have had to work diligently and consciously to carve out a space where their presence, in both identity and business is accepted. They are involved in a daily, sometimes dangerous, hustle to make a living.

As the newcomer, Noah’s booth is located farthest from the entrance. I chose to begin my interviews at this hotspot with Noah, because his sweet demeanor and tired, yet young, face stood out among the other often aggressive salesmen who seem accomplished charlatans. At 22,
Noah has struggled in Cape Town for two years after fleeing political instability and lack of economic opportunity in Kenya (personal communication, November 20, 2007). His first months in Cape Town were spent homeless under a bridge. Never imagining he would live like a refugee in a land of promise, he finally succumbed and joined one of his national brethren’s key trades in South Africa, selling imported crafts. This network brought him to Langa, where he stays in a run-down backyard shack not far from the booths. He is still sheepish around the established members of this market and afraid my interview will draw undo negative attention from them, especially if I make a purchase.

As we sit and talk, interrupted now and again by a tour bus, locals pass by on their daily errands. At one point a group of teen Xhosa boys stops at Noah’s stall. One asks how much for a necklace with Rastafarian colors. Noah warily offers them an extra low “local” price. The tough youngster struts on to the next door food shop without much deliberation. As they move out of earshot, Noah tells me one of those boys knocked him over and took his wallet last month, leaving his eyebrow split open. Shocked, I ask if he reported it. Why is he so cordial to these teenagers now? He shrugs. His explanation belies feelings of powerlessness against a community often united against outsiders. I admit I found it strange that Noah chose to live in Langa. Many immigrants prefer to live in better suburbs, if in overcrowded accommodations, rather than risk the perils of the township at night. But Noah has no car and a shallow social network. He possesses just enough confidence to hold down this position at the end of the line of vendors, making a few meager sales each week.

In these examples, as with Pamela and Reggie, locals have found ways to benefit and participate in tourism by working within the current tour route. Individuals and organizations, such as the crèche, form a reciprocal if uneven collaboration. They provide a positive interaction
for tourists and usually profit from their donations. Although it is not clear how these donations are used or distributed. Even though the school day is disrupted, the teachers seem eager for the opportunity. In Noah’s case, he and his fellow Kenyans do not constitute a prime tour destination like the Langa Cultural Center. Rather, lacking in social status in Langa, they have had to align themselves with an influential local healer, a fundamental part of many cultural tours. Further, within their group, they have worked out a clear hierarchy among themselves and in relation to local residents to assure business runs smoothly.

Mediators’ Dilemmas

As Siviwe tried to explain to the women in the hostels, guides are often expected to make their own social connections to establish a walking tour route. As a part of the local community, many guides are sensitive to the ways they network with their fellow residents. Without overarching guidelines, the guides have developed their own systems for social and economic reciprocity. Fikile, who has spent time as both a freelance guide and now as a company headman, explains:

Fikile: When we started putting together our route, especially me and Samantha being involved in guiding for a long time. There are certain sensitive questions really that would pierce in ones heart. You know being asked about how the local community and the peoples viewed them as visitors coming here. Are they getting something? And it was just difficult, because you didn’t own the business. Maybe to a certain degree but you only saw what the leaflet said you didn’t know. Because you are freelance and being a freelance there are no benefits. I’m not going to go and dig what XX company does in the township. If they say they are members, affiliated with community development, I’m not going to go and Google and literally see if they say they are depositing money there. Because for me it was work. The more I’m called, I’m book to go and do a tour I’m making money for myself to support myself my family. So I’m definitely not going to make enemies. And that is the situation for many guides, because the industry it is young. And in particular the township route is new and fragile and it’s being manipulated.

It grew so fast, with no regulation. And unfortunately these are communities that still have huge issues with economics and education. So not many are seeing opportunities to tap into tourism and therefore benefit in that regard. That is why people will still remain in darkness about what tourists want here. They don’t
know, and they are afraid to ask. This is my opinion, they are afraid to ask or they don’t know who to ask.

It becomes difficult then for someone who is small, because to be vocal and say, hey, this is not right, you shouldn’t do it like this. But if the community itself is not saying anything…I mean you do have educated people here. You have a local council here. I do not know how many community meetings are organized. But there has never been a time in my four to five years guiding where really we were called as guides, where the community spoke out and said you know what we have a social concern, do A, B, C, and D (personal communication, October 2, 2007).

Now in charge of what his company can accomplish, Fikile says they purposefully redesign their approach to community participation. They make prearranged, planned stops at places like Mama Busi’s discussed in Chapter 3. They also visit an out of the way daycare that they sponsor.

Fikile: To design our route, we looked at what questions hit home. Our trip is about the people. It’s not about the history of what happened under apartheid, but it’s about people, their concerns, their dreams and goals, the changes happening in the country, are they happy with them. It’s about our tourists not getting a one-sided, biased opinion about how people live in this area.

In terms of community responsibility, Dumisani, another company operator, tells his guides to patronize markets such as the Langa Cultural Center where many crafters or performers gather. He knows, even if the market has organizational issues, product proceeds will more likely make it to the vendors’ pockets and families. Like many others, he is dubious of donation box stations and even some newly emerging projects. He uses a small part of his company’s proceeds to support an orphanage, although no tours visit it, and he rarely mentions it to customers. He also regularly rewards the hostel homes and informal businesses his guides visit. He notes that the donation culture is difficult to manage in the townships.

Dumisani: Some people [tourists] will want to invest in the community by putting donations. So if someone says I want to donate R50,000, it is difficult for me to say donate it to [this center] or donate it there. Because at the end of the day, I know that money is not going to get to the source of the problem. It will end up in someone’s back account (personal communication, January 30, 2008).
Further, he finds that donations at the municipal level take years to see fruition. His private system of maintaining good social and economic relationships with individuals and household is a common solution to this problem.

**Discussion**

Tour companies may set the tourist route as well as what counts as an attraction, but local residents, and some foreign Africans, have found ways to gain social and economic benefits from tourism. Tourists unknowingly, experience a highly choreographed circuit between ventures. As Bozzoli writes in another context, such coordinated strategies are not new to the township social landscape.

In spite of the enormously restrictive power of the South African state, the experience of living in townships was far from having been shaped by authority alone. Townships were also complex sub-societies in their own right, where residents challenged, worked around, and manipulated the givens of their lives. Entering the township, crossing the boundary, whether as a visitor or resident returning, entailed discarding modernity’s fancies, adapting one’s visual and social discernment, and accepting the logic of the world within. [Bozzoli 2004:22]

In this case, what could appear like chaos and failure to a development planner, is actually highly synchronized and purposeful.

The Langa Cultural Center and the walking tour route work according to a complicated set of rules, both clandestine and shifting. Business participants know their place. At local centers, neglected by city management and without clear, transparent governance, locals work out a system to manage themselves, leaders emerge, and members negotiate time and space. Outsiders, such as foreign craft producers, deal with blows, physical and symbolic, to maintain a presence. In other instances, locals noting the symbolic and cultural value of their service or home or business, find ways to become indispensible to the tour route. Residents equally reimagine township places as tourist attractions, as money makers, and as public heritage. Mundane, unglamorous careers, such as preparing sheep heads, are suddenly interesting to
foreign visitors. Although removed from a mediating, decision making position, residents such as Pamela and Reggie find ways to participate. Tourism in Langa may reflect established ideas of difference and division. “Borners” more so than so-called migrants control mediating and power relationships. Furthermore, Langa residents form relationships with outsiders, such as foreign Africans, in which the rules of engagement do not depend on neighborhood or kin-based association (Simone 2004).

Throughout these profiles tourism practices encounter long simmering divisions based on social position, such as ‘borner’ attitudes of entitlement specific to Langa. Although segregation and apartheid era policies increased self-awareness of distinctions based on class and color, cultural tourism works within these established divisions. Recognizing the opportunity and the value of their presence as an integral township tour element, residents become more aware of their particular identities and differences in carving out roles on the established tour route (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

In these various relationships, a number of paradoxical dilemmas emerge for residents and mediators as locals contend to be a part of tourist itineraries. In part, township tourism is built upon the attraction of “pro-poor” or responsible labels in marketing. Thus local participation is vital to a successful image. At the same time, as an object of tourist gaze, voyeurism can reinforce ideas of low status, especially when locals are left without control over who traipses through their homes. Some residents must accommodate certain instances of invasion or feelings that they are undermined. In most instances relayed above, tourism creates relationships of dependability rather than sustainability as well as generates unrealistic expectations about the depth of tourists’ pockets. I hope to have shown that, at this juncture, questions of feasibility of sustainable tourism are no longer valid for a local development forum. Rather, for tourism
practices to grow and change in Langa, planners will have to see and renegotiate the complicated relationships and practices already in place.

Significantly, I argue that tourism is not an imperialistic, hegemonic force imposed from outside (Lanfant et al. 1995:5, Smith 2003:49). It is true that tourism participation reorganizes time, business and social relationships, attachments to or understandings of cultural heritage. Further there is a clear power imbalance between locals and mediators. However, this does not mean marginalized, local stakeholders are without active strategies for inclusion or aversion, voice or visibility.

As I wrote in the beginning of this chapter, by all appearances and descriptions, the Center is an indispensible, highly functioning community program. The intricate route through the Center and the streets of Langa that tour groups follow, though open to innovation and daily missed connections, is a planned, synchronized orchestration. The beadwork maybe from China, the woodwork may be from Kenya, the dollars and cents may go to shallow pockets and not go to fund capacity-building NGOs, but they do go to promote the welfare and self-worth of local residents. Locals collude to generate an image of responsibility and interaction that attracts many tourists and puts them at ease. In result, the collecting and passing around of tourism income is the mainstay of many Langa residents.

Writing about the complicated, ethereal functioning of African cities, Simone notes that often times the ways residents work together are hard to account for (2004:5). Such efforts show the capacity of African groups to create what Simone calls “highly mobile social formations” (2004:2). These strategic and fluid processes “emphasize the construction of multiple spaces of operation embodying a broad range of tactical abilities aimed at maximizing economic opportunities through transversal engagement across territories and disparate arrangements of
power” (ibid). In this case, residents have forged unlikely partnerships, at times based on entrenched ideas of difference in Langa, and at other times to capitalize on new configurations.
CHAPTER 6
CONSTRUCTING THE GUGULETHU SEVEN MEMORIAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL HERITAGE

The landscape of memory is always tied to identity discourses and is subject to contestation, and in South Africa it inevitably involves a tight alliance between race, space, and the imagined community of the nation. [Marschall 2010:39]

In March 2005, then Deputy President Jacob Zuma officiated the unveiling of a new memorial for the Gugulethu Seven at a Human Rights’ Day ceremony on street NY 1 in the township of Gugulethu. Large and striking granite pillars silhouetting human forms mark the spot where seven, young African men were ambushed and killed in a covert operation by South African Police and Security Forces in March 1986. This is the second monument installed with public fanfare to honor these men, their families and community, and the anti-apartheid struggle. The first monument lies in a toppled heap of concrete and paint in an adjacent playground parking lot. The ultimate monument, a tall, old tree, scarred by bullets from the day of the incident, remains watchful over the avenue.

The Gugulethu Seven join a host of other victims, heroes, and incidents being commemorated in post-apartheid South Africa. Across the country, the anti-apartheid struggle comes to the fore in new monument, museum, or tourism projects called to seamlessly represent a reconciling and uniting nation. Much has been written about the quest for national unity in the post-apartheid period via such projects (Bremner 2004, Coombes 2003, Hansen 2003, Ouzman 2008, Marschall 2006a, 2006b, 2010). In looking at the creation, reception, and treatment of new monuments one can investigate how nations such as South Africa confront the public remembrance of a painful history. Beyond national rhetoric, commemorative projects are often accompanied by intense local dramas that draw on personal and collective memories as well as political ideology. This is certainly the case for the Gugulethu Seven Memorial.
This chapter raises questions about how political history is presented in monument and narrative form. I look at conflicting efforts to politicize or depoliticize place by vested parties, such as local residents, city officials, monument designers, and tour guides. This chapter reveals how public history and memory, monumentalization, and tourism work together within a post-conflict place or historical moment. In this specific case, these various efforts (or various itineraries) converge in the making of current tour places and routes.

**Monuments and Public Memory**

Previous chapters tackle the more social and cultural aspects of how tourism practices characterize the township. Although politics, society, and culture are intimately linked in South Africa, this chapter specifically considers how township political history and the current prominent discourses of reconciliation are encountered and reproduced on township tours. The Gugulethu Seven installation is a living monument offering multiple, concurrent interpretations and usages for analysis. As a site of local contestation and global curiosity, the memorial finds itself overlain by various meanings. In practice, these meanings coalesce through design, visitation, performance, and narration.

Interpretations of public campaigns concerning history and memory are well-documented in the scholarly literature. In many cases, struggles over memory in the public sphere are solidified in relation to place, such as at memorial sites. Noted in Chapter 1, place represents the spatial dimension of culture. Space becomes place when given meaning or when it comes to hold memories of people and events (Lawrence and Low 2003:13, Feld and Basso 1996). Pierra Nora (Nora and Kritzman 1996), an influential theorist for with his work on *les lieux de memoire* (memory sites), elucidates the link between place and memory, especially for monument projects. He argues that the need for situated places of remembering grows out of the desire to preserve particular memories for future generations, especially when oral traditions around an
event may fade or when facing social upheaval. Walkowitz and Knauer define monuments as “time-honored, spatially fixed” sites of public history (2004:7). In a longer view, Schmidt (2006) refers to monuments as mnemonic memory devices on the landscape. Monuments are involved in a dialectical relationship with the landscape around them. Place inscribes the monument with meaning just as the monument inscribes the specific place (Nora and Kritzman 1996). Or as Blu writes, “The landscape envelopes people with a sense of shared history rooted in the past, a past that is memorialized in the present in shared symbols” (in Feld and Basso 1996:188). Monuments, in particular, engage conceptions of the past.

However, the past is always constructed and responded to in terms of the present (Halbwachs in McEachern2002:xviii). Memorial spaces are reflective of complex, social processes. Monuments speak to “how we see ourselves and how we wish others to see us” (Walkowitz and Knauer 2004:2). These public projects have the ability to guide and control people’s perceptions of the current socio-political order (Connerton 1989). Monuments are thus frequently employed to fashion communal or national identities. Such campaigns typically engage a national or group foundation myth, selected heroes, even manufactured details or traditions (ibid, Anderson 1991, Marschall 2006b). Marschall argues that:

new monuments or statues are often used to deliberately or unconsciously reinterpret the meaning of a particular space, to neutralize the ideological charge of a meaning inscribed by an earlier monument, to (re)claim a public space or more generally to forge a particular identity for a place and its people. [2006a:182-183]

My argument is premised on the understanding that history and memory—converged in places such as monuments—are socially constructed.

The meaning of a monument is never static, but rather fluctuates over time and among visitors (Marschall 2006b). As we shall see in the following examples, monument design and resultant practices such as tour narration allow for malleable and manifold meanings. In the
design process, the formal aspects of monuments are often highly contested and can be misunderstood by the public. Despite justifiable motives, monuments as tropes, are easily susceptible to the reduction of identities and the streamlining of meanings for various other ends. Memorials commemorate not only the past but a certain interpretation of the past (ibid). Groups, such as an organization or tour company, powered elites or official bodies, such as a City Council, may use memory devices to achieve certain ideological ends (Halbwachs in Shackel 2001). Finally, in the case at hand, we see how claims on public on memory are most challenging when public remembrance projects threaten to reopen wounds of a painful past (Nasson 2004).

The influx of tourism continues to complicate our understanding of how monuments work (Huyssen 2003). Tourism, like memorial projects, is often called on for its perceived healing power, celebrating and making known a particular past or place as well as providing potential financial benefit. But as Nasson (2004) points out, increased traffic, constraints of profitability, and the inevitable streamlining of details can run counter to reverential goals. Problems arise when a monument is called on to address such a divergent audience as local communities and international visitors (Marschall 2006b). Tourist sites are likely to be contested spaces because “they lie at the intersection of diverse and competing social, economic, and political influences” (Lawrence and Low 2003:23). Often marketed under national or international institutions, monument projects may lie outside the control of local residents who work in and inhabit these spaces. Development may be aimed at accommodating a leisure class rather than needs of local residents. In this instance, townships are being reinvented as sites of heritage and commemoration for local appeasement while places therein are being given a newly imagined past to be presented for a global tourist audience.
The Gugulethu Case Study

Because of the qualities listed above, monumental and tourism campaigns have been an important part of national histories in many global locations, especially after times of political change (Walkowitz and Knauer 2004). In South Africa, new attention to civic memorials seeks to render visible the nation’s “neglected heritage” post-apartheid (Rassool 2007:117). Monuments, like the Gugulethu Seven, erected in traditionally non-white areas, are secondarily called to showcase harmony and balance in civic planning and participation, a hallmark of the Rainbow Nation (ibid). The construction of new monuments to the previously hidden anti-apartheid struggle or apartheid era violence is a public effort to rectify past injustice (Coombes 2003, Ouzman 2008, McGregor and Shumaker 2006).

Contestations over how to best honor the Gugulethu Seven predate the engagement of the tourism industry. The back stories of the Gugulethu Seven, as an historical event and, more especially, as a memorialized place, serve as two points of departure for analyzing how this incident is recorded and remembered in public culture. The event, including the identities and experiences of the youths involved, has been variously interpreted through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, media, and scholarly accounts (Hoffman 2000, Witz et al. 2001b, Wilson 2000). Given this context, I consider the processes of commemoration through building and subsequent touring of the monument.

Based on interviews with City officials and the design artists, I reveal tensions over how to represent struggle, community, and non-racialism in Cape Town. In the case of the Gugulethu Seven marker, points of contention arose during the local creation process between the families, City Council, and designers over the representation of struggle and community. Under the surface, the implicit claiming of the victims as struggle heroes by the local ANC government
bred further tension. In effect, these multiple political and ideological goals came together to create the current monument area through a period of design, negotiation, and construction.

Marschall explains how monument design projects often simultaneously seek to avoid iconoclasm, endorse inclusiveness, and speak to a dearth of historical representations. And yet they are premised on a political, “selective ideological genealogy” that purports a particular historical rendering of the newly democratic nation (2006a:177). Moreover, the need to present a certain history leads to “distortions and omissions” (ibid:182). These new projects have seized on certain details of legendary personalities and events in an effort to contribute ideologically to building the foundation of the new nation (Marschall 2006a, 2006b).

Though not intentionally designed for tourist visits, the Gugulethu Seven memorial is a predominate feature on commercial and educational tours of the townships. Township tourism practitioners encounter similar quandaries in how to approach potentially politicized tour content. Through tourism, then, the place finds itself once again overlaid by new meanings, interpretations, and practices (Sheller and Urry 2004). As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, guides feel pressure to narrate instances of reconciliation and progress rather than call attention to examples of violence, continuing racism, or underdevelopment. In this case, the Gugulethu Seven memorial, somewhat mirroring national rhetoric, depicts an instance of commemoration and reconciliation. In contrast, one outlying group of excursion providers, the Cape Liberation and Remembrance Center (CLRC), reflect on the violence of the apartheid past and call attention to continued social injustice. Prime protagonists, the monument design artists and the CLRC call out both the City Council and tour guides for inadvertently perpetuating conceptions of the townships as a racialized space. They challenge contradictory, institutionalized promises of remuneration through memorialization or tourism.
My argument is correspondingly grounded in understanding the paradoxes of heritage and tourism. Discussing the earlier version of the Gugulethu monument and other commemorated struggle sites in Cape Town, Witz, Rassool, and Minkley note:

All these initiatives claim the recovery and reconstitution—of history, the self, and nation. But in their efforts they are all subject to modes of repression. The authority of the artist [and] the appropriateness of state-directed projects …pose uncomfortable questions for memorialisation. Heritage is never more repressive than when it claims to recover a national past. The discourses of reconciliation and the Rainbow Nation weigh heavily on the capacity of heritage to contest the past. [2001:127]

As with cultural features on tours, political or historical aspects of township tours can suffer reductionism and sanitization. In this case, townships are cast as one public stage for social transformation. Such streamlining can simultaneously characterize the township as a place of difference and a place that deserves inclusion and equal consideration. Attention to such dilemmas guides this analysis. I press forward, extending this idea to encompass the local debate as well as illuminate the unintended encounter with an outside tourist audience.

Notes on Methodology and Analysis

Already argued in this dissertation, places can have no meaning apart from practice or human action, rather space becomes place when it is invested with conceptual and logical structures (Bourdieu 1977). Tourism creates “places in play,” places that are “made and remade by the mobilities and performances of tourists and [tourism] workers, images and heritage” (Sheller and Urry 2004:1). In this chapter, my argument also draws on Coombes (2003) influential work on history after apartheid. She argues that memory is “born out of individual subjective experience and shaped by collective consciousness and shared social process” (ibid:8). For instance, national or city campaigns can be cross-cut more personally by racial and class divisions as well as subjective or generational attachments to the memorialized event. Thus these
three factors must be investigated to understand to unravel how tourism, and, in this case a monument, works.

Also noted, my methodology draws on work by Low, who argues that we must investigate both the *social production of space* (through social, economic, ideological, or technical factors) and the *social construction of space* (through phenomenological and symbolic factors) (Low 1999: 112, Low 2000). It is vital to probe how and why the monuments were planned and built as well as how they are conceived through “patterns of use and attributed meanings” (Low 1999: 119). This analysis further examines how “actors creatively use objects to both make and attenuate aspects of their social relations, as they also work to define and redefine their own futures and pasts” (Mines and Weiss 1997:161).  

Memorial sites and urban renewal plans are *produced* by the City Council, among others, for various ends, but the place is *constructed* by daily interactions, uses, beliefs, and memories. A holistic analysis elucidates conflicts and points of contestation. Each of the vested parties described herein makes claims to or serves as an interpreter of the event in specific ways. I seek to explain the desires, personal attachments, and parameters affecting each party in the process of creating township place. In this case, “performative acts” of remembrance are central to the construction of meanings via tourism (Nasson 2004). For example, tour guides and other local actors serve as storytellers and performers. They enlist selective remembering and purposeful forgetting to construct perceptions and experiences of place and past (Schmidt 1996:92).

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1 A similar method is utilized by Bruner in his study of Elmina Castle, a former staging area for the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. Through research with the key vested parties, he shows that the meaning of the Castle for local Ghanaians differs significantly from that for the black diaspora, especially African American tourists (2005:103). He shows that what Ghanaians appreciate from the tourism site is the promise of development and prosperity. They are not particularly concerned with the history of slavery. Rather African Americans come in a “quest for their roots” (ibid:105). His analysis shows how guides cater to interests to the interests of tourists via specific performances to confirm their desires.
Representations of the Gugulethu Seven in these examples are tied to certain social subjectivities and political motivations and fashioned in the midst of various obstacles. The Gugulethu Seven commemoration process touches on issues that are still sensitive and raw to the vested parties. Thus I draw out both the possibilities and limitations of the monumental project seeking to signify post-apartheid social transformation.

The Gugulethu Seven in Public History

The compelling story of the Gugulethu Seven begins on the front lines of the 1980’s struggle against apartheid, replete with details such as espionage, secrecy, and gruesome executions. It is significant to understand that long before becoming part of the township tour route, the details and greater meaning of the Gugulethu Seven incident were massaged and manipulated by a host of vested parties.

