

**The Construction of Public History and Tourist
Destinations in Cape Town's Townships: A study of routes,
sites and heritage**

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Introduction

This paper seeks to explore a number of issues in relation to tourism, particularly cultural tours, in Cape Town from the apartheid era to the new political dispensation in South Africa. Cultural tourism is not merely about commercial activities. It is an ideological framing of history as it creates history of people, nature, and culture, a framing that has power to reshape culture and nature for its own needs. In the South African context, this can be seen from the early decades of the twentieth century, but for the purposes of this study I will focus from the 1950s onwards to the present political period. The dominant ideology and political conditions at a given time shape cultural tourism.

The notion that the dominant ideology and political conditions at a particular time shape cultural tourism can be seen through tourist images of the apartheid period. These images were based on the discourse of the 'exoticism' and 'primitiveness' of those who were classified as 'non-Europeans' in comparison to the 'modernity' of a certain racially defined group of South Africa. The institution for this was the 'cultural village'. In addition, natural beauty, wild life, landmarks, landmark buildings, monuments and statues formed part of tourist experience. In post-apartheid South Africa, tourist images are centered on the notion of reconciliation, rainbow nation, nation building, unity in diversity, African Renaissance and Africanisation. The people who were imaged as 'primitive' and 'exotic' during apartheid are now re-imaged as more than just 'objects'. They form a great part of cultural tourism and international tourists are now presented with the past and present human experiences, daily life, cultural heritage and histories of South Africans. This is no more evident than in the township tour.

This paper asks two questions. Are predominantly African townships seen and viewed as cultural villages along the new tourist routes? Are township tours an alternative to the cultural village performances? This paper examines township tour narratives, which are centered on the discourse of living conditions, social life and developments, at the same

time suppressing the resistance history and the local heritage of the visited locations. In the light of this question and problem I will examine narratives within a broader context of the tourism industry in South Africa with a specific interest in Cape Town from the past five decades (1950s to the present period).

In this long paper I employ concepts like apartheid, apartheid tourist gaze(s), tourist gaze(s), destination culture, tour routes, front and back stages, “authenticity”, cultural villages, townships and community. I use the term apartheid in this thesis to refer to an ideology that was based on separate development in all spheres of life. The Nationalist Party from 1948 until the birth of new and fully democratic South Africa in 1994 institutionalized apartheid. When I talk about apartheid tourist gaze(s), I refer to certain core aspects commonalities throughout the apartheid era. The term tourist gaze I employ in reference to the tourist experiences, knowledge and images constructed for tourists from guidebooks, magazines, itineraries and by tour guides, and the images that tourists encounter. Places are created or developed with the aim of providing tourist experience. Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation of pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered.¹ In township tours the tourist gazes are directed to the features of landscape, socio-political, socio-cultural and economic landscape, and everyday experience. Visuals like photographs and postcards make these tourist gazes last forever. In township tourism this forms a particular system of knowledge that is important to visitors. As I argue in this paper, these tourist gazes are very much contested.

The concept of townships I utilize in this paper refers to residential areas that were made available by the racist governments that existed in South Africa. The apartheid regime continued with that approach as it established many townships for ‘coloureds’ and Africans throughout the country. Townships were created as early as the turn of the twentieth century. In Cape Town, the first township was created in 1901. Townships were built based on the colonial understanding of the lifestyle and standard of ‘non-whites’. When townships were created they were under developed and located far away from the

J. Urry, 1990: 3

inner city. In this paper, I use the concept of community in reference to a group of people who live in a common area and sometimes share the same values, norms and experiences.

When I talk about destination culture in this paper, I refer to places that are being visited by tourists. I develop Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's term of 'Destination Culture'² by looking at routes that produce these destinations in Cape Town townships through township tours. Thus the term tour routes comes into being. The concept of tour routes I utilize in reference to the path that tour guides follow when they take tourists on tours. The tourist routes are properly planned, organized and structured in advance of tourist visitation. Under cultural tourism the term "authenticity" is used repeatedly. In this paper I used it to refer to what is perceived to be "real" and "original".

I borrowed the term 'front and back stages' that I employ in this thesis from Goffman. Following Goffman, Dean MacCannell argues, "Goffman has described a structural division of social structure into what he terms front and back regions."³ In this thesis when I talk about front stage I refer to "favourable" tourist images, while back stage refers to the "real" side of society or of what is being presented to tourists as real and what they see.

This thesis attempts to show tourist destination culture in South Africa, which in cultural tourism appears to be based on museums, cultural villages⁴ and townships. Townships through township tourism seem to be the major part of destination culture in post apartheid South Africa. Thus this paper intends to critically discuss and analyze the construction of public history and tourist destinations in Cape Town townships through a study of routes, sites, and heritage. Townships through township tourism are systems of knowledge for the visitors at different levels, and visitors can use that knowledge for various purposes. This knowledge is based on resistance history, social life, past and

² B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 132

³ D. MacCannell, 1988: 500

⁴ Cultural villages are places that are established with the aim of having ethnic group(s) performing, dressed up, made to appear like the 'authentic' people of that particular ethnic group(s), practicing their 'authentic' lifestyle and look 'authentic'. Cultural villages seem to be a global phenomenon as there are other countries that are following this trend.

present human experiences, daily lives of the local residents and their heritage. When all these aspects of this system of knowledge are combined they are intended to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the township landscapes for the visitors.

In order to achieve the aim of this paper I am first going to critically examine the apartheid tourist gazes, in the development of cultural tourism. In addition, I will also look at comparative cases. In chapter two, I intend to scrutinize the genealogy and the development of township tours (township tourism), and analyze and compare the township tour narratives. Chapter three will focus on the places of sightseeing in Langa Location. These sites of Langa include Eziko Center⁵ and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center⁶. I chose these two tourist destinations in Langa precisely because their nature, organization and operations differ. They also share similarities as they have the same aim of becoming established tourist destinations and they were both established as community projects. In addition, both these institutions found themselves in the difficult position of attempting to both serve the community and establish themselves in township tourism as destinations. Chapter four is based on a case study of Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, in Guguletu. The reason why I selected this Center is because the exhibition that is in the Center attempts to provide an 'alternative' history. This 'alternative' history is based on resistance history of Cape Town townships within a broader context of apartheid South Africa. This Center works as a community museum that provides knowledge to the visitors, as there are no museums in Cape Town's townships and it is also found itself in the difficult position of attempting to establish itself as a tourist destination and serve the community, as a 'community project'. But it differs from the two destinations in Langa because it was created as a tourist destination from above, by Cape Town Tourism and Western Cape Tourism, and made to be a community project.

⁵ Eziko Center is a restaurant that sells traditional food and it has other wings, a Resource Center and Cooking and Catering School, which is the first of its nature in Cape Town's townships.

⁶ Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center was initiated by the local residents of Langa and other interested people with the aim of reflecting the Xhosa culture and the 'histories' of that location.

There are many factors that came together and caused me to write about this subject. These factors range from my interest in public history with specific focus on heritage management and cultural tourism to my involvement in different community projects and the role that I can play in trying to contribute to the South African heritage and cultural tourism industry/field. It is important to note that the production of public history is a process. The fact that public history is more in public domain cause the importance of routes that tour guides follow, and sites that form destinations and tourist experience. This thesis intends to contribute to large debates about heritage (heritage representation, politics of representation and of identity) and to a broader picture of cultural tourism in post apartheid South Africa.

Chapter one

Apartheid tourist gaze The development of cultural tourism, comparative case

The purpose of this chapter is to show the development of tourism within a broader context of apartheid South Africa from the 1950s to the early 1990s. During this period people were isolated in all spheres of life and South Africa had an international image of gross human rights violation, violence, police brutality and from 1976 to 1980s, township uprisings, stone-throwing crowd and police brutality. Internally people were classified according to their colour, and there were racial discriminatory policies as well as the reinforcing of ethnic groupings. This resulted in the establishment of 'homelands'. The internal images of apartheid South Africa were in line with the dominant ideology of that time in South African history, which was centered on separate development and promoted white supremacy.

South Africa was also a tourist destination with international tourist gazes that reflected a colonial discourse based on the 'exoticism' and 'primitiveness' of those who were classified as 'non-Europeans' and the 'modernity' of those who were regarded as 'Europeans'. The main aim of this chapter is to show the apartheid tourist gazes, which were based on the juxtaposition and comparison of 'exotic' and 'primitive' people with 'modern' society. I will focus especially on township (routes and images) because images of the townships evolved over time. I will also bring up the contradictions between tourism industry and the apartheid state.

The images of apartheid South Africa changed over time as the nature of traveling changed and also because of other factors. This can be seen from the 1950s to the late 1980s as many things happened and even the number of tourists fluctuated as influenced by many factors inside and outside the country. During this period, international tourists were mostly interested in the images of the 'exoticism' of South Africa. From the late

1980s onward some international tourists become interested in the images of 1960 - Anti-Pass Campaign [in Sharpeville and in Langa], 1976 - student uprising and 1980s - massive popular resistance in townships. This may have something to do with the global media coverage of what was happening in South Africa.

Apartheid policies were about separate development within a set of discriminatory laws. People were classified according to their colour and the social interaction of different races was prevented. Those who were not regarded as 'South African citizens', Africans, were forced to carry their identity documents 24 hours a day. Apartheid was mostly about white supremacy and the theory that different races could not live together. Residential areas were racially divided and separated by buffer zones. The apartheid policies affected those who were regarded as 'non-white' in all spheres of life, and whites too, but in ways that supported privileges through opportunities that were not restricted.

In apartheid South Africa tourism was under the Trade and Industry Department. Before I can focus on the purpose of this chapter I would like to first briefly discuss the historiography of SATOUR, which is a national body that regulates and controls the tourism industry in South Africa. This central body was established in 1947 by legislation as the South African Tourist Corporation as a result of South African Tourism Corporation Act of 1947, and its function was the "promotion of tourism from abroad to South Africa".⁷ This was done through the establishment of overseas offices, staffed by South Africans 'well versed in travel and marketing'.⁸

The action of the apartheid police in 1960 - in Sharpeville and in Langa and in 1976 - student resistance, which was condemned worldwide and the political conditions of that time resulted in the isolation of South Africa in all spheres of life including the tourism industry. While South Africa was increasingly isolated, SATOUR was expanding its field of operation "to publicize to the best advantage of South Africa's great diversity of attraction".⁹ Rassool and Witz argued "tourism was increasingly seen as a way of

⁷ SATOUR, 1994

⁸ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996: 336

⁹ "Who is SATOUR?" in Marsh, 1976:14

overcoming international isolation by the government, which in 1967 had established a special Department of Tourism. Visitors could have the opportunity to 'see for themselves' and be persuaded that South Africa had its own way and was keen to develop 'goodwill and understanding among nations.'¹⁰ This was not solely the strategy for the growth of tourism industry in South Africa, as for SATOUR; that was a way of creating good friends for the country, as it was trying to expand its operation framework.

By 1980, South Africa hoped to attract one million tourists a year, but to SATOUR disappointment the number fell far short of this target. This continued throughout the 1980s. The low tourist figures in the early 1980s caused the apartheid government to take new initiatives. A SATOUR booklet states:

Firstly the government located tourism more firmly within the world of trade and industry by merging the Department of Commerce and Industry. Secondly, new legislation was passed in 1983, in which SATOUR became the South African Tourism Board, now widening its gambit of operation from promotion and publicity abroad to 'encouraging the development and improvement of travel services to and within, of accommodation for travelers within the Republic.'¹¹

In 1983 SATOUR underwent certain changes. The motive for these changes was for SATOUR to promote and market South Africa abroad so as to capture the new market abroad and to show what South Africa offered and improve the competitiveness of South Africa as a tourist destination. The old market of apartheid South Africa was Europe, particularly those countries that had ties with the South African government of that time.

Rassool and Witz pointed out that SATOUR hoped that "the fostering of improved standards and the upgrading of facilities and infrastructure ... would promote the industry and increase the number of international visitors".¹² Despite SATOUR's marketing efforts and its intention to upgrade standards, the envisaged growth in the international tourist trade to South Africa did not materialize. Instead the period after 1984 brought about a dramatic decline. By 1986 tourism had declined to 1973 levels with little more

¹⁰ C.Rassool & L.Witz, 1996:338

¹¹ SATOUR: 1994

¹² C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:339

than 290,000 per annum.¹³ Rassool and Witz argue that, "Western television audiences had come to know South Africa as 'an international trouble spot' through incessant scenes of crowds, stone-throwing and police brutality".¹⁴ The tourism decline in the 1980s was the result of the political conditions at that time as the 1980s was the climax of the massive popular resistance against apartheid.

The political transformation in the early 1990s¹⁵ caused the South African Tourism Board to promote the emerging South African order for the tourism industry. Thus Rassool and Witz affirmed:

In keeping with this national discourse of development and dialogue, SATOUR began to position itself as a community development organization and not merely a tourism promotion body concerned with marketing and the supervision of standard. It began speaking of a new 'vision' of increased international tourism improving the quality of life of all communities of South Africa at all levels', a possible passport to development. Tourism was seen as an industry, which would earn foreign exchange and create jobs... It would also conserve culture and the environment and, above all, instill a 'sense of community pride and upliftment'. As an 'integrated' and long-established organization, SATOUR saw itself as a body which could do 'something for every South African', contribute to 'the creation of goodwill, peace, understanding and friendship' and facilitate the establishment of a 'tourism culture'.¹⁶

A country's tourism industry is strongly influenced by the political conditions that are prevailing at a given time. The apartheid tourist images were in line with the popular ideology of that time and the political transformation in the early 1990s influenced SATOUR as it started to redefine itself to fit with the politics of that time in South African history. This also reflects the importance of community participation in tourism

¹³ SATOUR: 1991

¹⁴ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:339

¹⁵ The political transformation in the early 1990s was speed up by the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990. After he was released there were many meetings that were held between the National Party and the African National Congress, as other liberation movements were not willing to negotiate with the NP. Though Pan Africanist Congress of Azania later joined the negotiations and the fully democratic elections. These meetings, which some of them were indoors resulted in the formation of the Convention for Democratic South Africa. CODESA played a significant role in drafting the constitution and for the arrangements of the first fully democratic elections.

¹⁶ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996: 340

through community-based tourism and 'tourism culture' and made their aims and operations to be in line with the new political discourse of democracy.

As South Africa entered into a new dispensation, SATOUR, under pressure from tourism interest groups with "a discourse of 'development' increasingly constituting a consensus, SATOUR began to enter into a consultation and discussion with an expanded network within traveling industry and with other interested parties."¹⁷ The historiography of SATOUR clearly shows that it was and still is a state agency. It was related to the state in that it was funded by the state and its responsibilities were in line with the state's ideas. The operation of SATOUR changes over time as a result of prevailing political conditions at a particular time and it helps create images to promote the government priorities.

Apartheid tourist gazes in South Africa

Tourism is an industry that is about definite destination(s), and destination may be a local, regional, national or international setting. Tours, however, are divided into routes and some tour companies offer all kinds of tours in their package while others do not. From its origins and the time of massive popular tourism, which was based on sightseeing until now, tourism has been centered on demand and supply. Demand refers to what tourists are interested in at a particular time. Supply refers to what operators offer to tourists, which is mostly influenced and shaped by many factors. This demand is created or constructed by tour operators.

The apartheid tourist images of 1950s in Cape Town consisted of natural beauty and landmark, these were amongst the tourist destinations of that time. A guide of the 1950s describes Cape Town as follows: No matter how the visitor reaches Cape Town, he will recognize that scarcely another city in the world can rival the beauty of its setting. Whether he comes by ship, by car, by train or by plane, the giant bulk of Table Mountain

¹⁷ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996: 340

is there to welcome him. At its feet lies Table Bay and behind it the incomparable beauty of the Cape Peninsula. ... A great mountain and considerably indented project from the otherwise comparatively smooth coastline of South Africa, which ends in the south with the world-famous Cape Point and the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁸ This highlights some of the destinations that formed part of the city tours package in the 1950s and the apartheid tourist gazes of that time. This also demonstrates that the purpose of these destinations was to show the tourists natural beauty and landscape.

Eric Rosenthal asserted that in the 1950s Bo-Kaap was part of a tourist destination as he pointed out that:

The Malay Quarter: In distinctive contrast to those products of modern architecture is the colourful Malay Quarter. This lies mostly on the slope of Signal Hill above Buitensingel and covers a comparatively restricted area. Slum conditions have unfortunately been allowed to develop, with the result that many of them are very dilapidated. ... Meanwhile the visitors still see the daily life of the descendants of the original Malay slaves, who came to the Cape in the 17th century from the Far East.¹⁹

This illustrates the 'exotic' side of Cape Town, its architecture, and the 'exotic' people, 'Cape Malays', who were the subject of the gaze and formed part of the tourist gazes of that time. In Cape Town, during apartheid South Africa, 'Cape Malays' were seen as the 'exotic' people of the Mother City.

Rosenthal then went on to point out the monuments and statues in the central area of the city, "As the Mother City, Cape Town has acquired many monuments of varying degrees of artistic quality and interest. Most of these are in the central area of the City. At the bottom of Adderly Street is the statue of Jan van Riebeeck, founder of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Nearby is a monument by Vernon March to South African troops killed in World War I. It is a modern concept of the famous Winged Victory ... At its foot are figures of South African soldiers and behind them bas-reliefs show scenes in campaigns of World War I."²⁰ These monuments and statues signify white people's

¹⁸ E. Rosenthal, 1951:79

¹⁹ E. Rosenthal, 1951: 115

²⁰ E. Rosenthal, 1951: 117

heritage and honour those who participated and those who died in World War 1. On Adderly Street, which is the city center, there are many statues. Monuments and statues are a universal form of commemoration.

Historical events and festivals made up another aspect of tourist experiences in the 1950s. Thomas Cook and Son tourist brochure offered a Special Train Tour to the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival.

Three hundreds years ago on the 6th April 1652 van Riebeeck in the Dromedaris, accompanied by the Reiger and Goede Hoop arrived in Table Bay after a fast passage of 104 days from the Texel. Today the Union of South Africa honours the tercentenary of the arrival of van Riebeeck, the man who is regarded as the country's founder. Commencing on the 1st February a programme of countrywide celebration will reach its Grand Finale in the Mother City, Cape Town, during the period March 30th to April 6th. Cook's Special Train Tour to the Union will leave Bulawayo on the evening of March 30th, to arrive in Cape Town on April 2nd (after a brief visit to Kimberly) for the culmination days of this great spectacle. ... The Van Riebeeck Festival Special Train Tour of the Union of South Africa provides the sightseeing of drives as indicated in this pamphlet at Kimberley, Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Pretoria.²¹

The way 'Cook, The Travel People (Inclusive Independent Travel)', linked the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival in Cape Town to its tour package is fascinating. The 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival "formed part of the tercentenary celebrations of European settlement and 'civilization', put on displays for specially invited international and local festival goers to see 'modern' South Africa. The central organizing feature of the fair was the juxtaposition of the 'achievement' of industrial progress with the 'savagery' of 'unevolved human primitiveness'."²²

The 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival program was planned in three phases with various activities at different places in Cape Town. The first phase started on the 1st February to 29th March and consisted of various activities. The Festival Fair, which was the second phase, 14th March to 5th April, was held at Culembong Exhibition Center at Cape Town

²¹ Thomas Cook & Son, brochure, 1952

²² C. Rassool, L. Witz & G. Minkley, 2000:17

foreshore. Industry and commercial farms presented their contribution to the Festival theme of 'South Africa over and after 300 years'. The International Stamp Exhibition (26th March–5th April) will be held in the Drill Hall. The theme is South Africa's postal history, but there will also be a world-famous collection on exhibition.²³

The third phase, 30th March day to 6th April, was of Thanksgiving with specific services in all Churches in the Peninsula. Table Mountain was to be proclaimed as a historical monument and the Van Riebeeck Park on the slope of Table Mountain, officially opened. Sunday, 6th April 1952, was the Day of Dedication and there were special services in all Churches. In the afternoon an assembly at the Van Riebeeck statue paid homage to the Founder. Sunday 6th April 1952 was the culmination of the festival. The phases of the festival formed part of the tour package of Thomas Cook and Son Tours, and Sunday, which was the culmination of the festival, was the most important day of the tour.

The 1960s apartheid tourist gazes showed a shift as they included the sightseeing of places of cultural interest to the 1950s tourist gazes that were based on natural beauty, monuments, landmarks, landmark buildings, and the juxtaposition and comparison of 'exotic', 'primitive' people and 'modern' society. The sightseeing of places of cultural interest, particularly those related to people classified as 'bantus' can be linked to the political situation of that time that promoted otherness and racism. This perception that 'bantus' were different, 'backward' and 'inferior' to other South African races caused them to be at the bottom of the South African hierarchy. Denis Conolly pointed out how "the tourist visits a kraal, enters the primitive huts, watches a colourful dance, Sebetu, Chi-ki-cha, Lelebani, Kwenkwe-njani, Pozama and Lamlani, and receives a full explanation of the sleeping, eating, cooking, and dressing habits of these primitive people. These exclusive pictures tell the story of an ancient tradition, still practiced today, the story of Abakhwetha, the ceremony of circumcision".²⁴

²³ E. Rosenthal, 1951: 47

²⁴ D. Conolly, 1967/68:115

Denis Conolly pointed out that South Africa is “a land of indefinable quality and mysterious charm, a country of natural riches, mineral wealth, orchard and vineyard...Here are modern cities, alive, confident and prosperous, and here are the picturesque Bantu lands where customs and tribal rites are still practiced according to ancient tradition.”²⁵ The juxtaposition of the ‘primitiveness’ and ‘exoticism’ of the racially defined groups of people to ‘modernity’ of ‘whites’ has a long history in South Africa. In the second half of the twentieth century the juxtaposition of these racial groups of people manifested itself in the tourism industry.

Art, craft and beadwork centers began to proliferate in the 1960s as places of cultural interest. These centers formed part of tour packages and places to be seen. This kind of tourist cultural experience fitted well with the notion of exoticism. SATOUR, Tour Information Manual of 1969-1972 states:

Bantu Handicraft Centers, where Bantu handicraft may be purchased, are being established on tourist routes. Four of these are already open to public. These are the Papatso on the national road to Rhodesia 54 km north of Pretoria, the Dayizenza, which is 2km south of the turn-off to the Numbi Gate of the Kruger National Park on the White River road, one at Butterworth, Transkei and Rundu Curios near the Etosha Pan.²⁶

By the late 1960s, the rural village, as an expansion of timeless ethnicity, was being produced on mines hostels for tourists. Tour Information Manual of 1969 to 1972 affirms

Bantu Mine Dance: The thousands of Bantu tribesmen from all parts of southern Africa who make up the bulk of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry’s labour force stage colourful intertribal dance display on the first, second and fourth Sunday morning of each month. These dances are held at any three of the various mine compounds. Seating is limited. Tickets are issued free of charge at the Enquiry Counter, Chamber of Mines Building, Main and Holland Streets, Johannesburg during the week preceding of each dance. Tour operators in Johannesburg offer scheduled tours.²⁷

²⁵ Conolly D, 1967/68:9

²⁶ SATOUR, Tour Information Manual, 1969-72: 104

²⁷ SATOUR, 1969-72: 103

These 'tribal dances' promoted and reinforced ethnicity and tribalism in mines. The notions of ethnicity and tribalism have a particular history in the South African mining industry. These old established ideas of ethnicity manifest themselves in mines in various forms. These tourist images demonstrate that "tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities, it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition: a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs."²⁸

The 1960s also saw the expansion of another facet of development in cultural tourism, tour routes now stopped at South African battlefields. During apartheid South Africa, in 1960s, the battlefield areas where colonial wars were fought were included in tourism packages of provinces like the Natal and the Cape (particularly in Grahamstown area). These battlefields included the Frontier Wars and the colonial battlefields in Natal as part of the apartheid tourist gazes. One of the tourist destination sites that the tourists visited in Natal Province were battlefields, where they could "re-live historic events on the battlefields of the Anglo/Boer and Anglo/Zulu wars."²⁹ Tourist industries in Natal focused on heritage tourism as it was (and is still) concerned with human experience through cultural experience and battlefields.

In the 1970s, *South African Panorama* was used as a new way of marketing apartheid South Africa as a tourist destination. The *South African Panorama* was a journal of South African government as early as 1950s. This journal reflected business issues, social development in the 'homelands' and in townships, political issues, important social events and sports. From the mid 1970s, J.B. Voster and later P. W. Botha devoted this journal to the promotion of South Africa to outside world, as it was the time of isolation. The government secretly funded this journal and the *Citizen* newspaper. In some ways this journal was a propaganda machine of the apartheid regime. In the late years of apartheid South Africa, *South African Panorama* disappeared.

²⁸ D. MacCannel, 1992:

²⁹ Titch Tours, brochure

The 1970s also saw the incorporation of 'tribal life' into the long existing apartheid tourist experiences. Tour Information Manual of 1969 to 1972 states:

Ample tribal life can be seen and photographed by visitors traveling by coach or car through the Transkei and Zululand, but visitors may not leave public roads in these areas without a permit to do so. Application for these permits must be made, three months in advance to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development...³⁰

This reveals that cultural tourism is more about becoming known and knowable, and it caused the visited people to be on display and gaze by the visitors as if they (local residents) are 'objects'. It also illustrates that tourists understand the local people of the visited area through the lens of the camera. The fact that tourists, particularly 'whites' were not supposed to leave the public roads in these areas where they can gaze upon the 'tribal' life of 'bantus' was in line with the discriminatory laws of that time, which did not allowed 'whites' to be found in these areas or nearby without permit.

During the apartheid era, there were restrictions for white tourists to visit the "picturesque bantu-lands where customs and tribal rites are still practiced according to ancient tradition"³¹ because of certain apartheid policies and regulations and also because roads were not adequately developed. Most significantly, however, many tourists were coming to the conclusion that in the 'native territories', the 'natives' were not native enough.³² This was not surprising precisely because what the visitors saw in cultural villages and in theme parks was 'staged' authenticity and what they saw in the 'native territories' clearly illustrates that culture is not fixed, frozen and static. Rather, it is dynamic as it changes with the times. In most developing countries culture is 'exported' for tourist attraction. In these countries culture is packaged and as a packaged commodity to form tourist experience. Under cultural tourism tourist leisure experience is mostly centered on cultural experience thus tourist leisure is intertwined with cultural experience.

The intertribal mine dance that formed part of the of the 1960s tourist gazes continued even in the 1980s as this depiction was also presented by Bernadine L. Grant in a catalog

³⁰ SATOUR, 1969-72: 103

³¹ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:361

titled 'A Tour Guide Manual for South Africa' of 1982 that "mine dances are held every Sunday at the Gold Mines Museum and ...also held at different mines on the first, second and third Sundays of the month."³³The African labourers of mining industry, who came from different areas, were to put on display their 'tribal dances' for visitors to gaze upon them.

In CAPTOUR Tourist Guide of 1980 to 1981, Springbok Atlas Safari advertised its tour package, which shows the continuity of the juxtaposition and comparison of 'primitiveness' and 'modernity'. It states:

Tribal life is fascinating throughout a Springbok Atlas coach safari. Meet the Fingos, Pondos and Xhosa and the Red Blanket people of Transkei. See a Zulu dance in the village of a Thousand Hills ... Traditional life is always a feature of a Springbok Atlas coach safari. Visit beautiful Cape Dutch homesteads in Constantia...³⁴

apartheid tourist gazes were centered on the conditions of a dichotomy of 'primitiveness' and 'modernity'. This dichotomy was influenced by the preconceived ideas about 'otherness' and colonial discourse. It is imperative to affirm that politics of producing the image of 'other' through all forms of imagery needs poetics of difference and similarity. Usually the producers of these images of 'other' think of the 'other' as represented primarily as different. Rather the opposite can occur, however. Similarities can be used to assert that the people of other cultures are no different in principle than the producer of the image, or that the differences that appear so great are only surface manifestations of underlying similarities. This exoticising of the 'other' was the core of the apartheid tourist gazes.

