

Gazing back: A feminist postcolonial lens on tourism in the townships of South Africa

by

Meghan Muldoon

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### **Examining Committee Membership**

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	Hazel Tucker Associate Professor, University of Otago
Supervisor(s)	Heather Mair Professor, University of Waterloo
Internal Member	Bryan S.R. Grimwood Associate Professor, University of Waterloo
Internal-external Member	Clare Mitchell Associate Professor, University of Waterloo
Other Member(s)	Karla Boluk Assistant Professor, University of Waterloo

### **Author's declaration**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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## **Abstract**

Encountering poverty in tourism is a morally fraught experience. Growing numbers of tourists are desirous of exploring off-the-beaten path adventures and this invariably leads to encounters with the Other in increasingly far-flung and improbable locales. As countries of the Majority World – where the majority of the world’s poor live – continue to host ever-increasing numbers of tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2017), the potential of tourism to play a role in the alleviation of poverty is an alluring prospect.

Despite its economic potential, the postcolonial nature of many touristic encounters in the Majority World, as well as the very tangible harm that some forms of tourism have brought to the world’s poor, have caused many critical scholars to question the assertion that tourism may bring net-benefits to people living in poverty. Further, colonialized discourses of the exoticized Other, circulated through tourism marketing and the popular media, create essentialized images that inform tourists’ interactions with tourism hosts while traveling in the global South.

Guided by a feminist postcolonial theoretical framework, the purpose of this thesis research was to learn about how hosts gaze back at the tourists that spend time in the townships of South Africa where they live. Constructed as racialized spaces of economic and geographic segregation during apartheid, townships in South Africa continue to be homogenously black or coloured spaces characterized by poor infrastructure, inadequate housing, and economic marginalization. Following the end of apartheid, however, townships have also come to be demarcated as spaces of resistance and courage, of historical significance and triumph over oppression. It is into these spaces that a growing number of tourists choose to venture, travelling the streets of the townships on foot, on bicycles, or in vans.



Employing a photovoice methodology for the purposes of this study, I gave digital cameras to 14 men and women living in three black townships on the outskirts of Cape Town and asked them to take photographs of how tourism *is* and how tourism *ought to be*. Through the photographs that they chose to share, participants spoke about the economic and social benefits that encounters with tourism had brought to their lives. They also spoke to the complex ways in which tourism to the townships is embedded within existing structures of race, class, gender, and postcolonial aftermaths. Employing a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis, I strove to understand how relationships of power, embedded within these structures, inform the ways in which township residents conceptualize and seek out encounters with tourism.

Complicating this narrative was my presence in the townships as a white/Canadian/tourist/researcher. The narratives that were shared with me were filtered through the lens of my embodied presence, and led me to explore my own situatedness and biases through a number of reflexive research practices. This thesis analyzes the ways in which relationships of power based in race, gender, mobilities, colonial narratives, and financial resources inform touristic encounters in the townships of Cape Town, South Africa. This work contributes to the field of critical tourism and leisure studies by advancing our understandings of how tourism is conceptualized as powerful in a multitude of ways by tourism hosts in a unique part of the Majority World.

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## Dedication

*This work is dedicated to Ginger, my first township host, and a beautiful son, father, and brother who was taken too soon (1975-2016).*

*This work is also dedicated to Daryl Elmslie, one of my many other mothers and a long time champion of women's travel and not letting other people tell you what to do. I miss you (1944-2018).*

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Encountering poverty in tourism is a morally fraught experience. Guilt and shame co-mingle with curiosity and wonder about the lives of the Other. As a tourist in East and West Africa, India, and Central America, I have frequently been faced with the undeniable appeal of the exoticized Other while at once wanting to disappear right into my brightly-coloured all-weather jacket. As a community planner working with cities on urban re-development in East Africa, I was invited to satisfy my desire to enter the foreign spaces of poverty from within the safe confines of my self-assurances that I was there for work. Not voyeurism. When I was introduced to the notion of slum tourism, the practice of moving through a neighbourhood characterized as a slum as part of an organized tour, I was at once horrified and yet could empathize with that desire to enter and encounter the slum.

In choosing to undertake my thesis research into the practice of slum tourism in the townships of South Africa, I was choosing to encounter issues of race, gender, oppression, exploitation, geographical segregation, voice, and reconciliation. The townships are a product of South Africa's former policy of apartheid, which segregated all aspects of life in the nation along racial lines and forced black and coloured South Africans to live apart in ghettos of isolation. Tourism to the townships was founded in the social justice movements of the 1980s and 1990s, which saw activists bringing foreign diplomats and journalists into these spaces in order to expose the deplorable living conditions that black South Africans were being subjected to (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012, 2016). Today, township tourism is a major economic force in South Africa and is often featured on tourists' 'must do!' lists of activities whilst visiting that country (Frenzel, 2016).

While a number of studies have explored tourists' motivations and perceptions of visiting slums (Diekmann & Hannam, 2012; Frenzel, 2016; Frenzel, Koens, & Steinbrink, 2012; Meschkank, 2012; Rolfes, 2010; Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009), few have focused on how residents of these marginalized communities feel about being the subject of the tourist's gaze (one notable exception is Mekawy's (2012) quantitative study of hosts' perceptions in Egyptian slums). The purpose of this research was to learn about how hosts gaze back at the tourists that tour their townships. In order to meet this objective, this research was guided by the following four research questions:

- What are the experiences of tourism for residents of the townships?
- How do community members experience power in the tourism encounter?
- How do community members understand tourists' *a priori* expectations of 'Majority World' women and men'?
- How do community members navigate/reinforce/resist discourses of race and gender in tourism?

Guided by a feminist postcolonial theoretical framework, I employed a photovoice methodology due to its methodological foundations in feminist practice and its emphasis on producing participant-driven data. Participants were asked to take photographs in their communities of *what tourism looks like* and *what tourism should look like*. A total of 14 cameras were distributed to participants living in three different townships near Cape Town. All of the participants were residents of the townships and all but one were black South Africans of Xhosa descent.

After the participants had had a chance to collect photographs in their neighbourhoods, I revisited them in their home townships to conduct unstructured interviews, guided by the photographs and the narratives that participants had chosen to share with me about their experiences of tourism. The photographs and interview transcripts were then analyzed using a Foucauldian approach to critical discourse analysis, always keeping the issue of power at the

forefront of my analytical process. My analysis and understandings of the data were also informed by my having lived with a family in a township and having made many friends there, as well as through reflexive journaling. I also kept a research/travel blog over the course of my time in South Africa through which I explored the various ideas and experiences within which I was immersed over the course of my research.

What emerged was over 1,000 photographs depicting all manner of life in the townships, including participants interacting with tourists and the numerous material improvements that have come about as a result of welcoming tourists in the townships. Photos were taken of car washes, shipping containers, libraries, pre-schools, and community gardens that all came about through the money that tourists spent in the townships. I was also able to learn about the immense social value that participants placed on interacting with the tourists, significant when considered in the context of the participants' experiences of living in a divided and violently oppressive nation. Importantly, what also emerged were hundreds of photographs of everyday life, the activities and events that are constituent of any functioning community, but that do not come up under the tourist's gaze despite their clear value in the eyes of the hosts that I spoke with.

At one point, towards the end of this thesis, I write that the participants had repeatedly 'assured' me of the positive benefits of tourism in the townships and my supervisor questioned my choice of words. But 'assured' is correct. I came to this study with deep misgivings about the exploitative and voyeuristic nature of this form of tourism, and some participants were able to sense that. So much so that at one point one of the participants pointedly asked me, "What do you think is wrong with this place and its tourism?" My own feelings about 'slum tourism' made it difficult for me to understand all of the ways that the participants were telling me that they

valued tourism. At the same time, I was contending with my own white body, which looks exactly like those of the tourists that I was asking participants to critique. Further complicating matters was what I eventually came to learn about the intergenerational chasm that exists between those raised in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa and what these differences mean for younger South Africans' perspectives about power, postcolonialism, and the presence of white bodies in South Africa.

This research explores the complex interrelationships of power, economics, mobilities, race, and colonized ways of knowing and interacting with the Other that are embedded within the tourism encounter in the townships. This project is also rooted in a deep moral ambiguity about my own role as interpreter and re-presenter of the experiences of black South Africans. I attempt to engage with some of these complexities and morally dubious positionality throughout the thesis. My objective is not to represent the 'truth' of how township residents perceive the tourists in their communities. Rather, this work contributes to a scholarly understanding of the meanings that are ascribed to tourists' visits in these marginalized spaces, meanings that speak to the powerful nature of the tourism encounter. What follows is a review of the relevant literature, some historical context of South Africa, the ways in which tourism is enacted in the townships, the theory that guided this research as well as the methodology and methods that were employed, the steps that I took in order to analyse the data, a thorough presentation of the findings of this research, as well as a discussion of those findings in the context of the gaze. The final chapter outlines the significance of this research in the field of critical tourism and leisure studies and how this work can be taken forward in future research.

## **2.0 Literature Review**

The literature examined in this chapter represents an intentionally broad spectrum of perspectives related to the issues of poverty and tourism and the places where these two intersect. Following my own pathway through evolving understandings of poverty and tourism, this chapter opens with a review of the literature related to Pro-Poor Tourism and efforts to establish tourism as a potential panacea for poverty eradication in destination locales. This is followed by the re-emergence of more critical perspectives, which strive to also shed light on the exploitative, neo-colonial, environmentally destructive, and Othering nature of tourism, in addition to the limited successes that tourism to the Majority World has had in eradicating poverty. I then go on to discuss the research that has focused on touristic practices in spaces of poverty, focusing particularly on the social construction of the Other. I then move on to the notion of the gaze and the different ways in which this concept has been taken up in the tourism studies literature. This chapter ends with a review of the hopeful tourism literature, within which I situate this current study.

### **2.1 Tourism and Poverty**

What role can tourism play in alleviating poverty in the Majority World<sup>1</sup>? Tourism was identified as a strategy for modernization in the 1950s (Scheyvens, 2011) and began to be

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<sup>1</sup> The countries of the world that are considered to be comparatively economically impoverished can be referred to under a dizzying and ever-growing array of terminologies. The ‘Third World’ is the term most commonly known from my childhood, which originally made reference to the west as the First World, the Soviet economies as Second, and the rest as Third. Efforts to effectively supplant this dated wording have included the terms lesser developed economies (LDCs), the Global South, the Majority World, emergent economies, lean economies, and lower- and middle-income countries (LMICs or LICs and MICs) (Silver, 2015). While ‘developing world’ seems to be the most prevalent, this term has also come under criticism for its implied hierarchy between ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ nations and the relationship that this has to colonial ways of knowing. In this work I have opted to use the term ‘Majority World,’ the terminology supported by both the Associated Press and US National Public Radio (Silver, 2015), which to me strives to de-privilege Western primacy and pathways to development and places emphasis on the global significance of this part of our world.

promoted by national governments and extra-national development agencies (such as the World Bank and the United Nations) as a formal economic industry with high growth potential, low barriers to entry, and employment prospects for both women and men (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). In addition to showing signs of becoming one of the largest industries in the world, by the early 1960s tourism had already been recognized as playing a role in the ‘development<sup>2</sup>’ of societies in the Majority World (Nash, 1996, p. 1). The explosive growth of international tourism in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century allowed many nations, particularly smaller Caribbean and South-Pacific island states, to move away from the mono-cultivation of export crops to create jobs and infrastructure related to the tourism industry (Britton, 1982).

As a vehicle for the alleviation of poverty in the Majority World, numerous micro-level, single-industry (i.e. an individual resort or a single safari company), or regional studies have documented positive livelihood changes amongst low-income stakeholders as a result of investments in tourism development (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). Scheyvens (2011), despite her largely critical perspective of the influence of tourism in poverty alleviation, highlights Blake *et al.*’s 2003 study demonstrating large-scale income growth as a result of tourism development in Brazil, particularly amongst lower-income populations (p. 71-73).

Despite there being some evidence for job creation and increased GDP in conjunction with tourism growth in the Majority World, by as early as 1975, Turner and Ash had declared that tourism had “proved remarkably ineffective as a promoter of equality and as an ally of the oppressed” (p. 53). A number of tourism scholars began to question the assumption that growth

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<sup>2</sup> ‘Development’ in this context is a contested word, and one I use with caution. The terms ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’ are common in development discourses, based in western hierarchical notions of the ‘First World’ as having arrived at some socio-economic objective, and the ‘Third World’ perennially struggling to catch up with the First (Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

in tourism automatically led to the alleviation of poverty (c.f. de Kadt, 1979; Nash, 1977; Smith, 1977), and these notions gained significant theoretical support from Britton's (1981, 1982) influential work in framing 'Third World' nations' tourism industries firmly within the context of dependency theory (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Parallels between the core-periphery relationships and resource-extractive nature of colonialism began to be drawn in relation to the unequal north-south experiences of international travel flows (Britton, 1982; de Kadt, 1979; Nash, 1977; Smith, 1977).

Economic data and qualitative case studies have consistently belied modernization's theory's assurance that the benefits of tourism growth will accrue throughout society and lead to economic growth for all. Much has been made of tourism leakages, wherein an estimated 40 to 80 percent of tourists' expenditures does not remain in the host country (due to spending on foreign-owned airlines, multinational hotel chains, imported foodstuffs, etc.) (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011). However, Mitchell and Ashley (2007) and Mitchell *et al.*, (2009) demonstrate that, in certain instances, of the small proportion of tourist spending that remains in the host country, an important proportion of that *does* reach the poor. Despite these small gains, scores of case studies have emerged demonstrating the tourism industry's harmful impact on people who are poor in terms of forced relocations (c.f. in Guatemala (Flynn, 1996), Kenya (Monbiot, 1994; Olerokonga, 1992), Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2004), and Cambodia (Scheyvens, 2011)), access to drinking water (c.f. in Indonesia (Cole, 2014, 2017), Mowforth & Munt, 2009), beach access and fishing rights (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010; Scheyvens, 2011), and agricultural self-sufficiency (Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011), not to mention the exploitative and devastating impacts of the not-uncommon practices of sex tourism, tribal tourism, and 'last chance' tourism.



Tourism's harmful impacts on social structures and the environment, the forced relocations of local people, and the neo-colonial nature of power relations between local people and the tourism industry led to vocal criticisms of notions of 'tourism for development' in the 1970s (Britton, 1982; de Kadt, 1979; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Scheyvens, 2011). This movement away from 'tourism for development' coincided with the neoliberal politics of the 1980s, which in turn led to a development industry focus on structural adjustment policies; largely failed efforts to 'realign' the Majority World's national economic policies with the priorities and objectives of 'First World' lender nations which, in turn, led to a refocusing of development efforts on 'poverty alleviation' and "the new poverty agenda" in the 1990s (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 172; Harrison, 2008). As a result, The British Department for International Development (DFID) began considering alternatives to aid allocation and restructuring, including what became known as pro-poor tourism (PPT) (Hall, 2007).

The international development community's renewed interest in poverty alleviation, coupled with new forms of purportedly less destructive tourism (e.g. eco-tourism) led some researchers and tourism industry stakeholders to once again begin conceptualizing tourism as a potential solution to help local communities move away from poverty and dependency (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2010; Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Mowforth & Munt, 2003, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011).

There are compelling reasons to advocate for the expansion of the tourism industry to support the economies of countries in Africa and throughout the Majority World. In 2011, global tourists' expenditures totaled over three times what was spent on official development assistance (ODA), approximately USD\$1.05 trillion, while 'emerging economy' countries played host to 45% of all international arrivals in 2016 (UNWTO, 2017). Scheyvens (2011) has quoted the former president of Counterpoint International, an international development organization, as

saying, “tourism represents the largest transfer of resources from the rich to the poor in history, and for those of us in the development community – *tourism is the most potent anti-poverty tool ever*” (p. 1, italics in original). Heavily promoted by the United Nations (UN) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), tourism development is now a component of most of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) drafted by Majority World governments beginning in 1999 as a requirement for debt relief from the World Bank and the IMF (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). Pro-poor tourism calls for tourism that “provides *net* benefits for the economically poor” (Roe *et al.*, 2004, p. 12). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, formerly the WTO), and PPT advocates claim that the benefits of tourism to the poor can include: increased incomes and employment in the formal sector; jobs for women and low-skilled workers; improved self-esteem; investments in infrastructure; increased markets for goods and services; and, economic development in areas with little to no opportunity for economic diversification (Cole & Eriksson, 2010; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Roe *et al.*, 2004; UNWTO & SNV, 2010). While there is a surprising lack of information regarding just how much economic impact tourism development has had for people living in poverty in the Majority World, there is little question that tourism does create jobs and opportunities in places with seemingly few other economic options, and as such tourism development is often eagerly sought by Majority World governments (Cole & Eriksson, 2010; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010; Sindinga, 1999).