To begin, police and media outlets reported the Gugulethu Seven incident in 1986. However, any witness testimony contradicting the stance that police were first fired upon by armed African National Congress (ANC) “terrorists” was effectively silenced for another decade (Wilson 2000). Despite the ban on large public gatherings and political orations, over 30,000 people attended funeral ceremony in the township, many waving ANC colors (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 214). Finally, the true nature of the events leading up to, happening on, and following March 3, 1986 emerged dramatically during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s (TRC) investigation in 1996 and 1997. The TRC was formed after a 1995 Act of Parliament (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act) to record human rights violations. The Commission was further tasked with deciding on appropriate reparations and granting amnesty (Ross 2003: 326-7).

Evidence shows that the seven young men were recruited to be militants in Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the then militant wing of the African National Congress (ANC), by a spy, known as
an *ascari*, who worked for the South African Security Forces and their secret death squads based at Vlakplaas. The spy helped to arrange for the ambush and then fled the scene (Wilson 2000). In the 1980s, increased political activism characterized African townships across the nation. Protests, fiery barricades, and school boycotts were commonplace. In retaliation, the security forces targeted youth members of the community. The use of spies, informers, ambush, and doctored media campaigns became routine tactics (Gunn 2007). Thus, in this case, it does not appear that the victims, all in their late teens and early 20s, a few Rastafarians, were actually preparing for any attacks on the day of the shooting or otherwise. Rather they were surprised by the early morning assault and attempted to surrender. Yet they were shown no mercy and executed. The police planted hand grenades and firearms on the bodies of the young men and video-taped the scene as evidence for the nation that “terrorists” had been defeated (Wilson 2000).

After 1995, new understandings of this event developed on a very public stage as the proceedings of the TRC were televised and dissected by news media. TRC researchers went to great lengths to obtain classified documents from the former apartheid state police force. The mothers of the victims testified about their knowledge of their sons’ activities, their disbelief that their sons were involved in terrorism, and erupted emotionally when viewing the shocking video footage for the first time. The many persons responsible for the shooting were questioned, eventually confessed, and granted amnesty because the crime was deemed politically motivated (Wilson 2000).

The TRC process is not without its problems and critics (James and van de Vijver 2001). Ultimately, constraints meant that only some South Africans could speak and that only certain memories would become public. The selected memories and stories were allowed to represent
the trials of apartheid, racialized history, colonial settlement, genocide and war for the entire nation. For example, Castillejo-Cuellar criticizes how the Gugulethu Seven event was variously recorded and used in the TRC after “ten years of virtual silence” (2007:12). He argues that the TRC began as a victim-centered endeavor with commission staff recording long, personal narratives. This initial period focused on experiences, sacrifices, and giving a sense of restoration. However, in following years the TRC took on a more “forensic” approach. Factual truth was preferred as a form of knowledge over experience and emotion. To this end, the Gugulethu Seven event became, in the final report, “an emblem of reconciliation and forgiveness” (ibid: 30). The TRC report as a “technology of circulation,” he argues, used specific stories, photos, and approaches to disseminate a certain post-apartheid view of the past and trigger certain responses (ibid). In this instance, the Gugulethu Seven would become a key example in the collective pool of post-apartheid examples of reconciliation ready for national and international dissemination by the state. Notably, the use of the event as a key illustration of horrific violence and peaceful reconciliation would continue by various parties.

In this vein, the two most detailed accounts of this public revelation, including researcher, family, and perpetrator interviews, are presented in documentary films. One such example is Gugulethu Seven by South African filmmaker Lindy Wilson (2000), the other A Long Night’s Journey into Day by Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffman (2000). These documentaries, of course, possess their own historicizing partialities. Castillejo-Cuellar calls attention to the international popularity of Long Night and characterizes the message of the Reid and Hoffman documentary as a moral one focusing on forgiveness that is a direct result of the miraculous political turn over and the TRC (2007: 14). Long Night covers the Gugulethu Seven as well as two other iconic cases, one being the death of American student Amy Biehl on the same road in
1993. The documentary focuses primarily on trial and meetings between the victims and perpetrators to tout the virtuousness of transcendence and reconciliation. The more locally known Wilson video is, then, a much more in-depth and searing account of the event and cover up.

In many ways, however, the Gugulethu Seven incident has not reached the recognition status of other events of township political violence such as the Hector Pieterson shooting at the Soweto student uprising in 1976. In fact, I met few tourists familiar with the story before their tour. The event is not referenced in most history books, even those published after 1997 (Davenport and Saunders 2000, Beinart 2001). One exception is a slight mention in a work on Cape Town history by Bickford-Smith et al. (1999). Here the authors’ data is drawn from newspaper accounts of TRC hearings. The Gugulethu event is noted in a number of works on the TRC (James and van de Vijver 2001).

Still, the Gugulethu Seven came to be one of the many groups of individuals given symbolic struggle hero status and marked for commemoration as a part of the new identity of South Africa. Through this process, public iterations and private interpretations of the event’s meaning would continue to multiply. As the violence occurred in the townships and as Gugulethu was slotted as the site for the memorial, these tensions have often been tied to place and community. From these examples, questions arise about how the incident, and now the physical space, is used and interpreted for personal, commercial, or political ends.

Local Encounters in Gugulethu

Background and Context

In both symbolic and tangible ways, Gugulethu is a key setting to understand how South Africans are remembering the apartheid past and framing their post-apartheid present. Gugulethu Township (translated as “our pride” in Xhosa) is colloquially known as “Gugs.” This African
location began in 1958 as the third black township in Cape Town after Langa and Nyanga East (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999). Migrant male workers and established families were forcibly moved here into sparse, concrete quarters from their homes in other areas of the city that had been declared for white or coloured populations only under the Group Areas Act (Field 1998).

Situated about 20 kilometers from the city center, Gugs seemingly remains disconnected from urban and economic opportunities. Use of public transportation for most families is a tolerated hardship. And the growth of formal sector businesses within township areas is slow. Gugulethu houses over 80,000 people and maintains a 50% unemployment rate (City of Cape Town 2001). Most who are employed earn well under R6,000 each month ($750 to $800US in 2008)(ibid).

The more formal housing of centrally planned areas is flanked on all sides by cramped, informal settlements, many in flood plains. Gugs also has a reputation for violence and gangstarism among other township residents.

That said, it would be incorrect to characterize the township as outside Cape Town past or present (Parnell and Mabin 1995). Gugs’ formation is integral to the design of greater Cape Town as an apartheid city, and it was an important setting for the radical political turmoil of the late twentieth century (Bickford-Smith et al. 2000, Field 1998, Western 1997[1981]). Today, featured prominently on Cape Town’s agenda for urban renewal and development, the area is seeing a number of positive changes. Once predominantly marked by uniform council housing, Gugs’ domestic aesthetic is awash with personal upgrades as families are awarded home ownership. Among the financially able, brick fences, second stories, and indoor plumbing are common additions. The two main thoroughfares are dotted with petrol service stations, small, shipping container businesses, and busy restaurants. Cape College and Cape Town Tourism have satellite facilities there.
Furthermore, city dwellers and tourists alike know the name Gugulethu. One can buy t-shirts in the Green Market or Waterfront proclaiming “Gugulethu Pride.” Another clever design, steals the internet goliath Google’s logo, advertizing “Googlethu.” A number of Gugulethu B&Bs provide national travelers with a room near the airport as well as foreign tourists seeking a township experience. The famed Mzoli’s Place *braii* (barbeque) spot is heralded in guidebooks and travel magazines as a touchstone of local flavor (CNN 2010). Tourists and locals of all ethnicities are frequently seen elbow deep in barbeque sauce and beer bottles on lazy afternoons. An empty parking spot cannot be found for several blocks on Friday evenings.

The street “NY 1” is a primary part of the route for day township tours. This road connects with the main route from the predominantly coloured neighborhood of Bontheuvel. Tour buses from Langa proceed through this district to contrast the aesthetic, housing, and infrastructure differences between African and coloured areas. Skirting the neighborhoods of Montana and Charlesville, the tours join the NY 1. Eventually the tour will likely turn east and continue past the large cemetery, the informal settlement of Barcelona, through to the townships of Crossroads and Khayelitsha for their final stops.

NY 1 is an arterial north-south route for Gugulethu. “NY” stands for “native yard.” This moniker harkens back to the Foucault-esque pan-opticon planning of the apartheid city. Gugulethu, like other townships, was originally planned up on a numbered grid of streets with observation towers and guarded entrances (Western 1996[1981]). Since 2000, the ANC has called for country-wide place renaming initiatives. These campaigns seek to remove markers of the colonial or Afrikaner dominated past, recognize indigenous place names, as well as honor leaders from all black ethnic groups (Johnson 2000).\(^2\) Increasingly, street signs are printed in

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\(^2\) For example, the port city of Durban is now also known as Thekwini.
multiple languages (Guyot and Seethal 2007). In the townships, street name changes have resulted in the dropping of administrative numbered markers for designations to historically important local community members and national leaders, often of African descent. Specifically in Gugs, NY numbers have been removed from the official city street map. However, long time residents find it easier to give directions based on the number system, leading to much confusion. And a handful of original street names remain unchanged, especially a main drag such as the NY1. Street name changing represents only one of the projects in Gugs that invokes an intersection between public memory and place.

Two monuments to a violent apartheid past are located just blocks apart on the NY1: the memorial to murdered American Fulbright student Amy Biehl (d. 8/25/1993) and the Gugulethu Seven memorial for victims of police violence in March 1986. Both incidents involve victims in the wrong place at the wrong time. While driving home a colleague from the campus of University of the Western Cape, Biehl was caught in a political protest, pulled from her vehicle, and stabbed (Amy Biehl Foundation Trust 2010). The Gugulethu Seven memorial commemorates seven young men tricked and ambushed by South African Security Forces and then characterized as terrorists. Both incidents are memorialized in the area where they occurred. Both incidents were publicized aspects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission trials (Hoffman 2000, Rassool et al. 2001, Wilson 2000).

**Days on the NY1**

Tours have a possible number of stops in Gugs. The NY 1 is a route to the Gugulethu Cape Town Tourism center, a small museum, and a craft market at Sivuyile College (Dondolo 2001, Witz 2007). The street is always busy with local commuters and businesses for visitors to take in. Some tour groups visit community projects, schools, B&Bs, and the popular barbeque spot for
lunch. Many tours, however, will make similar stops in other areas. They simply pass through Gugulethu to point out its features, especially these two important markers.

Because the NY 1 is central to the spatial and temporal journey devised by many township tour guides, the long block between the two monuments became one of the fieldwork sites I visited on a regular basis. At different times of the day and week, I spent hours sitting, observing, and talking to local residents around the two monuments gathering information on their daily habits, their memories of the commemorated events, and their thoughts about the current monuments and tourist visits. Siviwe or a Gugulethu-based guide often accompanied me for assistance with translation. Local residents’ activities on the NY 1, such as travels to and from work, chatting with friends, or buying electricity at the petrol station, intersect tourist itineraries. Taking the NY 1 as viewpoint, the subject matter of township tours and struggle history are everyday encounters for residents and tourists in divergent ways.

The Biehl memorial rests in front of a busy Caltex service station. It is comprised of a small stone cross held by a brick pedestal. Fifty year old Mr. Mpho has held a daily post at the memorial since 2004. He tells Siviwe and me that he is a public safety volunteer appointed to watch this area. He says, however, he was not in Gugs when Amy Biehl was attacked. We are intrigued by many of his stories, such as spending two years at Robben Island prison for shoplifting. However, the details remain vague. On another day, a neighbor informs us she does not think Mr. Mpho is entirely well, his memory likely damaged by early stages of dementia. The neighborhood watch program he is so faithful to actually disbanded some time ago.

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3 I was advised against contacting the mothers of the Gugulethu Seven for comment by CLRC to protect their privacy. I also did not see significant value in bringing up their painful personal memories for this research. For further comment see Castillejo-Cue’llar 2005, Ross 2003, 2005a.
Nonetheless, he sits there every day, usually in the same beaten-up hat, faded red sweatshirt, and sunglasses, watching the traffic and tours pass by.\footnote{In 2009, after I left Cape Town, the small stone was replaced by a larger marker with a more formal informative plaque. Mr. Mpho was not outdone by the change and continues to guard the commemorative space.}

Across the street from Mr. Mpho, another older gentleman sells propane, cement, and locks out of a shipping container in the front yard of his council home. He will also cut keys or glass for you. Leaning heavily on a post of his front gate, his shirt buttoned haphazardly, he admits to a touch of a Monday morning hangover. He tells us he has been living on this street since 1965 and remembers the day Amy was murdered. Because of the strength and veracity of the PAC rally that day, he explains, many fled to their homes and warily peeked through their windows.

We continue our chat with him as a herd of white goats crashes down the sidewalk. The city is engaged in an urban renewal plan that has widened the sidewalks of the NY1 and lined it with brick and cage enclosed tree saplings. The goats are hardly put off by the metal cages and reach up through the bars to steal a few leaves. These creatures, juxtaposed against the fresh concrete, Coca-cola signs, and shiny new cars on show at the Caltex, roam unaccompanied and disregarded along the township thoroughfare.

Another day, positioned down the street at the Gugulethu Seven memorial site, we meet a taxi owner and his two cronies. They are sharing a liter of lemon-lime soda through a straw on one of the public benches at the taxi stop. This parking pull off just before the monument designated for public transportation is frequently used by the tour busses as a place to pause and narrate. Behind the men, seven towering, rectangular pillars, each silhouetting a male figure, fall in line down the sidewalk. The trio is waving at passing cars. The taxi owner explains that they are on the watch for the errant driver of an amaphela (meaning cockroach), one of the many
dilapidated Toyota Cressidas that serve as local informal taxis. The driver failed to return with the vehicle or its commission from the previous day. Siviwe and I ask the men their thoughts on the monument and tourists. The men, in their late 20s or early 30s, say they were not living here in 1986. The leader says he knows the men were killed under apartheid by the Boers. Another remarks that he thinks the monument is pretty well taken care of by the City Council, but he does not really take notice of it.

Walking down to inspect the monument site, I see that some of the bulbs (“globes”) are missing from the flood light canisters. To the right side, plaques tell the story of the Gugulethu Seven in the three main languages of Cape Town (Appendix A). However, the Xhosa and English language plaques, cast in valuable copper, are already pilfered. One edge of the remaining Afrikaans plaque is pried up and ready for the taking. Singular pillars are marked by a face plate for each victim. Some of these are scratched violently. The taxi boss, watching my assessment, remarks that we should not take the vandalism of the monument as a reflection of the community. Returning his gaze to the passing cars, he adds, we cannot help what criminals do.

Around 2:00 p.m. the local elementary schools release for the afternoon and the NY1 fills up with students in green and navy uniforms. The children wander home and hardly notice the giant monument filling the sidewalk. A local singing group is setting up on the corner, and this is a more inviting distraction. The vast corner is shaded by a large tree. Bullets are still lodged in the trunk from 1986.

This is where we find Nomhle sitting on a pylon watching the group lip sync and dance passionately to their new creations. She is resting here on her way home from cleaning houses in another suburb. Her young son plays over on the monument, making it his personal jungle gym.
She did not live in Cape Town in the 1980s, but saw the stories about Gugulethu Seven on the news. She lived nearby in 1993 and says she really felt for the Biehl family. She explains that it was clear in 1993 that apartheid was ending and that there was no need for violence. She adds, we forget that the victims were all someone’s children.

During my days on the NY 1, I watched tour busses come and go. Their drivers pull off to the side at the taxi stop for a minute or two to give details and move on their way. The shiny newness and bright logos of the tour buses slightly distinguish them from regular taxi *combis* on this strip. White faces with cameras at the ready are often visible through the windows. Nomhle says she is glad to have the visitors. However, she is not really sure what activities guests take part in on these tours, since so few tourists get off the bus and walk around in Gugs.

These scenes represent one set of local residents’ responses to monument installations. For Mr. Mpho, the Biehl memorial provides a sense of purpose to his days and a social outlet. For others, they find the monuments significant but are complacent, even ambivalent, about their presence and condition. The monument may serve to refresh their memory of a violent past era, but these concerns are not as pressing for some who clearly see the monuments as sites of opportunity for pilfering. In other words, the monument’s significance is suppressed to more important anxieties of daily existence.

**Building Monuments and Representations**

In the past decade, two monuments have been commissioned for the Gugulethu Seven site, the second replacing the first. According to a City Department of Heritage representative, the original monument was built in 2000 on the NY 1 (personal communication, May 14, 2008). In part directed by and in the same sentiment as the TRC, the post-1994 era gave rise to many debates concerning the meaning and appearance of public culture. As noted, new projects, such as monuments, museums, and tourist attractions, were envisioned to address past injustices and
promote the ideals of the Rainbow Nation (Bremner 2004, Coombes 2003, Hansen 2003, Rassool 2000). Such markers pay tribute to those who lost their lives or worked in service to the anti-apartheid struggle. Former Minister of Justice Dullah Omar iterated that the truth commission process should speak to the experiences of individuals but be mindful of the greater project of new nation building and reconciliation (Rassool et al. 2001:117). He further suggested approaching “community reparation” with “symbolic forms” such as monuments (ibid). As Marschall suggests, although the TRC failed to define a new, unified nation, the proceedings allowed space for alternative perspectives on the past including narratives of resistance and suffering (2010). Many of these new events became literally visible in monument form (ibid). However, a lack of concrete recommendations post-TRC led to "unfinished business" or unresolved issues of how reconciliation would work in the public sector and what it would look like (ibid). This often meant monument projects were directed by municipal overseers able to impart their own ideological standpoint.5

Part of a City Council memory campaign to honor struggle heroes, the initial monument was completed for a Human Rights Day celebration in 2000. The monument lacked the artist’s name (Rassool et al. 2001b), and the artist was reportedly minimally funded. The marker was unveiled on the same day as the Trojan Horse Memorial commemorating children killed by police in 1985 in nearby Athlone, commissioned as a part of the same program. The first Gugulethu monument consisted of a stone plaque depicting the wheel of ANC symbology and a small, asymmetrical pillar. The installation took up no more than two square meters of physical space.

5 This example can also be compared to other global instances where “histories and monuments of public memory are manipulated to create seamless presentation of the city’s revalorized cultural heritage” (Low 1999:17, Sieber 1990, Norkunas 1993, Boyer 1992 as cited in Low, Walkowitz and Knauer 2004).
space. Family members of the deceased young men quickly raised complaints about the installation, claiming the monument was an inadequate gesture and even insulting.

The family members’ grievances were answered when the City Council launched a contest for a larger marker. The City of Cape Town initiated a Memory Project in 2005 under Mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo and the newly created Institute of Justice and Reconciliation (Gunn 2007:12). The projects they managed include the Gugulethu Seven Memorial which was followed by new memorial installations in honor of the Trojan Horse Massacre and the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives Coline Williams and Robbie Waterwich, both in Athlone. Gunn states that these projects set out to “address the imbalance in memorializing history” (2007:12). Central to each proposal, the City Council pledged intentions to consult with community members, especially mothers of the victims.

For the Gugulethu site, the City competition brief stated:

The City wishes to replace the existing memorial on the site with a sculpture to commemorate the brutal slaying of the Gugulethu 7 in a manner that, on the one hand conveys dignity and respect for the slain, their relatives and their community and, on the other hand, reflects the struggle of the time.

The highest recommendation was for a “symbolic sculpture, including etchings/names” and not busts, although life-like images of the seven were encouraged. The interpretation of these goals, however, let to some debate as the design process ensued.

Of nine potential entries, the memorial proposal by artists Patrick and David was the unanimous choice for implementation. The two winning designers, Patrick, an art teacher, and the other, David, primarily an independent contemporary artist, were intrigued by a project that fit their politically minded aspirations. The duo teamed up previously for community projects

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6 These recommendations and the proceeding contest were overseen by a committee that consisted of council members, the director of the National Gallery, and a celebrated black South African visual artist.
and public artworks such as murals. They soon found the Gugulethu Seven memorial project
justly laden with political issues to navigate. In the creative process, the memorial designers
directed their energy towards certain goals that both complemented and clashed with the aims of
the city council. For instance, both the council and the artists were concerned with various issues
of representation. Yet in practice, differences arose about how to best epitomize community,
race, and the anti-apartheid struggle.

For one, Patrick and David sought to converse with the Gugulethu and MK community. In
making the decision whether to participate, the artists coordinated with Cape Liberation and
Remembrance Center (CLRC, an MK organization that also runs education excursions in the
townships as discussed below), and held a meeting with family members of the Gugulethu
Seven. David explained that the City was not interested in this specific aspect of community
involvement (David and Patrick, personal communication, April 3, 2008).

David: The City was quite prepared just to go ahead with it [the monument plans].
That is when we met with the [Cape Liberation and Remembrance Center] because
they work with the [Gugulethu Seven’s] mothers. And we felt that we needed to
speak with them first, before and get some sense, you know. Because the way the
state often does things, you know. They do it for a community. And we just felt that
is not the way we usually work. I mean I do as an artist, I do my own thing. But
when we collaborate, often what we do, we try to get a sense, not always, but I
mean, but we do try to get a sense of what the community would like. So we met
with the mothers. We had a lunch with them. And then they spoke about how they
felt about the existing memorial as well and also what they felt they’d like to see.
Not that we did what they wanted to see. We kind of interpreted, you know, what
we thought they would be happy with….And then we went and did our plans and
presented it to the city.

In contrast to the artists’ interpersonal approach, influential members of the City Council
considered community representation more starkly in terms of ethnicity and locality. For
example, both the artists would have been classified under the previous regime as so-called

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7 All following quotes referencing the artists were collected on this date.
coloured. In evidence of the ambiguities of this mixed-race designation, David was publically questioned by a prominent Council member whether he fit the criteria as member of a previously disadvantaged group, presumably because of his fairer complexion. The artists point out not all members of the Council found this query appropriate. Furthermore, the Council recommended the artists contract local black labors for the construction phase of the monument, again a community oriented gesture. However, problems arose as the specific skilled labor required was not available in the Gugulethu labor pool.

In response to my questions about the issue of ethnicity, David’s remarks draw out his unease with the rhetoric of political and social change in Cape Town.

David: But we’ve gotten used to that kind of language. I think it is a language of contradiction, an oxymoron. But I think it operates in an area where we talk of non-racism and multiculturalism. That’s a very problematic term, as well. But in practice they do lots of the opposite. And I think that is something that they use to crush a lot the language of symbolism. It’s an intent. It’s a political intent, but it doesn’t deliver on the ground in that way.

So we’ve got used to this kind of rhetoric, the fanfare and the mantra around this is what we intend to be doing. ‘We’re going to get rid of...we’re going bridge racial divides, and bring people together, and the city belongs to all, and one city, many cultures.’ But really, it’s one city many prejudices. It’s really about, I think, sometimes creating deeper divisions through actual policies. And, and I think, you know they fall into, I think that we fall into the trap of perpetuating the old divisions without addressing properly the structural problems on the ground.

Thus in their design strategy, the artist team sought to represent community participation by appealing to the community’s wishes and abandoning facile attempts at participation via economic remuneration.