The 1980s images continued to be centered on natural richness. The *South African Panorama* explains that in the 1980s:

Garden Route is one of the regions in Southern Africa, this Garden Route from Mossel Bay to Jeffreys Bay, which, once seen, is never forgotten by any one who ever traveled it. Memories linger and scenes remain vivid in one's mind of mountain passes and paradise of wild flowers and vegetation found in few other places on the earth and romantically

³² C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:361

³³ L. G Bernadine, 1982:47

associated with the history of an enchanting world of mountains, lakes, rivers, forests and wide golden beaches.³⁵

In many ways this shows that *South African Panorama* was used to market and to promote South Africa as a tourist destination. It also demonstrates that tourist images of the 1980s continued to be based on natural beauty. This signifies that the tourist images that were centered on natural landscape remained static, unlike other cultural images that changed over a decade. In every decade the apartheid tourist gazes expressed new aspect of the tourist cultural experience.

Parks are often viewed as the wilderness places. Parks exist as natural only because they are presented as such. The wilderness, in being presented and marked off as the site of an unspoilt. Nature, is irretrievably marked by the signs of culture through the very processes by means of which its existence as wilderness is secured.³⁶ In a *South African Panorama* dated January 1980, Sea View Game Park is presented as follows:

Have you ever longed to cuddle a cheetah, or stroke a giraffe? If you are privileged enough to be taken on a tour of Sea View Game Park by the owner and game warden, Gamett Cantor himself, then you will be able to do just that. But if you drive through on your own, you will still see plenty well fed, sleek, contented animals in a miniature game park of about 50 hectares.³⁷

The apartheid tourist images of 1980s were also centered on wild life. In *South African Panorama* this tour is termed "Return to Eden", perhaps, because it brings people back to nature and wild life. Parks are not unspoilt spaces as in many places where there are parks there were people who inhabited those areas and had places of cultural significance that formed part of their cultural landscapes in those areas. They (parks) are affected by culture in a host of more indirect ways ranging from the legislative frameworks and administrative procedures necessary to establish and maintain their boundaries to the

³⁴ CAPTOUR, 1980-81: 29

³⁵ *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 29

³⁶ T. Bennett, 1995:131

³⁷ *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 10

literature – such as tourist brochures and heritage publications – which organizes the frames of reference and expectations of their visitors.³⁸

The 1980s apartheid tourist gazes also show elements of transition. In the 1980s, the apartheid tourist experience added other kinds of sites, entertainment, fantasy and theme parks, drawing on history and culture. These images existed as early as the 1960s but proliferated and were highlighted in the 1980s. One of these sites is the Gold Reef City, which was “built by the mining industry at a cost of R62 millions”.³⁹ According to Rassool and Witz, E. Koch has argued:

At this theme park, site of a disused mineshaft, the international tourist is invited to partake of ‘a century in a day’. Here is all that sanitized South Africa offers: a ‘safe’ trip down a gold mine, the bawdy heady fun of ... Johannesburg and ‘happy songsters’ of tribal Africa.⁴⁰

The Chamber of Mines lent strong support to the idea of mine village - Gold Mines Museum, Old Gold Mine Tour and ‘tribal dances’, as tourist attractions and destinations. As tourists did not spend many hours underground, they didn’t experience the ‘real’ experience of the underground mine workers - the darkness, heat, and the daily fear of rock falls and sinking shafts that occur time and again. The emergence of ‘tribal’ mine dances at Gold Mines Museum and in mine villages by ‘native’ mine workers, and Old Gold Mine Tours formed part of 1980s apartheid tourist gazes, which also included the long existing apartheid tourist images. These images worked into new accommodations, extensions of “the mines” into public cultural institution and destinations of themselves. In industrial capitalism, especially in developing countries, places of work like mines, old mines (and factories), are concurrently transformed into an object of touristic interest and sightseeing.

Bernadine L. Grant described Heia Safari Ranch as “a tourist resort, which provides rondavel accommodation, braaivleis and tribal dancing.”⁴¹ This mirrors the apartheid

³⁸ T. Bennett, 1995:130

³⁹ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:343

⁴⁰ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:343

⁴¹ L.G Bernadine, 1982:48

tourist gazes that were based on natural wildlife and on 'exoticism' and 'primitiveness'. The apartheid tourist gazes spread certain perceptions and reinforced preconceived ideas and stereotypes about Africa and people who were on display and gazed upon them as 'unchanged since the time began'. During the years of grand apartheid, these tourist gazes began to be recorded in terms of apartheid and separate development.

In *South African Panorama*, in an article titled 'Iron Age Reborn' states: "In an open hut at the Tsonga Kraal Museum, a historic village built to resurrect the handicrafts of Gazankulu, three men wearing loincloths worked their goat-skin bellows, eager to smelt the first traditional-style South African iron in 100 years. This re-covered technology is only one aspect of the traditional Gazankulu culture and economy that is today flourishing in the Tsonga Kraal Museum."⁴² The way Tsonga people were depicted at the Tsonga Kraal (living) Museum, which is based on staged authenticity showed a sense of 'exoticism', 'backwardness' and 'primitiveness' of these people as compared to their counterpart (whites), who were perceived to be 'modern'.

According to the *South African Panorama*, the government hired Mr. Kusel to join the Transvaal Library and Museum Service where he was entrusted with erecting a Tsonga Kraal as a tourist attraction at Die Eiland Public Resort."⁴³ In the 1980s, the apartheid tourist images included living museums as the 1980s has the highlight of the establishment of the living museums. This was part of apartheid tourist gazes because it was still intended to demonstrate the 'primitiveness' and 'exoticism' of those ethnic groups that were exhibited in these living museums.

The implementations, as well as traditional household utensils, will hopefully be sold to tourists with certificate vouching for their authenticity. Nothing is made that is not true to the traditions of Gazankulu... The museum authorities intend to develop eight ethnographic museums to preserve the culture of the Transvaal's various national groups, including Bushmen. These will serve as centers for research and repositories for the

⁴² *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 35

⁴³ *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 37

people's cultural heritage.⁴⁴ The apartheid tourist images of the 1980s were also based on ethnographic displays in museums (and in other forms of display) as in some of the South African museums there were ethnographic displays, which fitted well with the racist ideas of that time. This shows the commercialization of 'cultural heritage', as the authorities of these living museums claimed to preserve 'cultural heritage' of Transvaal's various national groups, through the tourism industry. These living museums presented culture as something static. The presentation of 'culture' in these living museums and the relation they made between culture and heritage raises fundamental questions about heritage: What is heritage? When does culture become heritage? If culture is seen as heritage doesn't that mean culture is fixed and unchanging?

The Ndebele Kraal (living) Museum is one of the living museums that was established in Transvaal in the 1980s with the aim "to preserve the culture of the Transvaal's various national groups."⁴⁵ *South African Panorama* of November 1982, affirms:

The history of a tribe, the history of a Black nation in the making, has been preserved in a village that, seen from a hiking trail along the surrounding hills, looks like a gaily-coloured exhibition of modern art. The Ndebele Kraal Museum, near Middleburg in the Central Transvaal, is the repository of a people's artistic development in its early years of nation. This living museum inhabited by Ndebele employees of Middleburg Municipality who work and cook and live, as they have been accustomed to do.⁴⁶

The fact that the inhabitants of Ndebele Kraal living Museum were employees of Middleburg Municipality is fascinating precisely because it shows that this living museum was based on staged authenticity, as is the case in all living museums, as they forged their 'real' culture, 'real' tradition, their 'real' way of life, and pretended to be the 'real' Ndebele people.

A ghost town has come back to life. Pilgrims Rest, a gold mining village in the Eastern Transvaal that predates Johannesburg by 13 years, has recently been converted into a 'living museum'... It would resurrect crafts and customs and throw wide the doors to

⁴⁴ *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 37

⁴⁵ *South African Panorama*, Jan. 1980: 37

⁴⁶ *South African Panorama*, Nov. 1982:10

tourists and private enterprise.⁴⁷ This demonstrates the shift that took place in the 1980s in the tourism industry, which included non-used gold mines as tourist attractions and destinations and developed the notion of living museums and living history.

Comparative cases

South Africa is by no means unique in this type of tourist discourse, the juxtaposition and comparison of the 'exotic', 'primitive' people and 'modern' society. In Thailand, the tourist gazes are based on comparing the people of that country. The tourist gazes in that country are based on comparing and juxtaposing Northern Thailand that is predominantly traditional and occupied by 'exotic hill-tribes' that are being gazed upon and Southern Thailand that is perceived to be a 'modern'. According to a Thailand tourist booklet titled 'A taste of Thailand', Northern Thailand still conjures up images of "untamed wildness, remote hill tribe villages and fugitive opium barons."⁴⁸ The cultural villages that dominate Northern Thailand are inhabited by Hmong tribes whom are described as living in remote hill villages. Visitors gaze upon them (Hmong tribes) as that area has images of 'untamed wildness' and 'exotic' people. This reveals the notion of 'otherness' and ethnic hierarchy within that county. Northern Thailand, which is now a new tourist attraction, offers the affordable South East Asian destination.

The 'Exotic Thailand: Chiang Mai and Northern Thailand' tourist booklet asserts, "visitors are made welcome at the hill tribe villages, some of which are readily accessible by car, while others are best reached on four-wheel drive mine safaris or by mountain biking."⁴⁹ In these tourist booklets, A Taste of Thailand and Exotic Thailand: Chiang Mai & North Thailand, it is evident that there is a distinction between Northern and Southern Thailand, as the people who live in the north are seen as 'exotic' and their lifestyle is used to attract tourists.

⁴⁷ South African Panorama, August 1980:10

⁴⁸ Notes on 'A taste of Thailand' tourist booklet, c2000: 6

⁴⁹ Notes on 'Exotic Thailand: Chiang Mai & Northern Thailand' tourist booklet, c2000: 11

This is also the case in the Middle East, in Israel and the Occupied Territories, as the tourist gazes in that country are centered on juxtaposing and comparing the tourist images between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The construction of tourist gazes in Israel through culture and ethnicity is dangerously patronizing the people of that area. Boniface and Fowler pointed out "Tourism is a key industry for them now but, in many instances, this new situation is essentially an old one of colonialism and exploitation."⁵⁰ This means that tourism is a modern phenomenon and is some times seen as a modern form of colonialism and exploitation. As in any country there are few people who benefit through tourism and it causes other people to commercialize their cultures.

The impressions of tours are mediated by whether one has an Israeli or Palestinian guide. Bowman argues, "The forms of such mediation differ according to the 'National' allegiance of the guide, both in terms of the 'vision' of the place each wishes to promote and in accordance with the restraints on the mediation effected by the tourist, the guides and the state."⁵¹ The mediation differs as a result of the 'national' allegiance and because of that there are different images of that landscape. Israeli guide depicts Palestinians as 'primitive', 'backward' and 'exotic' while the Israelis are imaged as a 'western', 'developed', and 'modern' society.

In addition to mobilizing orientalist assumptions shared with the Western tourists, the Israeli guides can establish links between the cultural repertoire of Judaism and the religious discourses of Christians.⁵² These connections by Israeli tour guides help them to present the assumptions they shared with the 'Western' tourists about the 'oriental' world. The Israeli tour guides use a sacred text that they share with Christians in order to appeal to 'Western' tourists as they called Israel the 'present-day avatar of the biblical Kingdom' and the 'Holy land'. All tour guides, however, are free to construct any images they feel appropriate to the tourists. As Bowman argues, "Although there are limits, which affect Palestinians more than Israelis, guides are relatively free to construct discourses they

⁵⁰ P. Boniface & P. Fowler, 1993: 20

⁵¹ G. Bowman, 1992: 124

⁵² G. Bowman, 1992:126

deem appropriate to the groups they guide."⁵³ The limits that Bowman talks about for guides mostly affect the Palestinians guides because of the restrictions on the mediation which are made possible by the state policies on tourism and the way tourism in general is organized in Israel and the Occupied Territories. The constraints that prevail in Israeli tourism industry force Palestinian tour guides tend to focus on natural aspects of that

The political conflict in that area between the Palestinians and the Israelis has negative impact on tourism industry. This is apparent in negative images about the Palestinians that are constructed by Israel tour guides and the motive for this is to confirm to tourists (particularly 'Western' tourists) that 'Arabs' are not like 'us', showing the 'otherness' of 'Arabs' and that they are 'potential terrorists'. This reveals a strong sense of 'otherness' that continues to exist in Israel and the Occupied Territories and the complexity of the Israel and Palestinian tourism industry.

Boniface and Fowler affirmed, "It is not so much the physical or scientific qualities of the sites as the cultural overlay, the interpretation, which throughout the world is increasingly called into question as a form of, often unconscious but sometimes deliberate, intellectual colonialism."⁵⁴ This shows intellectual colonialism within tourism industry as cultural interpretation is increasingly at stake, questioned and challenged. The tourist images that are constructed by tour guides demonstrate that tourism constructs and frames history for people.

In some rural villages in Israel and the Occupied Territories, people (Palestinians) were forcibly removed for the establishment of parks (national parks). Thus Boniface and Fowler argue, "Unfortunately for those responsible for the original vision of the National Parks and its present administration, however, the whole of the land-take and much of its presentation represents a form of internal colonialism, and much the same is true of similar operations elsewhere."⁵⁵ The presentation of national parks, in Israel, is a form of neo-colonialism as it represents a form of 'internal colonialism', as they are used to preserve the heritage that is reconstructed in the parks. This is 'internal colonialism'

⁵³ G. Bowman, 1992:124

⁵⁴ P. Boniface & P. Fowler, 1993:20

⁵⁵ P. Boniface & P. Fowler, 1993:21

precisely because many indigenous people were forcibly removed in places where there are parks now. This is similar to the case of South African parks.

The development of cultural tourism in Cape Town (South Africa)

From the 1950s (and earlier) Cape Town's economy has been based on tourism, both cultural and eco tourism. Eco tourism is based on wildlife animals, and natural beauty. The natural beauty of Cape Town itself attracts many visitors and the tourist images are based on nature. Cultural tourism is a global phenomenon and in South Africa it existed long ago during the apartheid era. In the post-apartheid era, it has been reshaped to be in line with the present ideology. Cultural tourism is influenced by many factors like the popular ideas at a particular time. Cultural tourism is based on tourists visiting different local cultures, learning about their heritage and experiences their daily lives. Under cultural tourism tourists amongst other things wish "to visit places of historical and literary interest"⁵⁶ but, perhaps, of leisure and scenic interest too. To facilitate these cultural experiences the tourist industry needs to develop a set of places that can be visited and paths to be followed where such encounters can be performed. Thus routes that lead to sightseeing become essential. Sites become in the words of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, a form of 'Destination Culture'⁵⁷, where "the most ordinary in the context of destination becomes a source of fascination for the visitors... Once it is a sight to be seen the life becomes a museum of itself."⁵⁸ There are three kinds of sites that form part of Cape Town's destination culture. These sites are museums, cultural villages, the closed Indibano Cultural Village in Somerset West, and African Village on the way to Malmesbury, and townships. Cultural villages are not popular among tourists in the Western Cape, particularly in Cape Town.

In apartheid South Africa, particularly Cape Town, the 'Destination Culture' included museums like the South African Museum, South African Cultural Museum, Bo-Kaap Museum and many other museums. The apartheid museums, which in Cape Town are

⁵⁶ L. Turner & J. Ash, 1975: 174

⁵⁷ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988:132

⁵⁸ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988:132

today units of 'Iziko Museums'⁵⁹ were included into tourism and formed part of the apartheid tourist gazes. These museums now are faced with a great challenge of transformation and to redefinition. Museums are an integral part of tourism industry, providing places of attraction and destination to imbibe culture and history. The extent to which museums are incorporated on into the tourism industry cause Barbara Kishenblett-Gimblett to believe that museums "today are defined more than ever by their relationship to visitors."⁶⁰ The shift of museums within tourism industry causes other museums to focus more on serving their 'customers', as they are more than ever consumer-orientated. Museums have served as the surrogates for travel long ago before the advent of mass tourism, but have now become destinations in themselves for travelers.

The development of cultural tourism in South Africa is related to some of the apartheid tourist gazes that I dealt with in the earlier section. In this part of this section I will draw in some of these apartheid tourist gazes. Tour Information Manual of 1969 to 1972, states:

Aspects of Bantu life in a Xhosa village near uMtata may be seen by arrangement with Mr. Hunter Agencies and Tourist's Paradise ... Regular tours take place on Monday at 2 p.m. and Fridays at 9 a.m... Ndebele Village, home of the Mapoch people whose women are noted for their artistry of their beadwork and their gaily-decorated homes... Tour operators arrange tours from Johannesburg and Pretoria...⁶¹

Cultural villages have a long history in the South African tourism industry and they formed part of the apartheid tourists gazes. There are many cultural villages that were established during the apartheid era throughout the country to form part of the tourist gaze(s) of that time – from the 1960s to the 1980s. Some of these cultural villages included the Dumazile Traditional Village, Endunani Craft Village, Simunye Cultural Village, Phezulu Safari Park, 'the most popular of all Zulu resorts is Shakaland,

⁵⁹ Iziko Museums is the amalgamation of different museums in Cape Town. Most of these museums (if not all) are state museums and they form part of the 'Southern Flagship'. This is an attempt by the government to transform the public cultural institutions.

⁶⁰ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988:138

⁶¹ SATOUR, 1969-72:103

developed between 1986 and 1988 on a film set from the TV series, *Shaka Zulu*⁶² and reshowed again on SABC TV in 1997 and 2001. Apartheid cultural villages include Ndebele Kraal near Middleburg (1980) and Kagga Kamma in the Northern Cape “where the tourist can ‘fly in’ on an overnight Safari’ to the timeless world of the bushmen.”⁶³

Some of the cultural villages that are created in the post-apartheid era include the ‘Tsonga Kraal’ near Tzaneen, Timbavati Game Reserve, Basotho Cultural Village, in Phuthaditshaba, which show the ‘authentic Sotho lifestyle’, the Shangaana Cultural Village, in Mpumalanga, Lesedi Cultural Village, where a visitor is ‘offered the choice of moving with a real Xhosa, Sotho, Pedi or Zulu family.’⁶⁴ African Village, in Cape Town, is located along the N7 on the way to Malmesbury. It portrays separate Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Swazi and Basotho abodes. Cultural villages seem to be a global phenomenon and are based on certain perceptions and stereotypes associated with those people that are gazed upon, which can be traced back to the colonial encounters or to any historical period.

Cultural villages and theme parks are based on staged authenticity, which is made to appear as back stage as “the gaze on human culture scripted as traditional and designed as authentic, where visitors can encounter the carefully rehearsed performance of indigenous knowledge.”⁶⁵ Cultural villages in KwaZulu Natal have a long history. Cultural performances in cultural villages and tribal dances in mines sustain a sense of ethnic identities. In apartheid South Africa, cultural villages, which formed part of the apartheid tourist gazes, fitted well with the political agenda of that time, from the 1950s to the 1980s, in South African history, which was centered on racism, separate development and the re-enforcement of ethnicity.

All that is happening in cultural villages, the performance and the ‘authentic’ way of lifestyle that is being depicted, is similar to the South African, European and American

⁶² L. Witz, C. Rassool & G. Minkley, 2000: 6

⁶³ L. Witz, & C. Rassool, 1999: 360

⁶⁴ L. Witz, C. Rassool & G. Minkley, 2000: 6

⁶⁵ L. Witz, C. Rassool & G. Minkley, 2000: 6

ethnographic exhibitions, galleries, theatres and other forms of display where African people were subjects of display and gazed. Cultural villages which are modern form of ethnographic display, forms what Nick Stanley has called 'Being ourselves for you'⁶⁶.

Rassool and Witz pointed out that:

'Savage South Africa' often formed part of the human showcases at the exhibitions, galleries and theatres of Europe and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prominent among these were the 'noble' Zulus who were paraded at the International Exhibition in London, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, and the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1923-24.⁶⁷

There were protest against these human showcases and because of the 'protest and accusation of racism, the 'savage' human showcases gradually disappeared from the world's fair by the late 1930s' but then re-emerged in the form of the cultural village, as Africans are on displays and gazed upon. Worldwide cultural villages spread and perpetuate 'primitiveness' of other people as those who are on displays are made to be 'exotic' and look 'authentic'. The structure/framework of human showcases and cultural villages are not always the same, but the form is similar.

The human showcases of Africans through ethnographic exhibitions in South Africa, which existed prior to the apartheid era, were based on racism and segregation. Hence

Rassool and Witz asserted:

At the Van Riebeeck Festival' there were human showcases: Zulu 'in full tribal dress', a 'Zulu family living their traditional tribal lives' and a group of seventeen bushmen who, under the supervision of the Chief Game Warden of South West Africa, P.J. Schoeman, carefully crafted bows and arrows in the gaze of thousands of onlookers. Crowds were eager and curious to see the 'child-like simplicity' of the bushmen, hear their 'animated clicks' and touch their 'olive skins'. But now the displays were located within a framework of the 'positive benefits' of 'Western civilization on the Non-whites'. At the 'bantuvillage' the visitors passed from the section showing 'traditional tribal lives', to a 'Chief's Kraal', through to the disciplined atmosphere of a 'native school' and ending up in a 'modern six roomed house'. These human showcases served to emphasize to foreign visitors that without the tutelage of Western civilization in

⁶⁶ N. Stanley, 1998: 22

⁶⁷ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:359

South Africa's modern racial system, apartheid, the ranking order of (natural) racial hierarchy would be threatened.⁶⁸

Despite the fact that Cape Town is imaged as more European, it also has 'African exoticism'. Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, which was built in the late 1980s, Table Mountain, Bay, Cape Point, and wine farms were (and are still) among the tourist destinations in Cape Town. One of the places of interest that CAPTOUR – Cape Town and Hinterland Tourist Guide - reflects is 'Malay Quarter'. A "residential area of Cape Malay people, descended from Malayan slaves brought to the Cape during the Dutch occupation. Traditional flat-roofed houses, minarets and mosques."⁶⁹ As indicated early this 'African exoticism' of Cape Town formed part of apartheid tourist gazes of that area as early as 1960s after it was declared a Malay area and a national heritage site. This echoes a myth about this historical residential area and about the origins of the Cape slaves, as it is a fallacy that they came from Malaysia because the majority of them were from Madagascar followed by East African countries like Mozambique, then those who were from Indonesia, Indian, and very few from Malaysia. The notion that Cape slaves were from Malaysia was just a sweeping generalization of those who were on power.

One of the most popular routes in Cape Town, the wine route, emphasizes and shapes historical translation yet at the same time glosses over important aspects of the history of the wine farms. All apartheid tourist brochures, pamphlets, and tourist pocket booklet guides reflect all routes that are available in Cape Town and surrounding areas. From the apartheid era, one of the popular routes was the wine farm tour. Areas that were (and are still) visited, which form their own route included the Constantia Wine Route, Durbanville Wine Route, Klien Karoo Wine Route, Olifants River Wine Route, Orange River Wine Route Trust, Overberg Region, Paarl Wine Route, Roberston Wine Route, Vergelegen Estate, Vignenous de Franschoek, Tulbagh Wine Route, Wellington Wine Route and Worcester Wine Route. CAPTOUR Tourist Guide, affirms:

The Cape Wine Route provides the perfect opportunity for wine lovers to witness the winemaking process during harvesting time and to experience a rich historical and

⁶⁸ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996:334

⁶⁹ CAPTOUR, 1980-91:5

architectural tradition. Stellenbosch is the oldest wine route, and lies in the heart of wine lands. This historic town provide itself with the Cape's most beautiful wine farm... A true Stellenbosch experience must include a meal at one of Stellenbosch's many restaurants.⁷⁰

The way CAPTOUR's Tourist Guide (and other tourist brochures) reflects the history of the wine lands and the way some tour guides construct the tourist gazes of these areas is fascinating as they merely show the front stage of these wine lands. Most of the tourist brochures of the tour companies that offer wine land tours remained silent about the Cape slavery legacy in these wine farms, and even the photographs they use do not show anything of that nature. When one visits these wine farms and wine estates it was (and is still) rare to find something about slaves or their history depicted in these farms.

A third component of cultural destination are townships. Townships have also become a sight and destination for tourists. Townships present different types of destinations. They are a part of a global development of cultural tourism. There is evidence showing that township tours in Johannesburg were conducted as early as the late 1960s but stopped after 1976 and in the early 1980s. In Cape Town, however, they emerged in the late 1980s as a trip for white Capetonians to see the other side of Cape Town so that they would be able to build a future Cape Town that would not be based on a colour line. It also resurfaced as a trip for "foreign funders and international 'Struggle junkies' to view the realism of township conditions, to experience the 'danger' of a South African 'hot spot'."⁷¹ Township tours are not a new phenomenon in the South African tourism industry. The nature of the 1960s township tours and township tours from the late 1980s onward differs in all respects. The 1960s township tours were more interested in showing the way 'natives' live and their social life, and a sense of difference from the tourist's culture. The emergence of these tours in the 1960s up until before 1976 is fascinating as that period was the climax of apartheid in South Africa. In post apartheid South Africa township tours surfaced as an international tourists demand and a move to encourage community based tourism. Townships were at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and because of that tourists are mostly interested in the images of 1960, 1976

⁷⁰ CAPTOUR, 1981: 26

⁷¹ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996: 340

and 1980s. Township tours are always guided. This has its own implications, as there are a number of different ways that townships are presented because there is no central training of guides. I will talk more about township tours in chapter two

The genealogy of cultural tourism in South Africa, which includes all the above-mentioned destinations, can be traced back during the apartheid era, although cultural tourism was shaped by the political agenda of that time. The development of cultural tourism in South Africa reflects that there are different kinds of cultural experiences that tourists are exposed to. Tourist cultural experiences can be seen in the form of the representation of some aspect of life on stage, in cultural villages, in places of cultural interest, in living museums, in cultural centers, film, performance – ‘tribal’ dance and other forms of performance. Festivals also formed part of this tourist cultural experience. For instance, the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival formed part of Thomas Cook and Son tour package of that year, the Shembe Festival held annually at Inanda, which is about 32km out of Durban and ‘One City Many Cultures Festival’ that was held in 2000 -2001 in Cape Town.

The Shembe Festival is usually on the weekend nearest 25th July. This is religion (Christianity) festival that culminates on the Sunday in ceremonial rejoicing and dancing in which old pagan Zulu traditions have worked their way into the Christian ritual. There is a smaller Shembe festival towards the end of January. Visitors wishing to attend these festivals should approach the Durban Visitor’s Bureau for information on coach tours.⁷²

Festivals are used for many purposes, for instance, the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival, was used for nation building and to construct a ‘new’ national identity. This can also be observed in Cape Town Festival – One City Many Cultures – as is use for reconciliation, unity in diversity, cultural diversity, nation building and to construct a ‘new’ national identity.