The pro-poor tourism movement has tended to avoid the blind optimism of earlier pushes of ‘tourism for development.’ Within the PPT framework, tourism is not constructed as a panacea to inequality or poverty in the world, nor is it anti-capitalist or utopian in its objectives (Harrison, 2008). Pro-poor tourism is not invested in expanding the size of the tourism industry;

rather, its focus is on expanding entrepreneurial opportunities within existing tourism structures (Harrison, 2008; Roe *et al.*, 2003; Spencely & Seif, 2003). Other poverty alleviation schemes have not been successful because they have focused primarily on the poorest of the poor (Scheyvens, 2011). PPT advocates acknowledge that the non-poor also stand to profit, and that in fact tourism benefits may not be at all accessible to the poorest of the poor, however their objective remains a focus on net benefits to the poor (Harrison, 2008). They also recognize that ‘benefits’ extend far beyond income improvements, and their objectives also include “non-cash livelihood benefits,” such as capacity building, networking, skills development, and shared access to local resources (Meyer, Ashley, & Poultney, 2004). According to Spencely & Seif (2003), tourism’s potential for being pro-poor lies in four of its characteristics: 1) The tourism industry is diverse, meaning that a range of people of differing capacities may be able to participate; 2) The customer already exists and comes to the producer; 3) Tourism depends on natural resources, which is something that poorer communities may have access to, barring other forms of capital; and, 4) Tourism can provide more opportunities for employment for women than many other modern industries (p. 7). Further, the PPT premise can be applied to any form of tourism, including large-scale and mass tourism (Harrison, 2008; Roe *et al.*, 2004; Scheyvens, 2011).

Despite these grounded and laudable intentions, pro-poor tourism has come up against a number of critiques (Harrison, 2008). The most prevalent being that despite the economic argument that tourism has the potential to create formal sector jobs that would not exist otherwise, there is little evidence to show that tourism can have positive impacts on other indicators of improved well-being, including gender equality, access to education, and political representation, nor that the profits earned from tourism have played a role in alleviating poverty

(Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011). In fact, some would argue that PPT strategies on their own have had very little economic impact for the poor (Harrison, 2008). Many nations, which have seen a rise in GDP as a result of tourism growth “were not specifically targeted by PPT strategies” (Harrison, 2003, p. 861). Further, PPT has been denounced for its failure to challenge structural inequities that are at the root of persistent poverty (Harrison, 2008; Scheyvens, 2011). Indeed, by aligning itself within neoliberal frameworks and capitalistic objectives, PPT initiatives have been accused of “undercut[ting] ‘sustainable livelihoods’ and exacerbate[ing], rather than alleviat[ing], poverty” (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 273). The lack of any measurement tools to even approximate ‘net benefits to the poor,’ given all the factors that are now known to comprise a state of ‘poverty’ beyond access to financial capital (c.f. Narayan *et al.*, 2000; Sen, 1999), makes it very difficult to comprehend what constitutes ‘net’ benefit for any given individual or community. Finally, the fact that PPT assigns little moral valuation to differing forms of tourism may potentially mean that any tourism that “demonstrably increases net incomes of the poor,” including (theoretically) sex tourism, could constitute a form of PPT (Harrison, 2008, p. 859).

Pro-Poor Tourism’s objectives in making today’s tourism industry more beneficial to the poor are admirable, and arguably more attainable than approaches to poverty alleviation that depend on a reordering of global structures and capital flows, however it still does not go far enough in terms of challenging forms of tourism that lack local decision-making, objectify and exploit workers, erode environmental capacities, and further entrench social and economic inequality. The Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership’s assertion that tourism is a positive force for development because local people have no other income alternatives is hardly a strong rationale for promoting the establishment of an industry that has been known to have significantly

devastating impacts on poor communities in terms of environmental degradation, loss of livelihood, economic subjugation, and cultural appropriation (Cole & Eriksson, 2010; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Scheyvens, 2011; Thomas, 2000).

This section has served as a brief introduction to the interconnections between the notions of tourism and poverty in the context of ‘development.’ The following section will take us from the attempted use of tourism to alleviate poverty, to poverty itself becoming the focus of the tourist’s gaze. Touristic imagery depicting the ‘exotic Other,’ privileged tourists’ quests for a mythical lost past, and growing interest in touristic experiences that push the boundaries and lead to ‘authentic’ encounters with the ‘real’ residents of host places all contribute to a fascination on the part of tourists to come face to face with poverty whilst travelling in the Majority World. The following section will consider some of the sources and implications of this phenomenon.

## **2.2 Touring Poverty**

As early as 1976, MacCannell identified the quest for authenticity as a driving force behind tourists from industrialized nations seeking encounters with the Other. This has often been expressed through tourists participating in Indigenous ceremonies, visiting tribal villages, or collecting traditional handicrafts from the places they visit. A more recent phenomenon to emerge in mainstream touristic practice is that of visiting a slum, based in a growing awareness of the preponderance of urban dwellers in the Majority World living in these marginalized spaces, and a desire to interact with the ‘real’ host city. Modern slum tourism is widely understood to have begun under the auspices of the social justice movements in South Africa and Brazil of the early 1990s (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012, 2016; Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009). While tours to underprivileged and so-called ‘unconventional’ neighbourhoods in cities of the global North, including New Orleans, Prague, and Vancouver have sprung up recently, this

form of tourism has seen its real flourishing in the megacities of the south, such as Mumbai, Rio de Janeiro, Johannesburg, and Nairobi, among others (Kassam, 2013). Presented as an amalgamation of “misery and leisure, suffering and fun” (Freire-Medeiros, 2013, p. 1), slum tours claim to educate foreign visitors about the real life in the city, while also allowing the tourists to participate in a form of tourism that may have direct financial benefits for the poor (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, Koens & Steinbrink, 2012; Manfred, 2010).

Through tourism, the slums are reconstructed as places of cultural value, places where the ‘real’ [insert city name here] exists, where the tourists can participate in ‘authentic’ encounters with local people (Basu, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012; Manfred, 2010). While I and other researchers use the term ‘slum tourism’ to represent excursions to underprivileged urban areas, it must be stated that the term ‘slum’ is highly contested and is rarely used when referring to the impoverished neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro (*favelas*), South Africa (townships), or Tanzania (unplanned settlements). Further, slum tourism operators<sup>3</sup> will often refer to ‘reality tours,’ ‘educational tours,’ ‘ethical tours,’ or ‘cultural tours,’ instead of advertising ‘poverty’ or ‘slum’ tours. Some critics have objected to these frequently used terms, arguing that they obscure the fact that other aspects of the city, including monuments, museums, financial structures, and natural heritage also contribute to the ‘reality’ and cultural significance of that place (Basu, 2010). These terms also obscure the fact that many tourists choose to participate in these tours with the objective of viewing and consuming poverty (Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009).

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<sup>3</sup> As shall be described in greater detail below, ‘slum tourism operators’ can range from internationally-owned tourism operations offering a wide range of excursions, to a single young resident of a slum who has access to a few bicycles.

The practice of entering a slum, defined by Merriam-Webster (2018) as “a densely populated usually urban area marked by crowding, dirty run-down housing, poverty, and social disorganization,” for the purpose of touristic fun and edification has been critiqued on a number of fronts. The most common charge is that of voyeurism, that the poverty of some of the most marginalized people on Earth is being exhibited for the entertainment of privileged tourists (Basu, 2012; Manfred, 2010; Meschkank, 2012; Steinbrink, Frenzel & Koens, 2012). Opponents argue that this form of tourism robs the poor of their very humanity, treating them with little more regard than animals in a zoo (Fennell, 2006; Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Steinbrink, Frenzel & Koens, 2012). As David Fennell, professor of tourism ethics at Brock University, has stated, “Would you want people stopping outside of your front door every day or maybe twice a day, snapping a few pictures of you and making some observations about your lifestyle?” (as cited in Weiner, 2008).

Frenzel (2012) uses the term ‘poverty porn’ to describe the practice of viewing impoverished spaces for touristic entertainment (p. 57). Further, there has been some concern that the attractiveness of a slum as a tourist attraction lies in its dilapidated and ‘chaotic’ state (Scheyvens, 2011). Scheyvens (2011) has suggested that income generated by the tours may serve as a disincentive to development, even after profits generated from tourism have made infrastructural improvements possible (p. 84). Even in instances where profits from the tours are being reinvested back into host communities, it is acknowledged that often local people have little or no democratic involvement in the way the tours are delivered (Freire-Medeiros, 2012), nor ability to resist the tourists’ presence. In 2015, a South African political youth group called LiveSA made a video in which a number of youth traveled to the primarily white neighbourhood of Camps Bay in Cape Town and asked the people they met on the street what they were doing

while one of the youth snapped photos. In the video of their '[alternative township tour](#),' the white community members react angrily to what one describes as 'harassment.' Yet, in the clip of the white tourists taking photos in the township there is no confrontation nor questioning of their right to be there.

Despite criticisms, a number of arguments have been made in favour of the practice of slum tourism in the Majority World. The most significant of these is that it brings tourism spending directly into the communities that need it most, in the form of locally-employed guides, purchases of handicrafts or prepared food, and donations at sites featured on the tours (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012, 2016; Frenzel, Koens & Steinbrink, 2012; Manfred, 2010). Slums exist as a result of complex historical, social, economic, and political factors, often ignored or rendered invisible by local governance, and to visit a slum is also to render it visible, to call international attention to the plight of the urban poor, and therefore potentially make it politically awkward for urban governments to continue to neglect these spaces (Scheyvens, 2011). Tourism to the slums also creates ripple effects, and local entrepreneurs will take advantage in order to create spin-off businesses such as bird-watching in Soweto, Johannesburg (York, 2018), bed and breakfasts in Rio de Janeiro's favelas (Darlington, 2015), and micro-enterprises in the townships around Cape Town (Koens & Thomas, 2016). Welcoming international visitors into their communities also gives residents an opportunity to develop local pride, celebrate their culture, and share their oral histories (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012, 2016; Frenzel, Koens & Steinbrink, 2012; Manfred, 2010).

In their study with tourists, guides, and township tourism stakeholders around Cape Town, South Africa, Rolfes, Steinbrink, and Uhl (2009) found that township residents shared an overwhelmingly positive perception of tourists in their communities, expressed a desire to share



their culture and history, to interact with the tourists and tell their personal experiences, and to demonstrate how life is improving in the townships. In addition, the tourists interviewed as a part of the same study demonstrated markedly more positive attitudes regarding the townships and their residents after participating in a tour than when they were initially surveyed prior to setting out for the townships (Figure 1). This suggests that slum tours may have a significant role to play in changing people's perceptions regarding the urban poor and the spaces they inhabit.

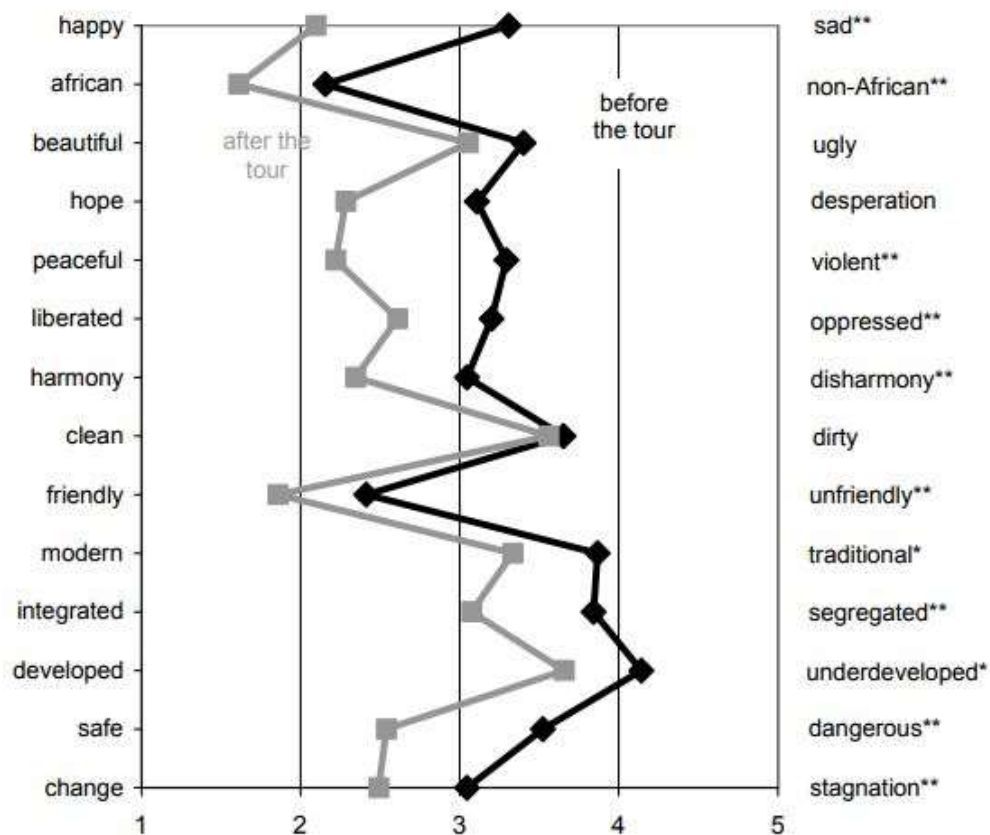


Figure 1. Evaluation of specific aspects of the townships before and after the tour (Source: Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009).

In addition to the potential positive and negative aspects of this form of tourism for host communities, an additional consideration must be the question of what motivates tourists to participate, particularly in light of the often-scathing accusations of voyeurism and exploitation

of the poor. The terms ‘poverty tourism’ or ‘poorism’ suggest that poverty is the central attraction, that consuming poverty is the main objective of these tourists (Freire-Medeiros, 2013; Frenzel, 2012; Meschkank, 2012; Muldoon & Mair, 2016). In their study, Rolfes, Steinbrink, and Uhl (2009) survey tourists about the concepts they associated with townships prior to their departing on a tour. Overwhelmingly, the number one response was ‘poverty’ at 65 percent of responses; the next closest responses were ‘black residents’ and ‘apartheid’ with 32 and 29 percent of responses, respectively. The authors’ conclusion was that, “[i]f one interprets these results on the basis of the plausible hypothesis that what the tourists *expect* to see and what they *hope* to see is largely identical – then township tourism appears to be a specific form of ‘negative sightseeing’” (Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009, p. 37).

In spite of this, when these same study participants were asked their reasons for going on a township tour, none responded that they chose to tour to view poverty. Instead, the reasons given were: interest in local culture and people (24 percent); to learn about African history (23 percent); to experience the diversity of Cape Town (16 percent); and, interest in participating in a group tour (12.5%) (Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009). From both the operators’ and the tourists’ perspectives slum tours are not framed in the context of consuming poverty. Slums become reconstructed as areas of cultural heritage and/or historical significance (Frenzel, 2012). Soweto, for instance, the birthplace of Nelson Mandela and Bishop Desmond Tutu and the site of the June 16, 1976 uprising (discussed in greater detail below), has been reconstituted as the heart of the anti-apartheid movement and as a space where tourists can come and commune directly with black South Africans’ struggles for freedom (Freire-Maderios, 2012, p. 38-42; Frenzel, 2016; van Kessel, 2012). The constructed experience is therefore not about the exploitation of the marginal living conditions within the township, but about tourists choosing to create an opportunity to

engage with the poor, to bear witness to their lives, to share in an ‘authentic’ experience (Freire-Madeiros, 2012; Frenzel, 2016; Muldoon & Mair, 2016). The tourists perceive themselves as wanting to learn about the complexity of the society they are visiting and how it differs from their own cultural context, not as consuming poverty out of curiosity (Muldoon & Mair, 2016).