Another contested issue in the design process concerned views on representation of the 1980’s struggle and dissimilar efforts at politicizing and history-making by the Council and the artists. At first, some Council members suggested inclusion of the ANC colors, logo, or even an AK-47 in the design. In this requests, the ANC-led governing body was laying a claim to these
struggle heroes as part of their specific history, or their new national myth (Marschall 2006b). This is an intriguing assertion as the deceived and ambushed young men were only awarded honorary MK status after their deaths.

The artists’ ideas for signifying the Gugulethu Seven were more inclusive of the 1980’s struggles as a whole and the climate of activism in the townships.

David: So there were all those, those were the kind of struggles that we had with the city, you know. But even with us, you know, what is it that we want to [do]? Why them [the Gugulethu Seven]? I mean there were many others who died as well? And you know, what we proposed, we proposed that even more names should be added, so that the monument doesn’t just represent the seven. But that was never done.

Patrick: That’s why we left the back of the memorial. We left it open. We were hoping that people could insert maybe a little plaque indicating others who had fallen as well in that period. So we were aware of the limitations of the project and the problems. But despite that, we thought we would try and push the boundaries, and see if we could make it more representative than it was so the seven figures, while there are seven figures, those seven figures can be representative of many other youth who fought in that time period and fell.

The artists did not want the memorial to solely reflect the ANC struggle or the black struggle. In their view, anti-apartheid efforts engaged all ethnic groups.

The artists were not alone in their fear that the ANC would co-opt the monument. Among the interested parties, animosity that ANC supporters in local and national government use the monument campaigns as a political rallying point simmers beneath the surface. Arguably, the Gugulethu Seven monument engages long held antagonism between once radical groups, the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, or PAC. The most telling aspect of criticism of the Memory Project, is that the 1960 Langa PAC protest against pass laws led by Philip Kgosana (Lodge 1978) is not equally commemorated. Plans for a monument there were not picked up by the City.8

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8 A mural and mosaic pylon exist at the site, but I believe these were township-initiated projects.
Interestingly, the Western Cape has never been an ANC stronghold. The PAC splintered from the ANC in the 1950s with emphasis on future African majority control being paramount to multi-ethnic cooperation. In Cape Town, especially Langa, the PAC’s conservatism and emphasis on tradition appealed to poor, struggling migrant worker populations (Lodge 1978). The Western Cape is a significant case, not only because of the voting outcomes but because of the demographic makeup of the electorate (Eldridge and Seekings 1996: 519). The province is unique because African voters are the minority, with coloured voters representing half the population and white voters one-fourth. Currently, the Democratic Alliance, the official opposition party to the ANC, is the leading party in the Western Cape.

In another respect, Patrick and David were interested in creating the monument as public education about the anti-apartheid movement. They were seeking to engage local schools and engender a sense of remembrance for the 1980s time period. David comments that they wanted to have a “living monument.” In their vision, the monument could serve as a “trigger” for the community imparting that the Gugulethu Seven were not just “victims of their circumstances.” They hoped the monument could inspire new campaigns of resistance as, according to them, there is still a need in black communities for dissent and protest. In effect, the artists conveyed a sincere desire to achieve something positive and lasting with the monument.

Details in the monument’s design reflect the artists’ aspirations. The monument consists of seven granite pillars with cut-out silhouettes of male figures in positions of celebration and protest with their fists held high. The silhouettes are placed to catch the morning sun, then cast the figures in shadow on the ground. David explains that in this way the men become one with the environment again. The Gugulethu Seven were killed at twenty-five past seven in the

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9 Eldridge and Seekings (1996) point out that racial and ethnic factors are important to voting outcomes, but not the sole determinant.
morning. This feature not only integrates the memorial into its surroundings but also bestows a sense of timelessness. The cutouts are inspired by images from 1980’s struggle propaganda. Patrick explains they wanted to evoke the old low budget flyers that were photocopied and plastered around (South African History Archive 1991).

The same aesthetic is seen in the bronze face plates at the base of each pillar that commemorate the individual youths. Unfortunately, the artists were unable to locate photographs of all the victims. Patrick expressed that these blank plaques, this emptiness, spoke to the conditions of poverty, exploitation, and migrancy experienced in Gugs at the time. Parents were unable to even provide ID photos of their children. The artist further explained that having nothing there was a heartbreaking experience.

Since the installation, the artists have been somewhat frustrated with the slowness of the City to make the surroundings of the memorial congruent with the quality of the memorial itself. For example, the City has failed to clear away the old monument and took another two years to install the proper sidewalk and landscaping in the vicinity. A 2009 City report listed the monument in “bad condition” and recommends “urgent” action to repair granite, plaques, and lights:

All the lights are broken, the cement is cracked on the far left hand side, the plaque which has an inscription of a face is missing from the far right figure and the plaque from the second to the right figure is bent. The granite from the far right figure is damaged and nearly coming off completely. Tippix has been used to deface the monument. [O’Donaghue 2009]

The artists echoed concerns I heard from the City Department of Heritage representative about vandalism of this and other new struggle monuments in historically ethnic districts (CDOH representative, personal communication, May 14, 2008). For example, in February, bronze statues commemorating MK youths Connie Williams and Robert Waterwich, who were killed in 1989, were stolen in Athlone and found in the bins of scrap metal collectors.
Patrick: Well, a lot of the history in this place is lost, you know it’s disappearing. It doesn’t have any kind of significance for people. I think the experience of the Connie Williams/ Robert Waterwich vandalism that just happened now testifies to that…So you can see of what value sometimes, you know, our history has for people even in our own communities. So I think that when people [tourists] come here, I would imagine it is as much of a void to them as it is to many of us who stay here. Maybe even more so unless, of course, you are interested in the politics and history of Cape Town and somehow you got to know about it. It’s something you want to see while you were in Cape Town.

However, the artists’ greatest frustration is that tourism is not the education outlet they envisioned for the monument. In our discussion, the artists were interested to discuss how their work was conceived but were not particularly pleased with the monument’s place as a tourist site. Just as they were wary of the City Council’s political motives, the team seemed reluctant to leave the work open to tourism’s interpretations. This concern stems from their firm view of township tourism as an exploitative endeavor that capitalizes on the community’s poverty and creates unsustainable, dependant jobs. Moreover, they are not convinced of the quality of information given on most tours. Although the artists are supporters of Cape Liberation and Remembrance Center’s educational excursion initiatives, they believe that mass tourism overwhelmingly presents the same unqualified rhetoric and essentialisms as the new government in promoting multiculturalism.

Patrick: Tourism reflects the notion of ethno-ism, the racism that goes with it, the classism, and all, all of those issues. It doesn’t address it, I think. You know. And so we have big problems with the notion of tourism. Tourism is really, for many people it’s an attempt to economically salvage a very bad situation and to give some kind of notion of hopism in the context of what? No-hopism? So it’s this veneer, this rhetoric again…

We’ve done the Gugulethu Seven, but we don’t want to be seen as part of the tourist industry. Because I think we have big problems with tourism. And I think the context in which the Gugulethu Seven has been presented is a problem for us. We didn’t see it that way at all.

Tours, they express, thus presents the very pitfalls they were trying to overcome in their design and further undermines the goals of the monument.
Patrick: I think it’s important because it’s about the commodification of the symbols of our history. It’s about the commodification of peoples’ sacrifices. It’s about the commodification of apartheid in a sense. It’s turned into a business…behind this notion of the new South Africa…It has taken away the meaning; it has undermined the meaning of struggle, meaning of what it was about…It also fixes, it tends to fix identities and that is one of the big problems in a place like Cape Town…That is not what we fought for in the first place…

So I think when that you know we did the work, it was also in a sense to challenge those interpretations. And now we find in the frame, the context of tourism it’s taken right back again to what we thought we had emerged from.

In their analysis, tourism cheapens efforts at commemoration and education. Further, well-intentioned city projects in this vein carry the rhetoric of restructuring and reconciliation into plans designed for communities, not by communities. The council members and the artists strove, albeit in divergent ways, to recognize the anti-apartheid struggle and elevate public township places for a higher purpose. In effect, the City Council and the artists were making claims to different public history-making campaigns. The city’s sought to make a gesture of reparation and appreciation for the Gugulethu township community. However, their focus on these heroes and claims to ANC symbols arguably fosters their historical and ideological narrative potentially silencing competing interpretations of struggle and community. On the other hand, the artist lofty goals encompassed the approval of the victims’ families, a non-racialized vision, and the opportunity to bring struggle history to the fore in a disadvantaged area. Their efforts at presenting themes of anti-racism and anti-classism, a monument not tied to specific labels, are possibly realizable physically, but ideologically the monument is still open to interpretation, co-optation, or disregard.

The artists feel that some key decisions were successfully negotiated, however, in other aspects, they acquiesced to the city council. They decided the monument was essential regardless of their personal politics. Even though the seven young men were tricked, they thought they were fighting for liberation, and the artists supported the movement against apartheid. They believed
in the installation and its potential to both represent and enact great social change. Yet, the monument has been vandalized and may even go unnoticed by the local community. Further, they are not pleased to leave their work open to the interpretation of tourist guides for township tours, which they view as voyeuristic and disrespectful.

In this way, the Gugulethu Seven example corresponds with other examinations of new struggle monuments. Marschall explains how monument design projects often simultaneously seek to avoid iconoclasm, endorse inclusiveness, and speak to a dearth of historical representations. And yet they are premised on a political, “selective ideological genealogy” that purports a particular historical rendering of the newly democratic nation (2006a: 177). Furthermore, the need to present a certain history leads to “distortions and omissions” (ibid: 182). These new projects have seized on certain details of legendary personalities and events in an effort to contribute ideologically to building the foundation of the new nation (Marschall 2006a, 2006b). As with interpretation of the Gugulethu Seven event in popular history, the creation process of the monument itself exhibits a malleable quality. Are the artists’ voiced concerns about tourism, representation, and rhetoric just? We must ask how the strategies of both the council and the artists result in a paradox: “implementing exclusiveness to redress the exclusiveness and elitism of apartheid period” (Marschall 2006a: 179). Moreover, it is important to see how the resultant monument, as well as current tourism practices, are a co-production of multiple efforts.

**Touring Monuments on the NY 1**

Overwhelmingly, township tour guides are the most frequent visitors to the memorial site, recounting the scene to foreign clients on a near-daily basis. In this section, I compare narratives and use of space around the existing monument between common cultural tours led by freelance guides and a more political tour led by former MK combatants focused on history of resistance.
Through this analysis and accompanying ethnographic data, I provide a fuller understanding of touristic treatments of the monument and struggle history. Just as the design and build process was affected by personal, pragmatic, and ideological factors, so too must we understand that tour guides face numerous constraints. In this instance, we see both the limits and possibilities of politicizing or depoliticizing tour content. A number of reasons for the differences are salient. Primarily, dissimilarities can be linked to personal experience and company objectives. One key distinction is the mission of the respective types of tours and their conception of the new South Africa.

Politics and tourism have an interesting relationship. McEachern argues that tours are political because they give those previously denied, a chance to speak. Further, she writes,

Township tours can be understood in terms of raising new political possibilities within the cultural field when, engaging state discourses of national unity, they make claims about belonging and inclusivity that produce new inflections in the narrative of the nation. [2002:93]

However, the possibilities of giving voice and reversing the marginalization of black history meet various challenges in practice.

I describe three narratives drawn from similar cultural tours of the townships and facilitated by freelance guides. As a key thematic and spatio-temporal marker in typical tours, the monument site allows guides to broach themes in the post-apartheid narrative, such as political history, violence, and reconciliation. However, the meaning of the Gugulethu Seven monument can potentially become condensed or sanitized as with other touristic markers.10 In comparison, an extended example from a CLRC tour stands outside the norm. Their tactics are based on a

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10 For example, Robben Island is a testament to the power of human rights as District Six represents the power of community memory.
long, personalized narrative and force participants to experience the monument area outside of the bus.

By training my observations on guides’ practices as well as by gaining familiarity with the guide via interviews and participant observation, I gained a greater understanding of the resultant “on the bus” experience. We see how place and story are used for certain ends by different types of tour companies and how nationally iconic messages about violence and reconciliation are presented to foreign visitors. Because of varied interpersonal factors, such as age, participation in the struggle, feelings of abandonment by the nation they fought to create, and a common cause, the CLRC guides have a more apparent collective identity and message than the scores of free-lance guides. However, that does not mean freelance guides are exempt from ideological pursuits. Freelance guides can also exhibit their unique connection to the politically thematic topics. They are, however, generally more constrained by demands of the industry such as time and customer service.

Touring and Politics

Discussing the role of political history on tours, company manager Langford (Chapter 3) remarked that he always tells his guides two things.

Langford: Number one, the struggle is over, the fight for liberation. Although you are always fighting, the struggle is over to a certain degree. And number two, people are generally here on holiday. They are not here to be politicized or conscience-ized...Yes, they want to learn and gain knowledge, but please don't hammer down on them. So we must try to present our views, and our points, and our history in a non-threatening, interesting way that people must be able to interact with you and ask questions and have a discussion on the vehicle. And you must try to be as neutral as possible (personal communication, July 13, 2006).

In turn, guides may share this sentiment, yet the ways political or ideological beliefs are approached in tour narratives are multiple. The extent and tone of political content in tours
depends upon the prerogative and narrative of the given guide and, perhaps, structures imposed by the company he works for.

I observed that most black guides in their 20s and 30s strive to appear apolitical and avoid drawing tour participants into debates and complicated issues. Some of the older generation, in their 40s and 50s, while also attempting neutrality, are more likely to share insights and opinions if pressed. 2008 was an election year, prompting informed visitors to ask the guides for their assessment of controversial, front runner Jacob Zuma.\textsuperscript{11} I observed guides often replied with ambiguous remarks, jokes, or turned the question around on the tourist instead of divulging their true feelings. For example, Siviwe recalls being asked explicitly about his beliefs by a tourist early on in his year of gaining experience.

Siviwe: She asks me. ‘Do you have peace with the people who did all this? You know, do you still have that anger or did you forgive them?’ She's asking me, you know, like how do I feel. Questions like that, I do not like questions like that, you know. Because what's going to happen if I answer my personal feelings she will judge me, you know. So I told her, “No, Nelson Mandela when he came out of prison, he said let's come together and build this country.” [We both laugh.]

RH: That's a cop out.

Siviwe: I didn't answer her how do I feel, those things, you know. I cannot do that. She was pushing me too far (personal communication March 30, 2008).

Overwhelmingly, instances concerning political parties, race relations, current events, or the progress of township-aimed developments in tour narratives are placed benignly within the rhetoric of the new Rainbow Nation. As Charles (Chapter 4), the tour guiding instructor tells his students, “Party politics is out” (personal communication, May 13, 2008). Most guides were reluctant to criticize the new government or allude to race related social tensions. However, for tourists looking out the bus windows, it is clear that townships need continued development.

\textsuperscript{11} Zuma was understood as controversial to tourists because of his colorful personal life, including recent rape charges and irresponsible comments about HIV/AIDS.
Thus many tour guide narratives are formed to purposefully combat any negative take-home messages.

As noted, tour frameworks, anecdotes, and examples consider segregation history to some extent in the beginning and move on to ideas of reconciliation and infrastructure improvement. Examples such as the old pass building in Langa are contrasted with discussion of the integrated Langa police force and community recycling programs. This undercurrent feeds the forward moving feel of many tours. The more overtly politically motivated, backward looking excursions by CLRC are an exception. Their staff begins tours with the conceit that apartheid still exists in many ways, especially economically. They articulate more directly that the effects of apartheid remain visible in city spatial relations and housing/infrastructure differentials.

A few sites of interest on the common tour route deal with political issues or arouse visions of inequality and violence besides the Gugulethu Seven. For instance, the District Six Museum provides historical context with examples such as images of pass books, a bench marked “for whites only,” and details of forced removals. As visitors tour the museum, they confront the themes of community lost and reclaimed (Field 2002). Within the townships, the site of the 1960 PAC rally against pass laws and resultant police brutality in Langa often garners scant mention as walking tours or busses move past the old pass office and police station. In these instances, apartheid policy is painted as a human rights violation, based upon race, to the advantage of the white settlers without much nuance. At both sites, the District Six and Langa pass office, guides reiterate that pass laws and identity booklets were a touchstone of apartheid that evoked widespread resistance (Maylam 1995: 36). However, given the placement in and the accompanying pace of tours at those moments, the examples can fall into a long list of apartheid
facts and ills recited to participants. Two companies’ practices are standout differences. Both CLRC and one other company stop their busses and move tourists to stand in the empty courtyard as they tell stories of riots in Langa in the 1960s and 1980s. In both of these cases, the narrators have a more personal connection to the events having participated or knowing persons who participated.

Nonetheless, guides can reveal their more personal ideological stances in subtle ways throughout tours. One guide, Vusi, hid his passionate ANC membership from tour participants, stating he did not like to talk about politics and was not even interested in it (personal communication and tour, October 29, 2007). However, his tour made clear the contentious role of privatized civil services. I watched as he dramatically stopped the tour bus one day to ask the women washing laundry to be sure and turn off the running communal tap that was blasting out unused water. I accompanied Vusi for several days while the ANC convention in Polokwane was raging. During breaks, he slyly remarked that he needed to call Polokwane “to check on [his] boys.” Another guide, Ayanda, a bit older and a smooth orator, pointedly drew visitors into the South African miracle as participants. After the visit to the District Six Museum or site, he paused to dramatically thank the foreign tourists because their countries, through boycotts and sanctions, had bravely helped bring an end to apartheid (tour, July 4, 2006). A guide for another company had overheard this practice and brought it up with me. He found it offensive and insulting to discuss politics, possibly assuming too much of the audience (personal communication, July 1, 2006).

I admit I was often dismayed that tour guides chose not to elaborate on contemporary debates and hot issues. For example, throughout the township, housing and service provision remains a litigious problem. In Langa, the refurbishment of the hostels and upgrading of the
squatter areas has been interrupted by lack of funds, bad leadership, shoddy construction work, and confusion and protest over resident removal and rehousing. Yet, few guides described the on-going dispute surrounding mismanagement of public funds or the riots in Joe Slovo squatter area about removals and upgrading schemes as a consequence of the N2 Gateway project in a negative way. Rather many repeated the slogan “No shacks by 2014” implying that progress was unhampered.

I realized that at times when the problem was elaborated on (or other instances where social issues were explained at length), the conversation tended to bring out antagonizing comments from tour participants. Guides preferred not to make it an issue for fear some brave guests offered opinions presuming that they knew best. Guest comments often ended with sentiments that the government should do this or that and all would be solved or question why citizens were not doing more for themselves. I once watched an older German man shake his finger in Reginald's (Site guide from Langa, Chapter 5) face, admonishing that he was an able bodied man and he needed to go get a job. The perhaps well-intentioned questions and solutions of the visitors became insulting to the guides and drivers who better understood the complexity of township development politics but were at a loss to explain it. Thus, it is a strategic decision by guides to maintain control over discussion of past and present political issues.

From the guide’s point of view, then, taking time to stop and explain why losing one’s place in a squatter camp and being removed to outlying Delft was such a burden on family life and finances requires the building of a clear back story. In Langa, I watched Siviwe's approach to this site evolve over time. As a part of his walking tour, it was integral that Siviwe built up to this point in the story by explaining and exemplifying migrant workers’ restrictions and the reasons residents prefer squatter camp housing to the cramped conditions of the hostels. Then, the choice
to explain that the new apartments of the N2 Gateway and the effort to create mixed income apartment complexes was resulting in rent boycotts and secret subletting depends on factors such as time, audience size, or interest. The complicated nature of this issue can either confound the positive message of the tour, if that is the guide’s goal, or reward tourists with real insight into social problems.

Tours have been criticized for lacking serious historical and political content. The key argument in question is whether guides’ treatment of such content actually perpetuates misunderstanding and difference or offers a disservice by glazing complicated situations. Do guides across the board offer a pat version of apartheid, reconciliation, and development that neatly fits with the internationally known South African miracle?

Company owners and guides vary in response to these claims. For Langford, a company owner’s philosophy is that tours are ultimately entertainment. The goal may be education or to give aid, but guides also have to gauge the interest of patrons as they go along. On the predominant half-day tours, guides most often recount wanting to leave tourists with an understanding of why townships exist and to reduce their fear and stereotypes of these formerly “no-go” areas. However, guides’ narratives, time allowance, and audience interest does not always live up to the ideal. Guides negotiate a number of simultaneous constraints on tours. Keeping clients’ interest can become more difficult in large, mixed group tours. Furthermore, as Siviwe and others explained, they feel pressure to leave guests with a positive message. Traffic, late passengers, or other delays such as numerous questions about a particular sight, can vary the time and attention given to the monument. Notably, tour participants are usually at least two or more hours into their township excursion by the time they reach Gugulethu. Tourists and the guide may be experiencing fatigue. Or the guide may need to hurry along to his next stop.
**General Tours**

Engaging in thick description of how one significant place is treated by a number of tours some patterns for analysis can emerge. Such is the case with the following examination of Gugulethu Seven monument and the NY 1. In the following examples recorded at the Gugulethu Seven Memorial, guides appear to seek a brief yet pungent storytelling and an interesting addition to their scenic drive.

The first example is drawn from a company which names their tour the “Township Experience.” The guide is Fikile, then a 26-year-old African man. Amidst his jokes and informative introduction to the half day tour, Fikile notes: “We are not actually doing a tour. I’m not a guide, I’m a facilitator. When the focus is on people, truly I am just a facilitator for you” (tour, July 26, 2006).

His tour route includes common stops such as the District Six site, the Cultural Center, a walking tour of the hostels and informal squatter camp in Langa, and a shack bed and breakfast in Khayelitsha. In Gugulethu, he pulls the van over beside the memorial in the taxi parking.

Fikile: On our left hand side, it’s a memorial site really of seven young men in the township of Gugulethu who were, you know, popularly known as the Gugulethu Seven. They were ambushed and shot and killed in cold blood, really, in 1986, you know, by policemen. It was said that they were in alliance against the government and they were on a mission, really, to, you know, destroy, really, you know, uh, you know, uh, government establishment, police stations, and so forth, and army camps. So they were ambushed and attacked and killed and shot in cold blood. Now to make matters even worse, you know, um, you know, the policemen dumped hand grenades and guns on the bodies of the deceased so that when there was media coverage on the scene here they will find these weapons and it will prove and confirm that they were guerilla, you know, you know, war fighters really, who had obtained military training in our neighboring siding countries. And this was why they had to be assassinated, because they were fighting the system of the government. So this is new really erected to basically commemorate, you know, the seven young boys who died here in Gugulethu. You can see they are trying to engrave, you know, their facial images of the boys on those bronze plates.
His commentary lasts only a minute and thirty seconds. A young male passenger impatiently asks a question about something else and the van moves us on its journey.

The second example comes from a tour entitled “The Chameleon.” The brochure advertises the tours’ focus on the great changes and daily struggles taking place in the townships. The guide is a 27-year-old African man, Linda, who has been doing township tours since before our first meeting in 2002. He contracts with a number of companies and has perfected his version of the tour regardless of what the brochure advertises. His route is, however, very similar to the previous one. On this day, he adds visits to an informal shebeen and an elementary school in the heart of an informal township. He introduces the journey as such: “I term this tour an educational tour because it is an insight into the history of the black people in Cape Town. And on this tour we are following a historical path of the forced removals” (tour, July 25, 2006). He thus follows the development of townships from Langa to Khayelitsha.