⁷² SATOUR, 1969-72: 103

On the other side festival(s) can be used to create the notion of otherness or be interpreted in a manner that shows otherness. For instance, the Shembe Festival, which is held annually in Inanda a few kilometers away from Durban was used to create this notion during apartheid and it formed part of tourist experience in that region as early as the 1960s until the late 1980s. SATOUR Guiding Directory of 1969 to 1972, the Shembe Festival is described as “a religion (Christianity) festival culminates on the Sunday in ceremonial rejoicing and dancing in which old Zulu traditions have worked their way into Christian ritual.”⁷³

The development of cultural tourism in South Africa during apartheid and in post apartheid is similar to the present Australian cultural tourism. In Australia, ‘the world’s wild places’ as Ian Moffitt claims, tourism is based on its natural beauty and cultural tourism. The Australian National Park like the Royal National Park, in South of Sydney, and the Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park, in Northern Sydney are situated on the “land which was inhabited by the Dharawal tribe of Aborigines and a wealth of items from that period has been found there: bone spear points, stone scrapers, cave paintings, rock engravings and so on. The Aborigines’ rock engravings discovered in that area are of particular interest.”⁷⁴ In many areas where there are parks in South Africa, the indigenous people first inhabited them, but they were forcibly removed because those areas were going to be made national parks. The emergence of national parks in the 1920s caused the displacement of those people that were living in those areas for the establishment of the parks. This seems to be a global phenomenon as it also happened in other countries.

The development of cultural tourism in South Africa during the apartheid era caused the marginalisation of the heritage of the large section of the population of this country, which was suppressed even before the apartheid era. In this new political dispensation based on democracy these people are recovering their lost cultural heritage. This situation, however, is similar to the case of Aborigines in Australia, who were colonized,

⁷³ SATOUR, 1969-72: 103

⁷⁴ C. O’Neil, 1983:39

oppressed, marginalized, displaced and gazed upon and their cultural heritage was depicted in a manner that was often questionable. Now they are recovering their lost cultural heritage, claiming back their land and are incorporated into cultural tourism of that country.

Elizabeth Hansen affirms, “Australia’s native people have a fascinating belief system and awesome relationship with the land. Watching the Tjapukai Dancers, near Cairns. This performance is interspersed with information on Aborigines culture. Doing the Uluru Breakfast Walk at Ayers Rock, Red Center, Northern Territory: This walk is guided by a local Aborigine who describes how the native people gather food and find water.”⁷⁵ This in Elizabeth Hansen’s word is the ‘The Best Way to Learn About Aboriginal Culture’. The positive consequences of such development (the process in which the Aborigines recover the lost heritage) for the members of the hitherto marginalized groups – the positive sense of self-recognition of being there, accorded a place within the national past – should not be underestimated.⁷⁶ However, this development, process of recovering the lost heritage, has its own ambiguities and contradictions. In this process of recovering the lost heritage the Aborigines found themselves displayed in public cultural institutions. The display of Aborigine through ‘Tjapukai Dance’, their culture and their social life, which is being gazed upon is similar to what is happening for Africans in cultural villages, theme parks, living museums, and in Mine Museum, ‘tribal dance’ by ‘native’ mine workers as they are on display, perform for the visitors and also interact with them.

In South Africa, the development of cultural heritage tourism demonstrates that prior to the emergence of the new political dispensation – the birth of new and fully democratic South Africa- black people were not exposed to tourism [except being on display] and their history and heritage were marginalized and depicted in a certain manner that was questionable. This was evident in many apartheid museums like the South African Museum. The genealogy of cultural tourism in South Africa reveals that cultural tourism has been urban orientated marginalizing the people in the rural areas.

⁷⁵ E. Hansen, 1997:8

⁷⁶ T. Bennett, 1995: 134

In post apartheid South Africa, cultural tourism is being reshaped to be community based. The idea of community based tourism, which encourages the community participation in tourism that is being promoted by the tourism development programs both in national and provincial Tourism Departments, and SATOUR is the ideal one. However, at this stage it is not yet implemented in other areas. Perhaps, one cannot blame these stakeholders for that as in other communities there is a rooted power struggle and party politics, which affect the development of community based tourism. The notion of community based tourism needs to be not a lip service but implemented and people must come together and share ideas pertaining to that and put aside the party politics.

The development of cultural tourism in post apartheid South Africa, which caused the incorporation of townships into tourism industry, has resulted in the formation of tourism forums in many townships. These are concerned with the involvement of 'ordinary' people into tourism through community-based tourism and to make people aware about the importance of tourism. These forums like the one in Guguletu encourage people to produce beadwork, arts, craft and the establishment of arts and craft market center(s) in townships that would be visited by the visitors so that the local people could sell their end products to them. The idea behind the establishment of craft center in post apartheid South Africa is different from those that were established before. Now craft centers are not only seen as the means to get a share in tourism. Rather they are also perceived to help people to recover their heritage and are also in line with the notion of African Renaissance, which is now among the dominant ideas in many African countries.

Townships are sites of interest to international tourists and they draw them in large numbers. There are many things that tourists can experience in townships through township tours, as social life, cultural aspects, histories, local heritage and interaction with the locals. Townships are geared up to meet the tourist' needs. The next chapter will be based on township tours and examine their routes, sites, heritage and narratives.

Chapter two

The genealogy and the development of township tourism

From the late 1980s townships were incorporated on a small scale into the South African tourism industry. “When township tours started they were not really focusing on the tourist market. Rather on the local government officials, especially white South Africans. Because there was a mission to bring the people together, especially white South Africans to the black areas that they didn’t know...”⁷⁷ Since then townships have become a tourist attraction and destination throughout the country.

Township tours are a booming part of cultural tourism that is increasing and growing in post apartheid South Africa. Presently, township tours are amongst the top tourist attractions and destinations for international tourists throughout the country. Though they still need to be assertively marketed because the numbers of tourists visiting townships are low as compared to those of the City Tours (Cape Town City Tours). The City Tours include a visit to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, the Castle, South African Parliament, the Company Garden and the South African Museum. The City Tours seem to be centered on what can be called white heritage trail. This is the result of the way heritage was constructed from 1910 onwards. However, in a new political dispensation, it has been reshaped and recoded to involve a drive through the landscape of District Six and a visit to the District Six Museum. In spite of the fact that heritage seems to be still constructed based on race there is a move to construct a new national heritage of South Africa under nation building, reconciliation and rainbow nation. The notion of nation building, reconciliation and the idea of constructing a ‘new’ national identity are not new but have echoes in South African history. After the South African War and the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the construction of heritage was centered on reconciliation, reconciling the Boers and the English speaking South Africans, and nation

building. Again now in post apartheid South Africa this can be observed but this time it differs from the use of it before, as it does not reconcile the whites only, but rather both victims and perpetrators of apartheid, and the nation building is not based on colour line. At the moment South Africa is facing a challenge of representing a non-racial heritage. Townships mostly present an African heritage, local cultural heritage and resistance history.

In township tours cultural heritage and resistance history is silenced as it townships don't have history. Townships as destinations are intended to reflect the other side of the city that forms the back stage of the city. Front stage refers to 'favorable' images, while the back stage refers to the 'real' side of society or of what is presented to tourists and what they see. In the South African context, this 'back stage' shows the effects of racially discriminatory laws on the past and present human experiences. The township tour package that is on offer is not randomly set out. Rather, it is carefully constructed, organized, structured and well planned. The objective of this chapter is to examine the genealogy, the development of township tours in Cape Town, tour routes, visited sites and their narratives.

History of Cape Town's townships and the genealogy of township tours

Townships are separate urban residential areas in South Africa that were established from the beginning of the twentieth century for people who were considered not to belong to the racial classification of 'whites/Europeans'. Townships were created throughout the country. The apartheid government continued with that approach in the 1950s as it created more townships. Initially the purpose was to control the black people, who were mainly workers. Planning was based on management and control, strongly influenced by racist policies and the notion of what constituted a 'Non-European' lifestyle and their standard of life. During the apartheid era, townships facilitated the control and the movement of people classified as Africans.

⁷⁷Recorded interview with Paula Gumede, the owner of One City Tours and the first Cape Town township tour guide, Mandaly, 17 April 2000

Cape Town's townships are located on the Cape Flats. The Cape Flats is an area that stretches roughly north to south between Table Mountain and the foothills of the Hottentots Holland Mountains. Home mainly to people racially classified under apartheid as "coloureds" and Africans, this flat, sandy area consists of a number of townships, some of which are predominantly occupied by Africans - Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, Crossroads, and Khayelitsha. The rest seem to be predominantly inhabited by 'coloureds' - Athlone, Bishop Lavis, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Elsie's River, Manenberg, Hiedeveld, Mitchell's Plain, Steenberg and others.

The planning of the townships in the past century was initially based on public health, urban management and the control of migrant workers. In 1901, the first township in Cape Town, Ndabeni, was formally established. Langa was created in 1923 as a working class area and was officially opened in 1927. Langa was named after Hlubi Chief, Langalibalele, who was imprisoned on Robben Island after rebelling against the Natal government. After he was released from Robben Island he was give a site on a state farm in what was called Uitvlugt. In 1948 Nyanga East, Old Location, was created and extended in 1957 to incorporate Mau-Mau Location. Then, in 1958 Nyanga West was established and in 1963 became known as Guguletu. Crossroads followed in 1977. Its residents were mostly squatters who were forcibly removed from different areas around Cape Town, which emerged as [and even now, in part is still] an informal settlement. In 1983, a new township was announced, Khayelitsha, which was going to house all those who were regarded as 'legal' urban residents who were living in Langa, Stellenbosch and other parts of Cape Town.

The residents of all these townships have different historical backgrounds. Some were forcibly removed from different areas like District Six, Kensington, Windermere, Belleville, Simon's Town, Goodwood, Unibel and many other areas around Cape Town. Others were more recent migrants from rural areas. While the majority of them are migrant workers, in more recent times others have settled here in Cape Town, in search of a better life away from rural poverty and patriarchal control.

Townships have been the subject of academic books, articles and newspaper pieces for many years. From the late 1980s, in Cape Town, they have also become sites and destinations for cultural tourists. Cultural tourism is based on tourists visiting different local cultures, learning about their heritage and experiencing their daily lives. To facilitate these cultural experiences, the tourism industry has to develop a set of places that can be visited and paths to be followed where encounters can be performed. Tourist routes and sites become a core of what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has called 'Destination Culture'⁷⁸. In the previous chapter I looked at some forms of destination culture in apartheid South Africa.

There is evidence showing that in other parts of the country like Johannesburg township tours started in the 1960s. Tour Information Manual of 1969 to 1972, states "tours to the Bantu Townships in Johannesburg are conducted on Mondays to Fridays."⁷⁹ This Tour Information Manual reveals that township tours started in the 1960s but stopped after the 1976 and in the early 1980s. They resurfaced again in the late 1980s and became popular as from the late 1990s. This demonstrates that there was a shift in apartheid tourist images of the 1960s as they included the 'bantu' townships to the long existing tourist gazes. Tours to 'bantu' townships in Johannesburg were offered because the tour operators wanted the tourists to see the way 'bantus' live and socialize, and to see the way they are presented which had elements of exoticism. Tourist numbers increased in the 1960s. Tourists were taken to townships and cultural villages, which formed part of the apartheid tourist images of that period. At that time there was an economic growth and foreign countries had investments in South Africa. The economic boom of that time was the result of the exploitation of workers and the fact that black workers were not unionized.

When township tours emerged in Cape Town were designed to be 'alternative' tours. There is also an understanding that township tours, in Cape Town, started in the late

⁷⁸ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988: 132

⁷⁹ Tour Information Manual, 1969-72: 104

1980s when IDASA (Institute for Democratic South Africa), which is an NGO structure, initiated township tours project. In the 1980s, IDASA was located in Mowbray and is presently located few meters away from the South African Parliament. This project aimed at local white Capetonians as it was trying to make them aware about the conditions in townships so that they could be able to plan the future Cape Town that would not be based on a colour line. IDASA also conducted workshops that were about the planning of the future Cape Town. The distinction between the township tours that emerged in the 1960s and the ones in the late 1980s is that the tours that emerged in the late '80s had a political motive - to show the struggle funders "the realism of township conditions and to experience the 'dangers' of South African hot spot"⁸⁰, and also to make the white Capetownians aware about the conditions in the townships. They were also seen at least as a springboard for the creation of future Cape Town and move toward providing 'alternative' tours.

Paula Gumede was the tour guide of these township tours. She took (and she still takes) tourists to townships and constructs tourist impressions of those locations. The tourist gazes she constructed were based on script that was written by Charles Erasmus from IDASA, who conducted township research. The tours attracted many foreign visitors especially those who were anti-apartheid. IDASA decided to stop the project because its original intension was to attract the local white Capetonians. When IDASA stopped that project, Paula Gumede decided to start her own tour company - One City Tours - that would offer township tours.

One City Tours has subsequently been joined by many tour companies that offer township tours. There are smaller tour companies like Cape Rainbow Tours, African Eagle Tours, Day Tripper Tours, Grassroutes Tours, Bonani Our Pride Tours, Western Cape Action Tours, Cape Tours, Crossroads Tours, Freewind Tours, African Mosaic Tours, Southern Tip Tours, Cape Team Tours, Legend Tours and many more. The larger tour companies are Springbok Atlas Tours and Hylton Ross Tours.

⁸⁰ C. Rassool & L. Witz, 1996: 340

For Steven Robin, “South African cities have also come to be celebrated as authentic African spaces.”⁸¹ However, this is debatable. Cities and towns are still imaged to be ‘white’, especially Cape Town through the path of the City Tours that reflect the European side of the city. It is the townships through township tours that are being celebrated to be ‘authentic’ African spaces. As township tours are meant to be more ‘authentic’ and reflect the ‘real’ people and their cultures, which are being presented, and also as township tours continue to be separated from the city tours.

The predominately African townships are seen to be different alternative histories because township tours are meant to be more authentic, non-performative, depicting ‘real’ history, ‘real’ people and the ‘real’ South Africa. These townships are seen and viewed as culture along the new tourist route. Township tours, which are a part of a new tourist gaze, are now being reconstructed around authentic cultural identities that are reconstituted in these tours.

Township tours have contradictions. They are actually a hybrid, a mix of tourist forms and development. This contradiction, which manifests itself in township tours, is based on the organization and the existence of township tourism as it strives to serve the local people and to meet the tourist interests. Township tours seem to be an alternative to cultural village performances as tourists are invited to see the local residents in the townships as ‘more’ authentic and non-performative. The cultures of the local residents are seen not as fixed and frozen but dynamic and change with the times. This new South African tourist image – township tours – has caused a shift in the presentation of ‘authenticity’ as the focus of that (authenticity) is now mostly based on townships, rather than in cultural villages, although they are still amongst the tourist destinations. There are some critics who maintain “in order to attract tourists seeking the African spectacle, the township is presented as an extension of rural village in an expression of timeless ethnicity.”⁸²

⁸¹ S. Robin, 1999:

⁸² L. Witz, C. Rassool & G. Minkley, 2000:17

The images that are presented in the township tours are centered on local residents' daily lives, living conditions - as tourists are shown various houses, for instance, the working class houses, hostels (and the development as far as the changing of hostels to be more of a family unit), the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] Houses Project, the informal settlement and the middle class houses- and social life- shebeens, schools, shopping centers [shops], Sunday church services and 'sangoma' in the townships. The images that are being constructed in the townships are predominantly based on living conditions, social life and social developments. These images silence the resistance history and cultural heritage of the visited areas as the township tourist gazes that are constructed by tour guides don't reflect that. However, there are few tour guides who include the resistance history of the visited locations but they do that in passing as they don't stop or step down as they do in those places that form part of their township images. Sometime these guides seem to have a limited information of what they are talking about, which dilutes the whole thing. These images can be noticed on the township tour packages of many if not all tour operators.

For instance, Peter Veerapin, the tour guide/driver of Grassroute Tours, presented Langa as follows:

As I explained to you, as soon as you enter this area the first thing you find on your left side is the police station. Langa is the only area that is still left with this building on your right hand side, which used to be a pass office. Drive through Langa now, some of the homes we are going to see are some of the first homes that were built in Langa between 1922 and 1927. When the Nationalist Party took over they used these homes to house the so-called migrant labourers. These homes belong to the Cape Municipality so they had to pay the rent to live in them. Each door here used to house between six and eight men. In 1996, the Municipality gave the people an opportunity to purchase these homes and as we drive through you have just to look which ones have been renovated, restored, of course once you take an ownership you do something about it. As time went on they have to find cheaper ways to house more men. They started building hostels and women were not allowed to be in there. Municipality owned some of these hostels and the employers of the so-called migrant labourers owned many of them. They were built as communal units. The men had absolutely no privacy. When the families of the workers started moving to them these hostels that were always overcrowded without their families became overcrowded more and more. ...Today there are plans to change these hostels to be more

family units than communal. On the outskirts of any township there's always an informal settlement, the overspill from formal townships.⁸³

This illustrates the images that are based on housing and living conditions that are presented to tourists about Langa location on township tours. These images can also be observed on the walking tours of Langa. This narrative doesn't contextualise migrant labour system and the living conditions in that location within a broader socio-economical and political context of apartheid South Africa. The idea of converting the hostels into family units did not emerge in the post apartheid era, rather it has a particular history, which reveals that this notion surfaced in the late 1980s under the leadership on the Hostels Dweller's Association. It is this association that advocated the notion of changing hostels into family units. There were many meetings between the City Council, the Hostel Dweller's Association and the UCT architecture department through Maphela Ramphela efforts⁸⁴. It is important to note that industrial capitalism had shaped the nature of segregation and type of accommodation made available to the workers. This image of Langa presented by this tour guide seems to suggest Langa as a place with no history, as nothing of that nature has been revealed in this image. Even the Pass Office he mentioned in passing is not contextualised within its historical context.

These tourist images centered on housing and living conditions are observed even when a tour enters Khayelitsha. You have different kinds of areas here in Khayelitsha. Areas that are fully developed, brick structured houses, areas that are partially developed even though they are corrugated iron with electricity, and areas that are still very under developed, where all they have are communal taps on the outskirts of the area...Slowly but surely there is development...⁸⁵ The living conditions and social development form a great part of tourist images in the townships. The images that are presented to tourists in Langa and Khayelitsha are similar to the images that are constructed in all other African townships, in Cape Town. According to Wendy Duma, the registered tour guide,

⁸³ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Peter Veerapin of Grassroute Tours, 1 December 2000

⁸⁴ In the late 1980s, Maphela Ramphela was conducting a research about living conditions in Cape Town's hostels, which culminated to her book entitled *A bed called Home: Life in the migrant hostels of Cape Town*. She was also a participatory observer in the Hostel Dweller's Association.

⁸⁵ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Peter Veerapin of Grassroute Tours, 1 December 2000

“...tourism industry concentrate more on development and changes, as we black South Africans it shows a positive impact, we don't look in the past...”⁸⁶ For some tour guides the tourism industry seems to be concerned more about development than history, resistance history and local cultural heritage.

Township tour routes and sequence of typical township tours in Cape Town

Township tours generally start with a brief educational introduction to Cape Town. The tour guide drives [other tour companies have driver and tour guide] through the landscape of Bo-Kaap, and constructs narratives as s/he drives around that area. Township tours have different tour routes. The tour route of Legend Tours include Bo-Kaap, District Six and museum, Langa - step down at Tsoga Environmental Center for walking tours with local tour guide, Bonteuwel, Guguletu, return to Cape Town. This is the tour route of Mervin Wessels, an honours Geography graduate from the University of the Western Cape, 1979-1980, who is the guide and driver of Legend Tours, and the instructor of Legend Tours training program of guides.

The tour route of Cape Rainbow Tour comprises Bo-Kaap, District Six and museum, visit to Joe Slovo informal settlement, Desmond Luthando (an artist), Bonteuwel, Guguletu, Khayelitsha, visit to Nozukile Educate Center. Then, return to Cape Town via Manenberg, Athlone and Rylands. This is the path that Cape Rainbow Tour follows. This route was observed in a tour that was driven and guide by Mastura Abdullah-Abrahams, an ex-teacher, on 29 November 2000.

The route of Grassroute Tours consists of Bo-Kaap, District Six and museum, Langa-visit to Joe Slovo informal settlement, Desmond Luthando (an artist), Bonteuwel, Guguletu, Khayelitsha- visit to Nozukile Educate Center, Vicky's Bed and Breakfast and Soup Kitchen. Then, return to Cape Town. The tour route of Grassroute Tours is similar to that of Cape Rainbow Tours. Though it also differs from it as it also visits Vicky's Bed and Breakfast, in Site C, in Khayelitsha, and a Soup Kitchen, in Khayelitsha, which is run

⁸⁶ Recorded interview with Wendy Duma, the registered tour guide, Sivuyile Tourism Center, 21 June 2001

by Rose Gwadiso with the help of donations by various companies. The local people of that area mostly support this 'Soup Kitchen'

Day Trippers Tour route involves Bo-Kaap, District Six and museum, Langa -visit to hostel, shebeen and beer testing, Bontheuwel, Guguletu, KTC- visit a pre-school. Then end off by going to Khayelitsha- visit to Philani Nutrition Center. Then, return to Cape Town. Day Trippers Tour route is different from other tour operators. This is precisely because Sam Ntimba, who is the tour guide/driver of Day Trippers Tour, has developed his own route.

African Mosaic Tour route encompass Bo-Kaap and the museum, District Six and the museum -step down guide, Linda Fortune, Langa -step down tour at Tsoga Environmental Center, Xolani Sipoyi walking tour guide of Langa, Bontheuwel, Guguletu -step down at Sivuyile Tourism Center. Then, return to Cape Town. African Mosaic Tour route is different from other tour routes, firstly because it includes a visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum. At the District Six Museum, the tour guide, Moosa Mohamed calls Linda Fortune who is the Education Officer at the museum to narrate the images of District Six and her experience in District Six. The African Mosaic Tour also incorporates the Sivuyile Tourism Center into its tour package. At the same time, its tour package is also similar to that of other tours that include the walking tours of Langa.

Township tours are half-day or full day tours. The focus of the township tours, however, seems to be on the negative impact of apartheid in townships - poverty and poor living conditions and the success of the people, for instance, the importance of 27 April 1994, the housing projects (only one tour company reflects this) and many other projects that the present government has initiated. Some tours start with a brief educational introduction to Cape Town, but once in the city there are a variety of different forms on this one back to the townships.

Township tour routes start at Bo-Kaap, drive through the landscape of that historic area and 'discover' a unique culture, unique architecture and lifestyle of the Cape Moslem

community. While driving through that landscape the tour guide constructs the images of that area. One of the tour guides presented the images of this area as follows:

The Dutch had slaves in places like Indonesia, Java and in many other places and they brought slaves from these places. That's how Moslem landed here in Cape Town. The first Mosque that was built here in Cape Town was built in 1850 that is one of the old Mosques in Cape Town. The section on the top was later added on. ...Round about 1834 when slavery was abolished here in Cape Town, the Malays moved up to this area here. Most of them were freed slaves; others decided that they would stay here because it's still very close to the Company Garden where they worked. When the Malays came to Cape Town they brought their tradition and their culture as well. The area around here, the Malay Quarter, has quite a unique architecture. ... They also renovated and painted their homes because we are coming out of the month of Ramadan. This building over here, this is a Bo-Kaap Museum, and it is very interesting, unfortunately we don't have enough time to go there. When the Cape Malays came here round about 1657 they were housed right at the bottom of this tree in what was known as Slave Lodge that is today known as the South African Cultural History Museum. The Company Garden was just situated behind this tree...One of the things we inherited from the Cape Malays is also the Cape Minstrel Carnival; in the olden days it was called the Coon Carnival. We don't use the word 'coon' carnival but most of the locals still use it. This Minstrel Carnival normally starts on the second day of January. Most people don't know the historical significance of the 2 January. Many years ago when slavery was still around here in Cape Town, the slaves had to work Boxing Day, Christmas Day, and the period between Christmas and New Year. The first day that the slaves could get off was the second day of January. For many years the second of January was regarded as an official holiday for slaves around Cape Town. ... The Cape Malays food is also extreme popular, just up the road there is Smilar Take away selling excellent Cape Malay' food. Most of the people who still stay here are Moslem people, although now the Jappies and business are moving into the area.⁸⁷

The images of Bo-Kaap are based on Cape slavery, Cape Moslem tradition, culture, food, religion, architecture, living conditions and Cape Minstrel Carnival. This narrative demonstrates the contribution of the Cape Moslem, as slaves and freed slaves, in the economy and in the making of the city of Cape Town, and their cultural heritage that formed part of Cape Town's cultural heritage and its cultural diversity. It would be interesting to see whether or not the Cape Minstrel Carnival, which is popular in Cape

Town, would be drawn into tourism, as is the case in many countries. If that happens what impact would it have on the carnival itself?

Grassroute Tours, Cape Rainbow Tours, Day Trippers Tour, Legend Tours, Springbok Atlas Safaris, Southern Tip Tours don't visit the Bo-Kaap Museum, they just mention it in passing and continue to narrate the images of that residential area. Only a tour guide of African Mosaic Tours of the eleven tours that Leslie Witz and I embarked on from November 2000 to January 2001 took 'us' to the museum. At the museum, the Bo-Kaap Museum tour guide or education officer narrates the history of the building where they are operating, the history of the Cape slaves, Cape Moslem Religion, Cape Moslem in Cape Town and of the area in relation to the displayed objects and the available artifacts. The Bo-Kaap Museum education officer constructed the image of Bo-Kaap Museum in this way:

The house itself is the second oldest in the area, it was built in 1763, but it became a museum only in 1978. The person who was responsible for the development of the area was a Dutch man by the name of Jan De Waal. ...From the year 1658, people were brought here from all over. The majority of the people who were brought here were from the East, North Africa, Mozambique and Madagascar. The people who were brought from the East have a common language, which was known as Malayo. When these people were brought here they were slaves with no freedom and no religion freedom. ...People who practiced their religion were arrested. ...On Robben Island you will find that there is a building, which is like a Mosque but it's not. Inside that little building you will find that there's a grave of a Moslem leader, Hajimatora. He was the person who was found spreading the Moslem religion and arrested on Robben Island, and he died on the Island. What's on Robben Island is what the Moslem people called it Shrine or Kramat. You will find these places on the mountains and quarries. ...The first oldest building in South Africa is the Castle and the second one is the Slave Lodge, which has been reborn and renamed. ...The slaves were responsible for building of this house. The planner of this house was Jan De Waal. This area was first named after him; the name of the area was Waalendorp, that's why you have the outside street named Waal Street. In 1957 and '58, the government started classifying the people as black; whites, 'coloured' and the Moslem people were classified as Malays. The government classified the Moslems as Malays because for them the slaves were from Malaysia, which wasn't true. The name of the area

⁸⁷ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, Southern Tip

was then changed to be Malay Quarters. ...In 1960, this area was declared a Moslem area. This is most fortunate because it is the only place-survived apartheid. ...What the house is presenting to you at the moment is from the mid nineteenth century, and there is a bride room here at the front. For religion we can look at this picture...⁸⁸

These are images that one encounters at the Bo-Kaap Museum. The images at the museum are based on the history of the building where the museum is housed, the history of the area, Cape slavery, Cape Moslem and their religion. There are also artifacts at the museum that are claimed to had been use by slaves and also some slaves' photographs that depict their different activities and their religion. What is seen at the Bo-Kaap Museum is one of the superimposed projects to the community as it was piloted by the UCT academic, I.D. du Plessis. I.D. du Plessis through his initiatives including the one of the establishment of the museum attempted to construct the 'Malay' identity with his fallacies argument about the origins of the Cape slaves. In 1960, under the South African National Council Monument Bo-Kaap was declared a monumental site, and now through South African Heritage Resource Agency it is a heritage site. From the museum tours then drive through the landscape of Bo-Kaap constructing the images of that residential area

From Bo-Kaap they drive to the landscape of District Six. On the way to the landscape of District Six some tour guides construct the images of the Castle. In front of us is the Castle. The entrance to the Castle is here on this side. It used to be on that side and what has happened was that the sea used to come up to the Castle and the water went into the Castle. They changed the entrance and they put it here...⁸⁹ These are some of the images that cover the history and the design of the Castle that are presented to tourists on the way to the District Six area as they pass it. Other township tour guides also talk about the different flags that appear in the Castle, which show various governments at different periods in South Africa as from the colonial era to the present government – Dutch,

Tours, 22 January 2001

⁸⁸ Recorded township tour, guide Moosa Mohamed/ driver & owner Chris Vloebergh, step down at Bo-Kaap Museum – museum guide Rego, African Mosaic Tours, 18 January 2001

⁸⁹ Recorded township tour, guide Moosa Mohamed & driver Chris Vloebergh, African Mosaic Tours, 18 January 2001

British, Botavia, British rule, Union of South Africa, apartheid rule and the new South African flag.