While it is impossible to oversimplify slum tourism as wholly benevolent or wholly exploitative, it is essential to look at the practice of slum tourism in the broader context of critical studies of tourism in the Majority World. The following sections will consider the ways in which tourism parallels colonialism, the power differential that exists between tourists and tourees (van den Burghe, 1994), the processes of Othering within tourism, and the multiple ways in which the notion of the gaze has been taken up in tourism studies.

### **2.3 Postcolonialism and Tourism**

In her 1998 book, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Ania Loomba cites the Oxford English Dictionary’s (then) definition of colonialism as:

a settlement in a new country...a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up (p. 1).

What she observes as remarkable about this definition is that it makes no mention of the people already occupying the land when the colonialists arrive, nor of the struggle they faced (and continue to face) in terms of maintaining their sovereignty, their customs and language, and their rights to exist on the land. As Tuck and Yang (2012) remind us, settler colonialists are not immigrants – they do not arrive with the intention of living according to Indigenous laws and assimilating into the existing society (p. 6). Rather, colonialism is a violent disruption of the

existing society, in its most extreme forms resulting in the near total annihilation of Indigenous customs, languages, and knowledges.

Motivations for colonial conquest have been economic, political, military, or religious (wa Thiong'o, 1986), however all its forms were rooted in "the expansion of a society's interests abroad...imposed on or adopted by an alien society, and involving intersocietal transactions, marked by the ebb and flow of power" (Nash, 1989, p. 38). At its zenith in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modern capitalistic colonialism involved vast flows of resources globally, always to the advantage of the European core at the expense of the Asian and African peripheries, and involved the total economic restructuring of the economies of the colonialized regions (Loomba, 1998, p. 3). The period of 1947 to 1967, roughly, is described as the great time of decolonization, where the majority of colonized nations gained independence from their European occupiers, however the socio-cultural, economic, and political impacts of colonialism continue to reverberate throughout our increasingly globalized society (Loomba, 1998).

The Kenyan novelist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o described the effects of colonialism as "total," entailing "economic, political, military, cultural, and psychological consequences for the people of the world today" (1986, p. 2). While economic interest and the quest for resources was undoubtedly at the heart of many colonial conquests, for many writers, particularly amongst those hailing from colonized or formerly colonized nations, the most insidious effects of the colonial experience are left on the colonized person's sense of self and their psyches. The Martinican psychiatrist and novelist Frantz Fanon was one of the earliest to write, from a passionate and deeply personal level, of the ego destroying nature of colonialism. To colonize, according to Fanon, is to completely dehumanize the colonized person, to deny their very being, and to relate to them as one would a child or an imbecile. The only way for the colonized person

to regain some sense of humanity, Fanon writes in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967, first published in French in 1952), is to adopt the language and the mannerisms of the colonizer, to reject all in you that is native and to strive to be recognized as an equal of the colonizer. But, of course, this is never possible; one's dark skin forever marks a person as inferior, and all that is left is a shell of that person with no history, religion, or language to remind them of who they once were.

Fanon's mentor Aimé Césaire wrote of how colonialism destroys the colonizer, that the fact of engaging in colonialism must be born of an already sick society, and that colonialism "works to *decivilize* the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism....and, slowly but surely, the continent proceeds toward *savagery* (Césaire, 1972, p. 2-3). In his *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972, first published in French in 1952), Césaire stated an equation: "colonization = "thing-ification" (p. 6). Thus, colonialism is a process which destroys both the colonizer and the colonized: the former is turned savage, and the latter is turned into a sub-human object. Césaire mourns the loss of potential that colonialism ushers in to its conquered territories, as he writes about the "millions of men torn from their gods, their land, their habits, their life-from life, from the dance, from wisdom. I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair, and behave like flunkies" (Césaire, 1972, p. 6-7).

For Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, one of the most devastating impacts of colonialism is the loss of one's language, for language contains within it a people's history, sense of identity, and relationship to the land. When colonized peoples are forced to adopt the colonizer's language and forbidden to speak their own, they adopt a language wherein their own people are only ever

inferior, where their culture has no pride or honour, and wherein they will always occupy second-class status in their home country (1986). This was particularly devastating for children, who were compelled to see their native languages only in terms of stupidity, inferiority, and barbarism (wa Thiong'o, 1986). For wa Thiong'o, who ceased writing in English in 1986, the most insidious effect of colonialism is its unleashing of a "culture bomb", which serves to:

...annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other people's languages rather than their own (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 3).

While the aims of colonialism were primarily economic, and those economic objectives are achieved through the imposition of foreign institutions and military might, colonialism was at its most effective when it came to occupy the "mental universe" of a colonized people, achieved through the "destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser" (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 16). This mental control effectively made economic and political control possible, as it altered the ways in which colonized people were able to perceive themselves and their relationships with those around them. The psychologically-devastating impacts of colonialism - often lasting many generations – have instilled a form of internal colonialism, which endures long after the political, economic, and educational structures of a formal institutionalized colonialism have been removed.

The commonalities between tourism and colonial ways of knowing and engaging with the Other have long been noted (Ateljevic, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2007; Nash, 1996). Tourism was declared to be a new form of colonialism by Nash (1977, 1996) due to its pervasive cultural

influence and the speed with which its influence has spread to all corners of the globe. Both tourism and colonialism serve to essentialize and fragment notions of Indigenous identity, which foster “sedimented historical explanations of Indigenous culture,” picking and choosing which elements of Indigenous culture are of value and worthy of preserving, and those which are not (Hollinshead, 1992, p. 43; Grimwood *et al.*, 2015).

According to Hall and Tucker (2004), “tourism both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships” (p. 2). As early as the mid-1970s scholars such as Nash (1977), Turner and Ash (1975), and Smith (1977) began recognizing the relationships between colonial ways of knowing and touristic representations of a place and its people, particularly in the formerly colonized nations of the Majority World. In 1977, Matthews declared tourism to be a new form of “plantation economy,” in which smaller nations, particularly in the South Pacific, are established merely as plantations for the ‘paradise’ retreats desired by the residents of wealthy formerly colonializing nations. In the past, the plantations produced bananas or gold or sugar cane for export to Europe: today, they produce the image of paradise that is promoted to potential tourists who are eager to consume sun, sand, and sea (Britton, 1982; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Matthews, 1977). Tourism parallels colonialism in many of its most prominent forms: mass tourists travelling to mega-luxury resorts in the south, inspired by images of indulgence and privilege; adventure tourists travelling to remote areas of the planet in order to ‘discover’ the region before others, and; cultural tourism, where the purpose is to explore different ways of being and wonder at the strange social norms of the Other (van den Burghe, 1994). Brown (2013) asks us to consider the 4-stage process of colonialism in the context of tourism development:

The first involves establishing new power structures and new organizational principles. Then, settlers are used as a tool to displace local people and maintain a presence in the location. A supporting ideology is provided as a justification for this dispossession, usually

depicting the local people as inferior Others *vis-à-vis* the settler. Finally, structural changes are reflected in social and legal institutions, further disenfranchising the local people and empowering the settler (p. 6-7).

The institutions and infrastructures of tourism lead to the adoption of the culture and values of the tourists, replacing and erasing those of the local people (Greenwood, 1977; Hollinshead, 2004). Tourists may not conceive of themselves as colonizers, considering that they are only at the destination for two or three weeks (Brown, 2013). However, from the locals' perspective, the tourists are always there, 365 days a year, effectively resulting in a permanent displacement of local people and the colonization of the areas in question (Brown, 2013).

As with colonialism, travellers depart for parts unknown with expectations regarding what they will encounter already firmly in place: this 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) will often be reinforced by what the tourists are shown, or choose to see, while they are away from home (Brown, 2013; Palmer, 1994; Tucker, 2009). Tourists are also sometimes able to control their experiences and encounters due to their economic advantage over local people (Brown, 2013). In these instances, they are able to choose to see only that which aligns with what they had hoped or expected to see while on holiday and are facilitated in easily overlooking other realities in host societies. However, and as we shall see in the following section regarding relationships of power in the touristic encounter, it is often the hosts who have control over what the tourists are able to see, a notion which disrupts the ordered power-laden/powerless binary established by the colonial analogy of tourism (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz, 2005).

Postcolonial theory, which shall be discussed in greater detail in the following section, has been instrumental in exploring the ways that tourists' understandings of the Other are power-laden, have been informed and legitimated historically, and continue to be enacted upon the people they encounter as the "toured Other" (Tucker, 2009, p. 447). There is a growing body of



work exploring tourism encounters and experiences from a postcolonial perspective. According to Grimwood *et al.* (2015), postcolonial theory is employed in order “to identify and disrupt structures and ramifications of colonialism communicated in and through touristic understandings, practices, and representations of responsibility” (p. 24). In this sense, postcoloniality does not necessarily refer to a temporal state, as in of coming *after* the state of being politically and economically dominated by a foreign power. Rather, postcolonial theory seeks to disrupt comfortable assumptions about ‘truth’ and ‘history’ as established by western colonial interests, to critique the “projection of the west as history” (Prakash, 1994, p. 1475), and to open up pathways to “challenge the epistemic, ideological and political authority of western and elite knowledge” (Chowdry & Nair, 2002, p. 13). It is about questioning the assumptions that we bring to our understandings of the world and its peoples, examining the structures that underpin those assumptions, and interrogating the role that colonialism has played in “underpinning and normalizing” the assumptions that we have about the world (Grimwood *et al.*, 2015, p. 24; McLeod, 2000).

Hollinshead (1992) employs Michel Foucault’s thinking regarding “the powerful objectifying gaze of the tourist system” (p. 43), charging that tourists impose fragmented and partial ‘white’ understandings of Indigenous culture on the Native Peoples, customs, and artifacts consumed through tourism. Tucker (2009) explores postcolonial encounters through tourism in Turkey and the deeply unsettling and transformative feelings of shame that often accompany such encounters. Understandings of responsible tourism in remote Northern Canada were explored using postcolonial theory by Grimwood *et al.* (2015), who considered what implications these assumptions had on the landscape and the Indigenous Peoples who inhabit it. Hall and Tucker (2004) have dedicated an edited volume to the study of tourism and postcolonialism,

which includes studies of the worldmaking and discursively constructive nature of tourism (Hollinshead, 2004; Simmons, 2004; Wels, 2004), colonial and postcolonial expressions of heritage through tourism (Duvall, 2004; Henderson, 2004; Marschall, 2004), and the control of tourism in postcolonial contexts (Akama, 2004; du Cros, 2004).

Much work has been dedicated to examining how images and representations in tourism invariably depict local residents and non-western Others, as “mysterious, backward, sensual, deviant, and peripheral” (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 192) in a manner that is highly reminiscent of colonial ways of knowing (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006; Cohen, 1995; Echtner & Prasad, 2003). Mowforth and Munt (2003) refer to the “subservience” that is inherent in tourism in the Majority World (p. 44), Cole and Eriksson (2010) talk of the “master-servant relationship” that is reminiscent of colonial times (p. 110), and Higgins-Desbiolles (2010) decries the “exploitative nature” of some forms of tourism (p. 195).

At the root of all of these encounters are relationships of power. Researchers have tended to focus on the staggering power imbalances that exist between tourists and hosts, where the tourists are vested with far greater power in terms of wealth, access to leisure, and freedom of movement whereas local tourism hosts, particularly in the Majority World, have little ability to resist the gaze and demands of the tourists due to their relative economic powerlessness. The following section will further explore these issues of power imbalances, as well as how tourism hosts are increasingly being understood as possessing power of their own.

## **2.4 Tourism and Power**

While the discourse of tourism speaks of unproblematic pleasure and endlessly welcoming hosts, scholars approaching the study of tourism from a postcolonial and/or feminist

perspective are concerned with examining tourism's inherent imbalances of power (Aitchison, 2001; McRae, 2003). Caton (2012) describes tourism as an activity, which "at once speaks of light-hearted pleasure and heavy social consequences" (p. 1907), while Hollinshead (1998) calls it "the industry of difference par excellence" (p. 49). Aitchison (2001) suggests that the tourism industry could very easily be reconceptualised as "the world's most sex-segregated service sector or the world's most sex-role stereotyped industry" (p. 133). The tourists are constructed as the "speaking subjects" whereas the local people are given roles as the "centre of the talk," leaving little doubt that the tourist/western/wealthy minority continues to dominate over the local/Othered/impooverished majority (Aitchison, 2001, p. 136).

The over-simplified imagery of local, often Indigenous, people in tourism silences the complexities and variegated identities of local people, as well as how their cultures have evolved and changed along with the rest of the world (Aitchison, 2001; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010). Cultural tours, which allow travellers to "sample" traditional cultures and ceremonies for their own enjoyment and edification reinforce the power of the tourists to take or leave whatever pleases them, much as colonialists had (and have) for centuries (Hanna *et al.*, 2015, p. 302; Fennel, 2006; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). According to Salazar (2005), tourists are primarily interested in "an often pre-imagined authentic, exotic, traditional (not to say primitive) way of life" (p. 640) and tourism guides often have little power to resist their roles in "folklorizing, ethnicizing, and exoticizing" (p. 629) local cultures and peoples. Among tourism scholars there is growing understanding that tourism is not only about seeing the world but is in very many ways a powerful shaper of *how* the world and its people can come to be known and understood (Aitchison, 2001; Hollinshead, 2010). Much of the work in critical tourism studies related to worldmaking and representation is based in the theories of the French philosopher Michel

Foucault and his revelations about the fluid and multidirectional nature of power in the creation of knowledge in society.

Michel Foucault was one of the most pre-eminent social theorists of the twentieth century. Much of his work, starting with *The Birth of the Clinic* in 1963<sup>4</sup>, is concerned with the exercise of power in society (see Foucault 1973, 1977, 1988, 1991). For Foucault, all knowledge is a result of power relations, it is power that shapes discourse, affirming what can and cannot be known to be “true” within a given society (Foucault, 1991). However, Foucault’s notions of power are not concerned with binaries nor in the identification of the ‘dominators’ on one end and the ‘dominated’ on the other (Foucault, 1988, p. 37-38). As he wrote, “we must not look for who has the power...and who is deprived of it; nor for who has the right to know and who is forced to remain ignorant. We must seek, rather, the pattern of the modifications which the relationships of force imply by the very nature of their process” (Foucault, 1978, p. 99). Power flows in multiple directions, consists of multiple modalities, and is never stable (Foucault, 1978). As such, power is constitutive of *possibility*: “What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse” (Foucault, 1980, p. 119).

Foucault sought to eliminate references to power in exclusively negative terms, to think of power rather as something that produces: “it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production” (Foucault, 1977, p. 194). Power creates knowledge, it normalizes and strengthens

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<sup>4</sup> The English translation was first published in 1973.

discourse, and knowledge in turn “induces effects of power,” such that it is not possible to consider power and knowledge as separate entities (Foucault, 1980, p. 52). Foucault felt so strongly about the inseparable nature of power and knowledge that he often referred to the unified term ‘power-knowledge’ in his later writings (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

Foucault’s work has been significant in the critical study of tourism for the ways in which flows of power in society are used to establish and normalize the ‘reality’ of a place and its people (Cheong & Miller, 2003; Hollinshead, 1992, 2007, 2009). Tourists cast an ‘inspecting gaze,’ significant because so much of tourism relies on hermeneutic imagery and the manipulation of those images for tourism marketing (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Both *Orientalism* (1978) by Edward Said and *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) by John Urry, two highly influential works in the field of critical tourism studies, drew much of their foundations from Foucauldian thought (Hanna *et al.*, 2015).