Linda: In Gugulethu, Linda pulls the van over in front of the monument. We’ve got two incidents that makes the township of Gugulethu to be popular. The first one, it happened on the third of March 1986, where we had seven political activists which were killed by the security forces in the Western Cape. In front of us on the left, there’s the memorial site of the Gugulethu Seven. These were political activists and some of them they had worked for the military wing of the African National Congress. And they seemed to be a threat to the security forces in the Western Cape. And because they’re working for the military wing of the ANC, they were always implicated of having guns or having, uh, weapons. So the security forces in the Western Cape wanted to put an end to them. And to do that, they came up with a plot of picking them up from their homes as if they would be taking them for a job interview. As they were driven up this road, on this intersection there was a police road block of which the car they were driven in was stopped. The guy was driving steeped out of the van and the police opened fire and killed seven of these activists. And the planted guns and hand grenades on the neighborhood of the scene so as to claim that had been attacked by the terrorists. Well, last year on the twenty-first of March the former Deputy President of the country, Jacob Zuma, was here to unveil this memorial site of Gugulethu Seven.

This commentary lasts two minutes. The two young European women in the van speak to one another but have no questions, and the tour moves on. He describes the other event for which NY
I and Gugulethu is notorious the nearby corner where American Fulbright scholar Amy Biehl was murdered.

A final example in the cultural tour genre comes from a special tour. As noted in Chapter 4, I was able to attend the practicum session for township tour guiding as directed by Charles’s prevalent tour guiding academy, specifically one advertising the 3-4 week long short-course method. The combi was driven by the school director and head lecturer, a retired white South African guide. For this tour, he contracted an African township resident and licensed guide. The guide was originally from Soweto and had recently moved to a nice, formal settlement near Khayelitsha. The passenger seats were all full with the students from various backgrounds, predominantly white and European, with one black Zimbabwean. The director suggested that non-township residents should hire a resident as guide for safety, accuracy, and authenticity. However, unbeknownst to the participants, the tour was fraught with many disheartening moments and instances of blatant misinformation. This is her description of the Gugulethu Seven event to the next generation of tour guides (tour, May 22, 2008).

Guide: Now we are approaching the Gugulethu Seven. If we speak of the Gugulethu Seven, this is the incident that took place in 1986, whereby 6, oh 7 young men were killed brutally by the police. And according to their positions that we see them [on the statue], the positions that you see them, that is the positions that they were found lying when they were killed. And in the area where this has been erected, this is where the incident took place. As you can see, this is nearer to the exit point of Gugulethu. The march…The police were coming in from this direction and the march…the police station of Gugulethu is found right at the bottom.

White South African Female participant: What did they do?

Guide: Th-they, they, these are the people…During 1986s there were some protests that were taking place in the townships against the pass laws, against the um…and the people used to believe that they even--During that time they were destroying all the taverns, because they said most people were no longer thinking what was right, because they would spend most of their time drinking. So these are the people that were in the forefront of the struggle that was being taken up during that time in 1986.
In a handful of other transcriptions, guides will occasionally engage themes of reconciliation specifically taking time to tell about the TRC and the Amy Biehl case. Others make up stories about the significance of the monument itself, such the instructing guides comment that the figure cut outs depict how the dead bodies of the victims were found on the ground. Unless there is a special request, none of the tour guides in this genre stop the bus for tourists to disembark. Rather they are expected to take a photo from the bus.

**Alternative Tours**

In much contrast, CLRC tours aim for accuracy, for personal details, and strategically use the area of the monument installation to engross visitors. CLRC facilitators consider themselves outside of the township tourism industry. Originally advertising in guidebooks and tourism centers, they have since restricted their clientele and exposure. At first, they were adverse to my requests for interviews fearing any relationship to conventional township tourism.

In brief, CLRC began in 1997 and its founders are former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation or MK), the militant wing of the ANC formed in 1961 (Beinart 2001: 168). Many of these men served as covert agents in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and as soldiers in training camps in neighboring countries such as Angola or Mozambique. All their tours are administered by former-MK cadres. Their primary audience is students and school groups with a focus on reconciliation studies, and one guide tells me they typically offer at least one excursion a day in the busy summer season. As an activist group, they distance themselves from association with mainstream tourism.

On my first CLRC excursion, I and another American student are accompanied by two guides, Thandis and Siya, comrades who were in training in Angola in the 1980s. Our driver is the father of another former MK operative. Their goal, as stated in their introduction, given while we are seated in their company meeting room, is to give an alternate to the “normal, conventional
tour.” They are critical of “shebeen” tours, which visit townships as if visiting poor people in a “zoo.” One guide notes, “Forget about being a tourist. You are participants, students” (tour, July 11, 2006).

They further explain that the organization was formed as a way for former MK members to come together. As political militants, they had left South Africa and their education behind as teenagers. They finally returned to a free South Africa after 1994 only to find themselves unemployed, unskilled, and often psychologically traumatized by their experience. Many of the comrades turned to alcohol. They grew tired of “pointing the finger,” and wanted to take responsibility for their own situation. The men wanted to capitalize on their own “political telescope,” to analyze for themselves and visitors the question: “Why is this a very racially segregated city?” Siya contends that with black political power, “come[s] innovative ways of pushing a new struggle with new means, thus we built this excursion.”

CLRC members felt the need to educate others while commemorating the sacrifices of their comrades. Thandis states, “We were not sure we would live to see freedom. We were prepared to die, to kill for what we wanted. We tell each other that these sacrifices must not be in vain.” When they began planning excursions there were no monuments, “no plaques to see in the townships.” He says, “We started, charging nothing to gather visitors to those spots thinking we will be the plaques through our narrative.” Now, partly through their continued efforts there are three new monuments, including Gugulethu Seven, to visit.

A map on the wall is marked mysteriously with black lines. Thandis goes to it and shows how people of color were moved into a triangle of land away from city center. He wants us to know that the city is made out of laws—forced removals, influx controls. “We interact with those laws. We are taught black people want to be there (township areas), but they are put there
by laws…We want to restore their dignity, the pride they have by narrating why they are there…we will show how black, brown, and white communities are divided by two towers (nuclear power cooling towers).” They distinguish the area between city center and winelands, the townships, as a no-go zone.

Their route visits the District Six site, offers a drive through Pinelands, a premier white suburb, the 1960 pass laws march site in Langa, and visits two MK monuments in the coloured township of Athlone. At each memorial site, participants and guides physically exit the van to stand on the sidewalk. The guides take turns telling the story of the incidents at length. We are given a few minutes to read the plaques and return to the bus. We are allowed to take pictures, but their serious almost funerary tone, makes me self-conscious. It seemed inappropriate.

When the van stops at the same pull off in front of the Gugulethu Seven Memorial, Siya takes us off the van and walks us down to the street corner to stand beside a large tree, one of few trees remaining in this sandy, flat landscape. Here he gives the detailed narrative below for over fifteen minutes. The busy and distracting mid-week street life of Gugs goes on all around. People wave to us and to the guide who happens to live nearby. Cars, men, women, and children continually go by. Even a horse pulling a buggy made from the skeleton of an old car, gallops down the road during a dramatic point in his story.

Siya: This is Gugulethu. Gugulethu translated as “our pride.” Here in Gugulethu we don’t have street names. It’s NY followed by number. If you can ask kids, they will tell you NY1, NY2. But NY mean native backyard, African native backyard. Built in 1958…but that is not only the reason to visit this place, to tell you when Gugulethu was built. This is the commemoration site, this site known as Gugulethu Seven.

It was 1985 when security forces faced very serious problems in our townships. When entering in our township if the number was 20, when they came back the number was far less than 20 because people was starting now to fight back, you see. So, security forces, asked support from the CCB. CCB means Civil Cooperation Bureau. It was said to be a terrorist tracking unit, but to the people that was means a death squad. This CCB were based in Pretoria, in Vlakplaas. That was
the farming field where two forces would be, that is CCB and ascara. Ascara is a Swahili word, a language that is spoken in Kenya, Tanzania, means a literal soldier. But in the context of Umkhonto we Sizwe, ascara means a soldier who betrays, working with the system, or will turn against the flow and work with the system. These people, we call them ascaras. So this unit would drove from Pretoria to the Cape. When they get here, they send one ascara to Nyanga bush—Nyanga bush, it was informal settlement that was situated in a bush terrain—sent one ascara to infiltrate. And when this ascara went there, they met the squatter leader, and the squatter leader hesitated his journey. This man invited now the squatter leader to the minibus that he was driving. On that minibus there was a secret compartment that were full of arms, arms like the arms that were famous in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the arms that were from the Eastern Bloc. Arms from the Eastern Bloc—Sharp! Sharp![to passer by]—Arms from the Eastern Bloc, arms like AK-47…This man now agreed that, softening his heart, and agreed about to this man that, ok, I mean, we agreed that you are a genuine MK soldier.

And when he get in, he introduce now seven young men. One of the seven young men, his name was Christopher Pete. He had now…He took out an AK-47 and give to this man...that man quickly return the AK-47. And he agreed now to this person and the military training starts. That military training was everyday according to CCB boss. Continuing the training after two months they introduced now the second ascari, that one, he was to teach the seven young the language that was spoken by the ANC…as a political commissar of that unit. Teach the politics—[disruption from street, car horns] Teach them the politics that were spoken by the ANC. [horns] After that this ascara asked them to bring along a biographies under the pretense that these biographies would be sent to Zambia, where the headquarters of the ANC was. Only to find these biographies didn’t reach Zamia, only were sent to the CCB bosses. And then the training would continue.

In 1986 they planned an ambush attack, together CCB bosses and ascaras. That ambush plan was to kill now these seven young men, to ambush the minibus that was carrying white officers from the city, droving—and this NY, this is the main road of Gugulethu--driving shear down to the Gugulethu public station. So it was that March 1986 when two ascara drove to Nyanga bush to pick up the seven young men…This is NY 111. [Gesturing] And they drove here and they were supposed now to turn, turn here. But this ascara noticed the formation of police so they didn’t turn. They just drove straight. Where the cement road starts, they just stopped there. And the two ascara vanished to the bush. The comrades were left in that car, in that minibus.

And security forces starting to open the fire to the van. They were immediately shot and killed four comrades. One he was jumping out from the van. His name was John [K]. Before he reached the ground...he get shot. And after he was shot, he tried to run to the bush where there is informal settlements—it was a bushy terrain back then—ran to the bush. And the two who just came off from the van, raised their hands up, come down with their knees, showing their surrender. But that
didn’t work because one white officer took out the pistol and placed that pistol behind their heads... [street noise] They were killed.

The minister of safety and security went to the parliament, national parliament. So by that time, they had video cameras, cameras and pictures. They set up the video here for the parliament. [Unintelligible] was the minister of security. He asked the parliament to increase the budget of ascari and CCB because they are getting momentum against the terrorists...

[The rest of this narrative is partially inaudible due to wind and street noise. The text is my interpretation of the recording available.]

The TRC, they found the video cameras in this building, because this is the police barracks. They found the cameras... And the perpetrators, because of this evidence, were tried for killing these seven young men in Gugulethu...The ANC contested this amnesty...

[Pointing to bullets in the tree] This tree served as the monument for more than 20 years. This one is newly built. Our organization intervened when the municipality wanted to cut down this tree to make a place for a utility pole. We wanted to keep this marker.

The guide then shows where persons were shot.

Siya: The TRC, they disagreed that these comrades were MK because they were trained by the system. They refused to agree that these comrades were true MK comrades...But I am here to honor them under the banner of Umkhonto we Sizwe as well as the ANC...We knew each other, we grew up together, playing together, joining the liberation movement.

On the day of the funeral they said not more than 20 were [allowed to] attend, but what I can tell you more than 30,000 attend that funeral. You’re welcome to take pictures of the monument and there are some readings on there...If there is no question we can continue.

We walk back down the block to the monument, where the guide continues his discussion for a few more minutes.

Siya: There was a small monument that was carried a rejection, rejected by the family members of the communities, because they were not informed about that. And it was too small and it was not [unintelligible] with our comrades. Hence communities rejected that monument (tour, July 11, 2006).

The guide then walks us down the line of individual commemorative pillars. He reads the victims’ names. He imparts personal information about each, describing their nicknames,
showing if he knows where they fell during the incident, where they were born, or news about their families. He then shows us the previous monument which was built by the city council and destroyed in protest. Boys sit on a toppled stone pillar on a playground basketball court behind the new monument. He also tells us that his current home is within walking distance from this point. Returning to the van, our tour ends in Crossroads, the site of violent forced removal campaigns in the 1980s.

**Tour Interpretations**

The cultural tour guides clearly offer an edited version of the Gugulethu Seven story, leaving out details such as the plans of espionage. Yet the brief and marginally accurate accounts exemplified by the general day tours are the norm. For such guides, the monument serves its thematic purpose as a site to inspire themes of violence, apartheid, and reconciliation. They do not question the amnesty decisions made in the case and talk definitively about the status of the young men as activists or MK. Only one example mentions ANC affiliation. Based on the length of time spent at the memorial and the non-aggressive, sanguine way they attempt to hold their audience’s attention at this marker, it is not as important as other aspects of their journey such as cultural markets, homes, or schools. In general, cultural tours given by young black guides uncritically privilege the ideals of the Rainbow Nation as opposed to openly criticizing contemporary policies or politicians. Though drawing attention to colonial and apartheid injustice, they focus on the present and the future. They espouse the rhetoric of forgiveness without forgetting, despite small or egregious errors in historical fact. They embrace the competing themes of unity and diversity, celebrating, if problematically, South Africa’s many ethnic groups and their cultural practices.

Cultural tours may emphasize continuity with the past via examples such as the traditional beer, dress, or healers. But guides call on a different set of possibilities for the monument. The
Gugulethu Seven installation represents positive changes to the township landscape. The place is worthy of recognition, and it is a place to commemorate an explicit break with the past. Although referencing a tragic event, guides impart that such race-based violence is behind the nation, just as structural violence and inequality is being overcome as evinced in other tour destinations.

To the contrary, CLRC staff do not visit homes or cultural destinations on their typical excursions. CLRC offers a detailed, linear narrative. Their tour focus is primarily on the past. Their prevalent themes concern struggle, remembrance, victimization, and activism. In a spirit of resistance, they draw attention not only to apartheid’s legacy but to the persistence of inequality. Their tactics for audience participation or engagement are more direct and dramatic. They more pointedly use the township place to convey their organizational and personal narratives.

In the literature, scholars have consistently been attracted to CLRC, making them appear as a prevalent contender and model for other tours. As Witz et al. (2001) point out, even in 2000 the emergent enterprise refused to be framed as a tour, restricted the photography of clients, and claimed a unity of experience among African and coloured South Africans. Witz et al. saw in their excursion the “potential to construct a new cultural map of the city, focusing on the traces of urban resistance” via tours. In his 2002 assessment, Robins notes the CLRC's refusal to participate in building of the predominant, new national narrative about miraculous change. In fact, they appear to question the very idea of the new nation by suggesting instead anecdotes of abbreviated development and that apartheid has not ended (ibid:421). Further, through use of personal connections, their narratives frame the memorialized combatants as actors, not as victims. Thus, CLRC’s attention detail, respect, and practice seem to appeal to the perhaps liberal-leaning views of scholars. But in actuality the “Journey of Remembrance” only represents
one alternative in a larger set of tours who offer limited engagement with the monument and which draws a much larger audience.

Beyond company goals, another important explanation for the differences concerns interpersonal factors associated with specific tour guides. South Africans of color long lacked ultimate power over official representations of their cultures, living spaces, or experiences under apartheid. As with the TRC, many feel that even in post-apartheid times, experiences and testimonies are still co-opted by government and media. It can be argued that township tourism initially grew out of a need to combat popular renderings, specifically those about crime and violence (McEachern 2002). The cultural tour guides mentioned above were both adamant about this, perhaps to the point of downplaying the current existence and causes of crime. In contrast, the MK cadres explicitly feel the need to challenge unauthorized representations of their history. To this degree they have launched a new struggle combating, for one, the subtraction of personal suffering called for in national discourses of forgiveness and unity. They are also subtly challenging the idea that dramatic change has actually taken place by drawing attention to South Africa’s nonetheless segregated urban terrain. I say subtly because their backward-looking narratives leave scarce room for explicit commentary on current social conditions.

Furthermore, members of CLRC have been vocal about both the healing and challenging aspects of testimony (Henry 2000). Their tours are an extension of this public witnessing. South African anthropologist Ross reports that after the TRC, she noticed ways of storytelling became standardized and homogenized in the media, in the commission’s report, and in her research subjects’ oral history accounts (ibid: 329). In analysis Ross argues:

The capacity to narrate experience is widely and positively valued, especially in contexts in which violence and its consequences sunder the everyday and the standard linguistic forms associated with it…Narrative takes on an important role in restoring a sense of self in time and space.” [2003: 330]
While Ross conducted research with TRC participants, she found that even when the topic of discussion had nothing to do with violence or apartheid, subjects exhibited proclivity to recount violence and structurally make it a part of their ways of storytelling.

The MK cadres returned from exile in 1994 and found their social position problematic and liminal. Their use of history and their tour information refer to a shared, struggle experience for a particular group broadly conceived of as activists. In the tour, their personal experience of apartheid and struggle is implied if not drawn out specifically through narrative, tone, and route. The MK cadres voice more thoughtful, private concerns over topics such as reparations and amnesty. The younger, cultural tour guides were infants when the MK cadres left the country in exile and teens at the transition to democratic rule. Over all, the cultural guides may be less invested and less informed regarding this event than the DACMP guides. I do not wish to reify either category or imply the younger guides’ experiences are less meaningful. Rather I only point out that a generational and social difference probably exists between these two types of guides.\textsuperscript{12} This difference appears to have ramifications for the type and length of narrative they use and how they link their personal identities to the Gugulethu Seven site. The difference can also be linked to the economic and philosophical goals of the respective companies.

In sum, CLRC excludes attention to social life and culture while conventional tours abbreviate a multitude of aspects to offer an all-encompassing experience. Thus, each type of township visit will inevitably fall short and condense certain aspects. Yet again, one cannot always correlate a guide’s treatment of the monument on any solitary day with his personal ideas about it. As explained to me in interviews, freelance guides are often affected by this monument and do hold personal attachment to the story.

\textsuperscript{12} Refer to Bozzioli 2004 for further discussion of generational differences and clashes in townships.
The Struggle Over Meaning

The goal of this chapter has been to examine how events such as the Gugulethu Seven circulate in popular memory and contribute to the making of place and narrative through tourism. I show how public memory associated with monuments is solidified in associated practices of design and build, narration, and performance. The event and corresponding monument carry various meanings, subjective and collective, for specific individuals and groups. In this case study, research can show how tourist destinations, such as the Gugulethu Seven, are cultural constructs whose meaning is often contested and maneuvered by certain groups. The multiple parties involved, such as city officials, design artists, urban residents, and various types of tour guides all actively contribute to the reshaping of post-apartheid city space. Importantly, they embark on divergent campaigns to depoliticize or politicize this meaning-laden place in reaction to new national rhetoric regarding unity and reconciliation.

By documenting these various public campaigns for truth and reconciliation, via commissions, monuments, and now cultural tourism, this extended case study exposes the double bind presented by heritage enterprises. Just as public monuments undergo a process of creation that attempts to speak to many groups, convey certain ideologies, and just as monuments reflect a particular social memory of the past, present, and future (McGregor and Shumaker 2006, Shackle 2001), so too does tourism adjoin another set of contested meanings and narratives to the place and all it represents (Sheller and Urry 2004).

The practices detailed above elucidate the range of possibilities and limitations for heritage attractions on tours and in the new South Africa more generally. In the long view, the presentation of the Gugulethu Seven incident in various public mediums, from 1986 through today, evinces how history-making is a contested, multi-vocal, and discursive process in South Africa (Castillejo-Cuellar 2005:161). For one, this incident is an example of the power of
apartheid to create silences, myth, and uncertainty. Even in light of recent investigations, painful gaps remain in accounts of the victims’ lives and deaths. Presently, the Gugulethu Seven event further demonstrates the immeasurable distance between official majority narratives and personal memories that persist post-apartheid. For example, the TRC overlooked “the historicity of apartheid as a multifarious and multilayered experience” (Castillejo-Cuellar 2007:31). Then, in the TRC report and the popular Long Night documentary, the Gugulethu Seven suffered “reduction to the essential,” to an iconic story of tragedy and reconciliation (ibid: 33). Furthermore, despite being duped, the Gugulethu Seven were adopted by the ANC as fallen heroes and cause for further civil disobedience.

Moreover, the goals of each party are constrained as they seek to build or voice their representations of the new nation. The political ambition and posturing of city council met with the design artists’ goals of nonracial political transformation. The quest for remembrance and personal healing sought by CLRC as well as the goals of public education sought by the design artists is often trumped by more conventional tour practices that only offer limited possibilities for understanding political history. Additionally, local residents have multiple memories of the event or interactions with the monument. However, the incidences of disregard and defacing public works for their valuable materials stand out.

In the end, we are left with an understanding of how such new national public projects, such as monument building or township tourism, each with the stated goals of restitution and inclusion, can result in paradoxical, questionable outcomes as well as the possibility of continued differentiation. As Marschall writes, monuments may be important symbolic statements that provide recognition and dignity to victims, however, “tangible changes to social reality are more difficult to achieve” (2010:41). Even the best intended treatments are entrapped by the possibility
of reinstating prejudices of the old regime, ossifying history and identity, or presenting incorrect data to an international audience. Such examples allow scholars to question how an emphasis on history from below can actually serve to deepen sense of marginalization and perpetuate communication of special status (Minkley and Rassool 1998:98). Ultimately, these examples contribute to the growing field of study on the role that memory and public representations of the past have in present nation building, highlighting the persistent contradictions and tensions.

The touristic treatment of the Gugulethu Seven especially demonstrates why some critics communicate dismay at the township tourism phenomenon. Superficially, tour guide narration calls on stereotypical presentations of difference, culture, and history. Yet under the surface of planning, design, and tourism acts lay contentious questions such as who gets the right to claim insider status on apartheid, who can make heritage decisions, and who can tell the story of struggle in the new South Africa. Provocatively, by subverting places of struggle to just one of many must-see township sites, tour guides follow through on the mandate of the new Rainbow Nation-- to forgive but not forget.
Figure 5-1. Gugulethu Seven Memorial 2008
CHAPTER 7
“HIGHLY RECOMMENDED:” WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS AND TOWNSHIP BED & BREAKFASTS

Urban tourism works through dreams and myths, and these play a vital role in differentiating space into places. [Selby 2004:3]

After dinner one evening in her Khayelitsha guest house, I watch Theresa pour over a checklist with Kirk, a visiting marketing and standards adviser from the Netherlands. They push aside plates of umqgushu (beef stew) and chakalaka (African slaw) and cups of homemade ginger beer to make room on the table.