On the landscape of District Six, tour guides construct tourist gazes of that historic area. The images of District Six are centered on its origin, development, living conditions, social life, forced removals and the remainders of District Six like Mosques, churches, school, and very few houses that were renovated instead of being demolished. These few buildings that were not demolished in District Six were given to 'white' police, soldiers and other people. In District Six there are also few landmarks like the house's foundations and some parts of streets like Hanover Street and Richmond Street. While driving through the landscape of District Six, tour guides either stop or drop the speed in the area that is straight to Richmond Street and show tourists the three arches of one of the remaining buildings, which is facing then Richmond Street.

From the landscape of District Six the tour guides drive to the District Six Museum, in Buitenkant Street. In the museum, the tour guide takes the visitors to the boards that show different identity documents that were carried in apartheid South Africa by different races at various periods. Tourists see how people were racially classified. From that board they move to another board that shows Richmond Street before and after forced removals. The guide then reminds the visitors about three arches they saw while they were driving through the landscape of District Six. They then move to a board that shows an aerial view of the landscape of District Six before and after forced removals.

The tour guide then moves to the three important images of the museum. The map of District Six that covers almost the whole floor, which has all the streets names of District Six and former residents indicate where they lived. The cloth is one kilometer long and it is where the former residents reflect their memories, feelings, pain of forced removal and their experiences in District Six. On this cloth there are phrases like "I will always remember District Six no matter where I am", "I remember happy days in District Six", "We were happy in District Six" and many more and comments about forced removals like "This should not happen again". This cloth also reflects the divergent ideas of the ex-

residents about the notion of reconciliation and that of coming back to District Six. Then, the original street signs of District Six, which are hung inside the museum. These street signs mean a lot to the former residents of District Six and also for the understanding of that area, as they have a particular history. When District Six was in a process of demolition after it was declared white group areas in 1966, there was a person from the Cape Town City Council who was given a task to destroy the landscape of District Six and dump the debris into the harbour. This person was supposed to discard the Street Signs, but instead of doing that he kept them until the staff and the trustees of the District Six Museum started negotiating with him about the street signs. After a long time and tense negotiations, he donated the street signs to the museum. The District Six Museum was officially opened with the first exhibition, which is known as 'Streets: Retracing District Six', on the 10th December 1994. These street signs are original. These street signs and other displayed collections at the museum connect the former residents of District Six to the District Six itself through their memories. Then other tour guides give tourists time to ask question and if there are no questions, allow them [visitors] to look around the museum. Some tour guides also go to Nomvuyo Ngcelwane 's home, which is built in the museum and forms part of the 'Digging Deeper Exhibition'.

Other tour guides after explaining the three boards to the tourists, they then call Linda Fortune or Noor Ebrahim, who are both education offers, to tell the visitors his/her experience in District Six. After spending some time in the museum, they then head to the townships. For some time, however, the District Six Museum spread a sense of 'colouredness' in District Six, which was not the case. Even now the District Six Museum still continues to perpetuate a sense of 'colouredness' in District Six in different ways.

The District Six Museum silences the fact that there was a pigmentation hierarchy, criminal activities in District Six and other things that it suppress about District Six. In some ways it presents a romantic image of District Six. One can also say that there was something of a hierarchy of pigmentation by no means complete, in terms of occupation

and wages, where the lighter in very general terms tended to be better off than the darker.⁹⁰ This demonstrates that in District Six there was a pigmentation hierarchy.

This sense of pigmentation hierarchy or to care only about the people of your colour was also clearly seen during the time of the forced removal of Africans to Ndabeni in 1901. The removal of Africans in 1901 was based on racist public health reasons, which were presented by the Public Health Commission, and those with lighter pigmentation didn't oppose that. This was also seen again when Africans were forcibly removed from District Six between 1960 and 1963, as those with lighter pigmentation didn't oppose or challenged that. When District Six was declared a 'white group area' in 1966, and all those with lighter pigmentation were to be removed from District Six, there was an out cry and tried to show their discontent as they opposed that. Though that was in vain.⁹¹

In spite of that it is only recently through the 'Digging Deeper Exhibition', that depicts in brief that there were Africans living in District Six and that the first people to be forcibly removed from District Six were Africans in 1901. The museum focus is on the removal that took place after it was declared a white group area on 11 February 1966. It overlooks the removals of Africans who were forcibly removed between 1960 and 1963, and those people who were removed in 1959, where now the N2 runs from and to Cape Town. The destruction of District Six needs to be seen as continues process not to focus on certain period of the forced removals of District Six. The displayed collections at the District Six Museum function as memory aids for the former residents, as they play a significant role in the process of constructing memories of the ex-residents and they also bridge the memories of that time.

In the museum, there is an exhibition, which is called 'Digging Deeper Exhibition'. A Guide to the District Six Museum and the Digging Deeper Exhibition pamphlet affirms:

Digging Deeper was chosen as the title and organizing framework for the exhibition that opens in the renovated and restored District Six Museum building in Buitentank Street in September 2000. The 170 years old building, formally the Methodist Mission Church,

⁹⁰ V Bickford-Smith, in Soudien C & Jeppie S, 1990: 37

⁹¹ L. Dondolo, The public history portrayals at the District Six Museum: Interpreting District Six in tourist and museum narratives, Honours thesis, 1999: 23

has been closed for 18 months for restoration and alteration. The exhibition has attempted to 'dig deeper' into the Museum's collections, processes and meaning.⁹²

To some extent this exhibition managed to 'dig deeper', but there are still some issues like the pigmentation hierarchy that existed in District Six that is not depicted at the museum at all and the class biasness of the museum, which is evident in its exhibition. The District Six Museum does not reflect the popular culture of the working class and their activities. Though the District Six Museum reflects the history of District Six and its heritage the politics of representation and display manifest in many ways. There is still a need for the District Six Museum to dig more deeply than they did for the current exhibition, to try to depict other aspects of the history of District Six that they are suppressing at the moment.

From the District Six Museum, which appears as a place of history, tour guides drive to the townships. In township tours, townships are seem to have no history as their histories, resistance history, are silenced as soon as tours leave the District Six Museum. This was observed on many township tours that 'we' undertook. On the way to the townships, the tour guide starts constructing the township images. In the townships, tour guides construct images that are based on past and present human experiences, daily life, living conditions, social life, social developments and some aspects of 'timeless' past traditions. There are many places that are visited in the townships, but are not visited at the same time as different tour operators include different places in their tour packages.

In Langa, many tour guides mention Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center in passing. This is the Guga S'thebe Center, this is the Center where the entrepreneurs of the townships would come together and exhibit their goods. You also have the great empty theater at the back. When we have one of the larger groups we can book this place and get some of the local bands to perform.⁹³ The Guga S'thebe Center is imaged in passing for tourists. At the moment there are few tour companies that take tourists to the Center. There is a lot

⁹² A Guide to the District Six Museum and the Digging Deeper Exhibition, pamphlet, 2000

⁹³ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

that is desired as far as the marketing of this Center is concerned and to establish itself as a tourist destination. This Center would be a destination only if it forms part of the tour routes and visited.

In Langa and in other townships, tourists are taken to shebeens and taverns. Beermaking is an integral part of African culture, as they make it for certain traditional ceremonies. In the townships there are people who brew it for economic reasons and this has a long history. During the apartheid years, people were not allowed to brew umqombothi [African beer] and there were police raids for those who were perceived to be selling umqombothi. If one was going to have cultural ceremony and brew beer one had to first get a permission from the nearby government authorities. From the 1950s up to the 1980s, the apartheid government established beer halls in the townships throughout the country for Africans to go and purchase beer. The money that the government got from the beer halls was used to pay the African civil servants. The beer hall did not last long as political activists burnt them down from 1976 onwards. This, however, varied from one township to another.

Sam Ntimba, who is the tour guide of Day Trippers, constructed the images of a shebeen as follows:

This is a shebeen, way back blacks were not allowed to drink beer in the cities. On the 21 March 1960 the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) and the ANC (African National Congress) were protesting against the pass laws in this community in this township. Eight days before that they (apartheid government) prohibited the gathering of more than three men in one place meaning that this kind of gathering was illegal. ...Nobody was allowed to brew beer. This is what we called umqombothi. From 1990 it was easy to have these things surrounding here, there was no problem any more. In this one block we got three conditions like this. In most cases you always get men here, who are socializing and drinking. The belief was there's nothing men can discuss in the presence of woman, they need to discuss their men stuff... It looks like a milk shake, but you must tell me how the taste is like. People are addicted to this in so much that they have a membership system. They have a membership system, the only way you would be a member is you find the money they put here or even you can lift that thing up underneath you find that there's money, meaning that each men coming here would put his R 2, 00 here. Then you are a member for the day. You can drink as much as you want.

...It will take time for you to be drunk ... they consider this to be nutritious, even if you have high blood pressure this cool it down. ⁹⁴

This beermaker (and shebeen) is among the places that are being visited in Langa. There are many beermakers in African townships like Langa and Nyanga. The tourist experiences of this shebeen are centered on the nature of this kind of a business, its operation, interaction of tourists with the local residents and the beer tasting.

Beermakers, where they make a traditional Xhosa beer, umqombothi, are among the places that are visited by tourists as they are incorporated into the township tour packages of other tour companies like Southern Tip Tours and Day Trippers Tours. In one of the tours a shebben was presented in this way:

This is a beermaker here...This is Nomhle's place, which is very popular for the local people of the area...Nomhle our beermaker went down to the Eastern Cape, she's not yet returned, but, the business is going on here. This is where they drink the local umqombothi. You don't drink umqombothi out of a glass, you drink it out of a tin can like this and the whole idea is to share the beer, you drink it little bit and pass it around. This is how they did it in the old rural areas when they have problems. Chiefs come together and sit around the fire, drink beer and discuss the problems and solve the problems. We obviously drink some of the beer. You are welcome to ask some of the local chaps here some questions.... Around winter they make fire here and sit around it. They make a good quality beer here.⁹⁵

The guide try to draw in the local residents to the discussion as he asks them, "Is it better now than in the old South Africa?" Then one of the local residents responded by saying, "Yes because we don't have to worry about the police coming. We don't have to carry dombass." Inside Nomhle's place (and in other beermaker's place), tourists intermingle with the local people and share some ideas, as they spend ten to fifteen minutes. This place and other places of this nature are places of social interaction. The images of

⁹⁴ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Sam Ntimba, visit to a beer maker in Langa, Day Trippers Tours, 12 December 2000

⁹⁵ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

Nomhle' s place are centered on the running of a business, a brief background of the use of umqombothi in rural areas and beer tasting.

The township residents use this term, 'shebeen', only when they refer to small drinking places, not to places that sell umqombothi. The term shebeen is an Irish word meaning non-legal brewing. In the shebeens people discuss socio-economic and political issues. In the 'shebeens' where you get African beer people sit around and pass the tin that has beer to one another. In these 'shebeens' both men and woman drink together. It is mostly unemployed middle-aged men and elders who go to these 'shebeen'. The 'shebeens' of African beer have a long and a particular history in South Africa amongst Africans as it can be traced back in rural areas. In rural areas, umqombothi is made only when there is a cultural ceremony that requires it. Men and woman don't drink together. Tourists are taken to the 'shebeens' to do beer tasting, to hear from the beer maker how to brew it [umqombothi], and to interact with the local residents.

There is a general understanding, which is often shown or encountered in some township tours that life in townships is centered on shebeens. This was also clearly observed in 'The Township Crawling Festival Exhibition' held at the Culemborg Exhibition Center, in Cape Town, which is the same venue where the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival was held. 'The Townships Crawling Festival' was a weekend celebration scheduled for the 2nd and 3rd September 2000. The festival featured entertainment, food-stall, crafts and bead stalls, shebeens, traditional healer, music - umbhaqanga groups, jazz bands, sicathamiya groups, reggae bands, stage performance, Kwaito and rap. The main aim of this festival was to promote tourism in the townships, to stimulate business and trade in the townships. The picture that was presented in that exhibition on that Saturday was also observed on township tour that followed on Sunday as tour guides visited shebeens. Heritage and historical sites were mentioned in passing or when some local tourists asked the tour guide and political history was completely silenced. The organizers of the festival could have called it shebeen route instead of township tour.

This was also apparent in 'South Africana Street Festival' that was held in Birmingham Civil Rights Institute⁹⁶ on Friday 19 – Sunday 21 April 2002. This festival formed part of the Conference on Transformative Justice, where Ambassador Sheila Sisulu, former president F.W.de Klerk and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were amongst the participants. A festival booklet states:

In the townships of South Africa, neighbours regularly visit the shebeens to catch up on the local news and relax over drinks and snacks. Birmingham will host its very own shebeen in Linn Park.⁹⁷

There is an understanding that life in the townships is based on shebeens. This is perpetuated in different modes of leisure and cultural experience in various settings. Township life is not centered on shebeens and these shebeens are places of socializing for a certain portion of townships community.

The tour guides of the township tours that were organized as part of 'The Townships Crawling Festival' that followed on Sunday have a narrow understanding of the term 'townships' as they used it only in reference to areas like Langa and Guguletu excluding the 'coloureds' areas like Bontheuwel, Heideveld and many others. The trainer of these tour guides was Ms. Michelle Gavron. According to Mackay, "early this year [2000] Ms. Gavron started a tourism course in Guguletu under the auspices of the Guguletu Empowerment Forum, an organization that helps people who have business skills to develop into entrepreneurs."⁹⁸

Tourists are taken to taverns like Tiger's Place in Langa, Smokey's Place in Nyanga, Popza's Place in Guguletu, France's Place in Guguletu, Thuthuka's Café in Guguletu,

⁹⁶ Birmingham Civil Rights Institute is a museum that focuses on Human Rights Movement as a whole not only on Martin Luther King Jr. A visitor to Birmingham Civil Rights Institute starts with a documentary film that shows slavery, the development of Birmingham especially after the emancipation. The film ends with segregation in the city, which also introduce the visitor to the exhibition. Their exhibition begins with segregation in all spheres of life in that city, journey through resistance history and the way to freedom. Then, it ends with two galleries; one for the traveling/temporary exhibition and the other one demonstrates the present and future vision of the museum.

⁹⁷ Birmingham International Festival: 2002 Salute to South Africa, Official Event Guide booklet, 2002

⁹⁸ M.M. Mackay, 'Tourism offers jobs for entrepreneurs', in Cape Argus, Monday, July 31, 2000: 6

Tryfina 's Place in Khayelitsha, Biong 's Place in Khayelitsha to see how the township people, especially youth socialize. In post apartheid South Africa, shebeens and taverns are legalized. During the week there are few people in the taverns, but on weekends there are many people and it is where the youth enjoy themselves. They listen to music like Kwiato, which is a local music and R&B, watch sport, especially soccer, and interact with each other. In these taverns the youth drink the commercialized beer. In the nearby area of most of these taverns there is butchery. In some taverns there is a space for braai and 'traditional' food is served. This was clearly observed on a tour that formed part of "The Township Crawling Festival".

Tour companies like Legend Tours, African Mosaic Tours, Southern Tip Tours and Springbok Atlas Safari in Langa visit Tsoga Environmental Center, where tours step down and walking tours commence. Tsoga Environmental Center is located in Wellington Street and is an NGO structure. It is the first of its kind in the Western Cape. The Center was meant to deal with the environmental matters and the recycling of plastics and other items. The Center provides a space to some local artists to produce and sell their products to the visitors. Tsoga Environmental Center is also involved in tourism, as it is a step down for visitors in Langa. The Center has its own guides of the walking tours, which are from that location.

The guide of the walking tours by the name of Xolani Sipoyi first tells tourists the background of Tsoga, and presented the images of Langa as follows:

This is Tsoga Environmental Resource Center. This Center is an NGO and the Center was launched in March 1994. The lady who opened the Center had a vision of opening the Center in each and every province, but due to financial constrains that could not happen. This is the only environmental center standing within the society of the townships. At the Center we run different programs, one is youth and tourism programs, which I'm very much involved in. Others are education and training community and out reach program. The community development is divided into environmental management and recycling. We will be visiting four different areas of this township namely the working class area, the hostels, then the upper class of this community and lastly we will visit the informal settlement of Langa that you see when you drive on the N2... Langa is the community, which is the result of Group Areas Act (of 1950) and Native Urban Act of 1923. When

people were removed from District Six, they were moved to Ndabeni. Then later to this community and Langa was designed for 80 000 residents, but now the present statistics shows that it accommodates - + 250 000 residents. You will see some of the reasons why it increased. Looking at these houses, these are some of the houses that were built when this community was established and they were made for migrant workers mainly from the Eastern Cape. Look at this house; it's the original house. There's a communal room, kitchen, two bedrooms and then toilet and bathroom. When migrant workers were moved from these houses in the early 1970s by the government they were then moved to the hostels that you see in front of us. The families were placed in these homes and after they were placed in these houses they never owned them. They rented them to the municipality. In 1994 they were given title deeds of the houses. After they were given ownership of the houses they then took initiative of modifying their houses. This is the first area that is recognized as the working class area. ... This is where there is high unemployment rate; you will find people using these containers as hairdressers or shops. This is the hostel and it was only men who were allowed to live here, this could be their communal space, and the kitchen, and there's one running water tap and one is outside.⁹⁹

Tsoga Environmental Center runs different community based projects. The present government jointly with the municipality are doing something trying to improve the living conditions in the hostels. There are family units flats that are built in Langa with the aim of improving the living conditions in the hostels. These flats, which are family apartments, have kitchen, sitting/dinning room, two bedrooms, toilet and a shower. The creation of family apartments, however, means that they occupants have to pay for social services and rent. The rent of these flats depends on the size of a flat, as they don't have the same size.

The informal settlement, Joe Slovo, which one sees when driving on the N2, forms part of the images of the walking tours of Langa. This informal settlement is the only part of Langa that does not have infrastructure. For water they go to the nearby hostels and for electricity they use paraffin lights and stoves. It is dangerous living in this area, especially for health reasons. In dealing with this situation the present government is moving the residents of this area to the RDP houses that are built in areas like Delft.

⁹⁹ Recorded township tour, guide Moosa Mohamed, step down at Tsoga Environmental Center - walking tour guided by Xolani Sipoyi, African Mosaic Tours, 18 January 2001

The route of these walking tours of Langa comprises a visit to working class houses, hostels – the old and new ones that are of a family unit, Settlers – a middle class area and Joe Slovo informal settlement. Then, return to Tsoga Environmental Center. The naming of this informal settlement as Joe Slovo informal settlement, may have something to do with the fact that Joe Slovo was the Minister of Houses when this informal settlement emerged and that was the sign of saying Joe Slovo ‘we’ need houses or may be it is because they saw him as one of the liberation ‘heroes’. The images of these walking tours are based on the discourse of living conditions of different sections of that community, developments and the interaction of tourists and the local people. These images, which are centered on living conditions and social developments tells one about changes, development and contrast in South Africa is not only based on colour line but also on class.

The walking tours of Langa silence the political history and the cultural heritage of that location. These walking tours were initially planned to be based at Guga S’thebe Multicultural Center, but when they commenced Guga S’thebe Center was still under construction and because of that they were moved to Tsoga Environmental Center for that period with an understanding that they will be returned to Guga S’thebe Center after it has been completed. After Guga S’thebe Center was completed Tsoga Environmental Center refused to handover the walking tours of Langa to Guga S’thebe. Anele, the Curator of Guga S’thebe Multicultural Center, in an informal interview with me, mentioned this. This is not just about a refusal to hand over the walking tours of Langa to Guga S’thebe Multicultural Center but it is more about the local politics. This is an example of a situation where party politics manifest themselves in community-based tourism.

Generally, walking tours are meant to create job opportunities for local residents and reflect the history of a particular area to the visitors. The walking tours indeed create job opportunities and exposure, and new experience for the tour guides of the walking tours. Tour guides of the walking tours of Langa are paid R25, 00 per tourist. Whilst the tour

operators, which include walking tours in their township tour packages charge R170, 00 to R220, 00 per tourist for the whole tour. In post apartheid South Africa, tourism is seen as a tool for economic development and for poverty alleviation, as all tourism agencies strongly believe that tourism creates job opportunities.

Tourists in Langa visit Eziko Restaurant, but not frequently. Eziko Restaurant is located in Wellington Street. A pamphlet of Eziko Center states:

Eziko Restaurant is now Langa's greatest meeting place where the people of the world can now meet to share the Township and South African dishes. In the Xhosa culture the word "eziko" holds a significant place because it is not only the center place of holding but also signifies warmth literally and figuratively. Fire and Food are considered as source of warmth.¹⁰⁰

Eziko Restaurant offers Xhosa 'traditional' food like Ulusu lwegusha [stewed sheep tripe] this is best served with pap or umnqusho, Umnqusho [Samp and beans], Umbhako [baked bread], Umfino with turnips and potatoes ["Umfino is a generic term for wild leaves. Leaves from the bean plants, beetroot leaves or sweet potato leaves can be used"], Pap [porridge] and ijinja [fermented ginger beer]. These different kinds of Xhosa 'traditional' food were observed on a tour, guided by Angelo Forbes of Springbok Atlas, Cultural Tours, on 25th February 2001. When tourists are in the restaurant, Victor Nguqulwa, the Director of Eziko Center, tells the visitors about its origins and its operation. After that the visitors taste some traditional food like umnqusho. After tasting food tourists go to the Catering Training Center that is located inside the Eziko territory. This Catering Training School attracts many people from different areas - even outside the Western Cape boundaries – who can work in a hospitality industry or start their own small business.

¹⁰⁰ Eziko Cooking & The Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, pamphlet, 2000

Tour companies like Southern Tip Tours and Springbok Atlas Safaris visit Eziko Restaurant and Catering School, in Langa. One of the tour guides presented Eziko Center as follows:

Many youngsters from African townships are working in the hospitality in town...it is so expensive for youngsters to attend hotel school. Organization like, Eziko, here in this organization they train the young stars from the community to enter the hospitality industry so they get the basic knowledge of the industry. Victor, the director, started it and they got support from many big organizations. This side is a restaurant and you can taste traditional food and umqombothi.¹⁰¹

This demonstrates the running of this Center and that it attracts mainly youth and empowers them with skills that cause them to be able to enter the hospitality industry or start their small businesses. At Eziko Restaurant they also organize live bands, Marimba bands, on request of the tour guide for visitors who want entertainment. This has been now operating for two years and it's working very well."¹⁰² In 2000 Victor won an award of the emerging entrepreneur of the year. The images of Eziko Center are based on the idea of community-based project and the tasting of some traditional food. After tourists have tasted food, they are given time to look around and visit the students in their catering class.

Amongst the places that the tourists visit in Langa is a traditional healer by the name of Ndaba. Ndaba tells the visitors about some of his herbs and their use. Ndaba's place is located in Albert Luthuli Street. One of the tour guides constructed the images of Ndaba's place as follows:

Ndaba is a traditional healer and when Africans came into the cities they brought their cultures and they also brought their traditional healers with them. Ndaba is a very popular traditional healer here in Langa. Sometimes this is a big cultural shop for tourists coming on township tours to see all the different things he uses here to heal people. Ndaba is not a witch doctor. He is an African herbalist. While they were staying in the Eastern Cape, in the rural areas, some of them had the consulting room up there in the mountains, in caves, dark caves, and Ndaba here is trying to get that

¹⁰¹ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

kind of an atmosphere like the whole cave again. It is very dark inside; it takes few minutes for your eyes to get accustomed to the dark and to see some of things he got here. There are a lot of dead animals here and all kinds of stuff that he uses. If you don't feel comfortable inside, you are welcome to come outside" Step down at Ndaba's place, "This is Ndaba over here, one of the most popular traditional healer here in Langa. He normally has a lot of people setting here waiting for him to look after them. Ndaba can tell you what is he doing here. "...I am a herbalist, this is a private profession and it's not like a doctor. This one is private, it's from our ancestors, it's coming to us by dream and vision...we got something to drink in a liquid form and powder form and smear. I also sometimes do make smoke (ukuqhumisa) in the house. I have rules for this one; you must slaughter a cow or a goat and make a beer. Inside there is laboratory where I'm fisting my stuff..."¹⁰³ The tour guide "Ndaba knows exactly what is in those bottles, he doesn't have a directory or a piece of paper over here. What is popular here in Ndaba store as well, we have been using the rhino horns in Africa for many years as well and also the dust of the bird eyestone, you still get it in little bottles, the old green stone you can buy it as Africa's love stuff. Any illness that you want Ndaba to look at, love problems or things like that..."¹⁰⁴

The images that are being presented to the visitors in Ndaba's place are solely based on his business, its nature, operation and services, which show an African side of medicine. Township residents are divided when it come to "traditional healers", as there are those who strongly believe in "traditional healing" and those who believe both in "traditional healing" and 'western' form of medicine. Most township residents only use 'western' medicine. This uniqueness of "traditional healing", however, spread notions of 'otherness' and elements of exoticism.

Desmond Luthando, who is an artist –make birds and 'idada' by wire, is visited in his house in Joe Slovo, on the outskirts of Langa. In Desmond's place tourists have an opportunity to purchase artwork. There's nothing much happening in Desmond's place except that he tells the visitors about his family, his background- that he is from Transkei,

¹⁰² Recorded township tour, Southern Tip Tours- step down at Eziko Restaurant and catering school, Victor Mguqulwa, the Director, Southern Tip Tours 22 January 2001

¹⁰³ Recorded township tour, guide/drive Calvin Johannes, ex- UWC history master student, -step down at Ndaba's place, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

¹⁰⁴ Recorded township tour, guide/drive Calvin Johannes, ex- UWC history master student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

his educational status, his reason for coming to Cape Town, his comparison of the Eastern and the Western Cape tourism industry and his future plan of going back to school. Desmond has been in Cape Town for year.