The influence and importance of these two works in shaping understandings of postcolonial theory and the effects of the gaze will be discussed in greater detail below. However, there has been some critique that the central ideas in these two works represent a fragmented or impartial understanding of Foucault’s conceptualization of power (see Hollinshead, 1999; Hollinshead & Kuon, 2013) due to their framing of power as residing solely with the colonizer or with the tourist. In *Orientalism* (1978), the colonized peoples are subjected to characterizations and preconceived understandings that are cast upon them by the colonizers; they become static productions of the ‘orientalizing’ effect of the colonizers’ gaze. Likewise, in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), tourism hosts come under the powerful, objectifying gaze of the tourist and have little or no ability to resist or otherwise define themselves in the tourists’ perspectives. Foucault did not conceive of power as being static or being wholly possessed by any institution

or group of people (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Foucault, 1978; Hollinshead, 1999; Mills, 2003). Instead, he conceptualized power as being fluid and in constant flux, a “complex strategical situation” and never resting exclusively within one body or actor (Foucault, 1978, p. 93). Power can also be constructive and used to resist and empower (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

Cheong and Miller (2000) conducted a Foucauldian analysis of power in tourism and found that, unlike in much of the work that had previously been done in tourism studies (including *The Tourist Gaze* (Urry, 1990), but also Britton, 1982; Greenwood, 1977; Nash, 1977; Turner & Ash, 1975), much of the power in the host-guest encounter rests in the hands of the hosts and tourism brokers, in addition to those of the tourists. While the tourists are not physically constrained in the same way as the subjects considered by Foucault - prisoners, children, and the mentally ill - tourists are in a vulnerable position because of the insecurity inherent in being away from home (Cheong & Miller, 2000). The tourists have limited understanding of the local political climate, cultural norms, and (often) language, and are a long way away from their customary support networks (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Cheong and Miller’s analysis concluded that tourists in fact have very little freedom in terms of their movements, their choices about where to go and what to see being constrained by guidebooks, tourism agents, and passive and active resistance on the part of local people (2000, p. 381-382). Their study is considered in greater detail below, in the discussion regarding the gaze in tourism. First, let us turn our attention to the notion of Othering, a concept deeply rooted in relationships of power, and foundational to the works of Said, Urry, and many other prominent postcolonial, feminist, and critical scholars.

### 2.4.1 Othering

The Other is a fundamental concept in feminism, postcolonialism, critical tourism studies, leisure studies, and anthropology. The Other is represented as the marginalized pole in the us-versus-them binary. The Other is an object of fear and contempt because of his or her difference and is used to define and reinforce the ‘us’ boundary (Caton & Santos, 2009; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Often characterized as lazy, deviant, uncivilized, backwards, ignorant, and unable to ‘save’ him or herself, the identification of the Other thus reinforces that the Self, the ‘us’ is, by necessity, the opposite of those traits and therefore fundamentally superior to the Other (Caton & Santos, 2009; Said, 1978).

The notion of the Other is originally rooted in the work of Mead (1934), who described the ‘generalised other’ in the ways in which children look to others to help them understand and internalize social norms (Aitchison, 2001). From there, the concept of the Other was adopted by the feminist movement, most eloquently described by Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* (2011, first published in 1949):

Thus humanity is male and man defines women not in herself but as relative to him: she is not regarded as an autonomous being...She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other (p. 26).

As second wave feminism began to emerge, feminists of colour and Majority World feminists began speaking out against the ways in which mainstream feminists defined ‘women’ as white, western, and educated, thus silencing and Othering voices of difference within the feminist movement. bell hooks’ work has focused on this silencing of black women and other Others’ voices in a patriarchal and racist society, which relies on media to normalize and commodify the status quo:

The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it is offered as a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling. Within commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture. Cultural taboos around sexuality and desire are transgressed and made explicit as the media bombards folks with a message of difference no longer based on the white supremacist notion that “blondes have more fun.” The “real fun” is to be had by bringing to the surface all those “nasty” unconscious fantasies and longings about contact with the Other embedded in the secret (not so secret) deep structure of white supremacy. In many ways it is a contemporary revival of interest in the “primitive,” with a distinctly postmodern slant (hooks, 1992, p. 21-22).

Chilla Bulbeck, writing in 1998, identified a growing interest in Other women, an emergent desire to explore theories of whiteness, and a willingness on the part of western feminists to see their perspectives as grounded in culture and their own particular experiences of race (p. 3-4). Nevertheless, this expansion of interest in understanding the world through the eyes of the female Other was still (and continues to be) grounded in the assumption that the white, western perspective is the normative core, and that all other narratives are little more than “footnotes of difference on the general themes of white women’s lives and experiences” (Bulbeck, 1998, p. 4). From this perspective, the subaltern female cannot speak (Spivak, 1988) because her voice is always being filtered through the perspective of mainstream (read: white) feminist thought.

Our understandings of Otherness have also been deeply influenced by work exploring the legacies of colonialism. Both Frantz Fanon and Edward Said were central to crystalizing understandings of the Othering project inherent in colonialism. In his pre-eminent text *Orientalism* (1978), Said demonstrated how the western imperialist powers had a vested interest in constructing the Oriental Other as weak, primitive, backwards, and in need of the ‘civilizing’ influence of the west (also Said, 1993). The establishment of the colonial Other as ‘irrational’ allowed the west to construct itself – the ‘Self’ as counter to the ‘Other’ - as ‘rational.’ The extractive and exploitative interests of colonialism were thus couched in the language of



salvation. Said pointed out that the west's construction of the Oriental Other is a self-reinforcing and reproducing process:

Every writer on the Orient (and this is true of Homer) assumes some Oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the Orient, to which he refers and on which he relies. Additionally, each work on the Orient *affiliates* itself with other works, with audiences, institutions, with the Orient itself (Said, 1978, p. 20, emphasis in original).

Thus, as Nader argues, Said demonstrated that Othering is a cultural process, continually refined and reinforced within the society, and is not an inevitable result of encountering difference (Nader, 2010, p. 72).

Fanon, in *Black Skin White Masks* (1967), took up the impact of Othering on the colonized person's psyche. Because they have been forced into the position of the subjugated Other, colonized people must attempt to adopt the mannerisms and practices of the colonizer in order to gain acceptance into the imposed society (Fanon, 1967). However hard they may try however, their skin marks them as Other in perpetuity and it is impossible for the colonized person to ever truly transgress the 'us' versus 'them' binary. Bhabha takes up Fanon's ideas in *Location of Culture* (1994), only in this instance the colonized person's inability to completely assimilate with the colonizer is a potential source of strength, as the Other is able to 'mimic' the colonizer but also has the opportunity to resist oppression from behind his or her mask. Seeing the Other in this way creates possibilities for resistance, for speaking back to power, or to wielding one's own power from the position of the subjugated colonized person, as Foucault proposed.

In her influential essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak draws on Gramsci's notion of the subaltern to question whether it is ever possible for the colonial 'subject' to be 'heard' in the (post)colonial subject (Chowdry & Nair, 2002). She argues that western intelligentsia, regardless of its altruistic or liberating motivations, remains grounded in

the western academic order that has always worked to silence and universalize the Other. She uses the Indian practice of *sati* to illustrate how the British attempted to prohibit the practice in order to protect women from a cruel and barbaric social custom, while the Indian authorities strove to defend the act, in order that women might have the opportunity to commit an act of divine self-sacrifice (Spivak, 1988). Women's perspectives on *sati* were either presumed or ignored (Spivak, 1988). The subaltern is always being spoken *for*. Even if the subaltern were to speak, she would surely not be heard.

These represent some of the most significant, but far from the only, voices exploring the notion of the Other. In the following section I consider the ways in which the notion of Othering has been taken up by scholars in the field of critical tourism studies.

#### **2.4.2    *The toured Other***

Aitchison (2003) has observed the inherent paradox in tourism, wherein it serves to break down socio-political boundaries and bring people closer together while at the same time the global tourism industry “serves to inscribe the Otherness of culture and particularly, the Otherness of women and black people” (p. 83). Tourism has always been informed by images and representations, and understanding how gendered and racialized bodies are Othered is of central concern to scholars of tourism (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 191). The ‘myths’ surrounding African, Arab, and Asian peoples and cultures did not begin with tourism – Said (1978) effectively demonstrated how colonialism initiated process of Othering at the first encounters between European and non-European peoples (Silver, 1993). However, tourism imagery and circles of representation (Urry, 1990) continue to legitimize a certain way of knowing about the toured Other, one that is steeped in colonial notions of the Other as primitive, highly sexualized,

ignorant, cunning, and peripheral (Caton & Santos, 2009) and based in a power binary that perpetually privileges the west over the rest.

Tourism images and “texts are characterized by established representations of toured places, people, and culture (Löfgren, 1999; Santos, 2004, 2006) that reflect broader societal ideologies about race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and power” (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 191; Pritchard, 2000; Sirkaya & Sonmez, 2000). Visual and textual representations have power and inform the ways in which we are able to understand the world around us (Santos & Buzinde, 2006). As such, they are more representative of the values and cultural expectations of the society that produces them than they are of the cultures that they purport to represent (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 191). These representations are embedded within relationships of power and become problematic when they “reinforce stereotypes that privilege dominant groups at the expense of others and this helps to reify, or naturalize, power imbalances between racial/ethnic/cultural groups” (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 191; Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). These representations are reminiscent of colonial discourses in that the powerful nations (i.e. the tourist-sending nations) are able to “represent and to dominate” host nations, invariably fixing both the tourist and the Other in relationships that are “inherently colonial in nature” (Tucker, 2009, p. 454-455; Britton, 1979; Echtner & Prasad, 2003). The “speaking subject” is the tourism operator or marketer, whereas the “centre of the talk” is the destination space and its people, leaving little doubt that the power to define and dominate rests in the hands of interests in the west (Aitchison, 2001, p. 136). Tourists arrive with preconceived notions of how hosts should look and behave (Canziani & Francioni, 2013; Urry, 1990; van Beek & Schmidt), and economic need more often than not results in local people conforming to these expectations, leading to a redefinition of their own sense of identity (van Beek & Schmidt, 2012,

p. 20-21) reminiscent of the psychological effects of colonialism (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967; Nyamnjoh, 2016; wa Thiong'o, 1986).

The tourist constructs their image of the Other while in the destination space in a way that is highly reminiscent of colonial relationships, however, in the case of tourism, this Otherness is an essential feature of the tourist's experience (Hall & Tucker, 2004). As Hall and Tucker (2004) have stated, "for the vast majority of people, Otherness is what makes a destination worthy of consumption" (p. 8). Cultures and peoples are essentialized and romanticized as exotic or unchanging and these tropes draw on western myths that have perpetuated for centuries (Caton & Santos, 2009; Salazar, 2005). van Beek and Schmidt (2012) suggest that tourism to Africa, specifically, is based in a myth, because the image of Africa is itself a myth, rooted in western reconstructions of its people and places that demonstrate conclusively that power continues to reside with the former colonizers. Images of Majority World destinations "tend to reflect a western, white, male colonial perspective" wherein "a dynamic First World contrasts itself with a static, timeless and unchanging Third World" (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 242). Far from this being an outdated concept based in purely hedonistic touristic practices, Caton and Santos (2009), in their research with a study abroad not-for-profit, found that even with a clearly defined social justice and educational objective associated promotional materials replicated prevailing stereotypical images of the tourist and the Other. Accordingly;

In dominant western discourse, then, race means something different in the metropolis than it does on the periphery, and this distinction carries implicit notions of cultural superiority: people from all over the world can join the western melting pot and become just like all the other members of progressive, developed, high-tech, rational, secular, hybridized, global society but if they have not been displaced to the west, then they inevitably remain frozen in time, in cultures that are simple, pure, backward, superstitious, and dependent (Caton & Santos, 2009, p. 202).

These types of destination images are replicated in tourism to western destinations as well, as Buzinde, Santos, and Smith (2006) found that in promotional materials related to Canadian destinations, the tourists were represented as white and at leisure, while people of colour were more frequently represented at work. These types of representations invariably suggest that tourism is not yet 'for' non-white consumers (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006). Further, in her study of tourism in the Bahamas, Palmer (1994) found that "by relying on the images of a colonial past, the tourism industry merely perpetuates the ideology of colonialism and prevents the local people from defining a national identity of their own" (p. 792).

While this representational imagery may appear "innocent" (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006, p. 719), critical attention has turned to the ways in which these pictorial images "contain very powerful messages, particularly when the assigned roles are limited to depictions of minority groups as cultural vendors, entertainers dressed in national costume, and serving the First World tourists" (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006, p. 720). These representational myths (Echtner & Prasad, 2003), originating with colonialism, continue to be replicated through tourism texts, which, according to Sturma (1999) become "representational loops" that come to constitute the "language of tourism" (p. 713, as cited in Echtner & Prasad, 2003, p. 662). In this sense, we are all "pre-programmed in [our] gaze": we are all complicit in processes of worldmaking via tourism (Hollinshead, Ateljevic, & Ali, 2009, p. 432).

These representations are based in the commodification of cultures and peoples in the interest of consuming them for touristic purposes (Frenzel, 2012; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Hollinshead, 1992, 2004; Scheyvens, 2011). According to Hollinshead, "...visitors...have learnt not only how to consume tangible goods, but also the spirit and meaning of peoples, places and pasts" (2004, p. 27). Destinations become *sites* and local people *sights* for tourists to consume

and exploit, often portrayed as either passive or grateful for the tourists' incursions (Aitchison, 2001, p. 137; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Scheyvens, 2011). According to Sheller (2004), in choosing to place themselves in proximity to "dark Others (whether slaves or contemporary service workers)" tourists are seeking "a way of affirming and exercising domination" (p. 19). bell hooks (1992) explains:

To make oneself vulnerable to the seduction of difference, to seek an encounter with the Other, does not require that one relinquish forever one's mainstream positionality. When race and ethnicity become commodified as resources for pleasure, the culture of specific groups, as well as the bodies of individuals, can be seen as constituting an alternative playground where members of dominating races, genders, sexual practices affirm their power-over in intimate relations with the Other (p. 23).

This construction of the tourism host as Other serves the function of creating the subservient, the grateful, the sexually-available, the always-smiling host, forestalling the need for tourists to reflect on the impacts of the tourism industry in the Majority World, nor on the living conditions of the hosts that they encounter (Aitchison, 2001; Caton & Santos, 2009; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Scheyvens, 2011; Sheller, 2004).

In the context of the present study, interest is also placed in the ways in which tourism representations commodify and aestheticize poverty in destination countries. According to Freire-Madeiros (2013), the deliberate consumption of poverty through tourism is rooted in a "western fascination with the exotic 'Other,' of a middle-class romanticism of the poor" (p. 2). This 'romantic gaze' is also shaped by colonial imaginaries and the quest for authentic encounters with the Other (Frenzel, 2012, p. 57-58). Given that visits to slums increased following the releases of popular films such as *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) and *City of God* (2002), as well as Justin Bieber's video for *Despacito* (2017), according to Urry's (1990) notion that tourists travel to a destination with expectations in place of what they will see once there,

one can assume that what the tourists are hoping to see is poverty, filth, chaos, and despair (Coto, 2017; Rolfes, 2010).

While there is a strong tendency to conceptualize the residents of these spaces as objectified and made powerless by tourism, this is to deny the social, economic, and political context of poverty tourism (Freire-Madeiros, 2013, p. 2). Indeed, the slums may be conceptualized as “‘Other’ places in a good sense” (Frenzel, 2012, p. 57), in that they are reconstituted as more ‘authentic’ spaces of resistance and strength. This ‘romantic gaze’ aestheticizes poverty and obscures the very real hardships and questions about its entrenchment along racial and gender lines (Frenzel, 2012; Scheyvens, 2011). This saves the tourists from having to do something about the poverty that they are consuming – if poverty is good, then they are exempt from being compelled to act (Frenzel, 2012, p. 59). Regardless of the moral implications (and there are many) of the consumption of poverty for touristic novelty, the spaces of poverty and the people who occupy them are reconstituted as Other, and therefore exotic, authentic, and eminently consumable.

That these constructions of the Other and spaces of poverty are based within unending circles of representation and continually reinforced through our consumption of media and marketing texts (Urry, 1990), tourism hosts are also complicit in perpetuating tourists’ mythologization of local people and cultures. The roles of tourism guides and their positions of power and powerlessness in the tourism encounter are considered next.