Kirk flits around the kitchen and adjacent bedroom, praising Theresa for her attention to cleanliness, quality, and service. He asks her how often she turns and flips the mattresses. Some women, he says, don’t understand that the linens must be changed every day. He reaches up to check for dust on top of the cupboards. He remarks (paraphrasing): I know that here it is a safe, clean place. At other township B&Bs, I’d need to wash my hands in bleach (personal communication, November 27, 2007). Theresa and Kirk continue to talk about ways to be more efficient and sanitary with food preparation (using the phrase “mise en place”) and how to accommodate the township need for locked window and door bars with fire safety codes.

In a two week expanse, Kirk is visiting twenty township-based bed and breakfasts linked in a women’s business association. The proprietors are working to earn ratings or “stars” from national and international accommodation guides. Theresa thinks that half of the women in the association will benefit from the training, for many however, she thinks it is too much too soon.

The bed and breakfast sector is a rapidly growing aspect of the township tourism phenomenon. The trend is driven by female entrepreneurs capitalizing on home-grown resources.

Across South Africa, tourism development opportunities and training based on domestic practices such as cooking or providing accommodation have been aimed specifically at African
women (Rogerson 2006:42). An overnight stay in the townships is marketed as the ultimate way to meet the people of South Africa, understand how they live, share a meal and long conversation. The enterprising women are lauded by tour guides and travel publications as self-motivated success stories of the post-apartheid tourism boom. The women often find ways to perform this role at home and in narrative marketing. As one B&B website boasts: “While many residents struggle to make a living, people have begun to take control of their lives and the entrepreneurial spirit of the people is evident to visitors.” In return, township households become globally recognized destinations, written up in travel magazines, and gaining fans on Facebook.

In this chapter I describe the experience of several women working toward success in the B&B sector. During fieldwork, I stayed at eight different B&Bs situated throughout the townships from Langa to Khayelitsha for both extended and weekend visits. In many cases, my stays overlapped with tourist patrons who were interviewed and asked to fill out surveys after their outing. I also met with a few other up-and-coming B&B proprietors at their establishments. I stayed in or interviewed the staff of township B&Bs that varied from small three room shacks to large multi-story family homes. B&B types, and their proprietors, reflect the range of housing and economic classes across the township spectrum.

Comparing methods of decorating, marketing, and customer service among guest houses, a complex picture emerges depicting local meanings of home, domestic commodities, and representations of African township culture. The women owners express desires for modern, respectable homes that compete with accommodations offered in swank city neighborhoods. Yet

1 Website citations will be omitted to maintain the confidentiality of research participants.

2 I also spent a few overnights at a Soweto B&B outside of Johannesburg as a comparative case.
they must maintain a strategy of selling the chaos, flavor, and cultural heritage of township life to global consumers.

One of the inspirations for this chapter comes out of a conversation I had with a B&B owner, Portia. After dinner one evening in her Langa guest house, she detailed her vision not only for own home, but for upgrades of the townships in general. As noted, there is a great need for infrastructure, formal housing, and more conveniently located commerce centers where residents can shop and do business. When not working with patrons, Portia was busy getting permits for more signage directing visitors to her home, rapidly building on rooms in advance of the anticipated World Cup boom, and chasing certifications and credentials. She described her dream of seeing the townships grow as modern and accessible as higher classed suburbs in the Cape Town area. Curious, I asked, what if the townships do develop to appear like other satellite suburbs of Cape Town, why will visitors want to tour and stay here? What will be the draw? Portia balked at such a suggestion. Her argument was that townships will always have their special character, their history, their people, the *Ubuntu* spirit, the hospitality, the special food, and the connections to rural traditions.

Whether or not shacks and sheep heads will always characterize townships, the B&B phenomenon again reflects the larger paradoxical nature of trying to present township life through the lens of tourism as being as equally familiar or conventional as it is out of the ordinary and culturally distinct. At B&Bs, township tourism directly crosses into the domestic space of township residents, though in a different way than when tourists enter shacks and hostels on Langa walking tours. This experience is about sharing rich hospitality, family, and

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3 I stayed with Portia off and on during fieldwork, this personal communication occurred in October 2007. Please note that throughout this chapter, attributed ideas or conversations with the B&B owners are based on multiple days and nights of staying at their homes as well as formal interview sessions.
flavors of home not about understanding squalor and deprivation. It is also about a quality, customer service experience. In turn, desires for success in tourism spur the implementation of home improvements beyond commonplace upgrades. However, again I argue that the presentation of the township B&B is complicated beyond the host guest dialectic. Proprietors are designing the functional, decorative, and atmospheric aspects of B&Bs while negotiating a number of circulating, critical factors such as housing policy, Xhosa traditions, relationships with family and neighbors, accommodation assessment organizations, and tourists, both local and foreign.

First, I historicize the B&B sector in terms of patterns of urbanization policy and the meanings and practices associated with housing, as well as the significance of using home space as female economic space. Second, I emphasize how continuing shifts and constraints on female homemaking in light of post-apartheid development, new opportunities, and new class consciousness also affect meanings and practices in the home. The focus is then placed upon clarifying how these elements come together in the context of tourism in a new effort to both perform and constrain African domesticity. Class distinctions among the township women B&B owners along with their vivid expressions in the domestic setting in terms of décor, service, and social relations are drawn out for comparison.

Specifically, I look at what happens when the household is not only held to locally significant social norms, but invaded by standards and quality certification from external bodies. Given the confluence of these factors, I take up the following questions. It can be asked: How do the phantom tourists’ expectations and/or pressure of external certification direct urban African homemaking practices? Given this, how is tourism business proprietorship variously empowering or limiting for the women and their households? As women have gained increased
stability, opportunity, and autonomy in the post-apartheid nation, their domestic realm is again intruded upon by an outside force, albeit invited. As these women race to capitalize on the budding tourism market and gain ratings from internationally recognized bureaus, they encounter constraints of this global industry. But they rise to meet these challenges in specific local and gendered ways.

**Home-making under apartheid and beyond**

**Historicizing urbanization**

Research on township conceptions and configurations of home and domestic practices in both the apartheid and post-apartheid context inform this chapter theoretically and anecdotally. The study of domesticity, as argued by Hansen, concerns the interrelated aspects of gender, space, work, and power (1992:2). Thus, the growth of female run B&Bs must be linked to the historical development of conceptions of home, attention to home improvements, as well as women’s roles within the home in the urban setting in the last century. First, the historical making of female domesticity in African townships provides a foundation for investigating how the household comes to be a space of urban female entrepreneurship in contemporary South Africa.

South African urbanization policies had far-reaching effects on African family dynamics and the multiple ways women became a part of urban economies, formal and informal. Early urban migration policies in South Africa applied to men only. Although many African women did venture to cities, wives and mothers were expected to remain in their rural homesteads. After 1952 African women were prescribed to carry passes, or documents detailing their permission to work and live in certain areas (Slater 2000:40). As Slater comments, the “application of pass laws to women was to be central to their experience of urbanization, and would define their capacity to make a living for decades to follow” (ibid). The South African government preferred
single migrant-male labor and took aim at family and squatter settlements. Women were targets of state tactics such as pass raids and regulations that negatively impacted their ability to gain or change employment and maintain a home in the city (ibid). Cramped, squalid living conditions, such as in migrant hostels, further served as a physical and ideological assault on women’s sense of self-worth (Ramphele 1997).

It is important to understand that women faced expectations within the domestic sphere as well as struggles between the domestic sphere and integration into the capitalist labor system. Women migrated from the patriarchal relations of the rural areas into new forms of oppression in the capitalist system such as low wages, restricted employment options, and exclusion from labor unions. In town, women often still negotiated long-standing and shifting subjugation within the social and familial system (Bozzoli 1983).

Women were nonetheless crucial to the shaping of urban life and urban policy (Parnell and Mabin 1995:45-46). Further, women have always been a distinctive part of the informal economy of townships as well as the primary providers of domestic labor. The various survival strategies women employed, such as creating new social networks or new modes of employment as cooks, domestic workers, vendors, or prostitutes often depended on rural or household occupational skills (Bozzoli 1983). These activities as well as the accompanying impact on African women’s roles have been well documented in African studies literature (Ramphele 1997, Hellman 1948, Longmore 1959, Hansen 1997, Spiegel et al. 2005, Slater 2000, Cole 1986 and 1987, Bozzoli 1983, Gaitskell 1983). For example, in migrant hostels, women were a vital

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4 For a discussion of how the state, colonizing, or missionizing presence sought to shape or “civilize” home making and family relations in rural areas see Burke 1996, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997, Mager 1999, and Wilson 1936.

component of urban families as “breadwinners” supplementing their husbands’ low incomes (Du Toit 2005:604 citing Hellman 1948). Within these limited circumstances, independent income meant opportunities for transcendence from subordination and dependence, physically and materially, from their male counterparts (Ramphele 1989:399). Home-based enterprises were a resilient strategy, although they remained vulnerable to seasonal shifts or state control (Muthwa 1994).

Given this history, changes to the dwelling environment “can be helpful in understanding the interaction between the built environment and shifting social and economic norms and practices” (Lee 2005:613). Studies of the home can draw out the relationship between material conditions and ideational constructs (Ross 2005b). For instance, Lee provides cross-generational observations of home modification by black South African to offer an interpretation for the generational and gendered nature of imaginaries of home and attitudes toward home improvement (2005). She posits that during the apartheid era, first generation, female urban dwellers’ investment in making domestic spaces can be tied to a want for feelings of permanence in the city. This meant creating spaces of stability in the face of immigration and pass laws, nationally directed efforts to limit settlement, especially that of women, as well as housing shortages (ibid:614). Further, leaving the cramped spaces of hostels for shack settlements was actually attractive for the increase in privacy and stability it could bring (Elder 2003, Ramphele 1993, Ross 2005b). For women, single-family homes, as opposed to the androcentric hostels, additionally meant an increase to their domestic authority and power to negotiate with men (Ramphele 1989).

The end of influx control in the 1980s and later changes wrought by the transition to democracy further challenged women’s homemaking and working patterns. After the 1994
changeover to majority rule, state policies aim to aid and enable underclass women long established in urban centers in addition to the continual stream of migrant women from rural areas (Beinart 2001). In Cape Town, domestic routines and rituals of daily township life are shifted and shaped by a number of factors. In sum, homemaking in the city has been a negotiated process interweaving necessities of survival, practices of tradition, legislation, and circumstance.

**Home provision and upgrading**

This chapter is informed by considering how conceptions of home and domesticity have continued to shift in relationship to the new freedoms and opportunities in the post-apartheid era. The township B&B, as a site of research, provides information on currently circulating ideas about homemaking as well as about consumption, self-definition, and class consciousness.

The desire for home upgrades is neither a new development nor limited to residents in the tourism service industry. Lee notes a “constant language of renewal” when township resident talk about their home past and present (2005:614). Current day township streets are awash with upgrades and personal touches. Driving through most suburbs you will notice the addition of fences, the occasional installation of bay windows, and stacks of concrete blocks ready for construction. Along the main thoroughfares of Khayelitsha, furniture hawkers sell new and used frames for shacks and window panes. One can purchase the entire readymade shell of a shack to fit over their plot of land in one or two-room configurations. Other entrepreneurs advertise customized burglar bars, furniture, linoleum, and fabrics.

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6 As Hansen argues, ideas about domesticity are “not static in their meaning and usage but have evolved in a dialogue with social and economic changes of society “(1992:3). Further, in this discussion, I do not wish to imply a single conception of township women but rather recognize differences wrought by age, time in the city, employment, etc. (Muthwa 1994, Lee 2005, Bozzoli 1983).
Patterns of home improvement can also be associated with changing housing and immigration policies. In the 1980s, as urban immigration increased, the city began providing small basic, houses from Gugulethu to Khayelitsha, this “core structure” provision continued somewhat under the Reconstruction and Development Program of the 1990s (Lee 2005, see also Harrison et al. 2008). These cramped and often unfinished structures required renovation to fit township family configurations and to be livable. As many residents hyperbolically complain, when you lie down to sleep, your feet stick out the front door. Additionally, after 1994 long-time Cape Town township residents, like those in Langa, were finally awarded ownership of the council homes they had been paying rent on for many generations. Tenants were able to make renovations to the limited but owned space. However, as the increasing demand for housing could not be met, provision practices changed to supply of “site and services” in many suburbs. Residents were provided with a plot of land and access to plumbing but no actual structure (Lee 2005:621-22). Families were offered smaller land plots under this system and had to afford their own materials for building. This policy can account for the vast shack settlements of Khayelitsha as well as yet another type of urban relationship with home improvements and home spaces. Families built up homes around the toilet connections placed at regular intervals. Such informal homes are often in need of constant upkeep and repair. As one guest house owner, MaVuyo, explained her addition of a second floor, after a decade of both she and her nearby neighbors adding on rooms, there was no where left to go but up!

Furthermore, in both historical and current times, housing policy has often neglected to accommodate the reality or diversity of urban African ideas and residential practices, practices that have developed from rural roots or been shaped by efforts to survive in the urban setting.

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7 Some residents were able to apply for state assistance for building funds up R25,000 (Verhage 2004, see also Ross 2005b:644 for a discussion of how the application criteria set definitions and boundaries upon the household).
(Harrison et al. 2008, Robins 2000). Ross’s research, for example, shows that residents’ conceptions of “good” and “respectable” homes may differ from planners’ visions (2005). She argues that “home” is a site of imagination, a constructed concept, and an important aspect of identity that is not fully understood by state policy. The African residents’ ideals centered on neighborly reciprocity, relationships, and moral attitudes. Their views of an “orderly” or “model community” differ from planners’ emphasis on rules and homeowner associations.\(^8\)

The preciousness of home is not lost on the female B&B proprietors. Almost all of the B&B owners I interviewed share the experience of waiting to be given land or the chance to afford a formal home that adequately fits their family. In fact, most of the dozen B&B owners I interviewed purchased, built, or were awarded their current houses in the last two decades, after years on waiting lists, fitting in matchbox RDP houses, or living with in-laws.

Housing provision offers the possibility of redefinition. Despite respondents’ emphasis on relationships, Ross notes a clear link between housing appearance and attitudes about respectability. She finds many women in her study who upgraded to houses from shack settlements felt new pressure to form married, nuclear families and maintain the appearance of a respectable home complete with certain appliances and amenities (Ross 2000). Residents were equally proud to have a place they could welcome visitors, move away from the perceived “shack” stigma, and begin to feel middle class (Ross 2005b:639). She saw an increased awareness of “proper” urban and modern living rooted in desires for or consumption of domestic commodities such as appliances, décor, and furniture despite the stress on meager family finances and mounting credit debt. Meintjes’ study of patterns of appliance ownership in Soweto also reported the display of electrical appliances: “to demonstrate, as much to domestic visitors

\(^8\) The confluence here of planners’ visions, residents’ ideals, and the diverse material reality of township residents has further implications regarding definitions of poverty, linked to applications for grants in aid (Salo 2005).
as to themselves as householders, that they are part of the modern world through being fully connected into its commodity circuits” (in Spiegel 2005:190, Meintjes 2001).

As Spiegel argues, emerging class and consumer consciousness, as it converges with new planning perspectives for townships, is influencing what is considered “proper” for South African millennial urban life (2005:190). To Spiegel, these attitudes and practices:

suggest popular sense that being a ‘proper’ urban citizen in contemporary South Africa means that one must simultaneously be and feel oneself to be tied into modern commodity circuits; and that one must be able to demonstrate one’s connectedness into and in those circuits through the items of domestic material culture that one possesses and displays. [ibid:190-191]

Or as Ross writes “urban citizenship in South Africa is closely intertwined in the popular imagination with a sense of propriety that comes from material connectedness and commodity exchange relations” (Ross and Spiegel 2000 cited in Spiegel 2005:191).

Given current configurations, there is a tendency toward smaller nuclear family units under one roof (Lee 2005). However, it can be argued that closely placed, single family homes debilitate the extended kin and social network many depended on as well as impact the informal economic endeavors residents engage in from the home (Robins 2002). Ross concludes that in spite of this difficulty and contradictions, the increase in built housing also increases the social possibilities for residents. They ultimately blend normative conceptions of respectable homes with their local models (Ross 2005b:648).

Still home owners face pressures to keep up traditions of helping extended kin networks and maintain open, fluid home boundaries, what Lee calls the “tension between maintaining appearances and social exclusion” (2005:643). Although such leveling mechanisms and pressures may be slowly diminishing, fear of gossip and violence guarantee conformity. Township traditions aimed at managing wide-scale poverty such as neighborly sharing and relationships of reciprocity still hold sway. These issues effect upwardly mobile township
residents and certainly impact B&B owners who are conspicuously trying to better the outward appearance of their homes. Further, these women are tapping into not only local norms of but seeking to please a global audience with the amenities and services in their homes.

**Home and housing in paradox**

One goal of this dissertation is detecting and making clear the manifold pressures impacting the local residents and local places involved in enacting tourism. The historical, social, familial factors described above influence B&B owners’ contemporary experiences and are reflected in the fusion of home practices present today. Arguably home-based business initiatives are an established entrepreneurial practice for township women needing to be at home to provide childcare or lacking the skills for employment in another formal sector. However, as the next sections of discussion will show, B&B owning women are facing constraints beyond their personal desires and local social norms for homemaking.

This dissertation is also characterized by drawing out themes of paradox. In terms of representations, the majority of tour guides endeavor to showcase difference, the unknown and strange of the townships, especially squatter camp home life. At the same time tourism narratives convey that this is a “normal way of life” and dispel negative preconceptions. The crisis of housing created by the apartheid labor system and current slow delivery of basic civic services are a vital part of tour content. But so are narratives of progress, of self-made success or inventiveness, and of Africans surviving and sharing together. Significantly, these women in the B&B sector have realized that the story of their home and their home atmosphere has social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977). This place, this once “no-go” area, is a tourist attraction only because it was a “no-go” area and only because it is still so misunderstood. Thus mundane experiences of life, simple hospitality and family meals, can be transformed into valuable tourist attractions and into a part of the new South African story. In this way, female B&B owners are
caught up in the dilemma of providing quality guest service without losing the township vibe, without moving too far away from the narrative or visual evidence of their struggle for a home in the city, and without neglecting their so-called traditional, rural roots. As discussed in the next sections, in the accommodation sector, the guest house owners are also influenced by the desire to attain positive nationally and internationally recognized rankings for their guest services and spaces.

**Development and Concerns of the Township B&B Industry**

Ma Theresa is among a substantial number of South African women turning their homes into business spaces. The bed and breakfast sector has grown considerably with the increase in tourism arrivals since 1994. Studies in the late 1990s and early 2000s note that across the country B&Bs are primarily white-owned, often managed by women, and well-capitalized (Rogerson 2004a, Visser and Van Huyssteen 1997, 1999). However, one has to consider that the many black-owned B&Bs began as small start-up experiments since the late 1990s. Only recently have many had the success worthy of note in the national registry of businesses or scholarly studies.

The growth of township B&Bs can be linked to national tourism growth strategies. Since 1994, emphasis has been on the current “unequal ownership structure” of tourism related businesses (Rogerson 2004a:1). The 1996 White Paper on Tourism further emphasized providing support for the growth of black owned companies, especially small firms in the hospitality sector (South Africa 1996). Thus the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) along with many provincial and municipal agents have implemented strategies and workshops aimed at black economic empowerment through tourism.⁹ A number of programs have been aimed specifically at women.¹⁰

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⁹ As Ndlovu and Spring note for all employment sectors: “There are no comprehensive data sets on ownership patterns by gender and race for salaried workers or the millions of micro- and small-scale entrepreneurs in the
In a larger investigation, Rogerson reported on over 60 black owned accommodation establishments across the country located solely in formerly designated black areas (2004a). In another recent assessment, Rogerson offers data from the Tourism Enterprise Programme’s (TEP) 2005 study on Soweto tourism businesses (TEP 2005 cited in Rogerson 2008). His findings point to observations of note to be made and compared in the Cape Town case.

In terms of commonalities, Rogerson reports that for many families, the B&Bs were a secondary source of income (2004a). The husbands and children of the proprietors were employed elsewhere. Further many of the women drew on skills from previous careers in catering. Among the ten proprietors I interviewed, four were widowed or single, four had husbands with full time jobs outside the home, and only two had previous careers in catering and guest services. Rogerson also characterizes many of the budding businesses as “opportunistic”:

A significant finding in terms of the potential long-term development of these enterprises is that the majority of these tourism businesses were started up as a result of perceived market opportunities rather than as a result of a desperate search for survivalist incomes due to unemployment or retrenchment. [Rogerson 2004a:6]

Overall, he argues, her respondents were not “lifestyle entrepreneurs” as seen in the white B&B owned sector.

Rogerson surmises that the key constraints to growth for township-based B&Bs are the need for enhanced marketing, improving infrastructure, and overcoming tourists’ safety perceptions. He argues that in some cases township businesses have poor product quality due to

“second” (informal) economy during and after the apartheid era in South Africa, but most agree there has been little change” (Ndhllovu and Spring 2009).

10 Others have argued that the state needs broader understanding of township “women” as a diverse category with divergent needs when creating aid programs (Spiegel et al. 2005).

11 Tourists’ safety perceptions are very mixed and too large a topic to add to this chapter. In brief, I found that visitors not actively seeking the townships out as a day tour or evening destination were often very wary because of safety concerns. This reason was second to finding the township tourism too voyeuristic. Other times, tourists reported being dissuaded from an overnight in the townships by their other city center accommodation providers.
lack of investment in aspects such as skills development. Moreover, issues of product quality emerge out of struggles to meet enterprise compliances with insurance, health, and safety regulations. Rogerson found an overwhelming lack of knowledge about such regulations (Rogerson 2008:407). His studies, like mine, found that proprietors uniformly linked success to the ability to upgrade their homes and services.

Out of 44 interviewed proprietors, Rogerson found 27 had attended a short training course in tourism. But only seven had received outside assistance from a national organization (2004a:6-7). The respondents communicated frustration with a lack of outside support for start-up as well as training on how to run a business, self-market, and use the internet as a tool. Twenty-seven of the women had applied for assistance noting promises but no reply after filling out the complicated forms. The interviewees were suspicious of high membership fees without proof of results and fearful of comparison to the standards of white B&Bs.

In the Cape Town case, similar issues arise. As a part of their effort to create community development trusts, the City offered workshops on how the community could benefit from increased tourism and how to turn their own homes and businesses into attractions. In 2007, I attended one workshop funded by Cape Town Tourism targeting women. The leader had each attendee describe her current money making endeavors, such as sewing or cooking. Then the leader argued that these skills could be turned into opportunities for the tourism and hospitality sector, such as African clothing souvenirs or catering. In my assessment, these programs have

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One rainy evening, while staying at Portia’s Langa guest house, a group of three European travelers in their 20s knocked on the door. They were surprised but relieved when I, a white woman, opened the door. They had searched for the guest house closest to the airport for their last night in town but did not realize that it was in the township. Portia was out, thus I had to answer their questions and assuage their fears about safety and the availability of good food for the evening meal. By the next morning they were pleasantly surprised at the quality of their experience.

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12 At a forum I attended later in the year, a representative instructed attendees with established businesses in basic costing.
had mild success in terms of getting and keeping businesses going sustainably. Despite inspiration to try, most township residents ultimately lack the know-how and resources to exploit the systems of monetary and marketing aid provided by the private or public sector and many mentoring or monitoring plans lacked sincerity or effectiveness (Rogerson 2004a:7). However, the official rhetoric has made creating tourism businesses seem easy and certainly raised expectations.