In the Cape Flats tourists visit Bontheuwel, which is one of the 'coloureds' townships. This township is separated by highway from Langa. Bontheuwel is little better than Langa and that gives an idea of what went on under apartheid government. In one of the tours Bontheuwel presented in this way:

This is just to give you an idea of what went on under the old apartheid government. Bontheuwel is one of the old 'coloured' townships here in Cape Town. The residents of Bontheuwel like to refer to Bontheuwel as Beverley Hills, their own Beverley Hills here. There was a little bit of antagonism between the residents of Langa and Bontheuwel because the old government did the job very well here; they knew how to keep the Africans and 'coloureds' away from each other. Under the old government they treated the 'coloureds' better than the Africans. They spend more money on the education of a 'coloured' child than the black child. They would come and remove the dirty from the 'coloureds' townships like once in every two weeks and they will have all kinds of excuse why they can't remove the dirty from the townships because it is dangerous there and townships were always very dirty places. They treated the 'coloureds' in general terms better than the Africans and in that way they tried to keep the Africans and 'coloureds' apart so that they can't combine their activities to focus on the apartheid regime. The educated people from these communities could see the strategy of the old government. That is why it was so important from 1976 onwards, since the 1976 uprising in Soweto, especially students from UWC (University of the Western Cape) started with these huge awareness programs to make the people aware about what was going on in the country and how the government is using different race groups so to acastate the division between the different race groups. It was a hard and long process and it will take many years to eradicate that from the minds of the lower level of socio-economic strata of the 'coloureds' community. Newspapers were also divided. There was one coloureds' newspaper called the Cape Herald that only talk about the violence in the Cape Flats. ...At the moments there are many gangs on the Cape Flats but most of them are involved on what we called it soft crimes, gangs here in Cape Town are not so organized. ...The gangs here operate in block units.¹⁰⁵

The images of Bonteheuwel are based on living conditions, social life, crime and gangsterism. Gangsters are more common in 'coloureds' townships than in African townships and they are involved in different kinds of criminal activities. It is the youth that form the bulk of these gangs and in most cases they are being used and manipulated by their gang leaders. There are many reasons that cause youth to join gang groups. In other 'coloured' townships on the Cape Flats like Manenberg, Eerster River, Keisriver there is unrest that is caused by these gangs and that also affects the innocent community members. Gangsterism is rooted in 'coloureds' townships and it has a particular history. These gangs have also spread to and operate in schools. Criminal activities, gangsterism and 'dangers' of the townships are very often used by other people in Cape Town (and through out the country) to discourage visitors from going to the townships. This has its own implication on township tourism.

There are many tour companies that visit Guguletu. There are different places that can be visited in Guguletu by tourists. At the moment there are not many tourist destinations that are visited in that location. The images of Guguletu are presented as follows:

Guguletu is one of the white collar suburbs of the African people. This coming up on the left is the headquarters of one of the strongest union movements here in the Cape, the Food and Allied Workers Union. Just before the 1994 elections, there was an exchange student studying at the University of the Western Cape, who came here in 1993. She came here to drop some students here in Guguletu and the young lions of the PAC, who were very militant, stoned the car. She was the only white face in the car and at that stage they had a slogan 'One settler, one bullet'. They saw her and they started stoning the car and one of the bricks hit her on the head and she died right here. That was a very unfortunate incident, they didn't know. These youngsters were arrested and they also appeared before the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Committee) hearings and they were pardoned after they spend few years in jail. The parents of Amy Biehl got very involved in the activities here in the township as well with some of the programs. Some of the young stars that were involved in the death of Amy Biehl are also some of the project leaders now. A lot of positive things came out of the death of Amy Biehl. The very popular college here, the Sivuyile College, they also have a great tourism department here and a little tourism shop here where you can see some of the projects of the

¹⁰⁵ Recorded township tours, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex- UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

entrepreneurs and products of the entrepreneurs in the townships. ...In 1959 Africans were living around Cape Town and it was during that time as well that the former government started taking them out of 'coloured' areas and came and dump them here in Guguletu that was when Guguletu was formed in around 1959. It was only in the later years that they started to develop other African townships like KTC, Nyanga and Crossroads. Langa is the oldest township and isolated from other African townships of Cape Town because 'coloureds' areas were developed around Langa... That's the very popular place here in Guguletu, the Kraal Jazz. At one stage it was the very popular nightclub, Yellow Door, other people took over the management now and it's starting to come back again. There is the Anglican Church over there; this is one of the churches that we visit on Sundays.¹⁰⁶

The images of Guguletu that are based on the development of Guguletu, social life, and selected political incidents. The death of Emy Biehl needs to be seen within the context of the violent attacks across the political spectrum by the conservative Afrikaners of AWP and the PAC that believed in radical resistance and arm struggle, in a transitional period prior to the first democratic elections. These narratives also show a sense that the residents of Guguletu are only those who were forcibly removed from different areas around Cape Town, which is not the case. Many residents of Guguletu are migrant workers, in more recent times others have settled here in search of a better life away from rural poverty and patriarchal control, and also some people who were born here in Cape Town. In addition, Guguletu was created in 1958 not 1959.

Tourists in Guguletu visit the Sivuyile Townships Tourism Center, which is located at Sivuyile Technical College, at NY 4 in Guguletu. The images that the visitors encounter in the Center are based on a permanent exhibition that is inside the Center, which attempts to move beyond the discourse of township tourist images. I will talk more about the Center and the exhibition later on chapter four.

The township tour package of other tour operators like the Southern Tip Tours on Sundays includes township church services, in Langa, Guguletu, Crossroads and

¹⁰⁶Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex – UWC History masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

Khayelitsha. This was also witnessed by John Marston, who is a tourist from Britain, as he recalled, “I attended a church service here in Khayelitsha, at the Catholic Church...”¹⁰⁷ This echoes some glimpse of the tourist experience. Most of the time these tour guides come with tourists when the church service has already started. When the tourists get inside the church some of them sit, while others stand and look around. The images that are created and sustained are based on religious aspects, as some African churches, particularly their congregations do things slightly different from their counterparts.

KTC is incorporated into the township tour package of tour companies like Day Trippers Tours. The images of KTC that are presented to the visitors are centered on social development and social life. This kind of tourist experience was evident in one of the tours, as the guide presented narratives of KTC as follows:

This is KTC that we are driving through it now. This is one of the oldest shantytowns here in Cape Town. If you look at the shantytown here on the left, this is the big KTC shantytown. This is the project they started it here, this is almost like a self-help project. People own the property here now and they can build on these properties. You can see they got running water here now and electricity. There are different kinds of projects here in the African townships. The streets around here, if you drove around here six or eight years ago, it was absolutely miserable, lot of potholes not really maintained and it was only the new government that came into power from 1994 that they started with different programs to upgrade the African townships. ... This place on the right side here, is the big Nyanga African market, it's a very popular market among the locals. You can get you African wrap around, dresses and you local Kwaito music... This area in front of us is the biggest open-air fresh meat market of the African townships, extremely popular...you can get all kinds of meat here and very cheap as well...¹⁰⁸

KTC is one of the shantytowns that tourists visit in Cape Town. This area is semi developed as it has the infrastructure and some bricks houses. KTC has a particular history, which reflects the importance of that area. KTC is one of the places where the 1980s conflict between youth/ the comrades (UDF supports) and the elders (vigilant

¹⁰⁷ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Peter Veerapin, step dawn – Vicky's Bed and Breakfast, 01 December 2000

group) who were later known as the 'witdok' under Johnson Mngxobongwana, was experienced in that location. The establishment of KTC is fascinating as the people (mostly political activists) built their homes and the apartheid police would come and destroy them. Then at night, the people would build their houses again. This continued for a long time until the apartheid government allowed them to built their houses in 1977 and in the early 1980s. Again, KTC used to be a place to hide for political activists from the nearby townships like Guguletu because of its arrangement and that houses were close to each other, with no proper road, which made it difficult for apartheid police to get through.

Crossroads Location, which is situated just couple of meters away from Nyanga East, is one on the places that are visited. Crossroads Location emerged as a result of forced removal of 1977 of Africans who were living in informal settlement in the nearby area of the University of the Western Cape. Crossroads is presented in this way:

In 1977, Africans were removed from the Moddendam shantytown. There were about 25,000 people who were staying there. This was the biggest shantytown in the Western Cape. In 1976 they forcibly removed the people from that area and they were brought up to this area here. There were no houses, no services, nothing. They just came and dump the people in this area and this area became known as Crossroads. For many years this shantytown here wasn't flourishing and with no services. The former government declared the Western Cape a 'coloured' Labour Preference area. Africans could not get a permanent residence, they could not buy property and Africans decided to put up these houses on the peripheries of Cape Town. From the mid 1980s onwards they started to upgrade the area. They divided the whole Crossroads area into different segments, moving the people from here into the new model townships of Khayelitsha that we will go to later on and then bulldozed the houses and service the plot and bring the people back here. Almost the whole Crossroads has been upgraded. This is the positive story on the whole Cape Flats. This organization here, the community police peace workers, they started with about hundred youngsters from this area. They came together and formed this community project here. They became the eyes and the ears of the community and of the police. They are working 24 hours a day. The German government sponsors them.

¹⁰⁸ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex- UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

...This is the Eluvukweni Church; it is one of the destinations that we visit on a Sunday.¹⁰⁹

Crossroads has a fascinating history, which reflects the historical significance of that area. As a result of the historical significance of Crossroads, at this moment there is a group of local residents who are planning to open a community museum and now they are still in a process of conceptualization and gathering relevant information. The image that tourist experiences here in this location are centered on forced removals, social developments, social life and living condition.

Reconstruction and Development Program Housing Project in Crossroads, particularly the house owned by Regina Jokwana, forms part of the tourist destinations in that area. This was experienced on Southern Tip Tours. Before 1994, the ANC had to sell the policy, the program and the plan of development to their grassroots supporters and they came up with a big plan that they called the Reconstruction and Development Plan and that was almost the blueprint for the development of the new South Africa. One of the things they promised the people was that they would build one million houses for the first five years. The homes that you (tourists) see over here are some of those, we (South Africans) called them smartie town, it is part of the Reconstruction and Development Homes.¹¹⁰ Step down at one of the RDP Houses, owned by Regina Jokwana, “They build our houses. In the past we were staying in bad conditions without toilets and when it was raining our shacks were getting full of water. Then, they build nice houses for us and now they are putting electricity in our houses...everything is inside. I lived in a shack from 1986 until I get this house. I was on a waiting list for two years.”¹¹¹ The images that are presented to the tourists about RDP Housing Project in Crossroads and in Regina Jokwana’s house are based on living conditions and social developments. This particular house shows the state of the RDP Houses that are being built throughout the country.

¹⁰⁹ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

¹¹⁰ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

¹¹¹ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex-UWC history masters student, step down at one of the RDP Housing Project owned by Regina Jokwana, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

In Khayelitsha, the tour package of Grassroute Tours includes Vicky's Bed and Breakfast, which is in Site C. A pamphlet of Vicky's Bed and Breakfast states, "Relax and rewind your mind in Africa's comfort. Vicky's rooms are of Western nature within Africa's beauty. You will enjoy the African breakfast under the African sky. A true typical South African breakfast that reflects the diversity of our country, i.e. Boere wors and eggs."¹¹² Vicky's Bed and Breakfast claims to offer Africa's comfort and serve a breakfast that reflects the diverse society of 'our' country.

It is more than a year that Vicky has been running this kind of a business. In 2000 Vicky won an award of the emerging entrepreneur of the year. The images of Vicky's Bed and Breakfast are based on her background, living conditions, social life, social development, and her business. As she reveals to the visitors:

I am from the Eastern Cape. I have been living here since 1989...I was studying Electrical Engineering but because of financial problem I decided to drop out. I have another two years to go. I am running this kind of a business and I love meeting people from other cultural background, sharing cultural ideas, let them know about my community – the community that I am so proud of – as I would be also learning something about their cultures as well. I started operating last year June [1999]. In September I won an award as the emerging entrepreneur of the year. The reason why I decided to open up my house it's because I don't want you to come all the way from your countries only to see one side of Cape Town. You must be given a chance so that you can be able to see how willing, how do we do things, experience township life, meet people from different cultural backgrounds, exchange cultural values with them and you will be looked after by the community. Before opening up my house I went around the area trying to figure out how do people feel about white people entering their area...then I discovered that people won't mind and they supported me a lot, without them I could not be where I am today ...By working hand in hand with the community that has played a major role and I am not the only person benefiting. ...We got services like electricity, telephone, running water, postal deliveries... pre-schools and clinics whereas in the past we didn't have those things. We were using candles as a result we were having a problem of fire.¹¹³

¹¹² Welcome to Vicky's Bed and Breakfast: Africa's natural beauty, Mission statement, 2000

¹¹³ Reordered township tour, guide/driver – Peter Veerapin, step dawn – Vicky's Bed and Breakfast, 01 December 2000

Vicky's Bed and Breakfast is the first of its kind in the Cape Town's townships and its images are centered on her background, living conditions and the social development of that area. This is an attempt to get a share of the tourism economy and to make tourists experience the other side of the city.

Philani Nutrition Center, which is located in Site C, in Khayelitsha, is one of the tourist destinations in that area. A tourist brochure of Philani Nutrition Center asserts:

Philani is a community based health and nutrition organization operating within different localities within squatter communities of Crossroads, Khayelitsha and Brown's Farm... The greatest majority of staff members are drawn from the surrounding communities – a factor which roots the Center in the local context and strengthens community links. Women have been trained as administrators, health and nutrition workers, educare workers, weaving instructors and sellers.¹¹⁴

The capacity building and skills development projects within the township communities are the most important and valuable as they are more about skills transference, which empowers the local residents so that they can earn a living. This Center, Philani Nutrition Center, is one of those community-based projects that empower the local communities, especially the desperate ones. The empowering of the local residents with skills that make them self-reliant and more able to earn a living is crucial because that contributes to poverty alleviation in these communities. This is also acknowledged by the Minister of Tourism and Environmental Affairs, Valli Moosa, as he said, "For South Africa to become a tourist nation we need to not only educate our people on the important role that tourism plays in our economy, but also equip them with the skills to play this role ever more effectively."

Nozukile Preschool Center in Khayelitsha forms part of tourist destinations in that area. In this nursery and in most others in the townships, there is a lack of facilities. Despite that there is a progress that the teachers have made with the kids, as these Centers have graduates, who are now able to count numbers, speak some few English words, sing educational songs and now ready to start sub A. The fee that parents pay in this Center is

¹¹⁴ Philani Nutrition Center, brochure, 2000

R25, 00 per month. Peter Veerapin, who is a tour guide, pointed out that: They are getting funding now from the provincial government, social services, the teachers are being paid their salaries and various charity organizations are assisting.¹¹⁵ The images of this Educare Center are centered on kids performing for tourists and gaze upon them. These images were also observed on a tour that was led by guide/driver Mastura Abdullah-Abrahams of Cape Rainbow Tours, on 29 November 2000.

Despite the claim that township tours are non-performative, the local people do perform for tourists in different forms like in the Pre-schools that are visited by tourists, in shebeens, in open-air meat market and some cultural groups perform for visitors. This tourist experience forms part of township tour package of many township tour operators. German exchange students, in Khayelitsha, also witnessed this, when “they watched Qaqamba Dancing Group in action.”¹¹⁶ This is also the case in Langa as “the pupils of the Chris Hani School in Langa, Cape Town, dance for tourists.”¹¹⁷

The last tourist destination in Khayelitsha is the Soup Kitchen in Makhaza, which forms part of township tour package of Grassroute Tours. Rose Gwadiso runs this Soup Kitchen. Rose Gwadiso described the project she is working for as follows:

I am working for this NGO project in this community. They called it WOMA Project. I have been working for this project for more than nine years. I am coming from the Eastern Cape. We got thirty soup kitchens now around Cape Town. We all do the same job for the community. We are selling food to the community... we are providing well balanced meals... I am also preparing rice and Samp beans, which are our traditional food. Kids don't like umnqusho, only adults who come and buy umnqusho. ... I close at 17h00 but if I see people are still coming. I cook all the way, but not in the evenings. I am working five days a week. I can't say I have a moment to rest because kids come here on Saturdays, and I have to prepare for them... the container that I am using was given to me by people of Bread Life Africa and I & J just help me to put the floor. I & J is also helping me to run the kitchen for a year. ... This project was under Welfare before until

¹¹⁵ Recorded township tour, guide/driver – Peter Veerapin, step dawn – Nozukile Educare Center, 01 December 2000

¹¹⁶ Cape Argus, Friday, July 17, 1998

¹¹⁷ Sunday Independent: Focus on Tourism, June 25, 2000: 1-8

they became independent... I am living next door so if you want to go you can pop inside. The shack is not a nice place but it's our home... we are trying all our best to build this shack on our own. We are using electricity, which is a pre-paid one, same as our telephone.¹¹⁸

The images of this soup kitchen are based on the nature of the business, Rose's background, living conditions and social development. This kind of business plays an essential role in these communities, as the close community members acknowledge its services.

Grassroute Tours is visit Manenberg on its way returning to Cape Town. Manenberg is separated from Guguletu by railway line. Manenberg is not frequently visited and only two of the eleven tours that Leslie Witz and I took visited this location. One of the tour guides pressed the images of Manenberg as follows:

I will tell you why you find the problem of crime and gangsterism in 'coloured' townships like Manenberg and again there are a number of reasons for that... back in the days of District Six you already had gangsters. ... When the black youth went to join the liberation organizations like the ANC and PAC, 'coloured' youth went and join gangs. In the Western Cape there was a labour preference ('coloured' Labour Preference), which saved certain jobs for certain race group. Here in Cape Town we had a larger clothing and fishing industries and this was seen by the government of that time as soft labour industries. They also believed that 'coloureds' did not have a lot of stamina. Therefore, 'coloured' people were best suited for these soft labour industries. 'Coloureds' were encouraged to come to the Cape and work in these industries... in these communities like Manenberg you find that lot of the people are working in the textile industry, but since 1994, a lot of people in these communities like Manenberg lost their jobs. These companies have closed down. One of the reasons may be the government is no longer giving them those huge contracts that they used to in the past – making the army uniform and so on. In these communities you find high unemployment and of course if people are not working turns to crime... The last reason, which is the most important one, is that Doctor Wouter Basson, known as 'death doctor', produced these mandrax tablets, which is a sleeping pill and sent in these 'coloured' communities to destabilize these communities so that you don't have high uprisings in the 'coloured'

¹¹⁸ Recorded township tour, guide/driver – Peter Veerapin, step dawn at Soup Kitchen run by Rose Gwadiso, 01 December 2000

communities. These tablets were used most extensively here in the Cape Flats, and these gang leaders were the ones who were used to distribute these tablets. Now these gang leaders have become very powerful in the area, economically powerful gang lords. In return, these gang leaders had to do the dirty work of the government by trying to assassinate the leading activists within the ANC and the PAC. Now, fortunately these lords control these communities. Most of the houses that we are going to see now are municipal houses; people pay rent to the municipality.¹¹⁹

The images of Manenberg are slightly different as compared to those of the African townships, as they are centered on unemployment, crime, 'coloured' preference in the Western Cape during the apartheid era, gangsters and drug trafficking. However, the tour guide seems to confine the unemployment problem only to the 'coloured' communities of which that is not the case as there is also high unemployment rate amongst Africans. The idea that there were mandrax tablets that were sent to 'coloured' areas to destabilize them so that there are no uprisings from them may be the case but from the 1970s, the time of Black Consciousness, onward to the 1980s – the time of massive popular resistance - the 'coloured' communities, especially youth were politically active and involved in the struggle against apartheid. It is a sweeping generalization to say that 'coloured' youth ended up being gangsters as not all 'coloured' youth ended up used by the apartheid régime.

In the afternoon some tour companies that offer township tours visit Bed and Breakfast places in the townships for lunch. While others link Robben Island to their township tours and it is seen as the second phase of township tours as in the afternoon tourists are taken to Robben Island Museum. This is clearly reflected on Southern Tip Tourist brochure as it states, "A cross cultural, interactive, face to face townships experience with an optional visit to Robben Island, Ex-Pres Mandela's prison for many years."¹²⁰ Southern Tip Tours is one of the tour companies that link Robben Island to their township tour packages. The extension of townships tours through their second phase to include the Robben Island Museum has its own implications on the organization of the township tours. One of the implications of this on township tours is that townships cannot accommodate museums.

¹¹⁹ Recorded township tour, guide/driver – Peter Veerapin, driving through Manenberg, 01 December 2000

The way township tours are organized and structured gives an impression that townships cannot accommodate public cultural institutions of civil society like museums. As all museums that form part of township tours are geographically located outside of townships. There is a need to create other framings of public cultural institutions within townships themselves. The establishment of these institutions will be significant to their immediate communities in various ways ranging from shaping civil citizens of the civil society to inculcate the museum culture and change the current township images.

The tourist destinations that are found in the townships are distinguishable, as they cannot be found in other places. Townships have very unique range of tourist destinations. One of the things that is so remarkable about these destination is that they are community based and destinations at the sometime. They also echo the ambiguity and contradictions of the process of recovering the lost heritage as most of the destinations in townships position themselves in relation to culture and heritage of these communities. This phenomenon is only observed in township tourism.

Township tours are seen by other scholars as inevitable showing the 'timeless' culture as tourists are taken to art and craft centers to buy the objects of the 'timeless' culture. This, however, needs not to be only confined in Cape Town, South Africa, as it is a global phenomenon. When tourists visit any other country they purchase objects of the 'native' or objects that are identical with the visited country. The notion that township tours echo 'timeless' culture needs to be contextualised within the context of cultural tourism, as cultural tourism promotes local cultures of the visited area. It is important to assert that the tourism industry often defines the uniqueness of its product in terms of indigenouity, both national and cultural.

I assert that townships through township tours and their destinations are contact zones and also contact conflict zones. Townships through township tours are contact zones as they are places of interaction and sharing ideas between the locals and the visitors. James

^{12d} Southern Tip Tours, 'Free At Last, Free At Last!', brochure, 2000: 4

Clifford use this term, 'contact zone'¹²¹, in reference to museums. I utilize this term in a completely different context. This setting that I claim to be a contact zone is not just a contact zone because of the interaction between the locals and tourists, but also because of power relationship and unequal relations that exists in this setting. I developed this term to include township tours. Townships through township tours are contact zones, places of interaction, sharing ideas between the visitors, the locals and the tour guide and produce knowledge through their narratives and sightseeing. In these tours knowledge is 'appropriated'.

In these tours, contact zone is a zone of power and authority in a different way as compared to the museums. Tourists interact and sharing ideas with the local people in different tourist destinations in the townships like in the shebeens, taverns, pre-schools, soup kitchen, various homes that are visited, church services on Sundays, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, Tsoga Environmental Center, Eziko Restaurant and Catering Training School, the Sivuyile Township Tourism Center and in other destinations. It is these destinations that make townships to be more of contact zones than just places of sightseeing and adventure. I argue that township tours through this contact zone phenomenon evoke histories, memories and attachment for some visitors who are from the visited areas.

Very often township tours are 'contact conflict zone' as their images are very much contested. The contested township tours narratives makes townships through township tours to be an inescapable contact conflict zone. These contested images present townships as places with no history, as they silence the resistance histories and cultural heritage of these areas.

The expectations of tourists in township tours are centered on the past and present human experiences of those people who were oppressed. In addition, to this is the images of the struggle against apartheid especially for Afro-American tourists, the local cultures and traditions, present developments as far as living conditions and social life are concerned.

¹²¹ J.Clifford, "Museums as contact zones", in D. Baswell & J. Evan, *Representing the Nation*, 1999: 450

The table below shows the way Cape Town townships are understood through township tourism. This table demonstrates the township tour routes, what they constitute and different kinds of destinations that are found through township tours. A tour route(s) is made up of a set of destinations. The tour routes of these tour operators demonstrate what Cape Town's townships offer to the visitors. The tourist destinations through township tours can be classified into different categories like museums, information center, restaurants, bed & breakfast, cultural centers, entertainment, community projects, heritage and historical sights. Tour guides do not visit all townships, for instance, tour guides select townships that they are going to visit. Tour guides develop their own routes and their tour routes differ, as they do not visit the same townships or the same destinations. The most visited townships - not at the same time - are Langa, Bontheuwel, Manenberg, Nyanga, Guguletu, Crossroads and Khayelitsha. In these townships, there are different sites or institutions that are visited. After some of these townships have been visited the tour guides then drive back to Cape Town. These townships are not all visited because of timeframe of township tours.

Possible Tourist Destinations	Township Tour Routes	Categories of Destinations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bo-Kaap (& its Museum) • District Six & the museum • Townships -Langa, Bonthuwel, Guguletu, KTC, Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Manenberg • Destinations in townships -Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center -Tsoga Environmental Center - Eziko Center -Shebeens & Taverns - Pre-schools - Ndaba's Place - Desmond's Place - Hostels - Langa Cricket ground -Community projects - Places of cultural interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Bo- Kaap (& the Bo-Kaap Museum * District Six & the District Six Museum * Townships <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Langa, Bonthuwel, Guguletu, KTC, Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Maneberg * Tourists stops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊗ Tsoga Environmental Center (& it's walking tours of Langa) ⊗ Eziko Cooking & Catering Center ⊗ Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center ⊗ Tiverna & shebeens ⊗ Ndaba 's place (the traditional healer) ⊗ Desmond 's place (artist) ⊗ Churches (for Sunday tour package) ⊗ Sivuyile Township Tourism Center ⊗ Pre-school ⊗ RDP Housing Project in Crossroads (step dawn at Jokwana's house) ⊗ Vicky's Bed & Breakfast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♣ Museums ♣ Community Projects ♣ Restaurants ♣ Cultural Centers ♣ Culture ♣ Information Center ♣ Religion ♣ Entertainment ♣ Educare Center & Schools ♣ Bed & Breakfast ♣ Heritage & Historic Sites

<p>-Sivuyile Township</p> <p>Tourism Center</p> <p>- Yellow Door</p> <p>- Cemetery (in Langa & Guguletu)</p> <p>- Langa High School</p> <p>- RDP Housing Projects</p> <p>- Vicky's Bed & Breakfast</p> <p>- Philani Center</p> <p>- Langa & Nyanga East Taxi Ranks</p> <p>- Heritage & Historical sites</p>	<p>Crossroads – step dawn at Jokwana's house</p> <p>⊗ Vicky's Bed & Breakfast</p> <p>⊗ Philani Nutrition Center</p> <p>⊗ Nozukile Educare</p> <p>⊗ Soup Kitchen</p> <p>- Go back to Cape Town</p> <p>⊗ Second phase</p> <p>- Robben Island Museum</p>	
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The use of symbols on the table:

Symbols	Meanings
*	Represent places that are always on a tour
⊗	Represent a range of destinations that are selected among
♣	Represent categories of destinations in township tours

The table below illustrates different categories of destinations per site:

Destinations	Symbols representing categories of Destination
* Bo- Kaap (& the Bo-Kaap Museum)	▲ Φ
* District Six & the District Six Museum	▲ Φ
* Townships Langa, Bonthuwel, Guguletu, KTC, Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Maneberg	
* Tourists stops	
⊗ Tsoga Environmental Center (& it's walking tours of Langa)	©
⊗ Eziko Cooking & Catering Center	© Ψ φ Φ
⊗ Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center	© θ φ
⊗ Tiverna & shebeens	φ
⊗ Ndaba 's place (the traditional healer)	
⊗ Desmond 's place (artist)	
⊗ Churches (for Sunday tour package)	
⊗ Sivuyile Township Tourism Center	®
⊗ Pre-school	© ◆
⊗ RDP Housing Project in Crossroads (step dawn at Jokwana's house)	©
⊗ Vicky's Bed & Breakfast	
⊗ Philani Nutrition Center	φ
⊗ Nozukile Educare	δ
⊗ Soup Kitchen	
- Go back to Cape Town	
⊗ Second phase	
- Robben Island Museum	▲ Φ

The use of symbols on the above table

Symbols	Meanings
▲	Represent museums
©	Represent community projects
ψ	Represents restaurant
⊕	Represents cultural center
◆	Represents information center
®	Represent religion
⊙	Represent entertainment
⊗	Represents educare center
⊕	Represents bed and breakfast
⊕	Represent heritage

Township tours don't include all the above-mentioned categories of destinations. The following categories – museums (District Six Museum), community projects, entertainment and bed and breakfast – are always part of tours. The option categories of destinations are restaurant, cultural centers and information center. While places that form part of local cultural heritage and historical sites do not form part of township tour packages. Some tour guides just mention them in passing

The tour guides of the companies that offer township tours justify the tourist images they construct by claiming that they are presenting the 'real' side of the city, which is based on past and present human experience. In this way, they show tourists how apartheid affected the masses of people and how people suffered because of it. There are many reasons that cause the tour companies to offer township tours. For Grassroute Tours, they offer township tours because they don't just want the visitors to have "insight and interact with the cultures, communities and individuals living on the other side of the rainbow

curtain.”¹²² but to “witness and experience our every day life and share our struggle, hope and achievements.”¹²³

A tourist brochure of Day Trippers Tours, states: We (Day Trippers Tours) don't just get you high. We raise your consciousness.¹²⁴ For Day Trippers Tours their inclusion of township tours into their tour package is part of their claim to influence the tourist's way of thinking, as the tours are organized to make tourists aware about the 'other side' of the city.