### ***2.4.3 The tourist guide***

Over the years, a great deal of research has been done on the topic of the tourist guide and their evolving role within a growing and increasingly globalized tourism industry. In his 1985

study into guiding, Cohen identified two fundamental roles of guides: pathfinder and mediator, also characterized as leader and mediator. The pathfinder/leader physically navigates the tourist through an unfamiliar space (Cohen, 1985). The role of the mentor/mediator is a little more complex. In this instance, the guide must support the tourists in coming to know the new culture and society that they are encountering (Cohen, 1985). They are also responsible for mediating the tourists' behaviours and helping them to know what is and what is not culturally appropriate. A third function of the guide is to act as a bridge between the tourists and the tourism hosts. As the local person who is likely to spend the most concentrated time with the tourists, the guide has a great deal of power in terms of determining what it is that the tourists are and are not able to understand about the host community (Cohen, 1985; Salazar, 2005).

In their review of the past 50 years of literature related to guiding, Weiler and Walker (2014) described tour guides as “experience brokers” who operate in four ways: they broker “physical access (to places and spaces), visitor encounters (interactions with host communities and environments), visitor understanding (cognitive access) and visitor empathy (affective or emotional access)” (p. 92). In each of these four areas the guide has the power to facilitate access, but also to prohibit access, depending on the circumstances (Weiler & Walker, 2014; Zerva & Nijkamp, 2016). In the case of physical access, as with the role of pathfinder described by Cohen (1985), the guide is responsible for navigating the tourists through the host community, avoiding certain areas, and through “communicative staging” – intentionally choosing how and what they will present to the tourists (Weiler & Walker, 2014, p. 92). The guide works to broker tourists' encounters by mediating between the tourists and the hosts, providing language translation, and directing the gaze of the tourists to what they wish them to see (Cohen, 1985; Weiler & Walker, 2014). In their role as information broker, the guide is there to help tourists



understand the significance of certain sites/sights and also to model appropriate behaviours in the visited space (Weiler & Walker, 2014). Finally, Weiler and Walker (2014) cite McGrath (2007, p. 376) who stated that guides are there to help tourists “get under the skin” of the community that they are visiting, rather than just seeing the sights (p. 92). This is the role of the empathy broker, whose task it is to facilitate (or restrict) access to the emotional heart of the community, to provide the tourists with an experience where they develop affection of the community and come to feel that they ‘know’ it (Salazar, 2005; Weiler & Walker, 2014).

Tourist guides are key actors in the powerful processes of interpreting and re-presenting culture to the tourists (Salazar, 2005, 2006; Zerva & Nijkamp, 2016). While some are undoubtedly proud of their communities and wish to present them in their best light, other guides are more motivated by profits and will construct the ‘reality’ of the community in they feel would most please the tourists (Salazar, 2005). In this sense, guides are engaged in processes of deception, even extending so far as to bring tourists to certain shops at which they know they will receive a commission (Salazar, 2005, p. 630). Salazar (2005) employs the term “glocalization” to refer to processes in which guides employ their knowledge of the tourists and their home cultures in order to present a version of the host community that is intensely local, in fact a “pre-imagined authentic” community, which is in accordance with the tourists’ imaginaries (Salazar, 2005, p. 640, 2012; Zerva & Nijkamp, 2016). In this instance, the tourist guide is complicit in re-ascribing Otherness in occasions where the reality of the toured space may be closer to the tourists’ own realities than they are aware. The example provided by Salazar (2005) was that of an Indonesian village tour, where guides would bring tourists to the rice paddies that were still being cultivated in the traditional manner, despite the fact that the majority of rice is now produced using modern machinery. Despite their complicity, the tourist guide often has very little agency to represent the

community beyond the “commoditized, reductionist, touristic representation” that the tourists have come to see (Salazar, 2005, p. 641).

One last issue that I want to touch upon here is the issue of guiding and gender. In his study with tourist guides in Indonesia, Salazar speaks to the “ambiguous and contradictory” message that women encounter when they seek employment as tourism guides (2005, p. 636). In their roles as guides they dress more modestly, speak more plainly, and present themselves as less worldly than they do in their off-work lives (Salazar, 2005). In her study with women and tourism in Turkey, Tucker (2001, 2009) found that women were prohibited from seeking employment in the tourism sector, as this was considered immodest in their culture. As a result, men developed an easy confidence in engaging with the tourists but women’s encounters with tourists were often awkward due to their strangeness and unfamiliarity in knowing how to engage (Tucker, 2001, 2009). As such, women face many cultural boundaries and challenges in seeking employment in the formal tourism sector.

In this section I touched briefly on the notion of the tourist gaze and how it is constructed intentionally through the actions of the experience brokers that are tour guides. In the following section, I delve more deeply into the notion of the gaze and why it is of particular significance to this study of tourism in the townships.

## **2.5 The Gaze**

The term “the gaze” was popularized by the French psychologist Jacques Lacan and used to describe that feeling of anxiety that occurs when a person becomes aware that he or she is being watched (Krips, 2010). The anxiety stems from the subject discovering that he or she is visible, not only a seer but also able to be seen (Krips, 2010). The gaze, imperfectly translated

from the French “*le regard*,” was also taken up by Michel Foucault in two important ways (Hollinshead & Kuon, 2013). In *The Birth of the Clinic* (1974) Foucault examines the socially-constructed and reinforced clinical gaze of the medical professional, which dehumanizes and depersonalizes the patient. The gaze is also found in the spatial configuration of a prison called the panopticon, first articulated by Jeremy Bentham in the eighteenth century, and theorized by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) (Aitchison, 2009; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Foucault, 1977; Hollinshead & Kuon, 2013). The panopticon is a circular prison in which the cells are arranged along the outer wall, all opening into a central courtyard that includes a guard tower with a 360° field of vision. The notion central to Foucault’s thought is that at any given time the prisoners could fall under the gaze of the guards and they have no way of knowing from one moment to the next whether they are being watched; they therefore begin to internalize the gaze and self-regulate according to the rules and regulations of the prison (Foucault, 1977). The gaze is thus a highly powerful social force. This notion of the gaze has been applied to the study of tourism in a number of ways, some of which are considered in the following section.

### **2.5.1 *The tourist gaze***

Urry (1990) was the first to apply the notion of the gaze to the study of tourism. In *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) he draws a parallel between Foucault’s harsh, clinical medical gaze and the tourist gaze, as part of a practice more generally associated with freedom and leisure (p. 1). Urry establishes that both gazes are socially organized, historically and spatially contextual and thus, changeable (1990, p. 1). The tourist gaze is shaped by messages in mainstream media, advertising, social media, and other tourists’ travel narratives and photos (Urry, 1990). The tourists arrive at their destination already knowing what they wish to see and partake in, what they intend to photograph, and how they will shape their own narratives (Urry, 1990). Local

people, particularly those in the Majority World, are understood to have little or no agency in resisting the demands of the tourist gaze, in part due to their financial dependence on the presence of those tourists (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Urry, 1990). The tourist gaze is said to have “the potential to discipline and normalize the locals’ behaviour” (Maoz, 2005, p. 222) and has been conceptualized as being male, western, white, and heterosexual (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Richter, 1995).

The tourist gaze, as it is commonly understood, is seen as having a detrimental impact on host communities, as it privileges and commodifies some cultural traditions, while at the same time de-valuing other aspects of host culture that may then become marginal and even disappear from the culture (Urry, 1990; van den Berghe, 1994). At other times the tourist gaze may be perceived as having had a positive impact, as it may encourage local people to reinvigorate old practices and ceremonies that are deemed of interest to the tourists, renewing pride in traditional identities and culture (Urry, 1990; van den Berghe, 1994).

Central to Urry’s notion is the imbalance of power that exists between the tourists and the hosts: the tourists with their access to capital and mobility are able to exert a disciplining gaze on the hosts, whose livelihoods are reliant on the pleasure the tourists derive from their experiences (Maoz, 2005; Urry, 1990). Although originally conceptualized as being purely visual, in later works Urry refined his concept of the gaze, expanding it to include the ways that tourists “view, grasp, conceptualize, understand, imagine, and construct” the Other (Maoz, 2005, p. 222; Urry, 2011; see also Aitchison, 2009).

Unable to escape the tourists’ gaze, research has drawn attention to the ways in which local people have a number of different ways of responding to its imposition. Some resort to artificial backdrops, creating a sort of “staged authenticity” (Hollinshead, 1998; MacCannell,

1976) or “third space” (Amoamo, 2011; Bhabha, 1994; Hollinshead, 1998), thereby establishing a zone of separation between the tourists’ gazes and the hosts’ ‘real’ lives (Hollinshead, 1998; Maoz, 2005). Others absorb and internalize the gaze (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Foucault, 1977), changing their own conceptions of self to more closely align with the pre-conceived ideas of their identities held by the tourists (Maoz, 2005). Rarer is active resistance to the tourists’ gaze, although there have been instances of communities confronting or rejecting tourists (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz, 2005). Regardless of how local people find themselves resisting or conforming to the gaze, it is to be understood that the gaze is not a uniform, uni-directional presence that affects all equally. The following sections consider how the gaze is gendered, as well as the growing body of literature regarding how the host gazes back in the tourism encounter.

### **2.5.2 *The gendered tourist gaze***

The late 1980s and 1990s saw a growing interest in understanding the influence of gender in tourism (see Enloe, 1989; Kinnaird & Hall, 1994). After all, we all exist within societies and institutions that are shaped and informed by gender, so it is not difficult to appreciate that all aspects of the tourism experience will also be influenced by gender (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Swain, 1995). Foundational texts in the study of tourism and gender include Kinnaird and Hall’s (1994) *Tourism: A Gender Analysis*, Swain and Momsen’s (2001) *Gender/Tourism/Fun (?)*, Enloe’s (1989) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, and, somewhat more recently, Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic, and Harris’s (2007) *Tourism and Gender: Embodiment, Sensuality, and Experience*.

Traditionally the study of gender in tourism has remained focused on the gendered nature of work in the tourism industry, where women are customarily seen working in 'domestic' forms of employment, or on the implications and foundations of sex tourism (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Tucker, 2009). Researchers have also become increasingly interested in the ways our understandings and conceptualizations of the Other and Othered landscapes are also gendered. As with the tourist gaze discussed above, the gendered gaze is deeply rooted in our gendered society, tourism imagery, social relations, and history (Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Swain, 1995). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) remind us that gender inequality is rooted in societal imbalances of power that privilege the male binary, and that Edward Said noted "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without...their configurations of power also being studied" (1991, p. 5 in Pritchard and Morgan, 2000, p. 231).

Tourism imagery is highly gendered and is characterized as being "white, western, male, and heterosexual" (Richter, 1995, p. 85), undoubtedly a reflection of the make-up of the marketers who produce the images, marketing being a highly male-dominated field (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Males in tourism imagery are represented as adventurous, strong, and virile, whereas women are either mother figures or sexually-available sirens (Henshall-Momsen, 1993; Morgan & Pritchard, 2000; Swain, 1995). Tourism, and international travel in particular, has traditionally been understood as being "infused with masculine ideas about adventure, pleasure and the exotic" (Enloe, 1989, p. 20). The feminine, more associated with domesticity, is associated with the host region and its residents; passively and unquestioningly welcoming (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000, p. 886; Aitchison, 2001).

In her study of Israeli tourists in India, Maoz (2005) found that the "Israeli gaze is a masculine one which feminizes the locals and sees them as attractive but powerless and

vulnerable” (p. 226). In their study of tourism landscapes, Pritchard and Morgan (2000) found that tourism conceptualized western tourism sites, including Northern Canada, as rugged, adventurous, and essentially male, whereby Majority World destinations were portrayed as sensual, mysterious, inviting, and fragile; in other words, feminine, reflecting overarching global power differentials as well (p. 885-886, 892, 900). Thus, the gendered gaze in tourism studies has found that Majority World sites and sights are conceptualized as feminine; sexualized, vulnerable, and passive, whereas the tourists and their home spaces are strong and adventurous and therefore masculine (Aitchison, 2001). The touristic space is constructed as one which exists beyond the bounds of regular society, and tourists are encouraged to shed their inhibitions and experience all that the host community has to offer, including, presumably, its women (Enloe, 1989).

While studies like Maoz’s (2005) demonstrate how the tourist casts a gendered gaze on the tourism landscape, there has also been some work on how the insider, or host gaze, casts a gendered eye on the tourist (see Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). The host gaze is discussed at greater length in the following section.

### **2.5.3 *The host gaze***

In *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) Urry establishes the tourist as the acting agent who casts his or her gaze over the powerless host to the detriment of the host’s culture, community, and internalized self-image. Cheong and Miller (2000) extend this notion to also include the ways in which the hosts’ gaze constrains and disciplines the tourists’ behaviour. From this perspective, all actors in the tourist encounter are imbued with power, a view they espouse as being closer to Foucault’s original intentions in his work related to power. Cheong & Miller, 2000). There has

been a growing number of studies, which have considered that while the Majority World host invariably has considerably less power than the tourists - and that tourism researchers should not lose sight of that fact (Maoz, 2005) - the host is not an unagentic object and has all along been gazing back at the tourists. The gaze is shifted from “how ‘we’ see ‘them’” to “how ‘they’ see ‘us’” (Maoz, 2005, p. 222). It is this gaze-back, as a response to the tourist gaze, that is at the heart of this study.

For Cheong and Miller (2000) the very aspects that differentiate and make visible the tourists, their mannerisms, “style of dress, language, accent, and possessions” make them threatening and therefore vulnerable to the controlling nature of the host gaze (p. 383). Additionally, the tourists are removed from their safety nets, their families and cultural familiarities that would allow them to defend against and be more perceptive of the influence of the host gaze (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz, 2005). As Maoz (2005) found, tourists are likely not even aware of the presence of the host gaze, being secure in their convictions that they are the only ones doing the gazing. This makes them unlikely to notice the ways in which hosts and other agents of tourism control and restrict what they are able to see and do (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz, 2005). Unknowingly, the tourists also self-internalize the host gaze and conform to expected behaviours, be they negative or positive (Maoz, 2005).

As Maoz (2005) found in her study with Indian tourism hosts, the tourists “are targets of manipulation, staging, and of the gaze of the host population, as they operate in a strange place, and are very visible to the inhabitant in their enclaves” (p. 225). Unlike the tourists, the hosts are aware of the stereotypes contained in the tourist gaze and are able to manipulate the tourism stage to their own benefit, albeit within a broader context over which they have comparatively very little power (Maoz, 2005). Further, because the host gaze is founded on actual encounters



with past and present tourists, the host gaze may more closely resemble who the tourists ‘really are,’ as opposed to the tourist gaze, which is largely constructed through representations in the media (Maoz, 2005). As this present work is primarily concerned with learning about the host’s gaze and the ways in which it is used to reinforce, resist, or redirect the gaze of the tourist, it is also about hearing of the ways in which the hosts know themselves to have power in the tourism encounter. The final section of this chapter introduces the concept of hopeful tourism, an ideological turning point within the field of critical tourism studies striving for greater reflexivity, flexibility, creativity, and humility.

## **2.6 Hopeful Tourism**

Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic (2012) have declared this moment to be a “tipping point” in terms of the growing dissatisfaction with, and instability in, our dominant political, economic, and environmental states of affairs (p. 3). Business as usual is no longer good enough, and just as Caton (2012) revelled in the transformative moment we find ourselves in as tourism academics, proponents of hopeful tourism vaunt the movement towards greater reflexivity, creativity, spontaneity, and collaborative processes that has begun to be seen in tourism scholarship (Ayikoru, Tribe, & Airey, 2009). Rather than railing at the errors of the past, the ‘old’ research that recreated colonial ways of knowing the Other, hopeful tourism scholars actively embrace methodologies that attempt to de-centre researcher power and invite research participants, or co-researchers (Rydzik *et al.*, 2012), to be privileged as holders and creators of knowledge.