Somewhat in contrast to Rogerson, I actually found a high emphasis on standards and training among established businesses in Cape Town. Although many of these businesses have not fully met the established criteria, the Cape Town B&Bs are well aware of needs and opportunities for training. This phenomenon is strongly linked to the creation of a B&B association prompted by an international intervention. The accommodation businesses that have taken off and survived in Cape Town’s townships have experienced slow growth over the long-term and some hardship in learning to navigate systems of support. Most of the women, I interviewed have received training and encouragement from local development forums, education and marketing assistance from organizations such as Cape Town Tourism (with a fee for membership and commissions) and Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP). Further standardization in training and skills development is overseen by government agencies such as the Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority (THETA) (Cornelissen 2005:123).

In this vein, Rogerson points to dissatisfaction among township-based businesses with tourism associations such as the marketing organizations created by the national, provincial, and local city legislature (2008). This is often coupled with the proliferation of private association building among tourism businesses at the risk of redundancy, fragmentation of the industry, and
Questions arise as to how associations can help businesses develop and how they might help businesses to work together, to agree to compete. Rogerson notes that a lack of cooperation and unamicable competition lead to lost opportunities for the industry in the Soweto case. Again, elements of these concerns are seen in the Cape Town case and best illustrated by examining and comparing the B&Bs in association in Cape Town.

**Comparing Township B&Bs in Cape Town**

For foreign tourists, spending the night in the townships is seen as the ultimate crossing of boundaries. The experience allows an opportunity for making the perceived exotic and forbidden spaces familiar and knowable. Guests can go home saying they enjoyed the New South Africa in all its forms. Tourists, however, often enter into this arrangement unaware that township B&Bs, like township housing, take a variety of forms. Tourists are further unaware of the many social and economic differences within townships. As Salo writes, to outsiders townships may appear to be homogenous, single geographic and social units, “however, for the township residents, socio-spatial boundaries crisscrossed this geographic unity, dividing it into multiple small communities” (Salo 2005:178).

As with township housing in general, township-based guest house accommodations fall along a continuum from informal shack forms to formal houses, each with different levels of infrastructure quality and interior furnishings. Additionally, the feel of township overnight experiences varies between intimate home-stays or less personal guesthouse and guest situations. The location, class, and perspective of the women entrepreneurs results in different décor and ambiance outcomes as well as different perspectives on self-branding and guest service. Notably, similar patterns of the use of space and some decorative elements related to marketing are present. Importantly, all of the B&Bs are seeking to attain similar stands for quality and service.
Understanding the differences among guest houses will show the limitations and complications of actually achieving these standards in the township setting.

**Post-Apartheid Postcards**

I stayed with MaVuyo off and on for the month of December 2007. The Christmas holidays are a booming time for the tourism industry. Her ever growing shack, a bed and breakfast in the heart of Site C, Khayelitsha is one of the premiere stops for township tours. Since my first trip to South Africa in 2001, I have watched her block blossom. Arguably many physical changes, such as the fresh tin and paint on the now famous pub across the street, could be the result of continued investment in property upgrades. But more likely the growth of a neighborhood sewing association, a renovated day-care center, and MaVuyo’s addition of an unprecedented second-story to her ‘shack’ were inspired and funded by tourist visits.

MaVuyo’s is the only B&B regularly a stop on the conventional tour circuit. One primary cause is that she does not charge busses for their entrance, but rather views the visits as free marketing. Tourists enter through the low doorway to find a masterfully, designed shack. MaVuyo is usually sitting in the living room and takes time to welcome each guest, shaking their hands before she gives a little speech about the ‘smallest hotel in Africa.’ In high season, ten to twenty busloads can potentially tromp through her abode.

After meeting MaVuyo or another assigned greeter, usually her oldest niece, the tourists are set free to roam the bedrooms, snap photos, file into the streets, the daycare, and the pub, meet people, view more shacks. During my visit, the “festive season” correlates with summer break and many local school children hung around to greet the tourists. Candid shots of township kids’ faces and antics appeared a favored souvenir image for the visitors. One afternoon, a tiny trouble maker ran up and down the street by the B&B in a Barney the Dinosaur costume, delighting the tourists and then bashfully trying to hide from their cameras. The youngsters are
curious about tourists, but also hope someone has brought gifts. If a tourist did provide a bag of candy, without delay or fuss, the neighborhood kids lined up in single file for their share. Minutes ago, MaVuyo had forewarned the visitors about encouraging a culture of begging.

Township B&Bs often host unconventional guests, attracting more backpackers, single travelers, and often younger clients. This season, MaVuyo’s was no exception. I and Dennis, a German man who had been staying with the family for 10 months, took up both downstairs bedrooms. He was more commonly referred to as uDennis using the Xhosa prefix. As uDennis’s English skills were imperfect, he had been unable to explain his love for South Africa and Khayelitsha adequately to many. Thus he had become an eccentric and mysterious part of the tours. The house also held two handfuls of children, MaVuyo’s own five plus a number of cousins, and her industrious husband. However, this season, MaVuyo’s overnight business was not exactly booming. She kept up with the bills by providing lunch services and accepting donations from the day visit tourists. Many times donation money helped her provide for the community. For example, she sent the neighborhood kids on an educational excursion to Robben Island.

The two guest bedrooms are fitted regularly with clean sheets and comforters. The worn living room sofa and recliner are refreshed with colorful covers. These house linens are washed by hand outside in a giant tub and hung on the line to dry above the dusty streets of Site C. In the morning, the older girls quickly dress the younger children, tidy up the guest rooms, and sweep out the dust from all the foot traffic. The girls often have to repeat their cleaning rituals in each room after the tour bus rush hours in the morning and afternoon.

One weekend, a young couple from Switzerland, booked an overnight stay complete with a tour and dinner. My beat-up Ford Sapphire was the most reliable vehicle available for picking
them up from a guest house in the Gardens and going for a guided excursion into the townships. I drove while MaVuyo narrated. The couple worked in the financial business and was enjoying a long holiday. They chose MaVuyo when looking for tourism options and accommodations that boasted responsible practices and positive impacts.

The character of a township tour or overnight depends on the interplay of many variables, such as the guide, the suburb, the weather, even the time of day, week, or year. The Swiss guests’ arrival not only corresponded with public holidays, but this was also the time of year when many teenage boys left for the bush initiation school to become men in the Xhosa tribe. That afternoon as we chatted at the pub across from MaVuyo’s the atmosphere was extra lively even for a Friday. The festive season offered an excellent excuse to drink and be merry. Excitement peaked when a group of boys came in to wish their mate well on his journey into manhood. The initiate was dressed in a cut up, decorated aqua jumpsuit. Provocative phrases and X-rated drawings mocked the coming circumcision. When taking a break from his wild dancing, the anxious initiate paid very close attention to his new friends from Switzerland. They were very good sports about the whole thing and at the least had some fantastic photos to show off.

At dinner time, 14 bodies, kids included, filled the small living room for mealie pap, sausage, and the nightly viewing of Generations, the most popular South African soap opera. The guest dining table only seats four and is situated right in front of a mammoth flat screen television. After a while, the couple took over uDennis’s bedroom and he used the other twin bed in my room. All the children bunked down on the wood floor of the new but unfinished upstairs. Except for the occasional barking dog or snore from uDennis, it was a very quiet night.

My most evocative memory from the couple’s visit, however, occurred during MaVuyo’s impromptu tour. Seeing the townships, or the B&B experience, through tourists’ eyes greatly
aided my understanding and analysis. Yet keeping a watch on township residents’ reactions was equally important. MaVuyo’s tour was off-the-beaten-track of tour bus routes. Instantly comfortable with guests, she was much more personal and conversational than the tour guides. As one of the highlights, we stopped at a row of meat stalls in Gugs so that the clients could taste the fatty, salty goodness of a roadside snack. Standing on the busy sidewalk, the couple awed warily at the hot grills full of various cuts of meat and innards. They asked me to inquire with the crowd of vendors if we could please take a picture of them. As I fumbled with the translation, MaVuyo cackled loudly: “They say, Why not? We have already taken a picture of you!” The vendors held up their cell phone cameras, laughing.

**Shack chic**

MaVuyo and a handful of fellow shack B&Bs comprise one end of the continuum. Staying in a shack B&B deep in the notorious squatter camps of Site C Khayelitsha is regarded with some attention. In my own experience, telling acquaintances from other townships, such as Gugulethu or Crossroads, that I was spending several weeks in Site C aroused surprise as well as many questions and warnings.

In truth, a stay with MaVuyo can simply be an emersion in the mundane reality of township home life. Her now two-story home is near the apex of a long circular drive. MaVuyo and her family came to Khayelitsha in the 1990s, evicted from Crossroads to the new “sites and services” area another 15 kilometers from town. They lived in green military tents until more permanent shack coverings could be established. She married her husband one day before the historic 1994 elections, and they began building their own home away from her mother as is custom. In 1999, she opened her B&B.

I have stayed at MaVuyo’s during each trip to South Africa since 2002 and watched with wonder the host of changes taking place. During my first stay, the shack still reflected its “site
and services” origins. Guests had to exit through the kitchen at back of the three-bedroom shack to use the toilet outhouse. This could be a harrowing experience in the dark of night for first time township visitors hearing the trample of unidentified feet or barking dogs moving nearby. I remember brushing my teeth in the kitchen sink, watching small roaches crawl across the counter, and waiting until I returned to town to bathe. Privacy was at a premium. Only behind the closed door of my room was I alone. Children, neighbors, family, and other tourists were constantly moving in and out and very curious to talk to guests.

Every year that I have come calling, the outside corrugated tin of the building has been a different color, from yellow, to green, to a dark red. The cast of characters on the block has gotten a year older in my photographs. And upgrades have steadily occurred for both MaVuyo and her neighbors. In many cases, B&B proceeds serve to supplement a husband’s wages. However, MaVuyo’s husband gave up his job as a mechanic and works tirelessly as the B&B handyman. Natural wood framing and plaster walls inside the shack speak to his abilities. Eventually, he closed in a modest bathroom and shower off of the kitchen around the existing outdoor toilet. The bathroom floor is concrete and accentuated by slate tiles in the standing shower. Tourists still share this facility with all the other residents. An old cup in the window holds a dozen worn, multicolored toothbrushes, one for each of the family members and even one for uDennis. The German man was truly part of the family after so many months. MaVuyo’s husband is the primary contractor for the addition of the upstairs with the assistance of uDennis. His sawing and drilling punctuated the day during my last visit, making it necessary to find space outside the structure for quiet. When tour busses came by, he was reluctantly forced to take a smoke break outside. He rushed back inside the moment they were gone.
Running an established tourism site, caring for ten kids, and being a member of various local associations, MaVuyo is actually becoming known equally for her inferior customer service in recent years. On a number of travel websites, overnight tourist clients have reported confusion about what they are supposed to do when a giant bus interrupts their visit as well as frustration about MaVuyo’s busy schedule and lack of clear directions. However, visited by so many tour groups and the stand out-shack B&B in tourism circles, she warrants the jealousy of her many competitors from all classes of guesthouses. Her location and shack status must account for this popularity and covetousness if her peers.

Somewhat unbeknownst to these audiences, the fatigue of the many tour bus visits combined with her many responsibilities takes a toll on MaVuyo. Even when talking to me, whom she has known for a couple of years, she absent-mindedly slips into lines from her welcome speech during our interview.

MaVuyo: When I first started up, it wasn't easy at all. First I had to convince my community. People were still coming from the dark years of the old government. People were still carrying wounds that were very deep to heal within a period of a year. Some were saying [that] I'm a spy; I'm working for the whites because they were seeing whites here and there. And they always asking questions: MaVuyo what is going on in your house? What do these people really want to see (personal communication, May 19, 2008)?

As an answer to this question, MaVuyo notes the atmosphere of her block. There are so many children to play with, the “Waterfront,” the pub next door named after the V&A, is always “vibey” she says. MaVuyo notes that people are always drinking and dancing, but they are not fighting. It is a positive place. In recent times, more and more of the nearby residents have willingly helped to grow the notoriety and tourism appeal of the block.

Other sites on this block are now part of the tour experience. For example, directly behind MaVuyo’s her neighbor is running a daycare center. Across the street another neighbor started a sewing project. The financial support for both initiatives was procured through inspired tourists
or tourism development organizations. During the day, the daycare children take pause to sing for visitors and smile for pictures. At the time of my last fieldwork, the sewing project was not actually going. Princess, the shack owner and sewing teacher, was busy expanding her shack and turning it into another B&B. The dozen sewing machines a Cape Town Trust had donated for the project sat stacked and dusty in a room off of the kitchen. Both the daycare and sewing project comprised parts of the block walking tour taken by tourists. Each day as I went into greet Princess, she was busy at her sewing desk writing "business cards" with pen and notebook paper to hand out in hopes of donations by mail from inspired visitors. Interestingly, the lack of a functioning sewing project did not deter tour guide’s showcasing of Princess’s home. Again, her personal story, Princess’s personal struggle with HIV and entrepreneurial success, trumped evidence of entrepreneurial results.

**Township elegance**

The modest accommodations in the squatter camp contrast greatly with style and service at places like Nomhle’s Guest House in the heart of Gugulethu. If MaVuyo’s is colorful and authentic, Nomhle’s is swank and luxurious. Guests at Nomhle’s enjoy a bright and spacious brick house. The manicured lawn is surrounded by a high brink fence. A colorful billboard at the corner marks your arrival. Inside a large, modern living room of new sofas in soft beiges and browns is decorated tastefully with animal skins and some African prints. Guests notice the large television, a computer and office set-up. The sprawling house boasts several bedrooms, each decorated to an individual theme with hardwood floors and personal televisions. The African room is done in white and tan with prints of African women on the bed coverings. A soon to be self-catering suite is decorated in blues, being fitted with a private kitchenette and bathroom. While downstairs guests share a large bath with an extra large tub and separate standing shower, the honeymoon suite offers a large tiled private shower. The honeymoon suite is located on the
second floor above the laundry room. It is plush in red and black fabrics. Hardback coffee table books and sconces accentuate the room. A full balcony looks out over the council housing of Gugulethu and the squatter camp of Kanana to the north.

Nomhle has a full dining room that could easily fit a party of more than thirty guests. A large safari mural frames the room with lions and wildebeest. A corner table covered in white linen is always stocked with cereals, teas, coffee, and hot water. In the afternoon, she sets out snacks of left over isonka samanzi, delicious Xhosa steamed bread. I invited a local man over for dinner one night to finish an interview and meet Nomhle for a potential business partnership. He stopped struck with awe in the doorway, pronouncing the home an “oasis in the desert.”

Despite the posh atmosphere, Nomhle maintains that the family comes from humble origins, growing up in Gugulethu and only using her older husband’s savings later in life to renovate the house (personal communication, February 28, 2008). Nomhle and her husband actually lived on the plot in a shack for several years while they saved up building materials and donated bricks. This story is recounted in travel magazine articles framed in the home.

Following in her mother’s footsteps to work in hotels and restaurants in town, Nomhle says it was always her dream to have her own establishment. Her husband, Roger, still works the nightshift at a local factory and dramatically recalls scrubbing the second-hand bricks himself to make ready for the construction. Despite his schedule, Roger makes time to give walking tours to visitors through his neighborhood and into the squatter camp. He proudly states that he doesn’t need guiding certification to tell about the history of South Africa, he lived it.

A white South African is Nomhle’s right-hand man, driver, secretary, and marketing director, an unusual arrangement. He lives in the township in a rented apartment across the street. Nomhle also employs a full-time maid and cook as well as the part-time help of others for large
dining events. The employees have matching aprons and chef’s coats, a leopard print picked out by Nomhle who is quite a style maven herself.

The first night I stayed with Nomhle was American Thanksgiving, and a group of four American college grads had booked two rooms. I had another. And a few black South Africans were taking rooms here for close and affordable proximity to town and the airport for conferences. Nomhle was also hosting an important team of marketers from the Netherlands who were helping to organize a cooperative association for B&Bs including MaVuyo. The dining room tables were set in a u-shaped arrangement because after dinner a ten member choir and organist took the center floor. The teens from a local church had made their own costumes and belted out moving gospel and Xhosa music for our entertainment. They performed for tips and a hot meal from Nomhle’s kitchen.

Most other guest houses in the Cape Town area fall in between the two extremes of MaVuyo’s and Nomhle’s with modest, low to middle class homes, with varying levels of accommodation space. In Langa, for example, Portia runs a B&B in the up and coming Settler’s Way section, designated the Beverly Hills of Langa in tour narratives. The three-bedroom guest house is next door to her own family’s home. Her mentor, MaLizo runs a similar establishment a few blocks back in the heart of Langa. In Khayelitsha, a handful of women have transformed their council homes into guesthouses with one to three bedrooms.

**Brochures, Certificates, and Stars**

The women are marketing themselves through brochures and websites. Savvy marketing materials seek to display each B&B’s certifications, its qualifications as an “authentic” township experience, and waylay tourists’ trepidations about spending the night in these neighborhoods.

MaLizo’s brochure states: “The township is not merely a place of squatting, crime and deprivation. Amidst the apparently grim living circumstances, there is hospitality, hope and even
beauty. 8 minutes from the Cape Town Airport and 10 minutes from Central Cape Town.”

Through pictures and text she advertises rooms with TVs and desks, a safe garage for your car, a full English breakfast, evening walks to a nearby shebeen, or church on Sundays.

From staying with Portia several times, I have a collection of her past brochures. The 2007 version is less polished. Portia’s text tried to cover all the bases: “We offer an authentic cultural experience, coupled with friendly, warm, spirited hospitality and personal service with attention to detail!!” Her 2008 version is a bright red and has more professional look as well as better photographs of the rooms, family, and food. She also includes images of the neighborhood and the informal shebeen. Her prose has been revised as well: “The friendly home environment created by the ---- family reflects the simple yet lively African lifestyle, and will allow you to mix with the local residents in a secure community.”

Common elements in these brochures are pictures of the women in African dress and full headdresses and descriptions of their traditional Xhosa dishes. For example, Zoliswa, proprietor of a Khayelitsha guest house, holds a *potjikos* cooking pot on the front of her brochure dressed in bright printed African fabrics. In another picture, in modern dress she holds a framed certificate she earned for Entrepreneur of the year from the Foundation for Economics and Business Development

Many of the women advertise on the brochures that they have the BnB Sure insurance policy, are register with CTT and CTRU, and that they have attended customer service seminars. As if they had all been instructed simultaneously, a wall inside each B&B is fully dedicated to self-promotion and boasting about these accomplishments. For instance in MaLizo’s, Portia’s and Zoliswa’s alike the wall behind the dining table is plastered with newspaper clippings and

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13 Portia and MaLizo were not a part of the guest house association mentioned in this chapter. The elder MaLizo served as a mentor to Portia.
shiny framed certificates. In most cases, the wall of placards reaches from floor to ceiling and is accented by out of place African art objects, such as a Sotho hat, a grain fanner, or beaded dolls likely bought at tourist markets.

The two most coveted certificates are their grading assessments from AA Travel Guides by American Express (http://www.aatravel.co.za/) and from the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (http://www.tourismgrading.co.za). Although evidence suggests guests rarely check for certifications (Mahoney 2005), not being “graded” is akin to not having your tour guiding badge or license to operate.

Globally, the certification of tourism products and places has an increasing role in regulating and monitoring tourism enterprises (Mahoney 2008). Locally, standards setting and monitoring is overseen through such agencies as The Tourism Grading Council of South Africa. Their role is to develop and implement a national classification system for accreditation according to agreed upon standards for quality and service. Businesses voluntarily apply for inclusion and assessment. In 2001, they began the National Star Grading Scheme for the accommodation sector. As Cornelissen points out, these type of grading entities both set standards on the supply side and create expectations on the demand side (Cornelissen 2005:123). Certification carries a number of potential benefits such as more reliable employment and access to skills training (Mahoney 2005).

The national Grading Council employs a Provincial Master Assessor to visit each guest house and assign a star rating based on their checklist. Most of the township B&Bs are rated with only one or two stars out of five. This means that guests can expect a clean and functional place, the availability of breakfast (1 star) or other cooked items (2 stars), and bathing facilities with towels provided.
With AA, departing guests fill out surveys that will be sent in and tallied for yearly awards. As AA says, “Establishments have achieved their status based on consumer feedback which is first quantified then verified by our trained assessors” (AA 2007:2). The questionnaires concern value, security, cleanliness, and quality of food. In the women’s plans for development attention to the questions on this survey were evident. For instance, the survey asks about the quality of signage and directions leading to the guest house. Portia was embroiled in phone calls with the city to get permission to add more directional signs. She was also quick to apply for grants for free billboards. An overlooked concern on the survey asks about the eco-friendliness of the establishment. Addressing this concern is sure to be in next year’s plans for the B&Bs.

In its yearly brochure, AA prints a special section solely for township accommodations. AA calls township accommodations fantastic writing that: “Cultural and township establishments offer a uniquely South African experience where the beats of the township and vibrancy of our ethnic cultures will warm the soul” (2007:2).

A number of the women I worked with are listed in the thick brochure. Zoliswa’s upgraded council home in Khayelitsha is listed as a “Finalist” and as a “modern” home. MaLizo’s home in Langa is the “Winner” and a 3 star “original” home. Theresa also has 3 stars. Other featured township guest houses are described as a “suburban cultural experience.” In the 2007 brochure none of the listed accommodations are in shacks.

Of course, registration with all of these various organizations carries the burden of hefty assessment or membership fees that must be paid monthly or annually. The annual renewal fee for the national Grading Council alone is R1528 (approx. US$220 in 2008) for one to three-

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14 In a Soweto case study, Rogerson “reports that basic infrastructure such as signage or information necessary to support tourism entrepreneurs is either lacking entirely or of poor standard. At least half of Soweto’s bed and breakfasts operate ‘without any form of signage, be it directional or on the property’ (TEP 2005, p. 18 cited in Rogerson 200:405).
bedroom establishments. Cape Town Tourism fees range around R700 a year plus commissions for bookings done through their call center. In return the B&Bs are listed in the brochures and websites, sent literature, and occasionally invited to seminars on marketing or business skills. Because of their township status, these memberships have paid off for some of the women with awards or recognition, but others complain these requirements are a waste of effort. Importantly, their assessment of the effectiveness of their guest house association was more varied.

Mahoney (2008) argues that certification more often than not “certifies the converted.” Establishments outside the primary market parameters have little enticement to seek certification. In this case, I rather saw increased awareness, in part due to efforts of CTT and other organization and secondly due to the association. The two B&Bs I worked with that are not in the association we equally concerned with meeting standards.

The Township Guest House Association

The attention to certification, standards, and the accompanying differences, both subtle and major, among these guest houses came to my attention during the conversations with marketing advisors staying at Nomhle’s. Two years into her business endeavor, in 2007 Nomhle hosted a woman from the Netherlands who worked at a corporate responsibility and humanitarian NGO research center called People-In-Action. Nomhle recalls, the woman brought in a list of other township B&Bs she had found on the internet. Nomhle was familiar with the places but did not personally know any of the other women. They took off on a route to visit as many of the other B&Bs as possible. Nomhle said her mission was to impart that the other women should not see her as a spy and as competition, but that they should begin to work together. The idea was positively accepted by many fellow B&B owning women, some struggling, some not to make it work on their own.
People-In-Action quickly helped set up a business association among the women and assigned Dutch mentors, experts in the hospitality industry, to perform regular visits for training and inspection. As Nomhle recalls the goal was to help them grow their businesses and increase our visibility. Moreover, she states, township guesthouses have different needs in terms of financial support and mounting the steep learning curve to achieve compliance standards for aspects such as sanitation, customer service, or even fire safety.