In a tourist brochure of Cape Rainbow Tours, it is affirmed: ONE CITY - MANY CULTURES...experience another facet of Cape Town, one revealed to very few tourists. This intimate interaction with human interaction tour will expose you to some of Cape Town's multi-cultural life, see how spirit of reconciliation is being played out by Capetownians.¹²⁵ Some tour companies that offer township tours are influenced by political changes and popular ideas in post apartheid era. The post apartheid tourist gazes are based on the notion of nation building, rainbow nation, reconciliation, 'One City Many Cultures' [in Cape Town], unity in diversity, Africanisation and African Renaissances. The motivation for tour companies to offer township tours differs from one-tour company to another, although most of them have a common reason.

In Legend Tours pamphlet, 'Walk to Freedom', it is asserted: This tour offers a wealth of insights into South African history. This includes a brief educational introduction to Cape Town, one of the world's most varied and sought-after cities. You will have the opportunity to talk to people, visit them in their homes and if time allows, take some refreshment at a small township shop ['spaza'] or a tavern ['shebeen'].¹²⁶ This demonstrates what this tour company claims to offer to tourists, which is the insight into South African history and apartheid landscape with specific focus in Cape Town townships.

¹²² Grassroots Tours, Rainbow Curtain, brochure, c2000

¹²³ Grassroots Tours, Rainbow Curtain, brochure, c2000

¹²⁴ Notes on the tourist brochure of Day Trippers Tours, c2000

¹²⁵ Notes on the tourist brochure of Cape Rainbow Tours, c2000

African Mosaic Tours examines the role played by Dutch, British and the Afrikaners from the time of settlement until 1994 as well as the role of the oppressed and underprivileged in combating oppression, yet not compromising their rich traditions nor their culture.¹²⁷ Tour operators claim to offer various things to tourists. Most of what tour companies claim to offer to tourists is based on the dichotomy of victimhood and perpetrator, and the discourses of living conditions, social developments, and different cultural and traditional aspects of Cape Town, which resemble South Africa. The focus on the negative impact of apartheid in townships - poverty and poor living conditions - by tour guides reveals apartheid landscape and the people's success, for instance, the importance of 27 April 1994, the people and governments' initiatives that are trying to redress the imbalance.

Southern Tip Tours tourist brochure affirms: Malay area, District Six, Beer maker, Traditional Healer, Dance, Tavern, Shanty Towns, Projects... Township Church Services – every SUNDAY DON'T MISS THIS ONE.¹²⁸ This reflects what Southern Tip Tours claims to offer to tourists. This offer is slightly different from the offer of other tour operators as it includes RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] Housing Project, and the township church services on every Sunday. The images of this visit to the church services on every Sunday are based on religious aspects, as the township churches – congregations - do things slightly different from their counterparts. Places of worship have become tourist destinations. The touristic leisure experience of these places seems to be a global phenomenon as “traditional religious institutions are everywhere accommodating the movements of tourists. In ‘The Holy Land’, the tour has followed in the path of religious pilgrimage and is replacing it. Throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques, and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions.”¹²⁹ The inclusion of places of worship, particularly of Africans, is not something new in South African cultural tourism as Shembe Festival in Inanda formed a

¹²⁶ Legend Tours, *Walk to Freedom*, pamphlet, 1998

¹²⁷ African Mosaic Tours, pamphlet, 2000

¹²⁸ Southern Tours, 'To the End of Africa', brochure, 2000

¹²⁹ D. MacCannell, 1999: 43

part of the apartheid tourist gazes from the late 1960s onwards. The sightseeing of these places, in some ways, spread a sense of similarity and that of 'otherness'.

Springbok Atlas is claiming to offer "Insights into Post Apartheid progress and development. Poverty alleviation programmes, education centers, job creation via community initiatives, informal trading."¹³⁰ Springbok Atlas Tours/Safaris is one of the large tour operators that offer township tours, and it has been around the South African tourism industry for a long time. The tour packages of these tour companies are mostly known as either 'cultural' or 'township' tours.

Township tours are now popular throughout the country. Don Makatile, the reporter of *Drum Magazine*, who wrote about the journey of Alexandra township tour stated "When the bus turned into 3rd Avenue the many potholes in the street caused it to lurch and the tourists jostle against each other. In Sandton, just a walk away, a road in this condition would have made front-page news in the local newspaper, but not here."¹³¹ This is the case throughout the country as townships are in poor condition or underdeveloped as compared to predominantly white suburbs. This illustrates the features of 'developed' and 'less developed' societies, which is very apparent in South Africa.

A world tour in one city

Cape Town offers a world tour in one city as the tourist gazes are based on natural wildlife, landmarks buildings, visiting Alfred and Victoria Waterfront, natural beauty, cultural villages, theme parks and other destinations of the City Tours, and also Township Tours that show the features of two worlds – the 'developed' and the 'less developed' societies. There is a certain section of South African population that are presented as 'developed' and this influences their living conditions. While the majority of the people are presented as 'less developed' and these two worlds can be clearly seen through tours like city tours of Cape Town and township tours or by visiting the predominantly white

¹³⁰ Springbok Atlas Safaris, Day Tour, pamphlet, 2000

¹³¹ D. Makatile, The Alex all- white tour, in *Drum Magazine*, 25 May 2000: 18, No. 403

areas and those that were previously reserved for the previously disadvantaged people. In Cape Town, this can be seen as one passes the buffer zones - golf course, river, highway, and open space - leaving the 'white' Cape Town behind heading to townships using the N2. This is the case throughout the country. The post apartheid tourist gazes are based on the notion of rainbow nation, reconciliation, unity in diversity, Africanness, nation building, cultural diversity and African Renaissance. The post apartheid tourist gazes show the continuities of the apartheid spatial arrangement of the past South African society.

During the apartheid era, South Africans spent time gazing upon each other. While in this new dispensation, the previously imaged as 'primitive' and 'exotic' people has now been re-imaged. In post-apartheid South Africa, a world in one country is shown in another way through natural beauty, landmarks buildings, monuments, landmarks, cultural diversity, cultural villages and townships tours, which in some ways reveal the feature of 'developed' and 'less developed' societies. These tourist gazes cause Cape Town (and South Africa) to offer a world tour in one city (country). The narratives of some of these places have been reshaped and recoded to be in line with the dominant ideology of this present time. This shift is the result of the fact that the present government is attempting to unite the South Africans under the name of nation building, unity in diversity, reconciliation and rainbow nation. In this process, cultural diversity and heritage tourism are use to achieve this goal

All tourist destinations under cultural tourism provide 'portable histories', the useable past, to the visitors. The post-apartheid tourist gazes have continuities of the past construction of South African society to a greater extent. The post-apartheid tourist gazes will continue to consist the past construction as long as tour packages of City Tours and Township Tours, which are carefully constructed and properly planned, continue to be offered separately. The post-apartheid tourist gazes will continue to reflect a world tour in one city (country) as long as the social imbalances, which have the features of 'developed and less developed' societies, are not redressed. However, this does not mean that the

society must be change first in order for tourism to change; rather tourism can be transformed along side with the redressing of the past social imbalances.

Chapter three

Tourist sightseeing in Langa

This chapter will consider a particular township, Langa, that figures prominently in township tours. Langa is one of Cape Town's townships that are incorporated into township tourism to a much greater extent than other townships, as all township tour operators include Langa into their township tour packages. Langa is one of the earliest townships for Africans in Cape Town and throughout the country. The reasons that cause it to feature most in township tours ranges from its location in Cape Town to its rich history. In this chapter, I will closely examine routes and the production of sites in Langa. I argue that instead of merely focusing on living conditions, social life and social development the tours should incorporate the local cultural heritage and historic sites in order to create a more holistic tourist experience. Langa's inclusion into the tourism industry, particularly in township tour packages, has created many destinations. These include Tsoga Environmental Center, Eziko Restaurant and Catering Training School and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center. They also include shebeens, taverns – Tiger's Tavern, traditional healer - Ndaba's place and artist – Desmond's place. For the purpose of this chapter, however, I will scrutinize only Tsoga Environmental Center, Eziko Restaurant and Cooking and Catering School and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center. Tsoga is an environmental center and it runs many other community based programs. It is also where tourists step down for the walking tours of Langa. Eziko Center is a restaurant that serves ukutya kwesintu (traditional African food), and it also has a Catering Training School. In accomplishing the aims of this chapter, I will critically examine the origins, organizations and operations of Eziko Restaurant and Catering Training School and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center. These sites reveal the challenge facing many destinations in the townships. In addition, I will include some of the places that mirror the local cultural heritage and the resistance history of Langa, which is often silenced in that area.

History of Langa

Langa was created in 1923 coinciding with the introduction of the Native Urban Act, designed to control and administer the “natives”. Langa was created in phases and was officially opened in 1927. Ndabeni Street is the first street of Langa location. Langa was the first township throughout the country created based on the “Garden City Model” and based on the way whites understood the standard of living of the ‘Non-Europeans’. Garden City Model is the residential plan that was advocated by Ebenezer Howard in Britain during the early industrialization period to control the movement of the increasing working class. In South Africa, this plan was strongly influenced by the racist policies of that time. Pinelands is the first residential area to be built based on this plan in 1919 and Langa later followed in 1923. Langa became the model of the later created townships. Though these two residential areas, Pineland and Langa, were created based on this plan they completely look different in all respects. These two residential areas are not far from each other. They are separated by buffer zone in the form of railway line, golf course and highway.

Langa was named after the Hlubi Chief, Langalibalele, who had been imprisoned on Robben Island in 1875 after rebelling against the Natal Government. After he was released from Robben Island, he was given a site in Uitvlugt, which was a state farm. When he died he was buried in Natal on the Drakenberg Mountains. This information is related to tourists as their tour includes Langa and they get first impressions of the area. One of the stops in Langa is Eziko Center, a destination that both caters to the food needs of township tourism and portrays development and community.

Langa Location is situated along the N2 motorway near two off ramps linking to the N2. It is accessible by bus, taxi, car and by train. Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center is located on the main road of Langa, on the corner of Wellington Street and Jungle Walk

Avenue, which is the main taxi route. The Center is placed on the land that is owned by the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. This is one of the churches that are visited in the townships on Sundays as tour companies like Southern Tip Tours include Sunday church services in their tour packages. This forms part of what I would call Destination Creep¹³² as tourists visit the Center, then also visit the church that forms Sundays tour package, the nearby shops, Tiger's Tavern to experience the way youth socialize, and Tsoga Environmental Center, which is just across the street. This Destination Creep as I would show later in my recommendations can be extended to include the Wesley Methodist Church and its nearby open space, the police station, the pass office building and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center. This Destination Creep can also incorporate the Sobukwe Square, which is few meters away from other places. All these places are along the same street, Wellington Street, and have layers of history and their significance. This Destination Creep can form part of the walking tours of that location. The inclusion of the Destination Creep to the images of Langa and its walking tours will make the images of that location more comprehensive.

The Eziko Center has "a fully equipped domestic cooking classrooms and lecture venue. An administration building is linked to the 80-seat restaurant and conference center that has its own industrial kitchen."¹³³ This is the first wing of the Center. Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center has been operating since July 1996. The establishment of the Center was the idea of Victor Mguqulwa, a former Langa High School teacher, who is now a director of the Center.

When we started the project early 1996 I took some group of students to a cooking competition. Fortunately, we came position three, which was great, and most especially because home economics was not offered then at school. I realized that there is a potential and we need to support the kids and start project like this. We started in that way as a cooking and catering school. Then we developed it into a restaurant, which we are running at the moment as well as the resource center. We are running three wings at this time;

¹³² I coin this term, Destination Creep, in reference to the movement of tourists from one destination to another in the nearby area. This stealthily movement of tourist is mostly experience in Langa as most of the destinations are located in Wellington Street. Destination Creep may involves different kinds of categories of destinations.

¹³³ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Langa, Cape Town, 2000

that's the cooking and catering school, the restaurant which is the African traditional food restaurant, as well as the resource center for our trainers, employers use it as they come and interview our students, as well as for community meetings for any specialized program be it cooking, tourism and for programs like women program, which we are supporting for local women from Langa.¹³⁴

This illustrates the background and the development of the Center. From the beginning Eziko Center was a community-based project. The restaurant is for local residents and it helped to leverage into destination draw for tourists. Its development makes it a destination and subject of study, not just for service.

A tourist brochure of Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center states: "Victor Mguqulwa saw a need in the community for a training Center to train basic cooking and catering skills to the unemployed. ... Eziko was set up to empower and uplift the community by running courses that will enable the students to find employment and encourage them to start their own micro business. Since then the Center has grown from strength to strength."¹³⁵ Initially the Center was made to empower and uplift the community of Langa with basic cooking and catering skills by running courses that will enable their students to be employable or start their own small businesses. Presently, the Center is attracting people from different areas, even from out of Cape Town. Now it also forms part of the tour routes and it is among the destinations that are found in that location. The management of this Center found themselves in a dilemma of serving the community and of keeping with the tourist needs, as they want the Center to be an established destination within township tourism. At the moment, the Center is not frequently visited, as there are those tour operators who exclude it in their tour packages. As a result, this potential tension between community needs and tourism has not become a serious problem as yet.

As a community project, Eziko Center works with people of Langa. Its name and symbol emphasizes community by using family associations drawn from Xhosa traditions, which

¹³⁴ Recorded interview with Victor Mguqulwa, the Director of the Center, July 2001

¹³⁵ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, *Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste*, 2001

seem to be ethnically orientated. This contradiction can also be seen through food that the Center offers as it is devoted to provide Xhosa traditional dish. There are things associated with “eziko” amongst the Xhosas. This Center, which is community based has adopted this term as it’s name.

It is very important to explain in our sense what we mean by ‘eziko’ itself. As we say in Xhosa, in our tradition and culture ‘eziko’ it is a very important name because it’s where the cooking take place, just right there in the heart of the hut. It is very important and significant place in the household because that’s where you found the black pot, black pot is our symbol. This black pot when it stands on top of that fire that place is called ‘eziko’. ‘Eziko’ keeps light into that family first of all. Secondly, it is the very important place in that the whole family sits around that (the fire). As you understand our history is not a written history, that’s where our grannies used to tell us our history, stories and our background. That’s where we become educated. It becomes a place where you can educate people, it becomes a place where means of survival in that family, that is the food being cooked. It becomes a place that brings warmth in that family. So, all those things have been coming together to us to say what can we do for the community. We can bring warmth to the visitors, and we can bring best food to those people who will come in our community...¹³⁶

Eziko Center defines itself in comparison to a valuable place among the Xhosa people. This evidence demonstrates that the Center is ethnically based. Both on principle and on practice the Center is ethnically based as it clearly allied itself with a certain ethnic group. Consciously or unconsciously Eziko Center promote ethnicity and failed to move away from this discourse.

The mission statement of Eziko Center is “To grow and develop unemployed people with life and technical career-orientated skills in the cooking and catering field, and to empower them to negotiate for a living wage and attempt to secure employment for them.”¹³⁷ To accomplish this mission the Center “has been operating as a foundation skills trainer”. According to the Eziko brochure, the goals of the Center are to “Provide entry level training in technical career orientated skills in the cooking and catering field. Bringing about economic growth in the community. Uplift the community by creating new services. Educate and empower the community through various programs such as

¹³⁶ Recorded interview with Victor Mguqulwa, the Director of the Center, July 2002

¹³⁷ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Cape Town, 2001

consumer awareness and nutritional education.”¹³⁸ The roles that the Center is suppose to play are educational, skills transference and community based orientated. It would be interesting to see whether or not the Center will be able to achieve these goals along with establishing itself in township tourism, to feature most in tour routes and to be a place to be visited.

Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center claims to offer “training, adult education, cooking and catering skills, part time courses, business skills, hospitality training, consumer information, community center, restaurant, commercial caterers, venue for demos and promotions, resource center, and provider of entry level staff for the hospitality industry.”¹³⁹ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center claims to empower their students with cooking and catering skills. Eziko structures its course on the National Qualification material of the Hospitality Industries Trade Board (HITB) and on the feedback that Eziko receives from the hospitality industry as a whole.¹⁴⁰ The goals and what the Center claims to offer are more about serving their community by empowering them with skills that can make them earn a living.

Eziko Catering Training School offers a variety of courses. Eziko offers training courses like “Basic Cooking and Catering: The duration of full-time course is seven weeks. It comprises of lessons in food theory with practical and other vital subjects such as Hygiene. The course includes a one-week basic business course and three weeks In Service. Part time and Shorter Courses: These courses range from industry skills courses such as bar keeping, Waitering and Catering. Eziko also runs specialized cooking courses such as baking and restaurant etiquette for those interested in the world of food.”¹⁴¹ These are some of the courses they offer part time and full time at Eziko Cooking and Catering Training School. These courses draw students from different areas of Cape Town like

¹³⁸ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Cape Town, 2001

¹³⁹ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Cape Town, 2001

¹⁴⁰ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Cape Town, 2000

¹⁴¹ Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste, brochure, Cape Town, 2001

Langa, Guguletu, Michelle's Plain, Khayelitsha, and some students who come from as far away provinces like the Eastern Cape, Gaunteng, and KwaZulu Natal.

The student requirements for these courses are clearly reflected in a brochure of Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, as it states: "Eziko is committed to training the unemployed, marginalized, underdeveloped and disempowered people. Eziko requires its students to be literate in English, have an interest in working or learning about the hospitality industry and be committed to their studies. Eziko carefully reviews and selects its students to try and find those best suited to the hospitality industry."¹⁴² The number of their students is increasing gradually as Victor Mguqulwa said, "...The number of students is increasing and it's unbelievable. We don't market ourselves in that area as much as we think we can do that. It's just a word of mouth from students. We have been very much happy and satisfied with our programs. ... In each and every session we receive over 60 applicants, which we have to select only 14 students..."¹⁴³ The growing number of people who want to do the courses that the Eziko Catering Training School offers cause it to offer both day and night courses and classes.

There are many institutions and companies that support Eziko Center. Woolworth was among the first sponsors and has been supporting Eziko since its inception in April 1996. The company has provided financial assistance, employment opportunities for Eziko students, and donations of food and clothing.¹⁴⁴ The Center has also received donations from other countries and from international tourists. This is another sign that community orientation is prominent. If the Center was chiefly a 'tourism business' may be things would be different as far as donations from companies are concerned.

Even the menu offered in the restaurant underlines representation of self as community organization. Victor point out that:

¹⁴² Eziko Cooking and Catering Training Center, *Eziko Cooking: Share the Taste*, brochure, Cape Town, 2001

¹⁴³ Recorded interview with Victor Mguqulwa, the Director of Eziko Center, Eziko Center offices, Langa, July 2001

¹⁴⁴ Township Crawling, *Going to Town in the Townships*, booklet, 2000

There are a number of restaurants like the African Café and others, which are offering a very broader menu when it comes to African food. For instance, the food you eat in Malawi, Zimbabwe, that's what African Café, is offering. But for us it's very basic traditional meal. The meal you eat in Ciskei, Transkei, KwaLanga, eGuguletu. Those are the basic, which we offer here. We don't offer a large variety of meals. We offer a local meal where you can get 'amarhewu', 'umnqusho'. The meal that we eat in these communities.¹⁴⁵

This demonstrates what Eziko Restaurant means when it claims to offer African traditional food. The addition of the restaurant wing in the Center caused it to be a stop for the visitors and to taste the African traditional food that the Center claims to offer. This project itself becomes something to look at and to learn about because it reveals the challenges that all the community based projects face when they are incorporated into township tourism and form part of destination culture.

When the Center started in 1996 it had only cooking and catering school. It was then developed to include a restaurant and later the resource center. The students attend their classes in Cooking and Catering School. The courses that the Cooking and Catering School offers are both theoretical and practical. Few meters from this there is a restaurant, which is a wing of the Center. This restaurant claims to offer traditional food to the visitors. A third wing of the Center is the resource center. The development of the Center was shaped by the needs of the community project of this nature and the needs of township tourism and hospitality industry as the Center is trying to make itself a valuable tourist destination. The tourist images in the Center are based on the nature and the background of this Center, tasting Xhosa traditional food and a visit to the Cooking and Catering classes. The inclusion of the Center into the tour packages of other tour operators changes its nature.

Now the Center seems to focus more on township tourism and the role it must play. The Eziko Center through its restaurant becomes a heritage site that is being visited. This heritage is the result of the past and present social needs. It is important to stress that, it is this Xhosa heritage that makes the Eziko Center a heritage site and to claim to serve the

¹⁴⁵ Recorded interview with Victor Mguqulwa, the Director of Eziko Center, Eziko Center offices, Langa,

local community. Perhaps, this can be related to the question of cultural villages in relation to township tours that this paper attempts to address. This Center, however, falls in a trap of cultural villages and of ethnicity. The Eziko Center is not moving away from the cultural village syndrome.

Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center

Like Eziko, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center is located in Wellington Street, which is the main road of Langa. One story of its background is that the Center came to being as a result of a group of local residents and few people from other locations, who came together and wanted to establish a place where they would preserve and conserve the Xhosa culture and the lifestyle of the Xhosa people. The building where the Center is located was constructed by the people from that area with the help of different individuals, companies and institutions.

Paula Gumede, who was amongst this group of people who came up with the idea of establishing the Center, pointed out that:

We came up with this name 'Guga S'thebe' because we noticed that our cultures, particularly Xhosa culture, is vanishing and fading. We wanted the Xhosa people to go back to their culture. We wanted the Center to depict the Xhosa lifestyle and culture...¹⁴⁶

The newly appointed Center Manager of Guga S'thebe has confirm this as she affirms, I want us to go back to our roots... I have various programs that I am intending to accomplish this. I want us to have a traditional corner here where Xhosa traditional things would be displayed. We want the elders to tell us the stories, traditional games and traditional dance...¹⁴⁷ Despite that the name of the Center, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, gives an impression of pluralism in terms of representation, the close scrutiny reveals just one ethnic group. The notion behind its establishment is ethnically based.

July 2001

¹⁴⁶ Recorded interview with Paula Gumede, in Mandaly, Cape Town, 17 April 2000

¹⁴⁷ Recorded interview with Nomkhitha, the Center Manager of Guga S'thebe Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 2 August 2001

Some of the things they want to do in the Center like the traditional games are in line with what the Minister of Sports and Recreation, Ngconde Balfour, is promoting. Many would deny that the Center is ethnically based, but if one scrutinizes the motive behind its establishment and its vision will see that it is tied up in the old notions of ethnicity.

The counter argument for those who oppose this would be the Center is inclusive and wants people 'to go back to their roots', and it wants people not to lose their identity. The failure of this argument, however, is that it does not take into account the form and agency use in this process of making people not to lose their identity. It also in a way views culture as something fixed, unchanging and frozen. It also assumes that people of that community have one identity failing to understand that people have multiple identities that overlap each other.

The main objective of the Center is to work hand in hand with the community and we want the community to understand that we cannot dispel because of our past experience. We want them to come and learn the skills that the Center is offering...¹⁴⁸ The objective of the Center seems to be about skills development, stage performance skills, art and craft skills. At the same time it also tries to preserve what they see as the 'vanishing culture' and provide the space for service providers. There are very few residents of Langa who know and have visited the Center. My observation in the Center and the interviews I conducted reveal that most of the locals don't know the Center and very few of those who know the Center have visited it. In light of this, there is a lot that the management of the Center needs to do as far as the marketing and making people aware about it.

There are different services provided inside the Center like craft and African designing, artists, photographer and curator. Inside the Center there are offices, artist studio, small shop of art, bead and craft, and exhibition hall, where the "Langa Histories Exhibition" was mounted but later removed because of party politics between certain members of the PAC and ANC, and those of RDP forum who want to control everything in that

¹⁴⁸ Recorded interview with Nomkhitha, the Center Manager of Guga S'thebe Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 2 August 2001

community and frictions that exist among the people who are involved in the Center.¹⁴⁹ This friction also echoes that one of the contributing factors is township tourism, as the Center Management attempt to establish the Center as a destination that can be visited.

At the back of the Center there is an open-air performance space. Members of Zakheni Project produce the art and craft products that are on display in the small shop. Zakheni Project is a community initiative. Nombuselo Nxivele, who is the leader of the Zakheni Project, assert:

We started this in 1996. I spoke to a group of women what about coming together and form a project so that we can have some sort of income, to alleviate poverty, to transfer skills and to create jobs for women who are not working. I am involved with unemployed women, people living with AIDS, relatives of people living with AIDS and relatives of disabled people. So, that when they are sitting at home with those people they must do something so that they can earn something. Apart from teaching them beadwork, I also teach them traditional gamete...I thought about the various names and I felt that everybody is awake. Zakheni means build yourselves.¹⁵⁰

This shows the way Zakheni Project came to be, its nature and the meaning of its name. The idea behind the formation of Zakheni Project needs to be seen within a broader context of post apartheid South Africa, as its nature demonstrates some of the major problems that the present government is faced with.

Much like Eziko Center, the objectives of Zakheni Project are “to contribute to poverty alleviation, empowerment, skills transference, and to take away from the people this

¹⁴⁹ This friction also involves the curator I worked with for the above-mentioned exhibition and the management of the Center as they want to sideline him and at the sometime wants to use his ideas for their own benefits. The fact that they want to sideline him and use his ideas at the sometime was evident when the new Center Manager asked him to write a proposal about what he would like to do in terms of exhibitions and research. Then, the Center Manager used the same proposal trying to raise funds for the Center. At the time when they were doing this the curator was forced to move out of the office he was using and a certain RDP forum member who is also involved at Tsoga Environmental Center with the help of the Center Management was taking tourists to the exhibition hall to look at the above mentioned exhibition as part of the walking tours package. Then, because of that the curator that I worked with for this exhibition decided to take it down without informing them (The Center management and this RDP forum member). After negotiations the curator was allowed to use the office his was using before, but the exhibition was still removed.

¹⁵⁰ Recorded interview with Nombuselo Nxivele, the leader of Zakheni Project, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 31 July 2000

thing of depending on government grants, which not everyone get, to be self sufficient and self reliant...¹⁵¹ The objectives of Zakheni Project seem to be about independence, empowerment and to contribute to poverty alleviation in their community.

It may not be easy for Zakheni Project to achieve its goals because of their financial constraints and the fact that there are very few people who know about its existence. We mainly get our support from the tourists because Guga S'thebe is on a tourist route. Some of the tour guides do stop by because we do have some of other attractions in the Center. The Center is a beautiful place and an attractive place at its own. It is with that reason that we are housed here...¹⁵² Legend Tours is one of the tour companies that visit the Center.

According to Nombuselo Nxivele, "The response is not what I would like it to be. Some people still do not see the importance of beadwork and craft. They still need to be orientated. So that they can see that this is part of our cultural heritage. They need to know that this is a skill that is unique to us Africans."¹⁵³ In some ways this demonstrates that in this new political dispensation the previously oppressed and marginalized people are now tracing back their cultural heritage, which is both tangible and intangible.