Hopeful tourism is defined as a “values-led” approach to doing and writing tourism research that aims to co-construct the course of the research and invite participants to define their own priorities in the study (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012). It embraces multiple ways of

knowing about the world and acknowledges that western, science-based approaches to understanding are only one of myriad approaches to learning about the world (Hollinshead, 2012; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012; Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010; Richardson, 2000). Equally, there is a recognition that co-creating knowledge is a transformative experience, and that understanding the relationships and emotions that are formed are a significant part of tourism research, rather than something that needs to be erased from the writing-up of research (Afify, 2008; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012; Rydzik *et al.*, 2012).

Words like ‘hope’ and ‘love’ were, until very recently, not present in the vocabulary of tourism studies, nor any other academic discipline that wished to be taken seriously as a valid field of study, however hooks (2000) reminds us that love and hope are at the centre of all movements for social justice (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012). It is no longer good enough to sit on the sidelines and report about the state of affairs in tourism. Tourism studies need to chart a path towards activism, social justice, and real change (Mair & Reid, 2007; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011; Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010; Rydzik *et al.*, 2012). Mair (2012) challenges tourism scholars to examine their roles in breaking down mainstream approaches to doing tourism research that reinforce existing power relations and ignore the critical questions of how knowledge is produced in tourism. The hopeful tourism network is composed of researchers who are committed to disrupting the tourism academy’s “hegemonic ontologies which exert so much influence on how its knowledge is performed, created and disseminated” (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012, p. 2). Rather than dismissing the practice and study of tourism for its many failings, hopeful tourism scholars are united in their desire to challenge how tourism has been done and studied and written in the past (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012). They are

eager to embrace and explore the potential of new ways of engaging with the study of tourism; new methodologies that place research participants and their ways of knowing at the centre of tourism scholarship (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011; Rydzik *et al.*, 2012).

A significant criticism of the hopeful tourism movement is that it does not always engage enough with critical theory, and while it embraces a movement towards hope and love, it may not adequately confront the underlying power and privilege that are inherent in conducting academic research, particularly the study of tourism, which is so deeply imbued with inequalities of power (Higgins-Desbiolles & Powys White, 2012). Wanting to be more thoughtful, reflexive scholars and to produce better, more representative work are laudable goals, but do not automatically ensure better lives for people negatively impacted by tourism practices (Higgins-Desbiolles & Powys White, 2012). Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys White (2012) remind all of us in the tourism academy that we “must be aware that [our] insights into oppression experienced by Others can only ever be partial and [we] must be mindful that it is [our] collaborators in the struggle that have everything to lose as a result of the decisions that are made about how to combat these circumstances” (p. 431). Keeping in mind the ways in which research participants are made vulnerable through the processes that we wish to study is fundamental, and the hopeful tourism movement is a movement towards not only wishing to understand but also to effect positive change.

## **2.7 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter I have sought to summarize and highlight significant research in critical tourism studies, as well as other fields of study, related to tourism and imbalances of power. Deeply influenced by the work of Foucault and his notion of power/knowledge, many of the scholars cited above have striven to shed light on how power informs the tourism encounter, the

ways in which tourism is reminiscent of colonial ways of knowing, and how power flows are not unidirectional, despite their inherent imbalance in the case of tourism, and that those Othered by tourism process also have power within the encounter.. The following chapter will provide a brief overview of the recent history of South Africa and its experiences steeped in violent settler colonialism and Othering, before moving on to more detailed information about this thesis research, how it was informed by theory, how it was undertaken, and what findings I have drawn from the data gathered.

### 3.0 South Africa, apartheid, and colonial legacies

This thesis is meant to elucidate a study of tourism, race, and power, not to be an exhaustive historical examination of the movement of peoples throughout the Cape region of South Africa<sup>5</sup>. For that reason, I have chosen to begin my effort to contextualize the Western Cape that I encountered in 2016 with the first permanent white settlement in the region in 1652. While there are centuries of history of the movement of peoples and development of culture in that part of the world, when the Dutch settlers arrived they identified the Indigenous People as ‘bushmen’ and ‘Hottentots,’ now pejorative terms used to refer to the Khoisan people who today make up a small ethnic minority in the area (Davenport, 1978).



Figure 2. Political map of South Africa. Source: NationsOnline.org

<sup>5</sup> For a more thorough examination of South Africa’s history, refer to *The Cambridge History of South Africa* (2010): Vol. 1 - From early times to 1884, C. Hamilton, B.K. Mbenga, & R. Ross (Eds.); Vol. 2 - 1885-1994, R. Ross, A.K. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.). See also Thompson, 2001; Ross, 2008; Davenport & Saunders, 2000.

While the settlement at Cape Town was established ostensibly to provide fresh food, respite, and hospital care to ship crews on their long journeys around the Horn of Africa, lands further afield of the Company Gardens, the vast agricultural gardens established in Cape Town by the Dutch East India Company, were appropriated by the Dutch colonizers and allocated to friends as patronage gifts for wine and wheat farms (Davenport, 1978). Some scholars looking to shed a light on South Africa's racialized past look to the writings of the Cape colony's founder and first administrator, Jan van Riebeeck, who described the Khoisan in 1652 as "very brutal," and as a "wild nation...very bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted," and in the following year as "dull, stupid, lazy, stinking people" (as cited in Maylam, 2001, p. 32). From these early days, racial divisions were enforced, with the banning of intermarriage in 1685 (Davenport, 1978; Maylam, 2001) and an attempt to create a barrier between white and black residents at Salt River in 1659, which was declared as "the first attempt at apartheid" by the prominent South African historian Earl Walker (as cited in Maylam, 2001, p. 32). Despite these efforts, some historians have concluded that this period of Company control was not characterized by strict racial discrimination, but rather "the emergence of a racial order" (Maylam, 2001, p. 33). The Company created four groups in the colony: "Company servants (employees), freeburghers, slaves, and 'Hottentots'" – categories that almost completely aligned race and class (Maylam, 2001, p. 33).

Control of the colony passed from the Dutch East India Company, in stages, to the British beginning in 1795 (Davenport, 1978), establishing a still-present differentiation between the Afrikaans<sup>6</sup> and English-speaking white minorities. The British emancipation of all enslaved

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<sup>6</sup> Afrikaans, etymologically very similar to Dutch, is the language spoken by Afrikaners, descendants of the original Dutch settlers.

peoples in 1833 caused widespread anger and resentment among the landed Afrikaaner settlers (Maylam, 2001). Policies were passed beginning in 1809, including the requirement that African people carry passes in order to move about the country, that purported to protect the well-being of African people but effectively ascribed to them “only a lowly status in society...but defended them in it” (Reyburn, as cited in Davenport, 1978, p. 35). Anti-slavery activists successfully argued that these policies enforced racially-based inequalities in the country and were repealed in 1838 (Davenport, 1978). The banning of slavery resulted in a significant financial loss for the Afrikaaner landowners, who by this time were also railing against the imposition of the English language, and many chose to resettle further inland and establish what became known as the Orange Free State (Maylam, 2001). The discovery of diamonds in Kimberly and gold in the Transvaal, in 1867 and 1886, respectively, further exacerbated tensions between the Afrikaaners and the British, and placed increasing pressure on the British to control the African population and their labour (Maylam, 2001).

Following the Boer wars of 1880 and 1899, the victorious British sought to unite the various provinces under one country, and after many years of negotiations the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 (Worden, 1994). The passing of a series of oppressive Acts followed, including the Mines and Works Act (1911), the Natives Land Act (1918), the Status Quo Act (1918), the Native Affairs Act (1920), the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (1923), the Native Administration Act (1927), and the Native Service Contract Act (1932), to name a few (Worden, 1994). The leveling of this increasingly wide-spread array of segregationist laws was punctuated by the formation of the African National Congress (1912) and occasional acts of rebellion on the part of the black majority, including a municipal workers’ strike in Johannesburg (1918) and the African mineworkers’ strikes (1920 and 1946) (Worden, 1994).

In 1948 the federal Nationalist Party came to power and initiated the series of governmental policies and regulations that would formalize and expand existing racist practices into the apartheid system. The Group Areas Act (1950) declared certain desirable urban areas as ‘whites-only,’ leading to the forced removals of hundreds of thousands of black and coloured<sup>7</sup> South Africans to township areas and the destruction of their former communities. People - white, black, and coloured - were forced to live in the communities assigned to their race, and families were torn apart when one member would be declared to be of a different race than the other members of their family. This led to the infamous ‘pencil test,’ wherein a judge in a court of law would stick a pencil into a person’s hair to determine their race (Ndlovu, 2008). If the pencil stuck, they were black.

Pass Laws were established so that residents of the townships could not leave their boundaries without a government-issued pass (known colloquially as a *dompas*, or ‘dumb pass’) stipulating where and for how long they were permitted to travel. The Pass Laws remained in effect until 1986 (O’Malley, 1997). The Bantu Education Law (1953) legally established separate educational systems, wherein black and coloured South Africans were to receive inferior educations, mandated by law, in order that they not develop any desires to move beyond their inferior social statuses (O’Malley, 1997). Blacks were not allowed to vote, and were further relegated to the bottom of the social order by being forbidden to speak Afrikaans – a language that was taught to coloured South Africans.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s resistance to these and many other oppressions saw the form of violently repressed protests. In the 1950s black residents protested

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Coloured’ is a term that is no longer acceptable in many parts of North America, however is still widely in use in South Africa. People who were classified as coloured were generally of mixed race origin.



the destruction of Sophiatown (1953-4), conducted rural protests in the Transvaal (1956-7), and initiated bus boycotts in Alexandra (1957) (Worden 1994). Nelson Mandela, alongside seven other black activists, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 at the infamous Rivonia Trial for attempting to overthrow the government. Robert Sobukwe, the head of the Pan African Congress, led a protest against the Pass Laws in 1960 and was sentenced to three years in prison for sedition. He was then imprisoned in total isolation on Robbin Island (with the one exception of a priest who came to hear his confession once a month). Following the conclusion of his sentence, the government passed what came to be known as the ‘Sobukwe Clause’ which allowed the minister of justice to renew Sobukwe’s imprisonment annually, resulting in his serving an additional eight years in total isolation (SAHO, 2011). The same day that Sobukwe marched to protest the Pass Laws, a group of people protesting against the Pass Laws in the Transvaal, in the town of Sharpsville, were openly fired upon by police. Sixty-nine people were killed.

The 1960s also saw a rise in global awareness of the situation in South Africa, leading to a number of protests and bans. South African athletes were not permitted to participate in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics as a result of a global sporting ban (Worden, 1994). Boycotts of South African products, initiated by the UK-based Anti-Apartheid Movement, began in 1960, leading to South Africa’s removal from the Commonwealth in 1961 and the attempted imposition of economic sanctions by the United Nations in 1962, which were not successful at the time due to a lack of support from western nations (Worden, 1994). A series of academic boycotts was initiated in 1965 and the UN declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity in 1966, leading to a series of embargos throughout the 1970s (Worden, 1994).

In 1976 an estimated 10,000 students took to the streets of Soweto, Johannesburg's largest township, to protest the introduction of Afrikaans as the mandatory national language of instruction, a move that effectively prohibited black children from receiving a formal education. The government forces responded with fierce brutality, leading to months of protests across the nation and an estimated 600-700 people being killed by police (official police numbers report that 23 people were killed on June 16, 1976, however other sources report that as many as 200 people died that day (SAHO, 2017)). In 1977 Steve Biko, a prominent black leader whose African nationalist philosophy was based in the philosophies of Frantz Fanon and the Black Panthers, was arrested and murdered in police custody.

The violence and international protests escalated throughout the 1980s, including the militarization of the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements, as well as the targeted assassinations and disappearances of activists on the part of the government. Both sides were forced to the bargaining table following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1990, and apartheid was officially rescinded in 1991 (Worden, 1994). This paved the way for the country's first democratic elections in 1994, which saw Nelson Mandela, freed four years earlier after 27 years in prison, elected as president of the newly-minted 'Rainbow Nation.' The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), led by Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, began its hearings in 1996. This commission sought a reconciliatory tone, in the interest of maintaining the stability of the country and its economy, and allowed the victims and perpetrators of violence under apartheid to testify as to their experiences, amounting to some 7,000 people total (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000). The TRC, which wrapped up its work in 2003, is generally credited with helping to steer South Africa safely through a difficult and traumatic transitory period towards unification (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000). It has, however, also been criticized for

its moderate stance and its decision to only assign individual, as opposed to systemic, responsibility for crimes committed under apartheid (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000). In February 2018, at the time of this writing, the ANC-led federal government, under the leadership of the newly appointed president Cyril Ramaphosa, voted to expropriate without compensation white-owned agricultural land across the country (Rolfe, 2018).

Today South Africa is classed as an upper-middle-income country by the World Bank and as a newly industrialized country (World Bank, 2018). The country played host to the World Cup of soccer in 2010 and currently has the eighth highest per-capita income in Africa (World Atlas, 2017). The ANC has consistently held power since 1994, although an estimated 73% of the land remains under white ownership, down from 85% in 1994 (whites make up approximately 9% of the country's population) (Crowley, 2017). The standard of living for black people in South Africa has fallen since the mid-1990s, and South Africa has one of the highest Gini coefficients<sup>8</sup> in the world, with calculations placing it between 0.64 and 0.696 (Bhorat, 2015). For many of the younger generation, colloquially known as the 'born frees' due to their having been born around the time of South Africa's transition to democracy, there is growing frustration and anger at the continued segregation, racism, and inequality in the country. The years 2015 and 2016 saw massive student protests at universities across the country demanding equal access to education, lowered tuition fees, English language classes (some professors continue to instruct exclusively in Afrikaans), and the removal of statues celebrating the country's colonial history from university campuses (Brown, 2015; Nyamnjoh, 2016). While the country has made some

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<sup>8</sup> The Gini coefficient is a measure of statistical dispersion that measures the income disparity between a nation's wealthiest and its poorest citizens, and is used as a measure of inequality. A Gini coefficient of 0 indicates absolute equality, whereas a measure of 1 indicated maximum inequality.

incredible progress in a very short period of time, much remains to be done in order to begin to heal the wounds of this nation and bring about a just society for all.

#### **4.0 Tourism in the Townships**

Continuing on from the last chapter's setting of the South African context, this chapter further focuses in on the tourism context in South Africa broadly, and more specifically to the townships around Cape Town. Despite tremendous potential, South Africa's history severely impeded the development of its tourism industry until the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Government of South Africa, 1996). According to Rogerson (2012), South Africa's tourism industry languished due to a combination of "the negative impacts of apartheid, the imposition of a national State of Emergency in the 1980s, and the ramifications of international sanctions and boycotts" (p. 188). By 1990 international arrivals to South Africa stood at a mere 1 million, although this number grew to 3.9 million by 1994 following the release of Nelson Mandela and the removal of sanctions (Rogerson, 2012). Despite ongoing concerns related to potential violence (Owens, 2018), the year 2017 was South Africa's highest grossing year for tourism to date, representing 8.9% of the country's GDP, and anticipated to grow by an additional 2.9% in 2018 (Smith, 2018). According to second quarter data from 2017, non-African arrivals represented just over one-fifth of the country's international arrivals, however these visitors contributed 59% of foreign direct tourism spending over that period, totalling 10.6 billion rand (CAD 110.1 million). Due to its powerful economic potential, as well as ability to capitalize on the nation's vast natural and human resources, tourism has been a primary focus of South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) since 1996 (RDP, 1996).

Cape Town, one of the original 'sea, sun, and sand' destinations in South Africa (Rogerson, 2012) has also seen huge growth in the number of tourists to that city and region, particularly since 2010 when it played host to the FIFA World Cup. International arrivals at Cape Town International Airport reached 999,270 in 2017, up 25.1% over the previous year (Cape

Town Tourism, 2018). Among the most popular attractions for tourists to visit in Cape Town are Table Mountain, Robbin Island, the Cape of Good Hope, and the surrounding winelands.