In 2008, twenty-one women were paying dues as a member of the township guest house association with the grow and develop together, share lessons learned, share clients when overbooked, and acquire training to upgrade their skills as well as their establishments. People-In-Action was quick to push the importance of “branding,” of creating an atmosphere that spoke to the name of the place and grow in name recognition.

As a part of his inspections, Kirk generates a 10 page audit report for each of the now 21 guest houses in the group. As with Theresa, he stays with each proprietor for a meal or overnight and evaluates food, safety, cleanliness, and even email and phone communication skills. This information is compiled in a lengthy checklist (Appendix B).

Although concrete suggestions and training were given in person, Kirk’s final assessments on paper often ended with aspecific, positive reinforcement. His suggestions for Nomhle read:

The overall conclusion of this audit is: Nomhle’s guesthouse exceeds expectations and meets 80% of the standards by far. Seen the unique selling points of Nomhle’s an even more prosperous future is upon hands, if especially if the owners will start standardizing processes/procedures in the near future. There is a lot of details that can – sometimes should – be improved, but this will only make Nomhle’s future more bright!

For MaVuyo he writes: “When decorating the new guestrooms upstairs: be aware to include the local/township atmosphere in these rooms as well. Your guesthouse is – indeed – very special: please keep it that way!!”
Representations and Competitions

Locally, the B&B women added items to the People-In-Action checklist concerning how guest houses reflect “local art/architecture/flavour” or how “the ambiance of the room (e.g. sheets, blankets, art, etc.) meet ‘the African experience.’” Discussions of the “African experience” most revealed patterns of décor and representation as well as pointed to tensions among the diverse association and spoke to women’s different conceptions of how to best represent the townships via experience and decor. These patterns were influenced both by standardizing institutions and perceived popular conceptions of township homes.

In relation to home improvement practices, the B&B owners uniformly link success to the ability to upgrade their homes and services. An obvious trend has been the transformation of home spaces into spaces of commerce. The women spent a lot of time worrying about or working to achieve property upgrades that would increase their ranking with People-In-Action and the grading institutions. A number of the B&Bs I frequented were in a constant state of construction. Attention to standards and business principles governed decisions. For instance, when redoing her council home, Theresa purposefully designed her personal bathroom near the dining room as separate (not en suite) so it could be used easily by potential party guests.

Further, nearly all of the female proprietors are sacrificing their already limited domestic space, meaning they are keeping bedrooms that could be used by family and children in a constant state of readiness for potential business that may or may not materialize. One woman, Zoliswa, has her family living in backyard shacks, leaving their three-bedroom home empty and pristine at night just in case. MaLizo changes her own bed linens everyday to prepare that room for guests just in case. MaVuyo, her husband, and several children shared one small bedroom for almost ten years.
At a deeper level, branding and décor choices reflect the women’s struggle over how to best to represent their home and urban identity given local and external pressures. Zoliswa relayed a story about a Khayelitsha tourism forum meeting. The very question of how to represent the townships came up at the meeting. Zoliswa explains that the lady running the meeting asked the attendees to talk about branding:

Zoliswa: What is the uniqueness that we must sell? What is the thing that attracts people to the townships? What is our brand? How can we brand ourselves? What can be the trademark symbol? Everybody talks. Somebody came up with the shack thing. I was annoyed of the shack. I was very much annoyed. Because why. I said to them we must look away. People from the other side they must not see us as people who lives in shack. I mean…what are we growing in the mindset of the next generation because people must outgrow from that. We must see that we are. They have sold [MaVuyo’s] as a shack, everybody must come and see the shack. Then I said, I don't want that because we are all growing…my argument was to go back to our roots. We used to stay in those rondavel houses. Then now if we want to show the foreign people our culture is shacks, it’s not that. Yes, in the Western Cape because of the apartheid system that is why. But things are changing now, we must also try to change…So thought maybe a rondavel, but there are no rondavels in Khayelitsha. So it is our homework, that we must all work on it?…Tourists like shacks, that is what they say (personal communication, April 10, 2008).

I explicitly asked MaVuyo how she intended to decorate the new upstairs to her shack B&B. In response she called on images from a popular glossy coffee-table book sold in book store, especially those frequented by foreign travelers.

MaVuyo: Have you seen that book Shack Chic? You've seen those papers. That’s what I'm going to do up there. Yes, the two rooms will be posh, but the two will be normal.

RH: Shack-ish

MaVuyo: Ha-ha! Yes shack-ish! MaVuyo is referring to the colorful, repetitive butcher papers or magazine ads often used as wallpaper. As Besteman writes, the popularity of Shack Chic (Fraser 2002), featuring sepia-

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15 Round thatch house typical in Xhosa rural homesteads.

16 This exchange and MaVuyo’s following remarks in this section are taken from an interview dated May 19, 2008.
toned images of shack interiors, speaks to one of the prime ironies of township representations in South African public culture.

The desire for intimacy, mutuality, and understanding has been replaced by aesthetic appropriation... The glamorized representations of poor people’s homes in the book suggest[s] a new aesthetic—poverty fashion?—that celebrates the innovative creativity of the poor while saying nothing about the injustice of poverty. [Besteman 2008:98]

Caught between the perception of phantom tourists and the demands of grading institutions, MaVuyo seeks rustic appeal with added upscale features such as en suite baths.

Differences in balancing “local flavor” with international standards are additionally seen in approaches to customer service. MaVuyo’s seemingly laissez faire attitude, she claims, is actually strategic. At MaVuyo’s clients are released into the street and pub to tour around, play with children, or share a beer with a table full of locals. She wants to let people discover the character of the townships on their own. She says that in this way, tourists understand that it is not only her small block that is friendly.

MaVuyo: I’m always making the point that my guests should feel welcome, feel at home. And they mustn't think that we are acting.

RH: Performing?

MaVuyo: Yes, We must do things they way we normally do. We must not make it nicer than it is. If on that day, we are going to have mealie pop and curry. Then on that day we will have mealie pop and curry for everybody.

She also wants guests to help change the mind of other people. MaVuyo knows many are still afraid to come here, especially white South Africans. She wishes they would give up the “our homes are prisons” attitude and come to see her too.

MaVuyo’s nonchalance has been criticized openly. A 2007 article in the Argus is actually displayed on MaVuyo’s wall of achievements entitled “A night at [MaVuyo’s ] B&B was no bed of roses.” The story rehashes an uncomplimentary review article that appeared in the British
Weekly Telegraph and American Conde Naste (citation withheld for confidentiality). It stated that the food was barely edible and that the hosts were uncommitted. The reviewer complained about being left on his own and bored, having to retire early to a lumpy bed. After the lack of engagement from MaVuyo, he couldn’t wait to leave. The author shared with the Argus his concern that townships were being marketed the wrong way. Another name in township tourism industry was consulted for comment. She agreed that tourists should avoid upgraded shacks and the negative image of squatter camps. MaVuyo claims to be unphased by the complaints and does not want to change her practices.

At both ends of the guest house continuum, tourists’ expectations are often confounded. For example, at the higher end township guesthouses, patrons are often surprised, almost disappointed at the high quality of service and accommodations, especially if the expected a “roughing it” experience. During a one night stay, clients are typically locked securely inside the formal guest house except for guided excursions. Nomhle and many of the other women make it their duty to be at home and interact with the clients for most of their stay. In contrast to MaVuyo’s clients, their entire opportunity for interaction with township residents is limited to their hosts.

I asked MaVuyo about the distinction among guest houses in the association.

RH: How does your shack compare to other B&Bs?

MaVuyo: “Point number 1. You are coming from America, living in a beautiful mansion. You come to South Africa, come to Cape Town book yourself in the Holiday Inn, the Holiday Inn is the same as your house. Then you’re coming to the township. For me the word "township" to tourist means places like this...When I am listening to them, a township is a squatter area...The problem to stay at [Theresa’s], is it is a township? It is same thing they are seeing in their areas...Here, the atmosphere, as soon as people walk out of the busses, they are feeling good.”

These differences in class, infrastructure, and location also created petty jealousies and competition within the association. The women with more sophisticated lodging are assured of
their superiority in quality, but still threatened by the perceived tourist draw towards shantytowns.

In this vein, I asked MaVuyo about the widely touted cooperation among the association members.

RH: Does anyone outside of Site C ever call and say I have a booking for you?

MaVuyo: No…Someone told [Theresa] that for us to make a group profit, we need to all be of the same standard. That will never happen. We are living in a shantytown. [She is] living in a normal house.

RH: So you know here there is just going to be kids and…

MaVuyo: Chaos! And that's why you came, you don't want to be like at Sea Point, where it’s ‘Here is your key. I'll see you at breakfast.’ You want to be part of the family.

Yet a cooperative atmosphere is likely among quest houses in the same neighborhood and of the same quality. For example, MaVuyo is very active in helping her close neighbors.

MaVuyo: That is also what [Kirk] said, what he had noticed among peoples of Site C: ‘I was having dinner at Mama’s and [MaVuyo] was there helping, at Nana's and MaVuyo was there, at Princess’s and MaVuyo was there. I can see that she can work with other people and not be jealous.’ Why must I be jealous? Everyone needs to grow. I've been in industry for many years. They need help. It will help me to grow bigger.

Petty jealousies within the group have caused competition between the guest houses based in either Gugulethu or Khayelitsha. MaVuyo describes a recent debacle.

MaVuyo: This year, we went to Ndaba [National Tourism Conference] without any [association] group brochures. I heard about that, 2 days before we go to Ndaba, I called [Theresa] wanting to find out how are we going to get them. So what is the point? How are we going to market this group if we don't have brochure? So I thought you know what--let us quickly make a brochure just for the ones in Khayelitsha…I said guys if we can be honest with each other, we are just marketing ourselves. Brochures are just thrown away anyway. If I am asked how can I get in touch with [the association], I give them my card with my number. And I say to them, if you are marketing [the association], what do you know about me…So this was the first big thing and it flopped. I don’t have a problem with marketing. I am satisfied so far. I am thinking about the others who have just started, who are thinking that this will just grow overnight.
Such pervasive tensions among the women reflect larger tensions among the different classes of township homes as well as the raised expectations attached to tourism endeavors.

MaVuyo: You know Rachel it will take a long time. We are all from different backgrounds and working hand in hand has to mean that…um…This cake is too big, there is enough to share. But when it comes time to actually share the cake, it’s difficult to take the knife and slice it.

In truth, despite the jealousies, all of the B&B’s are struggling to stay afloat, especially during the winter season.

RH: Are you making a profit?

MaVuyo: Yho! Am I making a profit? I am making a profit now because I managed to extend after 9 years!

Discussion

Grounded in understanding of domesticity in the urban African context as well as the history of housing provision and upgrading in Cape Town, this chapter has endeavored to illustrate to the various factors constraining and entraining the female proprietors of township B&Bs. As part of the new South African story, mundane experiences of life and simple hospitality can be transformed into valuable tourist attractions. Yet, in this endeavor women encounter many paradoxical stumbling blocks, carrying the recharacterization of the townships as well as female domestic power two steps forward and one step back. At the very moment they are free to proudly share their urban, cultural lives, African homemakers again face external constructs. In this example, where tourism work is conducted is important. The mundane domestic space of home is transformed into a place of business. Moreover, home becomes a vector for communicating various personal and communal representations of African home life.

Tourism challenges female B&B owners to offer locally, quote “authentic” distinctiveness and yet meet international standards. Grading commissions extensively observe service providers’ recently gained private, now public, spaces. The women are pressured to perform
stereotyped role of a cooking, doting homemaker. Even in her resistance to conventional customer service training or narrowing of fluid home boundaries, MaVuyo desires to build upon ideas of widely circulating shack décor. While this business venture is supposed to be empowering, it is also highly intrusive and once again can take the norms of domesticity out of women's hands. Importantly, local structures play a significant role in how B&B owners engage with these demands. Their ideas for branding and ambiance evince a mix of local domestic desires as well as tensions with new cosmopolitan conceptions of class centered on home practice. The women are equally struggling with competing senses of what is proper representation of South African millennial domestic, urban life for both a local and global audience. Township tourism will inevitably run up against the upgrading of the neighborhoods and the realization of residents’ personal dream homes. Nomhle’s luxurious township guest house may only be a precursor of such realizations. This image at once confounds and undermines ideas of difference and normalcy present in tour narrations.

Nonetheless, the stories in this chapter point to the types of positive personal transformations occurring through tourism. As women join the labor market, in this case, they take on new identities through work and often a new role in the home. Self-employment is a point of pride. The creation of women’s associations can bolster their confidence and provide needed support. In effect, the B&B owning women demonstrate a new sense of self-worth, status, and respect. Participation in associations has helped many of the women learn skills, share information, and work together even if these ties are fragile and impacted by tensions over location and class. They know they share some features in common, such as long working hours, especially on weekends, and having to support large families and neighbors. The women are reemphasizing traditional domestic lives, something other career women may seek to change or
move away from. The reproductive, domestic role of home and work becomes doubly vital to household survival. However, as the women reflect on their working class identity, they come to see themselves not only as home-makers but as entrepreneurs.
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION: A SHARED STORY OF TRANSFORMATION

This concludes your tour of the townships of Cape Town. And I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your courage and support to come and visit our communities with the hope that with this tour you were able to learn of the different worlds that we have in Cape Town and the challenges that we are facing as the black people to build one city for all. So thank you very much for coming along. Now would you like me to drop you where I picked you up, or you want to go somewhere else?

In this dissertation I have examined the processes of township tourism through profiles of its main participants, places, and paradoxes. A series of key observations emerge for methodological and theoretical application to this and other global sites of community-based tourism. From road side shacks to dirty, dank shebeens to crowded craft markets to up-market guest accommodations, we have traveled the winding, yet purposeful route of township tours. In effect, this dissertation has attempted to collect the shared story of the growth and development of township tourism, as well as point to the possibilities and limitations of this type of tourism in peri-urban, racialized, and classed districts.

An Anthropological Approach to Township Tourism Revisited

My findings are intimately tied to a methodological and analytical approach with emphasis on the social workings of township tourism from a local, “off the bus” perspective. I reconsider the scope and basis of the anthropology of tourism, especially in the South African case. Understanding township tourism as a new and multifaceted process centered in the townships, my study engages with this phenomenon from the vantage point of the places and persons that shape it. My approach builds on the current scholarly literature on township tourism (Goudie et al. 1996, McEachern 2002, Minkley et al. 2001, Robins 2002, Witz 2007), but is also informed by urban studies in Africa (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004, Simone 2004) and beyond (Jaguaribe and Hetherington 2004, Low 1999, Low 2000, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003), and by certain

I challenge interpretations of tourism as “product, destination, [or] consumption” (Crouch 2006:207). Tourism is something people do (Crouch 2000). Tourism culminates in itineraries, performances, and representations as well as cultural, historical, and spatial productions, yes, but these are only the culmination. These various products are the result of personal and collective action, predicated upon subjective, economic, political, and historical social factors. My analysis shows that a true critical comparison of how tourism occurs and affects local participants begins with an understanding of the individuals, communities, and planners, and their accompanying struggles and successes from the ground up. Township tourism does not just repackage the South African past, or portray urban holdovers of tribal culture, or recover the spatial dimensions, battle grounds, and effects of apartheid. It not only showcases problems and accomplishments of the new nation, or reflects the changing tenor of tourism marketing in the nation, and it is not just the stories of the transformations wrought by the end of apartheid. In fact, the content of township tours are arguably secondary repercussions of a greater social drama (Moore 1994:129) occurring behind the scenes as locals strategize, collude, and compete to join the global industry growing in their midst.

This analytical framework is brought to bear on the multiple, interrelated ways tourism plays out for township residents. I focus on answering questions of who participates, what does that participation mean, and what are the constraints and opportunities impinging on participation. I also focus on the processes that serve to normalize tourism practices. As a result, tourism provides an especially productive sphere of social relationships for examination. As a lens or conduit for greater tensions in the public sphere (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004), we see how
instances of exchange, partnership, and conflict occur between multiple parties such as socio-economic classes, racial groups, and across city spaces. Take, for instance, the multiple types of alliances formed among tour operators, guides, and local residents or the fruitful local-international association created by bed and breakfast owners. These actions of cooperation are not straightforward, but require careful negotiation. Tour operators must select knowledgeable guides, but believe African guides appeal more to their customers. Township residents seek benefit from tourism enterprises but often have to succumb to the rhythms and expectations of established practices. B&B owners want to work together but have to reconcile their personal beliefs about home and community with international quality standards.

In these examples and others, complex tensions of inclusion, exclusion, and paradox emerge. Some of the emphasis for this specific analytic approach is due to the South African setting. In the past 15 years since the end of apartheid, South Africa has faced wide-ranging social changes and rapid shifts in its political climate. New forms of heritage, tourism, and leisure are only one small part of these sweeping adjustments. Township tourism alerts us not only to the successes and possibilities of the post-apartheid era but also to the limitations, such as persistent inequalities, instances of exploitation, and lingering inter-racial, inter-class animosities.

That said, I argue that to fully appreciate the types of social processes occurring in the townships one needs to draw on historical and spatial realities, but also move beyond over-determined reasoning for change tied to history, race, and class (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). Townships must be understood at the street level as sites of daily struggle, desire, and imagination (Nuttall 2004). It is only from this vantage point that I could grasp the multiple
itineraries occurring in tandem, the criss-cross of local and national tour companies, the desires and imagination of international tourist visitors, and the daily life of township residents.

As a total social process, the introduction of tourism depends on and generates a great number of transformations. In the stories presented here, tourism practices are the outcome of and result in changes to identity, communal and individual, to social positions, and even to family relationships. This progression leads to the makeover of places such as homes, community centers, daycares, and city sidewalks for visitation, narration, reflection, and commerce. Once hidden township places become reframed as sites of local heritage and global recognition. Places both significant and mundane are laden with multiple layers of meaning via tourism.

A point of note in method and content, this work is shaped by the close participation of important individuals such as Siviwe Mbinda who served as research assistant and guide. It was a valuable, productive approach to partner with a local assistant and interlocutor. In the present age, reflection on our practices serves to correct the invisibility of our interlocutors and assistants in the shared experience that is ethnography. In fact, ethnography can and should serve as a platform for the voices of our local collaborators. My serendipitous alliance with an interlocutor that was also part-outsider, part-neophyte to the spaces and subjects of inquiry allowed for a deeper understanding of the constructed nature of both touristic and anthropological practices and knowledge. Conflict, complicity, and obligation nurtured our discursive world of work and rapport. For most of us, our anthropological research will not culminate in large social projects. Yet being open to partnerships, however small-scale, provides outlets for meaningful engagement, allows avenues for local capacity-building, and opens doors to true collaboration within the communities we study.
Principal Findings

In summation, my principal findings hinge on a few interrelated points. The following conclusions point to connections across the narratives chronicled in the foregoing chapters. To begin, my argument is premised on understanding tourism as a mediated and interpretive phenomenon. I emphasize the different social positions of individuals and groups involved and their active roles in shaping how tourism takes place. How tourism works depends on the overall complexity of social relations in Cape Town. Additionally, this dissertation depends on the importance of place, how places become meaningful, and the reality that places can hold multiple meanings. Throughout this investigation, I am drawn back time and again to illustrations of paradox in social relations and in the struggle over cultural-heritage. Understanding these enduring tensions in South Africa sheds further light on the possibilities and limitations contouring township tourism and similar phenomena in the public sphere.

Mediation and Interpretation

The social processes of tourism work through various means of mediation or cultural brokerage (Werner 2003). Township tourism mediates encounters between local residents, provincial and national tourism agendas, and international visitors. Operators and guides serve as influential middlemen. They are agents in redefining the townships through their routes, destinations, narrations, and performances. As shown in the preceding chapters, owner/operators like Langford, Sis Layla, and Kabelo rely heavily on personal experiences to design their tour routes (Chapter 3). Further, as a collective class of non-white business owners, they have helped to establish common practices, such as the prevalence of black guides and attention to community responsibility.

To some observers, township tours offer very similar outcomes. Further, scholars have pointed to the problematic nature of tours for being voyeuristic or further reifying African
identities. I point to the variation in tour content and operators’ philosophies and practices to show how these distinctions are informed by the social realm. Variations are not infinite but specific; they are fueled by social experience of mediators and their social positions on such trenchant issues as race and community responsibility. The arguable flaws of some tour practices, such as intrusive home visitation or creating a culture of donation, are also born out of these forces. By employing purposeful comparison of divergent tourism practices occurring around the same places and subjects, the motivations behind tour routines begin to emerge.

Operators and guides, as well as other influential local participants, serve as interpreters of a range of African experiences to tourist audiences. Guides not only determine where tourists go, but what kinds of information and images they take away. For instance, in their treatments of shebeens and traditional beer, Fikile and Ayanda, call variously on culture, political history, and representations of township social life (Chapter 2). On the one hand, Fikile shows continuity with the past and appreciation for traditional practices. On the other hand, Ayanda leads tourists on a boisterous and flavorful excursion into daily township life. This analytical tool of purposeful comparison coupled with subjective understanding is valuable throughout the dissertation to scrutinize interpretations. For example, understanding the contemporary significance of the Gugulethu Seven memorial emerges in part from comparative treatment of guides narrations and performances (Chapter 6). Elsewhere we see how B&B owners, in their décor, marketing, and customer service models, influence tourists’ perceptions of township domesticity (Chapter 7).

In most cases, the responsibility for tour content is given over to approved guides by tour operators. Yet free lance guides often find themselves ill-equipped to deal with issues of representation. Young and inexperienced guides, as in Siviwe’s experience, undergo a learning
process as they rehearse and mold their own routes, narratives, performances, and partnerships. They must also learn to negotiate community issues, such as the structured social roles in Langa and community participation.

A final point about mediation concerns power and structural relationships. Operators and guides are influential over how other township residents participate and to what extent they participate or benefit from tourism. These decisions are variously based on factors such as personal beliefs as is the case with Kabelo or Fikile (Chapter 3), familial ties as with Reggie (Chapter 5), or monetary and reciprocal relationships as is the case with visitation to certain craft sites. However, township residents are not without active strategies of their own to ensure participation and benefit.

**Participants**

My approach has sought to draw out the subjectivity, agency, and creativity of local practitioners. A number of community members experience personal transformation as they maneuver to gain access to the tangible and intangible benefits of tourism participation. Tourism as work is recognized as a lucrative opportunity. Township residents, with dreams for personal and economic achievement in the post-apartheid period, seek to capitalize on the promises of tourism. The stories I share about tourism participants illustrate their capacity for self-fashioning, illuminating how South Africans are approaching the new social order and how they imagine their place in it.