The limitations of this project are funding and the low number of their consumers. This is the problem of many other community projects like this one. The number of tourists visiting this Center is not impressive because many other tour companies do not stop at Guga S'thebe, as they have not included the Center into their tour packages. The Zakheni Project is not well marketed. However, both the Zakheni Project and the Center need to market themselves if they want to see improvement in terms of the visitors' numbers. Perhaps, maybe one of the reasons why the Center is not included into the township packages of other tour operators is because after it was completed, it was closed for more

¹⁵¹ Recorded interview with Nombuselo Nxivele, the leader of Zakheni Project, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 31 July 2000

¹⁵² Recorded interview with Nombuselo Nxivele, the leader of Zakheni Project, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 31 July 2000

¹⁵³ Recorded interview with Nombuselo Nxivele, the leader of Zakheni Project, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, in Langa, Cape Town, 31 July 2000

than a year because of the friction that exists amongst the people who were involved in the establishment of the Center. The internal friction is the major thing that is hampering the progress of the Center both as a community project and as a tourist destination. The issues that caused the friction range from the party politics, who should control the production of knowledge, the sidelining of some of the people who came up with the idea of establishing the Center and the background issue. This is common in Langa and it's hindering the advancement of the community-based projects. It's only now that things are starting to take shape and may be with the recent appointment of the Center Manager things will be better.

Both Eziko Center and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center emerged as community projects but because of a need of tourist destinations in the townships to form path that would be followed they later become included into the township tour routes. These institutions now seem to want to be more of tourist destinations while continuing serving the community. At this point, the Eziko Center appears to be able to do both, serving the community and establishing itself as a destination. While Guga S'thebe Center is still grappling to serve the community, as very few people know about it and its role in the community, and also trying to set up itself as a destination. Eziko Center seems to be at a better position as compared to Guga S'thebe Center. This falls in the national discourse as SATOUR has position itself as a community development organization (see chapter one of this paper). This national discourse fits very well with what is happening at local level as it encourages community based tourism and the involvement of community projects into the tourism industry. Thus, the above-mentioned projects (and others) are facing a great challenge of serving the community and to establish themselves in township tourism.

In this process, however, both Eziko Center and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center remain tied up to the old establishments of the notions of ethnicity that are now presented as 'traditions' and 'culture' under township tourism. However, this is understandably so as in South Africa heritage is about conserving what is perceived to be significant and is

also associated with culture, customs (amasiko nezithethe). Though this part of cultural heritage is based on the notions of ethnicity.

Heritage and historical sites destinations (not on township tours)

There is another kind of destination. These are the heritage and historical events in that location that are not on township tour packages. This kind of destination provides a more educational experience for visitors. In comparison to destination category of community project(s), heritage and historical sites destinations would make tourists understand better the socio-political landscape of that location. The inclusion of this kind of destinations in tour routes would make them more comprehensive, more informative and educational. The following places are some of the cultural heritage sites, which show heritage and resistance history of that area. These sites are not found on the township tours via Langa and on the walking tours of Langa. These local cultural heritage sites and the political history of that location are suppressed when constructing the tourist images of that area. The heritage sites that are found in Langa seem to have significance to the community in one way or another. They tell them (the local residents) about who they are and their past that has formed them.

According to the Australia ICOMOS¹⁵⁴: The Illustrated Burra Charter by Peter Marquis-Kyle and Meredith Walker, Communities come to value places, which are the settings for important events or which become symbols of identity and aspiration.¹⁵⁵ The heritage sites in Langa are important and valuable in this way as they are symbols and they are the reminders of the events of a certain period in South African history. The value of these significant places in Langa is two fold as it recovers the lost heritage of that local community and that they contain information that documents cannot, and the insights of these places are not available from any sources, except in the memories of the local residents. It is important to note that heritage does not fabricate history as other scholars may suggest. It is the power of the living memories, which is based on the past that

¹⁵⁴ ICOMOS stands for International Council of Monuments and Sites

¹⁵⁵ P. Marquis-Kyle & M. Walker, Australia IOMOS, Burra Chater, 1996: 1

makes external forms of memorialisation meaningful and sometimes controversial. The fact that heritage fits into tourism does not mean that heritage falsify history, rather it promotes it as heritage is made up by the past. Heritage is more about conserving what is perceived to be significant. Thus the heritage sites in Langa demonstrate that places come to be valued because they are settings of a certain period in South Africa. The level of significance of these cultural heritage sites in Langa differs from one to another and can be divided into three distinctive categories that is the exceptional significance, considerable significance and some significance. The process of identifying and determining the significance of these sites was informed by the memories of the local residents. There were many oral interviews that were conducted for Langa Histories Exhibition, Langa Oral History Project, and for a project that was about the identification of heritage sites in Langa that was commissioned by South African Heritage Resource Agency¹⁵⁶. I was part of these projects and I had an opportunity to spend sometime with elders of that community.

The following are the examples of exceptional significance. Together, they show different sides and periods, community memorialisation and apartheid oppression. The building that is currently used as Langa Police Station in Wellington Street was a farmhouse. This police station has a particular history and has its significance. The people of Langa have connection to that building. This Police Station is the one that the Africans marched to in 1960 during the Anti-Pass Campaign. Because of that this police station has its own significance.

The Wesley Methodist Church that is opposite the Langa Police Station in Wellington Street has its significance, social, spiritual and religious significance, to the people of Langa, as it was the first church to be built there. Some people used to move from Ndabeni to attend the church services in Langa (Wesley Methodist Church). In the 1930s, the last group of the residents was forcefully removed from Ndabeni Location to Langa

¹⁵⁶ SAHRA is a body that emerged as the result of the South Africa Heritage Act, 1999, no. 19974. This structure oversees the heritage management of South Africa with the assistance of its provincial structures. SAHRA did not replaced the South African National Monuments Council that was existing during apartheid, it is a new structure with a new vision.

and that landscape was destroyed, and reconstructed as an industrial area. The church itself and the nearby open space have multiple meanings and events associated with it. This area has layers of history, which makes it exceptional significance. These layers can be seen in:

(a) Ntsikane Celebration

The Ntsikane celebrations, which were closely associated with the Xhosa people started in 1933. This celebration was observed annually on the 14th March. It commemorated an early pre-Christian Xhosa prophet. In Langa, the celebrations were held on an open space adjacent to the Wesley Methodist Church. During the celebrations people wore their traditional attire. Residents from other townships also attended these celebrations. Now this celebration is no longer observed.

(b) Fingo Celebrations

The Fingo celebration on the 14th May, commemorating Mfengu loyalty to the British rulers, their participation as early Christians and recipients of the 'western civilization'. These celebrations were commemorating their recipients of Western education, culture and lifestyle that enforced Mfengu separateness from the Xhosas. In Langa, the Mfengu Memorial Association celebrated their "liberation" from the Xhosas. People who were from other areas around Cape Town also attended these celebrations. This event was annually held on space in front of the Wesley Methodist Church.

(b) Mendi Commemoration

The open space that is surrounded by many tall trees in front of the Wesley Methodist Church is important to the residents of Langa as it has a peculiar history. It is where "Ukuzika kukaMendi" was annually commemorated. The space where "Ukuzika kukaMendi" was celebrated commemorated a historical event in South African history. "Mendi" was one of the ships that carried Africans from South Africa to participate in World War I. This commemoration was honouring the Africans who died when their ship capsized on their way to join the "Allied Forces" who were fighting against the

“Central Forces”. The Africans who were on that ship were from different parts of the Union of South Africa. This space was used and is still use by Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) for its activities

Another site is the Pass Office Building (‘Emaplangeni’)

During apartheid Africans were forced to have passes (‘identity documents’), which they carried 24 hours a day. There were many pass raids in Langa and those who were found without their passes were arrested or deported back to their ‘original’ places. Africans had to carry passes, because they were not regarded as the citizens of the ‘Republic’ as they were taken as the citizens of the ‘homelands’ and urban areas deemed to be for whites. Africans were only seen as labourers in urban areas.

Africans had to apply for pass documents in their ‘Native Affairs Offices’ and in Pass Offices that were built in other townships. A Pass Office was built in Langa so that Africans could apply for their passes. In Langa, this Pass Office was commonly known as ‘Emaplangeni’ because of its wooden structure and is located in Wellington Street next to the Police Station. This Pass Office has a significant part of history, which is imperative in South African historiography and it forms an essential part of the landscape and social setting of Langa. This Pass Office Building in Langa is an existing testimony of their heritage. The collective memories of the residents of Langa demonstrate how valuable this old wooden structure of Pass Office Building is to them. This structure is now derelict. This Pass Office Building must be preserved and conserved, as it is vital for the understanding of that landscape and the political landscape of South Africa in a certain historical period. A historic site like this Pass Office Building becomes meaningful and valued by the community because of its past and associational links to it. Thus it is important that not a thing should be removed or rearranged in the process of preserving and conserving it.

Another important building

The building where the people of Langa without passes were arrested before they appeared in court has its significance. This building is now redeveloped to be Shell mini station selling paraffin, woods, coal etc. This building is important because it forms part of the local heritage of that location. This building is on the entrance of Langa from Cape Town via N2. Many tour guides sometimes mention this building in passing. Front opposite to this building where people found without passes were imprisoned there was a building that was a court where they appeared and charged of not carrying their pass documents. This building is valuable because it form part of the history of that location and the residents of Langa have a connection to it.

Sobukhwe Square is another significant site

The 1960 Anti-Pass Campaign needs to be seen as a resistance to urban control and oppression. Evidence of what happened in the past makes other places important, as is the case to Sobukhwe Square, which was recently named by PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) supporters and some community members, in Langa. It is where people were killed and others were injured by apartheid police and soldiers during an Anti-Pass Campaign of 1960. The area where the shooting took place includes an area where now there is Langa Taxi Rank and the nearby area.

All these heritage sites that I have cited are in the vicinity of the Wesley Methodist Church and its nearby open space. Opposite to the church is the police station (Langa Police Station), which has its own historical importance to that community. The Pass Office Building, which is just next to the police station, the building where people who were found without passes were arrested and the court where they were charged of not carrying passes were more about establishing control over Africans in urban areas. The residents of Langa resisted this and in this process there were people who were killed and others injured by the apartheid police and soldiers. These heritage and historic sites can easily form part of the Destination Creep of that location. All the above-mentioned

heritage and historical sites can be easily incorporated into township tour routes and become destinations of themselves, as they are all along Wellington Street, which is the same street that tour guides use when driving through Langa. The inclusion of these sites will cause township images to move beyond the discourse of living conditions, social life and social developments, which form a core of tourist experience in townships towards a more holistic tourist experience.

Conclusion: Place, Social Value and Cultural Significance on township tours

Places are widely conceived of as having an essential component of character, identity and spirit, and place may be seen as a center of meaning constructed by experiences. Therefore, all the above-mentioned places of cultural significance in Langa have character, identity and spirit. On the other side a place can be seen as the process of continuity and that means a place is maintained to continue to exist, because people continued to interact with it and give it meaning or continue to exist in their memories.

Social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meaning important to a community. These places are usually community owned or publicly accessible or in some other ways appropriated in people's lives.¹⁵⁷ Cultural Significance is perceived as in the mind and memories of groups of people as shared values about places and things that are held to be important. Cultural significance of any place tends to describe the value or importance the place has to the community and it includes the social, aesthetic, historical, religious, spiritual, political or scientific value of the place for past, present or future generations. It must be understood that the term social value includes spiritual values that people attach. It is important to note the fact that the people of Langa will always have significant memories that they hold about these places on that landscape. Such memories are not recorded in the documentary evidence but can be collected through oral history testimonies.

¹⁵⁷C. Johnston, what is social value?, 1992

The cultural heritage of township(s) (in this case Langa) includes places that demonstrate aspects of socio-cultural, socio-political and economic life of Langa. While they also show associational links to the surviving physical relics, which become evidence of the past. The above-discussed destinations relate to this definition of place, social value and social significance in many ways. These destinations seek to establish associations and meaning with various success and different combinations and emphasis. The variation and combos are part of what makes multiple destinations important and helps create a route. In the next chapter, I will look more specifically at an attempt to create a tourist destination.

Chapter four

Case study of Sivuyile Township Tourism Information Center

Cultural tourism is not a new phenomenon. In South Africa, townships are a major component of cultural tourism. Townships have also become sights and destinations for tourists. They are a part of a global development of cultural tourism. It is because of this development that we see the Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, which was officially opened on 24 September 2000 and that forms part of township tour package of some tour companies. The Center is located in Sivuyile Technical College, in Guguletu. In the Center there is art, craft and beadwork market space and a permanent exhibition that depicts the history of Cape Town's townships with specific focus in Guguletu. The title of this exhibition is "Township Moments and Memories". Since the Center is one of the places that are visited in Guguletu by some tour operators it is important to examine its inclusion into township tourism. Thus the aim of this chapter is to show the extent to which the Center is incorporated into the township tour packages, the depiction of 'alternative' history in the Center, and the Center as a system of knowledge for the visitors at different levels. There will be a special focus on the exhibition as it intends to portray the negative impact of apartheid spatial arrangement on the masses of South Africa, thus to provide a broader context for the specific destination and experiences on a township tour.

Townships had an image of being 'hot spots', 'dangerous' and from 1976 onward they had been imaged as places of uprisings, stone throwing crowd, and violence. From the late 1980s until the present, Cape Town's townships have been re-imaged as tourist attractions and destinations in order to reflect the past and present human experience and daily life of the majority of South Africans. As a tourism linker, Sivuyile Township Tourism Center is engaged in this process of representation of townships as abide as well as particular destination.

The Center is presented through tourist images and brochures. A tourist brochure of Sivuyile Tourism Center states that Sivuyile Tourism Center can help one "...Experience the Townships of Cape Town...The Townships are our home... The vision of the people...we will help you plan your tour...A working artists studio... Find the heartbeat of the Townships...Taste traditional culture...Take home a piece of Township soul."¹⁵⁸ As mentioned earlier the Center has a permanent exhibition, which intends to depict a pictorial history of Cape Town's townships, the historical development of the Cape Town townships, social life and resistance history, which is often suppressed in township tours.

Many tour companies are visiting Guguletu. The Center is presented as a place where visitors can experience the past political landscape of South Africa with a specific focus in Cape Town's townships. The death of Amy Biehl and the 'Guguletu Seven' are iconic episodes in this landscape as it played out in Guguletu. One tour guide presented Guguletu as follows:

The father and the mother of Amy Biehl got very involved in the activities here in the township as well with some of the programs. Some of the youngsters that were involved in the death of Amy Biehl are also some of the project leaders now. A lot of positive things came out of the death of Amy Biehl. The very popular college here, the Sivuyile College, they also have a great tourism department here, and a little tourism shop here where you can see some of the projects of the entrepreneurs and products of the entrepreneurs in the townships. ...In 1959 African people were living around Cape Town and it was during that time as well that the former government started taking them out of 'coloured' areas and came and dump them here in Guguletu. That was when Guguletu was formed in around 1959. It was only in the later years that they started to develop other African townships like KTC, Nyanga and Crossroads. Langa is the oldest township and isolated from other African townships of Cape Town because 'coloureds' areas were developed around Langa... That's the very popular place here in Guguletu, the Kraal Jazz. At one stage it was the very popular nightclub, Yellow Door, other people took over

¹⁵⁸ Sivuyile Tourism Center, brochure, 2000

the management now and it's starting to come back again. There is the Anglican Church over there; this is one of the churches that we visit on Sundays.¹⁵⁹

These images of Guguletu that are constructed by this tour guide are based on the development of Guguletu, social life, and selected political incidents. These images are similar to the way other townships are being presented in these tours. These narratives also show inaccuracies about when Guguletu was created and the genealogy of Cape Town townships, and a sense that the residents of Guguletu are only those who were forcibly removed from different areas around Cape Town, which is not the case. Many residents of Guguletu are migrant workers, in more recent times others have settled here in search of a better life away from rural poverty and patriarchal control, and also those who were forcibly removed from various areas around Cape Town.

Sivuyile Township Tourism Center

The Sivuyile Township Tourism Center is not frequently visited and there are many factors that contribute to that. These factors include insufficient marketing of the Center, timeframe of the township tours, and problems with creating appropriate route of Guguletu walking tours for tourists. It is crucial for the management of the Center to address these issues if they want to establish the Center as a destination, as it was created to be

In Guguletu, there are also supposed to be walking tours, which are based at Sivuyile Township Tourism Center. The operation of walking tours in Guguletu depends on the demand of tourists. The tour guides of these walking tours are some of those who were trained as tour guides by Michelle Gavron. Most tourists embark on these walking tours in groups. Sometimes the Center Manager of the Sivuyile Township Tourism Center guide these tours, as he pointed out:

In some occasions I do guide the walking tours. But it is not my duty to guide the tours. We have not yet started with walking tours as such. At this stage we are using buses

¹⁵⁹ Recorded township tour, guide/driver Calvin Johannes, ex – UWC History masters student, Southern Tip Tours, 22 January 2001

because of geographic area of Guguletu. We are still in a process of working out how we can do them...¹⁶⁰

The walking tours of Guguletu include a visit to 'Yellow Door'. 'Yellow Door' was a nightclub that was popular in the late 1980s up until the early 1990s amongst the local youngsters and they enjoyed themselves. It did not only attract youngsters from the African townships as it also attracted their counterparts from the 'coloured' townships. Amy Biehl site and the 'Guguletu Seven' monument are among the places that are visited. Tour guides of these walking tours don't charge the same amount as one charges R30, 00 per tourist and others charge R35, 00 or R40, 00 per tourist. It seems that these walking tours of Guguletu are not properly administered, organized and coordinated. At this moment, these walking tours are suspended because the places that they want to be visited are far apart and it is difficult to constitute a walking tour route.

His

The Center has a fascinating history. The history of the Center helps one to understand its origins, the process and its development. With this background one would be able to contextualise the Center within the context of township tourism development and be able to engage with the exhibition. Able Mtebele, recalls:

The idea to establish Sivuyile Tourism Center came as a result of arts and craft. At Sivuyile Technical College there was a lecturer, Deanne van Tonder, who was teaching arts and craft. They had a little small shop there inside the Technical College, where they were displaying their products. We (Cape Town Tourism Board) step in, negotiated with the College to expand that to open arts and craft market for the local people. We have seen that lot of people don't have a space where they could exhibit or display their work in town and it is very difficult to find a locally manufactured art and craft. It was very important for us to open tourism center, where people would have access to tourists and tourists can access the work of the people. Number two also to look at the issue of training and development particularly. The Center was created and established as a platform for

¹⁶⁰ Recorded interview with Litha Khambi, the Center Manager, Sivuyile Tourism Center, 21 June 2001

both local artists and international tourists where they can interact and share ideas with these prosperous tourists who come here to the townships.¹⁶¹

This clearly reflects the aim behind the establishment of the Center, which is both about providing space and platform for local artists to produce and market their products to the visitors and for the Center to be a tourist destination. This Center is one of the piloted projects in the townships with ambiguous aims. It also echoes the way in which the Cape Town Tourism Board was desperate to create a tourist destination in the townships.

Initially the Cape Town Tourism Board planned to build a cultural village on that site. The Guguletu Craft Village Funding Proposal states:

A project for a Tourism Information Center (a satellite of Cape Town Tourism) has already been approved in principle. ...It is envisaged that the location of the tourism information center will be at the center of the cultural village. ...It will capture the interest of the local and overseas tourists and ensure that a large percentage of their spending power will remain in the township for the benefit of these aspirant entrepreneurs who need it most. It will furthermore contribute to the expansion of the existing township tours.”¹⁶²

The planners of this cultural village thought that cultural village will ‘capture the interest of the local and overseas tourists’. The understanding of the planners of this cultural village seems to be based on the premise that tourists are interested in cultural villages to see the ‘authentic’ African people. As it is affirmed in the funding proposal that cultural village “will consist of a series of workshops that will reflect the character, history and architecture of the surrounding area, thereby ensuring an authentic cultural experience for tourist...The intention is to create a village atmosphere by selecting a diverse range of products and services that would be found in the townships...This will empower the learners to run their own business successfully and to feed into the Cultural Village.”¹⁶³

Through many meetings of the stakeholders, however, that were held and the intervention of different scholars physically and intellectually that was changed. Their argument was

¹⁶¹ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

¹⁶² Notes on the Guguletu Craft Village Funding Proposal

based on trying to move away from the notion of establishing cultural village and this resulted in the conceptualization of the tourist information center and its establishment.

It is evident from Able Mtebele that they (the Cape Town Tourism Board) are still planning to establish a cultural village in the future. Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, asserts:

We diverted from our initial plan because of the space we got. Even the space we have now is very small. It was a question of space available. The concept was good, the concept of cultural village, and we still feel that in the future we can continue with that idea even if we modify it to meet the circumstances which we find ourselves in. We will have to continue with that because at least it has a high level of involvement from the local people, from that point of view it is labour intensive. Lot of people could benefit from that by virtue of having stores there selling everything whatever the case may be... I don't think cultural villages are wrong; it depends on what form they look like. I think it depends on the perception of the people, if it's top down, and in all the cultural villages I went to it's more a westernized thing or a concept that people have to dance, doing traditional dance in front of the audience. If you can integrate that because I think the whole idea around cultural village is to be educational more than entertainment and it depends on how do you integrate those two... You can do that in the township where you have your cultural village and elderly people who can act as historians, telling oral history or poetry and people can interrogate him about history. Then you get a better understanding and exchange, and through doing that also we get a series of other things, people who are doing the real Xhosa dance and we got people who can explain that, more kind of communication involved in that...¹⁶⁴

This makes one wants to know what constitutes a cultural village? Is it about representation, labour and involvement – different values and perceptions? This suggests that the Cape Town Tourism Development Manager, Able Mtebele, still believes that in the future they will continue with the idea of the establishment of the cultural village but modify it. Abel Mtebele is contradicting himself as he argues, “In all the cultural villages went to its more a westernized things or a concept that people have to dance, do

¹⁶³ Notes on the Guguletu Craft Village Funding Proposal

¹⁶⁴ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

traditional dance in front of the audiences...¹⁶⁵ On the other side he strongly believes in the future establishment of the cultural village in township and he advocates an establishment of a cultural village where “people would be doing the real Xhosa dance and we got people who can explain that...”¹⁶⁶ He seems to be not aware that he is contradicting himself on this issue of performance in a cultural village, as even the ‘real Xhosa dance’ his talking about is one form of performance. The kind of cultural village that Able Mtebele seems to suggest and believes in also has performance; even tourists will partake in those activities. Even if the visitors will get knowledge through the story telling, poetry and through ‘real’ Xhosa dance, as he suggests, the fact is the people who will be doing those activities will be on display and gazed upon and some of those activities will be based on staged authenticity. Cultural villages seem to be created because some people believe that they are part of cultural renaissance.

Cultural villages are a modern form of ethnographic presentation and they are all based on staged authenticity. Cultural villages are centered on commercializing culture(s) of the people who are on display with no spiritual links whatsoever as their establishment is primarily commercial orientated. There’s no way that those people who are on display in cultural villages can return the gazes to the visitors. At this present moment, in the Western Cape most tourists are not interested in cultural villages. The cultural village that is found in Cape Town is ‘African Village’, which is located along the N7 on the way to Malmesbury. It portrays separate Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Swazi and Basotho abodes. While in other provinces like the North (Northern/Limpopo Province), the Eastern Cape and the KwaZulu Natal that is not the case. The issue of the tourists interested in cultural villages differs from provinces, as there are still tourists who believe that cultural villages reflect the ‘real’ people and their ‘real’ lifestyle. However, the number of tourists visiting townships increases as they want to see the ‘real’ people and are more interested on townships (through township tours), which reflect the past and the present human experience, their daily lives, the present developments and their cultural heritage. The

¹⁶⁵ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

¹⁶⁶ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

negotiations about the establishment of a cultural village seem to be not over yet as they (Cape Town Tourism Board) still want to establish a cultural village in the future. For some people cultural villages seem to be the way to see Africans in townships.

The Township Tourism Office Business Plan seems to differ from the Funding Proposal of the Guguletu Craft Village. The Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town was written after all the stakeholders agreed for the establishment of the Center as it shows a shift from the Funding Proposal of the Guguletu Craft Village, which illustrates that their intention was to create a cultural village. The Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town demonstrates a sense of establishing an information center for township tourism. This shift can be clearly seen in Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town as it states the aims of the establishment of the Center, its roles, its location, the community support, the creation of a pictorial permanent exhibition and the person who was going to do the research, and its alterations and design.¹⁶⁷

According to the Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, “By providing an umbrella structure which itself helps to create order out of chaos, it will be possible to grab much of the value chain from the hands of the tour operators and place it in the townships. As an initial step, the office should be established in the township of Guguletu as a gateway to the City Townships.”¹⁶⁸ The information center that was to be established was seen as a way to “create order out of chaos” and to make the township residents benefit through township tours. The fact that the Center is seen as a ‘gateway to the townships’ demonstrates that the Center was planned to be an entry point to the townships, particularly for township tours. Sivuyile Tourism Center “...is a Gateway in the sense that it is a meeting point for both local and international visitors and it’s a Gateway also in the sense of economic value it has, depending on how people

¹⁶⁷ See the Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, 2000

¹⁶⁸ Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, 2000: 2

perceive or see it...”¹⁶⁹ Now there is also a ‘Gateway’ to Guguletu that is still under construction next to the Guguletu Police Station. The term ‘gateway’ has a particular history in Cape Town as settlers saw Cape Town as a ‘gateway to Africa’, which in some ways can be linked to Cecil John Rhodes’ ambitious notion of Cape to Cairo – the idea of British conquering Africa from the southern tip to the northern tip. From the twentieth century until this present juncture this term – ‘gateway’ - has been used in tourism industry in Cape Town, for instance, at the bottom of Adderly Street there is a set of lights with the words “Gateway to Africa” and there is the recently opened “Nelson Mandela Gateway to Robben Island” at Alfred and Victoria Waterfront. Based on the history of this term – ‘gateway’- in South Africa one can argue that this is a Euro centric concept. However, thresholds are almost universal as symbols but the meanings vary and so do the uses

The roles of the Sivuyile Tourism Center are “to act as a single point of contact for tourists and tour operators who wish to visit the City Townships as a tourist destination. To act as a sales and marketing organization for township tourism.”¹⁷⁰ However in order for the Center [the management] to achieve these goals they need to work hard, to aggressively promote and market the Center. At this moment, some tour operators don’t even include the Center in their township tour packages.

In the Center itself “...There are two people who take tourists around when requested because most of the time the guides come with their groups and take them around. A lot of the interpretation of the images of the Center is with guides. The two people who take visitors around the Center when requested are local community guides who can do that .”¹⁷¹ Most of the time, when tourists are inside the Center, the tour guides let them move around the Center.