Since 1994, tourism to the townships has come to be a significant source of economic revenue, with an estimated 300,000 tourists visiting the townships of Cape Town every year (Frenzel & Koens, 2015; Rolfes, 2009). Research has found that poverty is “the most important quality” the tourists associate with the townships (Frenzel & Koens, 2015, p. 5; Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009), although the value of the townships has been translated for tourism into cultural identity, resilience, and historical significance (Frenzel & Koens, 2015; Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009; Rogerson, 2004). The assumption that these tours focus exclusively on poverty and human misery turns out not to be supported in the research (Rolfes, 2010). The tours showcase development, economic growth, community-based initiatives, and entrepreneurship, although poverty does still play an important role in the presentation of the townships (Rolfes, 2010).

As described in the forthcoming methodology section, over the course of a period of five months in South Africa I participated in a number of township tours. Despite my initial discomfort with supporting a form of tourism that I had conceptualized as primarily exploitative and voyeuristic, the barriers I faced in identifying potential research participants (discussed in greater detail in the following chapter), in addition to my reluctance to critique a practice of which I had no first-hand experience, led me to engage in a number of these excursions. In Kayamandi, a small township located outside of the city of Stellenbosch, 40 kilometers northwest of Cape Town, I participated in two walking tours with the local tour guide. In Khayelitsha, the largest township in the Cape Town area, I spent one night in the home of a mother and daughter, the mother having been a dedicated anti-apartheid activist in the 1970s and 1980s. I later

participated in a bicycle tour with a young independent operator, and my dad and I also joined a van tour, which showcased a number of social enterprises in the township. I also participated in one tour in Langa, Cape Town's oldest township and the site of a number of anti-apartheid protests, that was a combination van/walking tour.



Figure 2.1. Langa Township. Photo source: Phakimisa



Figure 2.2. Kayamandi Township. Photo source: Lwazi

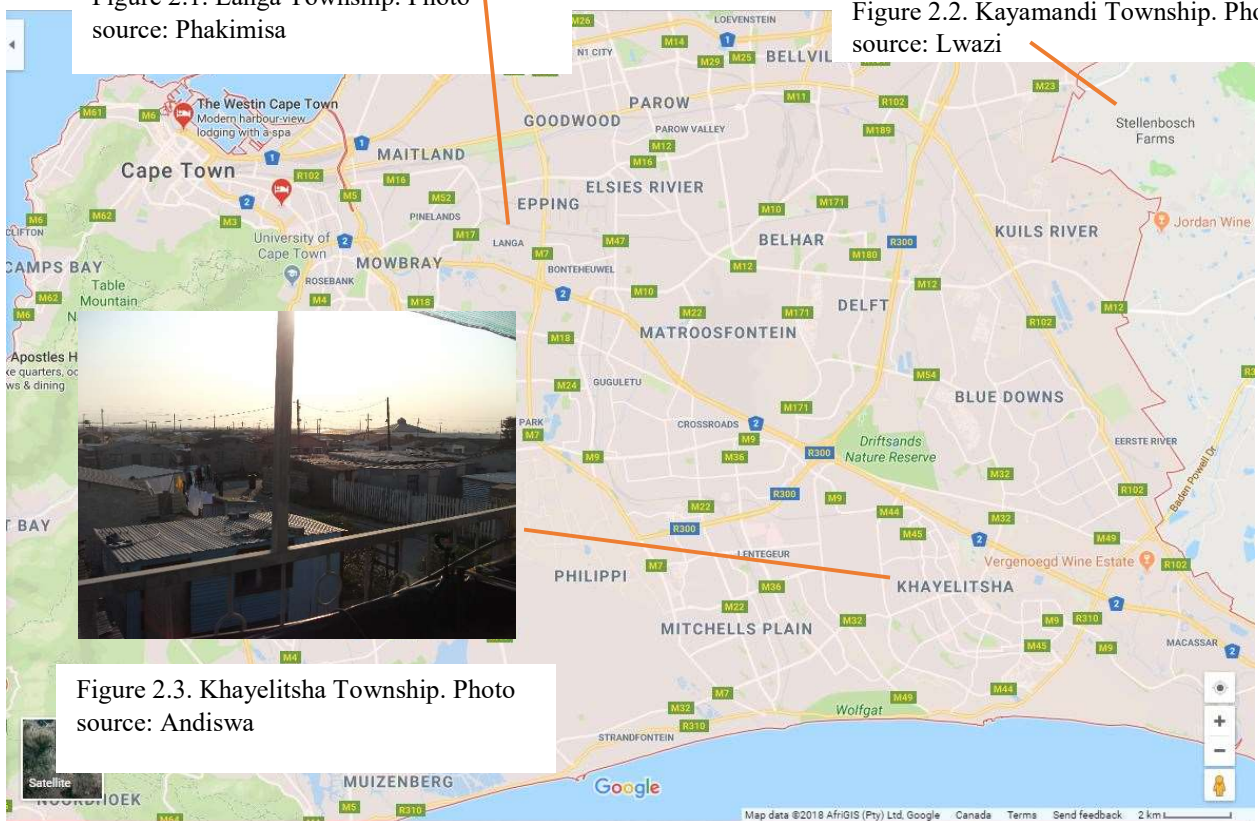


Figure 3. Cape Town and surroundings. Source: Google Maps.

The following section describes an imagined tour through the townships of Langa and Gugulethu. This narrative is pulled together from a number of my own personal experiences while touring in the townships, and does not represent any one, discrete event. As such, it is presented to further create some context and bring the reader into the experience of the township tour, rather than to establish the ‘reality’ of a tour to the townships.

#### **4.1 Touring the Township**

A tour originating in Cape Town often begins with a trip to the District 6 Museum, which is located in a former church on the eastern edge of the city centre. Here we learn about the vibrant coloured community known as District 6 that once existed in the barren hillside that now lies just beyond the museum. As we walk through the museum’s vast open spaces, we learn that District 6 had been declared ‘whites-only’ in 1966, leading to a series of forced removals of some 60,000 residents throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Pressure from the international community led to a lack of political will to develop the bulldozed landscape, which stands mostly empty to this day. The museum is a testament to the community that once existed, featuring collections of intimate family photographs, street scenes, recreated homes and shops, narratives about the businesses that once operated there, and the violent nature of the community’s eradication. Needlepoint tapestries featuring traditional family recipes adorn the walls and battered suitcases are presented brandishing newspaper headlines related to the removals. The museum docents are all former residents of the community and are happy to answer questions that the tourists may have about the former township. The museum has become a place of healing for the survivors, who are still petitioning the government for reparations.

After a sobering two hours in the museum, the tourists pile in, shoulder to shoulder, into the air-conditioned, 10-seater white van waiting out front. Cautiously, our driver/guide merges



into the chaotic daytime traffic on the N2 highway leading away from the city centre east towards the airport. While enroute, we learn that Langa, the township we are about to enter, is the oldest in the Western Cape, having been established in 1927 to house the Xhosa labourers who were needed to work in the city's industries. Initially, this township was only for men, and single-room barracks were built to house the workers. Over time, women and children and other relatives from the rural Eastern Cape began migrating towards the urban centre as well, and the barracks became insufficient to house the expanding population. Shanties began springing up throughout the township, leading to what has become the now typical imagery of housing in the township, which we tourists are about to encounter for ourselves.

Our guide is a cheerful woman with beautiful black braids, a young mother who grew up in Langa. Since completing her schooling, getting married, and having established herself in this well-paying job, she and her young family have relocated to one of the middle-class mixed race neighbourhoods closer to the city centre, although most her family continues to live in Langa. She explains to us the history of the township and shares some of her memories of growing up there. As she is concluding her introduction, whizzing past our van windows to the north we begin to see stretches of densely packed corrugated tin shacks, topped by a warren of illegal powerlines and clothing hung out to dry. We also see newer, sturdier homes painted in an array of bright colours, which our guide explains are some of the RDP – or Reconstruction and Development Program – houses built by the government in their ongoing effort to supply all South Africans with adequate housing. As the van begins to slow, we merge off the highway and enter Langa Township via what was once its only road in or out – a strategy, we are told, meant to ensure that the government could control how and when – or whether - the black residents would be able leave the township.

Our van progresses down Langa's narrow streets, and we see an elementary school, a medical clinic, a dusty football field, a shiny-new arts and youth development centre, as well as porta-potties and evidence of regular municipal garbage collection. After a leisurely drive through the township's neighbourhoods, we arrive at a meeting point where our driver introduces us to David, the young Langa resident who will accompany us on this leg of the tour. We disembark from the van into the bright sunshine, and David leads us through a narrow pathway between the houses until we emerge at a pastel-coloured cinderblock building, punctuated by a row of shiny, tiny backpacks hung up just beyond the open door. As we enter the kindergarten, the teacher stops reading her storybook and the children rise from the rug to greet us. The children then launch into a series of well-rehearsed English songs and many of the tourists smile, snap photographs, and sing along. After a number of songs, the teacher gives the children permission to come over and hug the tourists, which they do, several 3- or 4-years-olds enthusiastically kissing, hugging, and petting the hair of each tourist. Upon leaving, David lets us know that we are welcome to donate money to the school, should we wish to do so, but that we should never give any sweets or money directly to the children. As we are already on the path, having left the kindergarten, it is not immediately apparent how we are to go about doing so. Later opportunities to donate will present themselves, accompanied by a donation box or a direct request for support from our hosts. This creates some discomfort in myself – my culture does not discuss financial matters with ease - but our hosts do not appear embarrassed or discomfited, and several tourists are prepared and willing to make the suggested contributions.

For the rest of the tour we progress on foot, a little cluster of white skin and camera lenses in the black space of the township, although we do see other tour groups as we progress along our route. Our next stop is to visit with Florence, who makes a dramatic impression with her dark

skin slathered in a thick white paste to protect against the sun, standing amidst a number of smouldering fires, heaps of scrap wood, and the accumulation of years' worth of ashes.

Butchered sheep's heads stand in a yellow milk crate, while Florence tends to those currently roasting in the fire with a long metal stick. Florence – evidently used to the attentions of tourists – explains that eating sheep's heads is a delicacy for the Xhosa people and that in this way she is able to make a good living for herself and her two daughters. I think that we are welcome to purchase one and try for ourselves, but none among us are daring or bold enough. Across the street from Florence's stall, a table is set up showcasing dusty trinkets and paintings waiting to be sold.

Our tour progresses and we are brought to see a room in one of the original dormitories, where several families live in a room originally meant to house a single person, then on to the 'new' residences where our guide lives in two rooms with nine other family members. We are then taken to see the new RDP houses as well as the 'Beverly Hills of Langa,' where township residents who have prospered in the post-apartheid era have built new homes made of brick standing behind tall fences. The next stop on our walk is the *shebeen*, a dimly-lit circular structure within which a small group of men sit with their backs to the wall, drinking locally brewed *uqombothi*, a traditional beer. The tourists are encouraged to sample the beer, which tastes warm and vaguely foamy. After paying for the beer and thanking the elderly Mama who runs the *shebeen*, we re-emerge into the sunshine and make our way back to the big white van.

Once inside, as we begin to make our way back towards the highway, our guide stops on a bridge and directs our attention to the masses of kilting and rusted housing overtaking the banks of what was once a river, and now appears little more than a trickle of garbage and worse. She informs us that this is one of the poorest parts of Langa, then comes around and opens the

sliding door to the van to encourage those of us inside to take a photograph or two. Once done, we progress along, crossing the N2 into the neighbouring township of Gugulethu, known as Gugs. The van stops again, this time in front of a prominent stone memorial featuring empty spaces representing men's bodies in struggle and a number of portraits. Our guide explains that the Gugulethu Seven were a group of young anti-apartheid activists, aged between 16 and 23, whose plans for resistance were uncovered by police, and who were assassinated by those same police in 1986. The hearing that was later held found that the Seven died in legitimate anti-terrorist action.

The van moves on once again, but our guide stops one more time a very short distance away, this time to point out a smaller black marble monument topped with a cross. We are told that at this spot Amy Biehl, a white student from America and anti-apartheid activist, was murdered in 1993 by a crowd of black residents shouting anti-white slogans. After a short pause where the driver describes some of the good work that Amy's mother continues to do with the youth of this area, we again merge back into traffic and make our way back to Cape Town.

There are many variations on this tour, although this route seemed quite popular at the time that I was in South Africa. The costs of the tours vary, depending on how long you wish to spend in the township(s) and what activities you would like to partake in. Most half day walking or biking tours begin around R250 - R450 (approx. CAD \$27 - \$50) if you have your own transportation to the township. A half- or full-day tour in Kayamandi that includes a lunch prepared by a local Mama will cost R470 - R700 (approx. CAD \$52 - \$77). A group trip with the

not-for-profit tour operator costs R912 (approx. CAD \$100) for a half day, and a private tour (up to six people) will cost R4572 (approx. CAD \$500).

I had occasion to participate in several slightly less formal, more locally-operated tours than the one described above. These included a walking tour of Kayamandi where we visited a local crèche<sup>9</sup>, threw pots with the local potter – then bought a pot from him, then stopped in to see a jewelry-maker – and bought jewelry from her. We also had lunch served to us by a local Mama, who told us the story of not being able to visit her dying husband in the hospital because the government would not grant her a pass allowing her to leave the township. Another tour that I participated in was run by a young youth activist and former gang member who had access to a number of bicycles, and he and I simply rode around his neighbourhood in Khayalitsha, while he pointed out local points of interest. On that tour we also stopped at the hospital to pick up medicine for his mother as well as at an elderly Mama's house, who needed his help with the plumbing in her kitchen. One final tour – and the most expensive I encountered – drove the tourists to various social justice initiatives, including a community garden, a women's development centre, an environmental education centre, and a seniors' health and community centre, all of which are wholly funded by the profits made through this particular tour organization. I found it difficult to find information about township tours at the standard sites of information, for instance the tourism destination marketing organization or hotel lobbies, however there was a plethora of information available online, through tour companies' websites, aggregate travel blogs such as TripAdvisor, and private blogs. I also found that tour operators and guides were very easy to communicate with personally via email.

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<sup>9</sup> A pre-school or daycare facility in the township.

There are a variety of different ways in which tourists to South Africa can engage with the townships. These are just a few examples of my own experiences, shared here to help the reader conceptualize some of the encounters that may take place during the tourists' ventures in the townships, as well as to provide some context for the methodological and analytical choices I made regarding this thesis research.

## **5.0 Theory, Methodology, and Methods**

This chapter introduces feminist postcolonial theory and establishes why I chose this perspective to guide the research. Here, I begin with a brief discussion of some of the significant contributions to this field of thought, then reiterate the purpose of the research, the research questions, and the methodological framework, which was used to examine these questions. The chapter then goes on to discuss the methods used to learn about the experiences of the research participants, as well as how the data collected were analyzed. I end the chapter with a discussion of cross-cultural sensibilities, ethics, and a number of tensions that shaped how the research progressed.

### **5.1 Feminism and the Other**

A thorough discussion of the foundations and evolutions of feminist thought and its influence in society is well beyond this scope of this document. There are a number of foundational texts (including Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007; Harding, 2004; Tong, 2009, among many others) that do an excellent job in describing the central tenets and critical periods of the evolution of feminism. Nonetheless, it is important to draw attention to the core tenets of feminist thought that inform this research. Hesse-Biber (2007) has identified three commonalities that run through all the various streams of feminist thought and research. These are: “feminists ask new questions,” each generation pushing the boundaries of what has traditionally thought to be ‘known;’ “feminist research takes up issues of power, authority, ethics, and reflexivity in the practice of research,” and; “feminist researchers work at the margins of their disciplines” (p. 16-

17). It is these threads, including, of course, a focus on gender and gender equity, which are common to all branches of feminism.

Of interest to this research are the ways in which traditional liberal and radical approaches to feminism relied on the metanarrative of one common, global, universalizing women's experience within which all women, regardless of race, location, or income, are equally oppressed by the patriarchy (Chambers & Watkins, 2012; Lewis & Mills, 2003). This perspective began to be questioned, and increasingly rejected, by Majority World women and women of colour. Spelman (1982) coined the term "additive analysis" in reference to the way in which white feminists tended to treat race as though it were merely an additional burden on top of being a woman in a sexist world, when in fact it is an entirely different burden (p. 43, as cited in Schueller, 2005). This enabled them to allow for differences of race while maintaining the essential commonality of gender inequality (Schueller, 2005).