These stories exemplify tourism participation’s positive and negative outcomes. For most, tourism presents a mix of personal and economic gains and hardships. In Langa, local residents come to recognize the value of their services or performances to successful tours. For residents like Reggie or Pamela (Chapter 5), tourism creates relationships of dependence. They enter into a reciprocal affiliation with tour guides, base on perceived promises of work and
payment. Despite the tenuous, even exploitative nature of his informal employment, Reggie has
gained new confidence and a sense of purpose from the opportunity. In other instances,
successful businessmen, like Langford, rise to new economic and social positions. As in the case
of bed and breakfast owners, such realizations spark self-promotion, quests for self-definition
and branding.

For guides and operators especially, tourism presents new types of personal and
communal challenges to grapple with. My exploration of tour guides’ experiences via Siviwe’s
story point to dilemmas between the “bounded and partible self” (Silverman 1999:59). Attentive
to it or not, tour guides are called to represent not only their (subjective) individual self but their
(collective) communities. Many township residents must overcome deficiencies in capital,
language, and knowledge to make the transition into tourism employment. In Siviwe’s example,
we see how young African guides are bound by social relationships at the same time they shift to
fulfill a new social and “economic emphasis on individuation” (ibid:59). Individual success
transforms their relationship to the community and can spawn new challenges in their already
negotiated township and town social worlds. Once unhinged from the security of their urban and
rural networks of support, guides respond to the need to venture out on their own. As in Siviwe’s
case, through tourism performance for outsiders, participants can become more aware of the
personal, communal, and cultural features they represent. The Comaroffs have recently argued
that participation in the commodification of differences such as ethnicity often serves to make
communities more aware of their identities and differences, perchance to capitalize from these
attributes. But in this pursuit they also move to “(re)fashion identity, to (re)animate cultural
subjectivity, to (re)charge collective self-awareness, to forge new patterns of sociality”
(Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:26).
Returning to the concept of border crossing (Besteman 2008), tourism provides an especially productive tool through which to analyze changing social and economic relationships across the boundaries of apartheid. Tourism is increasingly how the global public learns about townships and associated issues of apartheid and development. But tourism is carried out by a diverse cast of locals who maintain certain social positions, grease certain types of social networks, and seek certain personal and collective desires. Township tourism is bounded by place and the historical significance of the townships, but we find persons and messages seeking to cross these borders. For example, participants, similar to Portia the B&B owner, convey visions of a prosperous, cosmopolitan future in the business. These future aspirations shape and limit daily practice just as powerfully as long-standing disadvantages. The boundaries, imagined and spatial, of the township both constrains conceptions of identity and fuel new forms of self-expression.

Personal stories provide evidence for my argument that the products, places, outcomes, and culminations of tourism are dependent on and generated through daily practice. In participants’ struggles and successes we see the how the representations and conventions of township tourism develop and become standardized through action. Because of the global nature of the tourism industry, guests, or tourists, are often indicated as the agents of social change, commodification, and standardization. However, this research shows that hosts, or local persons and their communities, actively shape the ways their areas are marketed and toured (Werner 2003, Stronza 2001, Jaguaribe and Heatherington 2004).

**Situated Knowledge**

Although tourism depends on global demand, township tourism practices are equally a result of specific, historicized patterns, cultural contestations over representation, as well as orchestrated spatial and power relationships. In each chapter, I have drawn attention to how
historical factors or entrenched racialized and classed structures impact tourism. In other words, the persons and places of tourism are similarly entangled in the conundrums of race, culture, community, and political economy that they invoke. However, not to be overly reliant on race relations as an explanation, I show how other types of local struggles hold important implications for how tourism takes place and its meaning to participants.

Raced and classed issues appear in several instances. Among non-white guides and operators, despite areas of cooperation, we see a rejection of past orders, explicitly a resistance to elite white business owners managing township excursions or even government regulation of tour guide certification. Guides, such as Vusi or Thando (Chapter 4), interview and work with white operators, however they are pleased to be given primary control over their tour content. By preferring day labor contracts, they seek a more independent future. At the same time, a number of white operators are under pressure to prove their mastery of township knowledge and desire for cooperation. In the Gugulethu Seven example, the City Council and the design artists collide over different conceptions of race, community, and struggle. Across the social spectrum, we see all parties wrestling with instances of exploitation, paternalism, or stereotyped ideas about identity.

Additionally, issues more specific to the townships color how tourism works. In Langa, for example, battles over participation engage long-standing conflicts and conceptions of insider or outsider status formed under apartheid policy. Situations of disagreement over tourism participation are not just about access to financial benefit. Local residents, such as the women of the sheep head spaza or hostel and shack dwellers, are seeking recognition and a sense of dignity. Their perceived or self-identified migrant status comes with lingering feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness over their representation and their right to privacy. In a similar
matter, competition and suspicions arises among B&B owners over the potential draw of shack versus formal establishments.

That said, I have also shown the importance of thinking outside these historical factors to see the internal logic of township social dramas and to frame townships as sites of possibility. I draw on understandings of the syncretic, creative character of African urban life (Bozzoli 2004, Judin and Vladislavic 1998, Mbembe and Nuttall 2004, Simone 2004). My work points to the multivalence of township communities to reinforce that how township tourism works must be understood at the community level. In Langa and other examples we see how residents make use of what is available to them, remaking social relations and field of possibility. The unemployed become entrepreneurs. Hostel and shack dwellers become crafters. Cooks become caterers. Beer-drinkers become site-guides. Thus the competitive nature of tourism participation fits with historical and modern division in the township based on ideas of difference and rooted in scarcity. However, it also speaks to the ability of communities and their individuals to work and adapt new social and economic systems such as tourism.

Place

This dissertation depends on the argument that tourism occurs in place, and these places, too, are mediated by the social realm. The chapters allude to participants’ relationships with space, and the production and consumption of place in a number of ways. Overall, townships are being reinvented as a site of heritage and places therein are being given a newly imagined past to be presented for a global tourist audience. In this way, the places referenced on township tours continually become layered with meanings.

Township places become “traveling” sites of history and culture, situated between local and global audiences (Huyssen 2003). Sites such as District Six or the Gugulethu Seven memorial take on a global sense of place. Though inscribed by location, they are no longer so

Township tourism, as a unique form of cultural tourism, is interesting because it engages not only monumental and historic sites, such as sites of protest, or places of commerce, such as craft markets, but it specifically highlights everyday places, such as homes. In bed and breakfasts, for example, women share their dreams and visions for a particular type of home. But the development of their visions depends on associations, shared knowledge, and local and international certification standards. Only through these social processes do we see the transformation of places of home into public places of business.

Importantly, place, too, is made meaningful by practice, through visitation, through guides’ narration, and through the embodied position of key actors. Place is used by guides to invoke stories of culture, history, and everyday life. How place is capitalized on and struggled over is most poignant in the Gugulethu memorial example, but also consider B&B owners divergent marketing of home, or the various characterizations of cultural sites by guides. In each case related to place, we see tensions rise over what is to be preserved, whose collective memory should be celebrated, and what counts as heritage.

Treatment of place is significant for what it reveals about these types of conflicts. For example, places for monumentalization or for memory not only point backward, they also reflect current processes within city such as the political leanings of a City Council agenda and the
possibilities and limitations of community art projects. Moreover, in the case of the Gugulethu Seven Memorial, we see how place has multiple meanings for different audiences. Former MK cadres are given a new sense of purpose in directing excursion of remembrance. As noted above, selective comparison of the treatment of places, such as shebeens or hostels, reveal subjective details about guides own beliefs. They also reveal sites of cleavage within the tourism industry at large over practices, such as the treatment of community members or responsibility over messages and impacts.

**Paradox**

This work on township tourism alludes to both the ideational and economic paradoxes presented by township tourism. Clearly a number of imperative issues are still being worked out in this venture of community-based development. As the Comaroffs argue, “It is yet to be seen whether ethno-prise actually will increase the general prosperity, the common weal, of those who look to it for a panacea—or whether it will exacerbate, even reinvent, long-standing forms of extraction and inequality” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:142).

In the preceding chapters, my findings point to a number of contradictions at play in the experiences of local participants. Such contradictions are rooted in, though not limited to, the contexts of Cape Town, South Africa and legacies of discrimination against and segregation of the non-white population. For example, operators are selling the community “empowerment” aspect of tourism while simultaneously branding interactions with the disempowered as “authentic.” Township tour marketing materials and narratives extol non-racialism while entrepreneurs depend on racial stereotypes and prejudices in their presentations and business decisions. Local tour guides gain the opportunity to tell the story of their neighborhoods but must work within the racially demarcated employment structures of the tourism industry. Township residents, often excluded from control over tourism practices, negotiate outcomes of both
exploitation and empowerment. New national public projects, such as monument building, with the stated goals of restitution and inclusion, can result in questionable outcomes through design, visitation, and interpretation. Township B&B proprietors invest in property upgrades to compete with the luxury standards of established guest houses and each other, at once confirming and confusing tourists’ conceptions of township home life. The industry’s goals of cultural appreciation, inclusion, and development coincide with the perpetuation of difference and inequality via tourism practices and representations.

In these examples, not only entrenched social structures surface, but also new forms of oppression emerge among communities as participants jockey for power over where tourism goes and who it benefits (van Rooyen in Alexander et al. 2006). Some tourism practices unfortunately reinforce stereotypes of gender, class, or patriarchy. Such a situation is mirrored in development projects across the new South Africa. As Robins points out, despite the good intentions of development initiatives or efforts at responsibility through monetary and symbolic means, all aimed at transformation and desegregation, ideas of difference based on race and class and delineated by spatial boundaries, can become reproduced (Robins 2005).

Looking these instances of paradox and tension reveals much about the current state of power relations in the township tourism industry. Writ large, these examples expose the growing pains of the tourism industry and of greater social changes occurring in the South African public sphere. Further, my investigation has pointed to the meaning of the changes for various types of individuals and groups. In many cases, the progressive goals of the transition to democracy have not lived up to expectations for formerly disadvantaged citizens. They may have made gains in human rights, but the struggle continues for economic equality as well as symbolic and social reconciliation (Robins 2005).
Looking Forward

In the years since my fieldwork concluded, I have received regular updates on how township tourism continues to change and yet remain the same. The Department of Tourism funded Siviwe and several members of his young, African tour guiding cohort to travel to Spain for intensive language study, further broadening his horizons and possibilities. He has continued to urge tourists off the bus and into the bustling township streets. He is now the proud co-proprietor of a company doing bicycle tours through the sites of Langa. Steady success has allowed him to move out of the Squatini hostel into a nice home with working plumbing. He even bought a new car. Dibbs and Jomo, his homeboys, have ventured out on their own, bringing a formal end to their business partnership. However, they are all proud to help the young gumboots dancers keep performing. Others are reported to be doing fine as well. Reggie was sponsored to attend some tour guiding classes but continues his informal role. MaVuyo finished her immaculate second-story on the B&B. The traditional healer’s complex was demolished for commercial development. He and the group of Kenyan art traders now endure in and around a small shipping container. The stories could continue for another volume.

Despite the persistence of certain social struggles, public and private, in South Africa, I steadily endeavored not to paint township tourism as a failed enterprise or a negative development for township communities throughout this dissertation. Rather, this investigation provides a fuller understanding of why tourism occurs the way it does and what tourism means to those most affected by daily visitation. Only with that knowledge can practitioners and planners fruitfully work toward goals of community responsibility. Time and again, I saw tour companies fail or fission, development projects founder, and community centers drown under corruption. City or private efforts at righting wrongs were equally fraught because of a lack of situated, local knowledge of how tourism was working, of what connections and competitions were going
unseen, of what community, historical, or racial tensions were salient, or of how to best communicate with the interested parties. Rather grassroots projects, such as Langford’s development trust, which work on small-scale goals, communicate intimately with community members about their needs, and strive for transparency, were on the right track.

Unregulated mediation from within or outside the industry—meaning tour companies essentially took free reign over townships because they could or felt they could—is a key factor. Further, township communities and their members have been slow, low in numbers, or self-serving in their official responses to tour companies. Questions linger for me as to whether a metropolitan or regional system of management can be or should be set-up to monitor the industry or whether community boards could be organized to great effect. The fact remains that there is little to no quality control or efforts at social responsibility except for that provided by individual tour guides or tour operators. The outcomes most critiqued by scholars, such as questionable tour content, questionable enterprises, questionable donation opportunities, as well as little sustainable benefit, arise out of the complex social relationships of community politics, raced and classed relations, and economic struggles. Only in understanding these processes can one see how the status quo, the continued accusations of exploitation, differentiation, and underdevelopment of townships persists.

Again I argue that township tourism demonstrates the social flows and forms of the public sphere which are emerging to define the new South Africa. As such, township tourism provides a medium for discussion of the junctures where social differences manifest as public phenomena (Nuttall and Mbembe 2004). South Africa has been bestowed with honors and awards for its attention to responsible tourism, creating development projects, and employment. In the Cape Town case, I want responsible tourism to not be solely marketing and lip-service, another new
national myth for the Rainbow Nation. Looking to the future, my questions now concern how
South Africa’s stated agenda of responsible tourism might be implemented given this
understanding of social processes of mediation and participation taking place in townships. And
further, I question how the insights present here might be applied to other, similar global
locations.

Overall, the implications and meanings of community-based tourism must be understood at
the ground-level. I believe this analytical framework and the principal findings can be applied
across South Africa and elsewhere in studies of tourism and other public forms of urban social
change. What I discuss is a national phenomenon occurring in other major cities of South Africa,
and it is a global phenomenon. I hope this particular case can lend itself to comparison with other
global scenarios.
“This memorial marks the general location where seven young men were shot and killed in an ambush on 3 March 1986. Employing a former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operative turned security force agent (notoriously called Askaris), the apartheid era anti-terrorist unit based at Vlakplaas, orchestrated their recruitment. The askari trained and armed the seven young men and then lured them into an ambush.

“This Askari, driving the mini-van in which the Gugulethu 7 were traveling, stopped at the nearby, prearranged location where the Vlakplaas-based unit and police back-up units were already in place to commence with the ambush.

“Some of the activists were killed as the sought to defend themselves, some were killed as they tried to surrender, whilst the injured were shot as they lay on the ground. This brutal and cowardly attack so incensed the community that, in defiance of the State of Emergency existing at the time and in spite of the restrictions imposed on the number of people allowed at the funeral, more than 30,000 people attended the funeral on 15 March 1986.

“An inquest conducted by the Apartheid regime found the police not guilty of any wrong doing. At the Truth and Reconciliation Commission it was then revealed that the Vlakplaas – based unit had organized the operation. They had hoped that by their cruel act they would secure more funds to continue with their evil deeds.

“Inspired by the ideals of the Freedom Charter and motivated by the command to render the country ungovernable, these young men paid the ultimate price. Their blood has nurtured the tree of freedom. This shrine should remind many that these seven young men lost their lives for the freedom we enjoy today.

“The memory of the Gugulethu 7 lives on in the fight for human rights.

“‘Freedom or death—Victory is certain.’

“Though we may forgive, let us never forget.”
APPENDIX B
PEOPLE-IN-ACTION GUEST HOUSE CHECKLIST EXAMPLE

Part 1: Website

1. The website can be found easily on the Internet
2. The website has a clear name (URL)
3. Website downloads fast into the browser
4. The visitor can find everything easily
5. The navigation/layout on the website is logical
6. The information on the website is clear and up to date
7. The links on the website are in working order
8. The website gives a clear view on the available facilities
9. The visitor has the possibility to make inquiries for information through the website
10. The visitor can make a reservation online
11. The reservation is confirmed through mail or email
12. The reservation confirmation is received promptly

Remarks:
It is advised to become a member of booking-channels like sa-venues etc., also to attract more local guests (esp. during low season). Also put more specific info on unique (selling) points on the internet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
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<th>No</th>
<th>N/a</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only if query ‘B&amp;B’ is added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Own website not working!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aspects 3-10 assessed on 3rd party’s websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Part 2: Telephone/e-mail enquiries

1. The guest is addressed to with his/her full name (tel. only)
2. The guest is asked, in a correct manner, to spell his/her first and last name (tel. only)
3. The telephone operator is friendly and correct
4. Enquiries are made concerning the day of arrival and day of departure
5. The guest gets informed about the available rooms
6. The guest gets informed about room rates
7. Guest is asked for specific requirements (e.g. concerning food, facilities for disabled, etc.) and these are registered properly
8. The guest us informed well about the conditions of payment and the manner of confirmation and cancellation procedure
9. The guests’ address and other data are processed correctly
10. Thank guest for making the enquiry
11. The enquiry is confirmed by means of a letter/e-mail
12. The confirmation on the reservation is received within the appointed time span
13. Additional information on the guest house is provided, e.g. (f&b)packages, additional services such as (township)tours, unique selling points
14. Questions of guest concerning safety/security are answered in a satisfactory way

Remarks:
An e-mail has been sent: Answer came in after a two days. All relevant info was there, except for info on payment. The message showed interest and responsiveness towards the guest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nr</th>
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<th>N/a</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘hi’ instead of ‘dear Mr. Johansen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not about payment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it is advised to add these, also when reacting to a first enquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Appendix 3. Accessibility

1. The company can be reached well by public transportation or shuttle service is available
2. The route has been pointed out well from central points
3. The points of recognition on the route are easy to read
4. The points of recognition on the route are clear on the property

Remarks:
On long term: complete signing (route)
Clear direction on internet

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<th>No</th>
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<tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shuttle service available on demand, additional fee</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>No signing at freeway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>You can easily pass by without noticing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clear signing on the building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part 4. Exterior

1. The location gives a clear picture of the type of company
2. The ambiance of the building matches the level of quality
3. The company looks attractive enough for people passing by to come inside
4. The building appears to be maintained well
5. The style of the exterior matches the style of the interior
6. The colours used match each other
7. The building has good and clear lighting
8. The building has (illuminated) signing, indicating the company’s name
9. Local art/architecture/flavour has been incorporated in the facilities

Remarks:
The exterior of the building looks nice and attractive. It is clear the (re)construction is still in process. Guests are informed Hisikana has been trained in engineering and does most of the construction himself. Gives guests a secure feeling.
Part 5. Welcome/check-in

1. The welcoming staff member greets the guest, directly when he/she enters, in a friendly and correct manner
2. The welcoming staff member makes eye contact
3. The reservation of the guest is ready upon arrival (confirmation)
4. The check-in is processed quickly
5. The welcoming staff member checks the reservation and the address data in a correct manner
6. The welcoming staff member gives clear information about the rooms and procedures
7. The welcoming staff member is well informed about the different facilities
8. Through cross selling, the welcoming staff member tries to make the guest interested in the present facilities and/or additional services (e.g. townships tours)
9. The welcoming staff member wishes the guest a pleasant stay
10. The owner and/or manager of the guesthouse is there to welcome the guest personally

Remarks:
Owner gives more extensive information at check-in ‘regular guests’

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<th>No</th>
<th>N/a</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elaborate info on history/background of B&amp;B and Khayelitsha, but no basic info on room etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Very well!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 6. Guest room interior

1. The furniture is clean and looks well-cared for
2. Wallpaper/covering, curtains, and furniture are fresh and clean
3. The decoration and ambiance of the room match with the rest of the building
4. If applicable: radio and TV are ready for use and a users manual is present
5. There are sufficient and functional lamps/lights
6. The telephone connects directly to an outside line
7. Brochures with information about the company and surroundings are present in the room
8. In case there is a balcony, outside terrace, courtyard or garden: is it clean and tidy
9. In case there is a balcony, outside terrace, courtyard or garden: are there chairs/tables and are they tidy
10. The ambiance of the room (e.g. sheets, blankets, art, etc.) meet ‘the African experience’

Remarks:
Especially considering you are in a shack area, this is a fine room!

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<td>X</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Advised to make (different) portfolio(s)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>More colourful African elements (pictures, posters, sheets, etc.) could add to the experience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 6. Guest room (continued)
Bathroom and service

1. The warm water supply is good and continuous
2. The bathroom is clear and without hairs
3. The lighting is sufficient
4. There are enough guest supplies
5. Enough linen is present
6. The glasses are clean
7. There is a fast laundry service
8. The possibility to have a wake up call is present and the time for this call is correct
9. Messages are passed through to the guest as soon as possible
10. Every room has a map of fire exits and it is shown were the extinguishing material are
11. The company gives the guest a feeling of safety
12. An alarm system and/or surveillance is available
13. The guest can keep his/her valuables in a safe or deposit them for at the company’s liability

Remarks:
Open wiring in electric installations! Replace immediately!!
Use acrylate to fill op gaps between shower basin and walls, sink and wall, etc. Replace this yearly.
Use special cleanser & paint with brush to clean grouts every 2-3 months, rather than intensive daily cleaning (for example with chloride bleach, which will NOT avoid grouts from turning brown).

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>temperature not stable, but within borders of acceptability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>floor a bit sandy, grouts not clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>no mirror available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>no glasses for guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no glasses for guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>no glasses for guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>always somebody available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buy fire extinguisher a.s.a.p. Make fire-escape plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>(see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>(see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>(see below)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>(see below)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 7. Public areas

1. The lounge and hallways are clean and have sufficient lighting
2. If applicable: Sit-down areas in the lobby are good and plentiful
3. The location of the various facilities is pointed out clearly by signs (e.g. toilets, emergency exits, etc.)
4. Safety measures are posted clearly (what to do in case of fire, etc.)
5. The ambiance of the public areas matches the style of the guest rooms
6. The toilets are clean
7. The toilets have sufficient lighting
8. In the toilets, sufficient soap and toilet paper is present as well as the possibility to dry one’s hands
9. The interior of the toilets matches the appearance of the rest of the building

Remarks:
Add signing
Add board with safety measures, fire escape routes etc. in every room + public areas

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>no lights during the night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Add signs with room number/name, especially when new guests rooms are ready</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Add a.s.a.p.!</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 8. Breakfast

1. The guest is told clearly where breakfast will take place
2. The guest is told clearly at what time breakfast will take place
3. The ordered coffee or tea is brought quickly and in plentiful amounts or is available in large amounts
4. The tables in the room are set tastefully
5. Cereals and fresh toast or bread are served
6. Hot dishes are served
7. Dairy products and fruit are served
8. The breakfast room and the tables are clean and are kept clean
9. The staff is friendly and cheerful

Remarks:
Serving a local dish enhances the unique experience!
Well done!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>N/a</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>not applicable: local dish is served</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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Rachel Allison Harvey attended Wofford College in Spartanburg, SC, graduating Summa cum Laude with a degree in sociology in 2001. She then earned a Master of Arts in anthropology from the George Washington University. Her thesis “Negotiating Authenticity in South African Tourist Art” concerned township artists in Cape Town, South Africa. In 2004, Harvey began Ph.D. coursework at the University of Florida. During academic years 2005-06 and 2006-07, she was funded by a Foreign Language and Areas Studies Fellowship through the University of Florida Center for African Studies to study the Xhosa language. Ph.D. fieldwork episodes have been funded by the US Department of Education's Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program Grant, the Lewis and Clark Grant for Exploration and Field Research from the American Philosophical Society, and the Madelyn M. Lockhart Summer Research Travel Award from University of Florida Center for African Studies. She graduated with her Ph.D. in 2011 from the University of Florida. Harvey has taught classes on cultural and African anthropology. Her interests include African studies, urbanism, tourism, space/place, and popular and material culture.