¹⁶⁹ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

¹⁷⁰ Township Tourism Office Business Plan of the City of Cape Town, 2000: 3

¹⁷¹ Recorded interview with Litha Khambi, the Center Manager, Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, 21 June 2001

The number of the tourists that are visiting the Center is not what they (the Center staff) expected but it is growing. As mentioned early on, there are many factors that cause the Center to be not frequently visited; for instance, it is not included in township tour packages of other tour companies, perhaps, because of timeframe of tours and their routes. The fact that the township tours themselves are not assertively marketed, as there is still a certain section of people particularly white Capetonians/South Africans who have not visited the townships. For local residents of that area, the Center is not located at a suitable place as it is located at Sivuyile Technical College, which is an academy and most of the local people of that area don't often go to those places. The visitor's register that is available inside the Center clearly reveals that it is the international visitors who mostly visit it and very few domestic tourists and that shows there is still more that needs to be done as far as marketing and promoting the Center is concerned. If that is not done immediately the notion that the Center is a "Gateway to the City townships" would be just a lip service and the exhibition won't achieve its intention of providing 'alternative' history and to move beyond the township images that are centered on living conditions and developments

Exhibition

The exhibition is based on the research that was conducted five months prior to the official opening of the Center. This was planned to be a pictorial exhibition with less text. The displayed photographs for the exhibition were collected from different institutions and others were from family albums of the local residents. These displayed photos for the exhibition evoke memories, emotions and experiences associated with particular national, local and personal histories. Thus the photos that are used for the first part of the exhibition function as memory aid for local residents of Guguletu, though they also depict national issues like racist policies, pass laws, anti-pass campaign, student uprising, the popular resistance of the 1980s and the early transitional period in South Africa.

Before looking at the exhibition itself, it is important to describe it's setting in the larger Center. The exhibition is only one part of the complex, which includes a shop and studio

defined both for community and for tourists. A Sivuyile Tourism Center tourist brochure states

The art and craft shop opened in 1999 to promote the artists and college art students in the community. Word spread, local and foreign visitors came to visit and the shop grew to accommodate a tourist information center, workshop facilities and a photographic gallery. ... Some extraordinary art is created at the Sivuyile Tourism Center. During a visit you can meet the artists and witness the painstaking skills of weaving beautiful textiles or the slip casting, wheel work and painting of ceramic ware.¹⁷²

For some local residents the Center provides the space to work, a studio, and an opportunity to produce their products and sell them to the visitors. From mid 2001 there were meetings that were held between the Center Manager and the local artists to inform the artists that they were going to pay for electricity that they are using in the Center. This causes one to wonder whether the Center is sticking to its objectives, to provide a space for local artists to produce and sell their products, as for some artists who are based in the Center it is a struggle to sustain their work and to get something out of their products, and they also have personal responsibilities. Therefore, one wonders how are they going to pay for the electricity and without electricity they cannot do anything, or this is a move to provide a space to only those who can afford. If that is the case it would be depriving other artists who can not afford. The Center should think of other ways of raising funds that will cover the payment of electricity.

This demonstrates the inside picture of the place where the exhibition is housed and the design of the Center. The front part of the Center has a small shop where the local artists display their products. Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town affirms, "As the space is limited, the ceiling will be used in a similar way to the Renaissance illustrated ceilings. In style it would be similar to the practice of pasting pages from magazines on shack walls (wallpaper) as found in many informal housing in the townships." In addition, "The layout and design of the office will be professionally handled and will include the supply and fitting of a ghost slider door for the new entrance in order to facilitate easy access for the tourists. Sixty meters of shop fitting including

¹⁷²Notes on the tourist brochure of Sivuyile Tourism Center, 2000

shelf and hanging spaces included, as is a service counter with coffee bar, 6 bar stools, a display unit on castors for the small items, a mobile brochure stand and a lighting system.”¹⁷³

The notion of an exhibition is reflected in Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, as it is mentioned that the “...story boards on the history of the townships, the story of people’s lives, where they came from, dream aspirations, poetry etc. will be creatively displayed as an integral part of the products and services for sale. This will put the township visit into context and make the (Sivuyile) Township Tourism Office a destination in itself and the first stop on a township tour.”¹⁷⁴ The exhibition is intended to put the visit to the Center into context and in that way assist the Center in becoming a tourist destination.

The exhibition is separate from the small shop. The exhibition “attempts to give a pictorial history of life in the townships of Cape Town with a specific focus in Guguletu...”¹⁷⁵ This exhibition is called ‘Township Moments and Memories Exhibition’. The first half of the exhibition depicts a political history of Cape Town’s townships, which is very often censored in township tours. The first part of the exhibition at Sivuyile Tourism Center is managing to take the township narratives beyond the tourist images that are based on living conditions, social life and social developments. This can be seen through the displayed photographs and the text, as it shows the discriminatory policies. “From the early 1900s and during the apartheid era, the cities were deemed to be for whites only. Laws were passed to limit the number of Africans in the cities and townships were created to accommodate and control those who were allowed to work in the cities. A perception was cultivated that the permanent place for Africans was in designated rural areas, known as ‘bantustans’. ... Amenities were reserved exclusively for Europeans and ‘Non-Europeans’. Anti-Pass Campaigns and the Langa shootings, 1976 student uprising, Nelson Mandela release campaign of the 1980s, popular resistance in the 1980s, the stories of the ‘Guguletu Seven’, the most callous example of the security forces, and that

¹⁷³ Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, 2000: 4

¹⁷⁴ Township Tourism Office Business Plan for the City of Cape Town, 2000: 4

¹⁷⁵ Notes from the ‘Township Moments and Memories Exhibition’ in the Center

of young American exchange student at the University of the Western Cape, Amy Biehl, who was stoned to death by young PAC supporters in Guguletu”¹⁷⁶ are also mirrored in the exhibition. This part of the exhibition provides a visitor with a political landscape of Cape Town townships within a broader context of South Africa.

The second part of the exhibition portrays some aspects of social life in Cape Town’s townships, which are also encountered in township tours. This part of the exhibition is solely based on family albums of the local residents of Guguletu giving a more personal presentation. This exhibition, however, is more educational and informative for visitors whether in the form of learners, tourists, students and researchers and that makes the Center a system of knowledge or at least an alternative one. This knowledge is seen through the exhibition, tourist brochure and tourist images that are constructed by tour guides about the Center. Township tour guides of the tour companies like African Mosaic Tours and Cape Rainbow Tours that include the Center in their tour packages don’t say anything when they are inside the Center about the exhibition because for them, particularly Frank Mbete, guide and trainer of Cape Rainbow Tours “the exhibition explains itself, there is nothing that one can explain to the tourists.”¹⁷⁷ The notion that the Center is a system of knowledge and is more educational and informative was also noticed on a township tour that was guided by Moosa Mohamed of African Mosaic Tours, as he pointed out “... the story of ‘Guguletu Seven’ and the death of Amy Biehl are clearly depicted in an exhibition that is at Sivuyile. This is an excellent exhibition”¹⁷⁸

Litha Khambi, the Center Manager, explains the responses of the local residents as follows: As far as a history is concerned the response that we get from tourists is that it is informative and also with the local residents because I have been to a couple of schools and to the career exhibitions and I told the students about the Center. I think it has played a role as to local people. ... We got students coming from primary schools and we had a

¹⁷⁶ Notes from the ‘Township Moments and Memories Exhibition’ in the Center

¹⁷⁷ Notes from an informal interview with Frank Mbete, guide and trainer of Cape Rainbow Tours, Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, 21 June 2001

number of students coming from high schools especially matriculants toward the end of the year because they want to know about it and they are interested in tourism industry. Even students who are doing tourism here in the College they come and we give them lectures about tourism and opportunities.¹⁷⁹ Able Mtebele asserts the responses they get from tourists and local about the Center by saying: The responses of the tourists are amazing because for them the Center is one of the most attractive Centers... It depicts a local history more importantly. In that effect from a tourist point of view it is portraying a true history of the people who live there and the lifestyle that people have. From a local point of view, one from an economic point of view now they come and sell their products to tourists.¹⁸⁰ This reveals the response of tourists as far as the history that is on display is concerned and suggests that the responses from the community and tourists are positive. The notion that the Center through its exhibition is educational and informative has been also endorsed by Mastura Abdullah-Abrahams, the tour guide of Cape Rainbow Tours as she said, "It is excellent and we are intending to incorporate it to our tour package."¹⁸¹

The fact that there are no museums in Cape Town's townships except the one in Lwandle Location (Migrant Labour Museum), which is 40 kilometers out of Cape Town, makes the Center more important because through the exhibition it provides alternative history. The Sivuyile Tourism Center through the exhibition is able to contest the dominant tourist narratives of South Africa, particularly of Cape Town as it intends to depict alternative history. There is a need to inculcate and foster the tourism culture and museum culture in post-apartheid South Africa, especially amongst those who were previously marginalized because in the past they were not exposed to tourism and museums except being objects.

¹⁷⁸ Recorded township tours, guide Moosa Mohamed/ driver Chris Vloebergh, African Mosaic Tours, 18 January 2001

¹⁷⁹ Recorded interview with Litha Khambi, the Center Manager, Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, 21 June 2001

¹⁸⁰ Recorded interview with Able Mtebele, the Tourism Development Manager of Cape Town Tourism and the Sivuyile Tourism Center, Cape Town Tourism Offices, 18 July 2001

¹⁸¹ Recorded township tours, guide/driver Mastura Abdullah-Abrahams, Cape Rainbow Tours, 29 November 2000

Leslie Witz argues that, "In places where people have been constituted as subjects of the national state for decades, township tours almost cannot accommodate museums as aspects of modernity and national citizenship."¹⁸² That is not the case. The fact that there is no museum in the townships, in Cape Town townships, needs to be historicized and contextualized within a broader context of South Africa prior to the birth of the fully democratic society. The issue is that most of the people who live in the townships were (and are still to some extent) not exposed to museums and their importance. That is why there are no museums in the townships, particularly in Cape Town townships. This is the result of apartheid as blacks, particularly Africans were not exposed to museums, as they were the 'subjects' and gazed upon, and they disassociated themselves with public cultural institutions like museums, as for them they represented apartheid and white supremacy. It is now that some people from the townships are beginning to see the need for and the importance of the museums in their places.

There are many factors that cause this transformation like the present political discourse in post-apartheid era and the young people who are from these communities who have done studies about or relevant to public cultural institutions. Museums are important in many ways and there is a role that they can play in these communities. It is important to note that museums are agencies of civil society and system of knowledge that shape the civil citizens. Therefore, once this move has been achieved there will be museums in the townships. In Cape Town townships alone there are different people who are planning to establish community museums and now they are still in the early stages of that as they are still gathering relevant information and conceptualizing their themes. Once museums exist in Cape Town's townships we will see a shift as far as destinations in township are concerned, as they will form a core of township tour routes.

Leslie Witz strongly believes that the exhibition in the Center does not move beyond the discourse of ethnographic gaze. His argument is centered on the second part of the

¹⁸² L. Witz, "Museums on the Township Tour", paper presented at Museums, Local Knowledge and Performance In an Age of Globalization Workshop, Lwandle Migrant Museum, Cape Town, South Africa, 3-4 August 2001, p. 8

exhibition, which is based on family albums and it depicts some aspects of social life.

Leslie Witz points out:

Despite the major effort being made to create a sense of history at Sivuyile, it is still the ethnographic gaze that prevails at the Tourism Information Center and on township tours in the Western Cape.¹⁸³

Despite what Leslie Witz said vehemently disagree with him because the exhibition in the Center does move beyond the dominant tourist narratives in South Africa, and the discourse of living conditions and developments, which seem to be the core of the township images through township tour in Cape Town. Dominant tourist narratives are based on cultural villages, theme parks, natural beauty, monuments, statues and museums, and the recent attempts to challenge it is township tours and as part of this is the Sivuyile Tourism Center. The exhibition depicts historical development of Cape Town townships and their histories, and tells the stories of discriminatory policies, Anti-Pass Campaign and Langa shootings of 1960, the 1976 student uprising, the 'Guguletu Seven' story, the 1980s massive popular resistance and that of Amy Biehl. This exhibition depicts a political history that is often not experienced in township tours. In this exhibition, there is no 'demarcation between 'history' and depictions of the people' as Leslie Witz seems to suggest.

The second part of this exhibition portrays some aspects of social life in the townships, which can be contextualized within the Cape Town townships life. It is important to note that people frame the historical context, history, and social life. As it is the people who make history under circumstances that they did not created by themselves. The notion that there are few photos in the second part of the exhibition that are not named or time and place are not indicated as he (Leslie Witz) claims its because of the lapse of memories of some donors who provided the family albums to the exhibition team. However, what is important is the meaning that these photos provide, which can be contextualised and historicized.

¹⁸³ L. Witz, "Museums on the Township Tour", paper presented at Museums, Local Knowledge and Performance In an Age of Globalization Workshop, Lwandle Migrant Museum, Cape Town, South Africa, 3-4 August 2001, p. 8

The dominant township images are the result of the way tour guides construct their routes and the fact that their educational training is not well coordinated. There are a number of people and institutions/tour companies that train township tour guides. The content of the tour guide training/course of the trainers (Legend Tours, Cape Technikon, Michelle Gavron who is working independently) of the township tour guides is different. Wendy Duma, the registered tour, affirms:

The content of the course is basically about the guiding techniques and the tourist attractions around the area I live in, and to basically know about your area, geographically, the whole environment and the historical events. Some of the attractive places are the Guguletu Seven memorial site, the Amy Biehl memorial, the Sivuyile Technical College, where we see the women project, art and craft and where we get an information center... The content of Legend tour guide training was more about to be a good guide and to be able to tell the visitors. To be a good tour guide you have to be professional, good quality of being a tour guide, you have to be enthusiastic, friendly to the tourists, know how to handle a group of people, tell them about things that will excite them and make them want to come back.¹⁸⁴

This illustrates the contents of the two-tour guide training that she attended in different institutions. Michelle Gavron at Sivuyile Technical College first trained Wendy Duma as a township tour guide, under a community project that was initiated by Guguletu Tourism Forum and Cape Town Tourism. She was then trained by Legend Tours. In these two tour guide trainings that she (Wendy Duma) attended they were not given material to read, as they had to find the relevant material for themselves. I personally helped her with the relevant information and we also had two-way discussions about history, resistance history, and heritage tourism with specific focus on township tourism.

The Sivuyile Township Tourism Center is the first of its kind in Cape Town townships. In one-way or another the Center plays a role of a community museum as it provides alternative history. The exhibition inside the Center intends to portray the political history of Cape Town's townships. This exhibition moves beyond the township narratives that are based on the discourse of living conditions and social developments. The Center

mobilizes a system of knowledge for different people in the form of learners, students, researchers, scholars, tourists and the 'general' public and that knowledge can be used for various purposes. The Center, with the help of this exhibition should be seen as an agent of civil society, as it is a system of knowledge. In one-way or another, this exhibition shapes the visitor in a particular way. The knowledge that the Center produces caused it to be educational and informative, and that is one of the reasons that caused some township tour operators to include it into their tour packages. The Center also provides a platform for the local artists to produce and sell their products to the visitors and exposure for local artists as it also has their studio. However, at this moment the Center is incorporated into township tourism up to a limited extent, as it is not frequently visited and there are some township tour operators who exclude it from their packages.

Township tours and the Center itself need to be aggressively marketed as tourist destinations. The number of tourists visiting townships is lower as compare to the city tours. Townships through township tours reflect Africanness of the cities and towns. Township tours are a critical part of the new tourist gazes in post apartheid South Africa. Townships through township tours seem to be a contact zone as they are spaces of interaction between the local people of the visited areas and the visitors and of sharing ideas.

⁶⁴ Recorded interview with Wendy Duma, the registered tour guide, 21 June 2001

Conclusion

The origins of cultural tourism in South Africa can be traced back during the apartheid era. Cultural tourism is a global phenomenon and it makes people know and be knowable. Through township tourism, which forms a major part of cultural tourism and tourist destination culture, tourists get to understand the local people through the lens of the camera. The development of cultural tourism in South African has been urban and rural orientated

During the apartheid era, the tourist gazes were based on the dichotomy of the conditions of 'primitiveness', 'exoticism' and 'modernity' of racially defined groups which was based on the colonial discourse. In other parts of the country, Africans were portrayed to be 'primitive' and 'exotic', while whites were portrayed to be a 'modern' society. In Cape Town, the Cape Moslems were depicted to be 'exotic' and they showed an 'exotic' side of that part of South Africa. The apartheid tourist gazes changed over decades but they were still based on natural beauty, animal wild life, monuments, landmarks building, landmarks and statues. In addition to the juxtaposition and comparison of 'exotic' 'primitive' people and 'modern' society. The apartheid tourist gazes changed over time as the nature of traveling changed.

Some apartheid museums and monuments throughout the country formed part of the apartheid tourist gazes. Some of these institutions were state agencies, as their operational framework and their displayed collections were in line with the dominant ideology of that time in South Africa that was shaped by certain group of people. This in some ways limited their operational framework and marginalized the majority of the South African population, and depicted them in an unacceptable and problematic manner that was fundamentally based on racism.

In post-apartheid South Africa, these institutions are facing a big challenge of transformation and redefinition, their acquisition policies and their operational frameworks. Now, these museums are struggling to come into grips with transformation and to redefine their communities. Some of these institutions never had their

communities from the beginning. Therefore, community for them is a new concept all together

In post-apartheid South Africa the notion of museums and communities is popular, and most of the time the complexity of this concept, community, is not taken into account. It is important to break down this notion of community as it is a broad concept and 'community' is not a rigid organ as it has its own complications and politics. 'Community' has segments with multiple identities that overlap and interact. This relationship between museums and communities, which is being advocated, has its own complexity.

The township images are changing over time. During the apartheid era, they were imaged as 'dangerous', 'hot spots' and seemed to be 'ungovernable'. Now they are re-imaged as tourist destinations and the number of tourists visiting them is growing, as they are more popular among the international tourists. Township images are based on the discourse of living conditions, social life and developments. The local cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible cultural heritage) and the political history of the visited areas are often not reflected in tourist images of the visited locations. There is a need to move beyond this discourse, which the township tourist images are based on. The inclusion of the local cultural heritage and resistance history of the visited locations will make the tourist images more comprehensive and powerful. In so doing, the visitors will have a better understanding of the township landscapes. The cultural heritage of townships includes places that show aspects of socio-cultural, socio-political and economic life of townships. While they also reveal associational links to the surviving physical relics, which become evidence of the past.

Township tourism is made to show the other side of cities or towns. The other side, which is experienced through township tours, have features of 'less developed' society, while the areas that were previously reserved for whites only have features of 'developed' society. These tourist images and others that are based on the natural beauty, animal wild life, landmark buildings, landmarks, monuments and statues demonstrate a world tour in one city

Townships through township tours are living museums of themselves within cultural tourism. They are living cultural museums because of the way they are organized and structured, and also because of their tourist images presented by tour guides. A number of the community-based projects in some of these locations promote ethnicity. The performance in various forms in different destinations cause townships to fit very well to the notion of a living museum of themselves. Township tourism prescribes for people how they should present themselves for tourism.

In post-apartheid South Africa, tourist gazes are based on the notion of nation building, rainbow nation, unity in diversity, Africanness (Africannisation), African renaissance and One City Many Cultures (in Cape Town). This illustrates that tourism is strongly influenced and shaped by the popular ideology at a particular time. In South Africa, cultural tourism is used to bring different races together and to make them know the other side of the society. It is also used to unify them and to construct a national identity. The way cultural tourism is used in post apartheid South Africa can also be observed in Indonesia as they are using cultural tourism to unite different ethnic groups of that country and for nation building. Though lately the Moslem rebels are threatening this forged unity and nation building.

In this new political dispensation in South Africa, tourism is seen as a vehicle for development, both economically and socially. This is the way in which many developing countries see and perceive tourism. The valuable contribution of tourism to global economic growth, economic development and employment generation has been widely acknowledged. Tourism has been recognized as one of the biggest producers of foreign exchange with other multiplier effects including small, medium and micro-enterprise development. In township tours, development projects form part of tour packages because of a need to create tourist destinations.

The 1996 White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa outlined government's tourism strategy. The documents prioritized "the mobilization of countries human and material resources in order to obtain a greater share of the increasing world pie. The potential of the tourism industry to achieve the objectives of

the Reconstruction and Development Programs was also acknowledged, particularly with respect to create job opportunities for emerging and small entrepreneurs, and in doing so, support access to greater socio-economic benefits for the wider population.”¹⁸⁵ This clearly demonstrates the way government view tourism as the vehicle for development.

All tourism stakeholders strongly believe that tourism brings economic growth to the GDP of the province and to the country, and it creates job opportunities. However, the notion that tourism creates job opportunities is debatable. The debate begins with the questions: job opportunities for whom? What kinds of jobs? The majority of the people are not benefiting from tourism industry, except those few people who benefit through working in the hotels, restaurants and pubs that are being visited by the visitors and many of them are paid very low wages, as they are cheap labourers. Other people who benefit at least through tourism are those who produce arts, bead, and craft products, and purchased by tourist in different centers that are visited in townships.

The internal images of apartheid South Africa were based on the dominant ideology of that time in South Africa, which was more about separate development and white supremacy. Though South Africa was a racist country it was still a tourist destination with international tourist gazes that showed the colonial discourse based on the conditions of ‘exoticism’, primitiveness’ of those people who were regarded as “non-Europeans’ and the ‘modernity’ of all those who were perceived to be Europeans. Townships through township tourism have contradictions, as they are a hybrid, a mix of tourist forms and developments, socio-economic and political development.

I attempted to demonstrate the destination culture in Cape Town under heritage tourism with specific interest in township tourism. In order to have tourist destination culture there is a need to have routes that produces these destinations in Cape Town townships through township tours. Thus the term tour routes comes into being. The concept of tour routes I used in reference to the path that tour guides follow when they take tourists on

¹⁸⁵ Tourism Enterprise Program Profile, 23 November 2000

to|rs. The tourist routes are properly planned, organized and structured for the advance of to|rist visitation.

This thesis has shown tourist destination culture, which in heritage tourism appears to be based on museums, cultural villages, theme parks, national parks and townships. Townships through township tourism seem to be the major part of destination culture in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus this paper has critically discuss and analyze the construction of public history and tourist destinations in Cape Town townships and a study of routes, sites, and heritage. Townships through township tourism are system of knowledge for the visitors in the form of scholars, researchers, students, tourists, learners at different levels and the visitors can use that knowledge for various purposes. This knowledge is based on resistance history, social life, past and present human experiences, daily life of the local residents and their cultural heritage. When all these aspects of this system of knowledge are combined they provide a more comprehensive understanding of the township landscapes for visitors.

The sightseeing of Cape Town townships has produced tourist destinations. There are many tourist destinations in these townships with various categories of destination culture. Tourist destinations like Eziko Center, Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center, Sivuyile Township Tourism Center and some others across categories of destination culture are facing a tension through which they are created, and the role they play in producing and shaping heritage and history. The destinations that I selected in Langa have different nature, organization and operation, while also having similarities as they have the same aim of becoming established tourist destinations and they were both established as community projects. In addition, both these institutions found themselves in a tight spot of serving the community and of establishing themselves in township tourism as destinations.

The development of the Eziko Center (and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center) was shaped by the needs of the community project of this nature and the needs of township tourism and hospitality industry as the Eziko Center is trying to make itself a valuable

tourist destination. The inclusion of these institutions into tour packages of other tour operators changes their nature. Now these institutions seem to focus more on township tourism and the role they must play. The Eziko Center through its restaurant becomes a heritage site that is visited. This heritage is the result of the past and present social needs. While the Gugu S'thebe Center through its claim to preserve and conserve the Xhosa culture and the lifestyle of the Xhosa people becomes a heritage sight that is visited, though at this stage is not frequently visited.

Both Eziko Center and Guga S'thebe Multicultural Center emerged as community projects but because of a need of tourist destinations in the townships to form path that would be followed they later become included into township tour routes. These institutions now seem to want to be more of tourist destinations while continuing serving the community. At this point, the Eziko Center appears to be able to do both, serving the community and establishing itself as a destination. While Guga S'thebe Center is still grappling to serve the community, as very few people know about it and its role in the community, and also trying to set up itself as a destination. Both these institution are fall in a trap of the old established notions of ethnicity as in some ways they promote they are ethnicity based.

The sightseeing of Sivuyile Township Tourism Center, in Guguletu, is an interesting study on its own. The exhibition that is in the Center attempts to provide an 'alternative' history and makes the Center works as a community museum that provides knowledge to the visitors, as there are no museums in Cape Town's townships. However, it is also facing a great challenge of being a 'community project' and a tourist destination but it differs from the two destinations in Langa because it was created as a tourist destination from above (Cape Town Tourism and Western Cape Tourism) and made to be a 'community' project. The fact the Sivuyile Tourism Center was created from above makes it differ from the above-mentioned destinations in Langa, which emerged as community projects and community driven. The Sivuyile Tourism Center was created because of a need to have destinations that can be visited in the townships.

Heritage and historical sites destinations are more educational and informative experience for visitors. In comparison to destination category of community project(s) sites that also forms part of township tourism needs, heritage and historical sites destinations would make tourists understand better the socio-political and economic landscape of the visited location(s). The inclusion of this kind of destinations in tour routes would make them more holistic, more informative and educational, and would create an experience that tourists will not easily forget. This category of destination culture demonstrates local heritage and resistance history of the visited locations. The heritage and historical sites that are found in Langa seem to have significance to the community in many ways. As they tell the local residents about who are they and their past that has formed them. The heritage sites in Langa are important and valuable because they are symbols of what happened in the past and of identity, and they are the reminders of the events of a certain period in South African history.

The process of determining the significance of these sites has been informed by the memories of the local residents of that location. The level of significance of these cultural heritage sites in Langa differs from one to another and can be divided into three distinctive categories that is the exceptional significance, considerable significance and some significance. This kind of destination is found in many other townships in Cape Town and throughout the country. The incorporation of resistance history and local cultural heritage into township tour package(s) will not just be valuable to the visitors only but also to the local residents. There are many ways that can be adopted for the remembrance of these heritage and historical sites like make them memorials, memorial parks or monuments that will form part of township images.

Recommendations

- Township tours need to be aggressively marketed within the country (as some white South Africans have never been to the townships and have certain perceptions about them) and internationally. Tourism stakeholders must work toward establishing a body that will market township tourism as other tour companies are struggling to market themselves and their packages because of financial constraints.
- The government particularly the Department of Tourism needs to come up with a plan that can try to close the gap between the white owned tour companies and the black owned tour companies because the financial imbalance, which is the result of the apartheid legacy in some ways affect their marketing.
- Township tour package needs to be made more comprehensive, and that will be accomplished only if the township images can move beyond the discourse of living conditions, social life and social developments. This can be done by drawing in the political history and cultural heritage of the areas that are visited into the township images.
- There is a need to identify and develop community cultural heritage and historical sites for educational programs – to provide information to the local residents, learners, students, researchers and to tour guides, and these places can form part of the cultural heritage tourism and also form part of tourist destination culture. The inclusion of these places into township tour package can benefit not only tour operators and tourists in the form of knowledge, but even the local people can get something out of the tourist visit to these places. However, that would need to be properly administered.
- Different community interest groups need to come together and conceptualize the organization, planning, route and the administration of the township-walking tours. This initiative can be in line with the notion of community-based tourism.
- Tourism needs to be introduced from high school level as a subject that the learners should do. In that way, most black learners will be able to know more about tourism and its importance. This also has long term goals, as the more there

are black people in tourism structures and management the faster that industry will be transformed.

All tour companies that offer township tours should have social responsibilities. This can be the other way that ordinary people can benefit through tourism, particularly township tourism. In this way, the tour operators will be contributing/supporting social upliftment programs, which in some ways will enable the desperate people to earn a living. Through their (tour operators) support of different upliftment programs or poverty alleviation projects or community based organizations the ordinary people will be able to earn a living through the use of their skills or the skills they are empowered with.

- South African Tourism Act of 1993 (and its amendments of 1996 and 2000) is about the administration of the tourism industry at different levels. It needs to up with the ways in which the tourism industry can be transformed – to have more black people and to close the gap between the tour companies of previously advantaged and those of the previously disadvantaged, disempowered and marginalized.

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