Rejection of this tendency to homogenize and 'flatten' the experiences of Other women and set their experiences as apart from those of white, western feminists has been central to the work of Spivak (1988) and hearkens back to Memmi's (1965) notion of "the mark of the plural" (p. 85) wherein all Others are characterized as the same (see also Aitchison, 2000). In particular, African-American women and black women in the UK argued there was no separating their gendered identity from their racial identity and they wished to stand with their male colleagues in opposing racism, at a time when white feminists were calling for separation from men (Lewis & Mills, 2003, p. 5). Black feminists, including bell hooks, Audre Lorde, and Barbara Smith, have spoken out against tokenism in feminist scholarship and the implicit assumption that the word 'race' means 'people of colour,' implicitly establishing 'white' as the normalized binary (Lewis & Mills, 2003). Schueller (2005) points to the analogizing tendencies within western feminism,



drawing parallels between ‘our’ and ‘their’ experiences in order to breed familiarity and understanding, and argues this effort “may constitute a neocolonial moment more dangerous than the earlier absence of race and, thus, may need close scrutiny” (p. 68). She argues that in drawing in Othered voices, in ensuring that a consideration of race or locality is always included in the talk, in fact re-establishes the white, western woman as the centre of the talk and the included Others are only ever in orbit around her (Schueller, 2005).

Majority World women and women of colour argue feminism was not representative of the experiences of all women, rather it was the experience of the white, western-educated women who were responsible for facilitating the discourse. Their representation of their experiences in a gendered, patriarchal world were taken as universal and were not perceived as representing the experiences of women of colour or those not residing the west. Schueller (2005) has noted that an examination of the titles of texts produced by white women as opposed to women of colour will demonstrate that white feminists continue to generalize in their theorizing regarding “gender/sexuality/women in general” whereas feminists of colour will write about the experiences of a specific group of women (p. 64).

Likewise, feminist scholars from the Majority World have spoken out against mainstream feminism’s essentializing characteristics, charging that statements such as ‘we are all sisters’ or declarations about ‘Majority World women’ fail to acknowledge the multiple and varied experiences of women in the Majority World (Bulbeck, 1998; Loomba, 2005; Minh-ha, 1989; Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988). Many Majority World scholars, including Spivak (1988), Mohanty (2003), and Minh-ha (1989), have argued that this tendency to lump together and elide the experiences of women in the Majority World is in itself a discursively colonizing act, as it imposes its preconceived notions of gendered experiences of oppression on a massive group of

people who may share little in terms of their experiences, and may not identify with the assumptions of gender that are being imposed upon them (Chambers & Watkins, 2012). As Chambers and Watkins have stated, “we can no longer assume that the category of ‘woman’ is unchanging, existing in a transhistorical state of othered oppression, patiently awaiting the intervention of feminists who have themselves somehow escaped this position” (2012, p. 298). According to Mohanty, western feminism is characterized by an implicit assumption about its universality and primacy, and thus demonstrates little awareness of the effect of the dominance of its discourse on women in the Majority World (2003, p. 51).

Mohanty (2003) identified a number of homogenizing tendencies in her study of several white feminist texts. She found that in these texts, Majority World women were invariably characterized as “lead[ing] an essentially truncated life based on [their] feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and being ‘third world’ (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, religious, domesticated, family-oriented, victimized, etc.)” (2003, p. 53). This is established in contrast to western women who are presented as being much more free, sexually liberated, and in control of their own destinies (Mohanty, 2003, p. 53). Mohanty views these characterizations as establishing an essentialized binary, where the Majority World women, often expressed as “ourselves undressed” by white feminists, are inferior to the western normative referent (2003, p. 53). It is essential to out and be aware of such characterizations, regardless of their intent, if they are to be questioned and changed (Mohanty, 2003, p. 54). Feminist scholars are increasingly recognizing that the issues facing women in the Majority World and women of colour cannot be ignored, cannot be considered only in contrast to those of western women, and cannot be lumped into one homogenized Othered experience (Lewis & Mills, 2003).

## 5.2 Feminist Postcolonialism

The task of feminist postcolonial theory, in the context of this research, is to bring a gendered perspective into the postcolonial study of tourism (Aitchison, 2001). Feminist postcolonialism has a key role to play in continuing to name and rectify the failure of postcolonial theory to adequately theorize the role of gender (Lewis & Mills, 2003). Attempts to bring this perspective to light are complicated by the “messy” history that mainstream feminism has had in ‘speaking for’ Others (Lewis & Mills, 2003; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). Researchers need to be conscious that issues that they perceive to be problematic may not be thus for the women and men that they are working with, and must ensure that they are working collaboratively with local people and *hearing* their perspectives (Lewis & Mills, 2003). While reflexivity and acknowledging positionality are essential to doing feminist postcolonial research, it does not go far enough, and researchers must challenge and confront representations of the Other or ‘local people’ or ‘Majority World women’ (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012).

Feminist postcolonial theory guides this research as I sought to understand how local tourism hosts perceive the assumptions that tourists have about them and how they embody/reject/reflect these assumptions. Are they cognizant of what some of these assumptions might be? How do they play along with tourists’ expectations, and how do they resist them? In what ways are the hosts empowered and how are they also disempowered through their encounters with tourists? I strove to centre the voices of the woman and men who spoke with me in the contexts of their gendered bodies in the postcolonial spaces that are the townships of South Africa.

I also sought to challenge the notion that the tourist is always the holder of the power. Is the notion that power rests unequally on the side of the tourist a western construct that would not

be acknowledged elsewhere? Is this one of those subversive constructs that is so widely ‘known’ to be true that it cannot be challenged? Postcolonial theory has informed my thinking, questioning, and analysis along this line of enquiry as well, as it demands that researchers interrogate that which the west holds to be ‘true,’ particularly in the absence of Othered perspectives.

Previous approaches to research have tended to characterize women in the Majority World as victims of tourism, of the patriarchy, of colonialism (Lewis & Mills, 2003). This research project aims to move away from that, while maintaining a critical lens, to find a place within the realm of hopeful tourism in prioritizing the centrality of tourism hosts’ perspectives of how tourism is experienced in their communities.

### **5.3 Purpose and Research Questions**

Based in feminist postcolonialism, which aims to decentre researcher privilege and move the ‘researched’ away from being the subject of talk, the statement of purpose guiding this study is as follows:

*The purpose of this photovoice inquiry is to learn about how hosts gaze back at the tourists that spend time in their townships.*

The research questions are:

RQ1: What are the experiences of tourism for residents of the townships?

RQ2: How do community members experience power in the tourism encounter?

RQ3: How do community members understand tourists’ *a priori* expectations of ‘Majority World women and men’?

RQ4: How do community members navigate/reinforce/resist discourses of race and gender in tourism?

## **5.4 Methodology**

In this section I describe my chosen methodology, photovoice, which aligns itself well with the feminist postcolonial objectives described above. Photovoice strives to open up spaces for frequently silenced voices and forces the researcher to sit back and allow the photographer/participant to guide the conversation.

### **5.4.1 Photovoice**

Photovoice is a feminist methodology developed by Wang, Burris, and colleagues in their work with rural women in China (Wang, Burris, & Ping, 1996; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). Researchers using photovoice provide participants with cameras in order that they might (1) record the issues and assets present in their communities, (2) spark critical dialogues with the broader community and, (3) create change at the policy level (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). It is grounded in three theoretical perspectives. The first is the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, who felt that any person, no matter how impoverished or under-educated, has the ability to critically reflect on the world if given the right tools to do so and that the allies of the oppressed must “be imbued with a profound trust in people and their creative power” (Freire, 1970, p. 75; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). Photovoice is also guided by its intention to challenge some feminist theorists’ assertions that the ability to speak rests only with those who establish the institutions, the language, and the prevailing economic context (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). This methodology strives to put the right tools in people’s hands – in this case a camera – so that they will lead the

discussion and demonstrate their expertise, regardless of how little empowerment they may experience in other areas of their lives (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). Finally, photovoice is rooted in a community-based approach to photography (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). This is founded in the work of a number of professional photographers, among them Jo Spence, who chose to turn the lens around and encourage the subjects of their photographs to instead photograph themselves in order to reveal a different perspective (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). According to Spence,

[t]his provides immediate feedback for discussion, provides aids for storytelling and reading, and makes it possible to look at the world differently. People can discover how to relate to themselves and to others more positively when armed with images of themselves – images which counteract the stereotypes usually seen in the mass media (1995, pp. 33, 35, as cited in Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001, p. 561).

The ease of learning to use a camera, combined with participants' familiarity and comfort in their surroundings, makes photovoice a powerful and accessible tool for community members to share their insights and understandings in a way that might be difficult for outsiders to ask about using only traditional interview or focus group methods (Wang & Burris, 1997).

The use of photovoice can encourage participants to engage reflexively with the subjects they choose to photograph as they have the opportunity to thoughtfully construct and re-construct the stories that narrate the images (Rydzik *et al.*, 2012, p. 291). Traditional oral forms of research, such as interviewing, demand that participants respond immediately in the moment, whereas asking people to describe the narratives related to the photographs they have taken involves a much more reflective and thought-out process, which can lead to "rich details that inform the development of thick descriptions" (OliFFE & Bottorff, 2007, p. 857; Rydzik *et al.*, 2012). With photovoice, participants are asked to take a series of photographs representative of

their experiences related to the topic of the study, then participate in an interview with the researcher to describe the meanings they associate with those photos.

In their photovoice research with men diagnosed with colon cancer, Oliffe and Bottorff (2007) found three strengths to using this methodology in their study. First, the interview often felt more like perusing a family photo album, and thus reduced the strangeness of the formalized interview setting (Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007). The photographs provided an opportunity to narrate and explain, and the researchers found “participants often took charge as experts and led discussions highlighting experiences and issues that were most important to them” rather than responding statically to the interviewers’ questions (Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007, p. 852-853). Second, the photographs helped the respondents to speak about highly personal and traumatic subjects while often seeking and finding anonymity in the photographs (Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007, p. 853). Some participants referred to the photo subjects in the third person as a way of distancing themselves while still elaborating on painful subjects (Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007, p. 853). Finally, the photographs elicited description and details, potentially minimizing researcher assumptions about what might be said in a traditional interview setting, and led to the development of richly descriptive narratives (Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007, p. 853).

Photovoice has also been used as a tool for social change. It makes visible the situatedness and lived experiences of the participants (Brickell, 2012; Bukowski & Buetow, 2011; Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007), demands that participants drive the research, and leads to reflections and insights that would be challenging to verbalize otherwise (Garrod, 2008). In her study with tourism hosts in Vietnam, Brickell (2012) used host-elicited photography as a means of “privileging local knowledges” and shedding light on a side of tourism that is rarely, if ever, represented in tourist-produced or tourism marketing imagery (p. 99). Bukowski and Buetow

(2011) conducted a photovoice initiative with homeless women in Auckland, New Zealand, wherein “[t]he dual voice of visual and spoken narratives was elicited to strengthen the storytelling by women as advocates and agents for authentic change” (p. 740). Bukowski and Buetow (2011) went on to present the photographs and narratives created by the women at conferences, a human rights film festival, a local library exhibition, and in published reports as a means of initiating dialogue and social change. Photovoice provides participants with a tool to make their experiences visible and “thus often culminate[s] in showcasing the artworks for wider audiences; as a result, such projects can bring change to individuals” (Ryzdik *et al.*, 2012, p. 287; Oliffe & Bottorff, 2007). Photovoice enables researchers to learn about participants’ immediate as well as reflective responses to particular subject areas, to be engaged as active participants in the research, and to be empowered as their voices and images are heard and seen beyond the realm of academia (Brickell, 2012; Bukowski & Buetow, 2011; Ryzdik *et al.*, 2012).

I felt that this methodology was appropriate to this study for a number of reasons. First, in accordance with a feminist postcolonial theoretical approach, I wanted to employ a methodology that centred the research participants as the experts, allowing them to drive the research and our conversations through the photographs that they chose to share with me. As much as possible I wanted to decentre my own researcher/tourist voice. I also chose this methodology because I did not want this research to be driven by a series of interview questions crafted by myself, an outsider to the community, who should not be tasked with determining the questions to ask to learn about the values and priorities of people living in these communities, when I myself have no idea what it is to live there (although this is necessarily complicated by the fact that I am responsible for determining the study’s research questions). I felt that photovoice would be fun for the participants, would allow them to showcase their creative sides, and would give them



something tangible as an outcome of participating in academic research, in this case the cameras that they used as well as all of the photographs that they took.

As a researcher consciously struggling with issues of representation, I also love that the photographs speak for themselves, that they portray the participants' "subjective experience of place" (Markwell, 2000, p. 91). They are imbued with their own light and power, and anyone engaging with this research can bring their own interpretations and understandings to the photographs that people chose to take. In addition, taking and sharing photographs is a central part of the touristic experience for many people (c.f. Noy, 2014; Scarles, 2009), however the scene is nearly always reproduced from the tourists' perspectives. I was interested in seeing how this location of tourism (and at once the home community for the research participants) might be represented differently in photographs when shot from the perspectives of the people who live there.

While photovoice was chosen for this study due to its many attributes that align with my own theoretical framework and research objectives, this methodology also presents a number of limitations. Foremost among these, from my perspective, are the ethical challenges that it may pose. Issues arise relating to the informed consent of the people represented in the photographs (Rose, 2007; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001), and I dedicate a subsection below to how I attempted to mitigate challenges related to people not wishing to be the subject of photographs or people being represented in photos not being fully aware that the images formed part of a research study. Another limitation of photovoice is related to cost, both in terms of the time it takes and the cost of the materials (Given *et al.*, 2011). Cameras, their associated accessories, and the printing of photographs all come with a cost (Given *et al.*, 2011) and if equipment fails in the field it can be challenging to repair or replace. Further, photovoice represents a significant

investment of time on the part of the researcher and the participants in terms of training, taking the photographs, and then discussing the images represented in the photographs, far beyond that which is required for in-depth interviews or focus groups. Finally, photographs can be staged by the participants or misunderstood by the viewers. The photographs cannot be considered a dataset unto themselves, and must be put into context through discussions between the researcher and the participants (Rose, 2007). The following sections describe how I put photovoice methodology into practice.

## **5.5 Methods**

This section is dedicated to describing how I carried out this research, including recruiting study participants, choosing study locations, distributing cameras, collecting data, and additional sources of information. In addition, I reflect here on the steps that I took in order to ensure I was conducting my research ethically and with full and informed consent of the study participants.

### **5.5.1 Ethics**

All of the people interviewed for the purposes of this study signed consent forms approved by the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) (Appendix A). It was decided prior to the commencement of the study that obtaining written consent from all of the photo subjects would be prohibitively onerous and a barrier to participation, given the likely challenges related to English literacy, convenience, and cultural appropriateness. I worked in collaboration with staff at the ORE to develop a verbal script, which the participants would refer to in order to ensure that the people being photographed understood that the photos were being used as part of a research study and that they could potentially be published in a variety of

formats. Upon meeting with each participant to discuss their role in the research, I informed them about the purpose of the research and how the interview data and the photographs would be used. I informed them that each would be given a pseudonym and that photographs could only be shared with me if they were taken with the subjects' informed consent, and discussed what it meant to give 'informed consent' (ORE, 2011). I read the informed consent form with each participant and asked if they had any questions or concerns before signing.

During each interview I would make a point of pausing at certain photographs to ask the participant whether they had obtained informed consent from the photo's subject for it to be included in academic research. In each instance the participant responded in the affirmative. That being said, in a few circumstances, as with the photographs of pre-school aged children taken at a childcare centre and at Indawo Yethu<sup>10</sup>, I cannot be confident that each of those children's parents gave full and informed consent for their child's photo to be shared, despite assurances to the contrary. In these instances, I have included these photos in my own analysis but have chosen not to publish or share them in any form. Other photographs, which I found to be compelling and illustrative of participants' experience with tourists which featured adults other than the participants (often tourists) I have chosen to include with the tourists' faces blurred out, in the absence of knowing for certain that these tourists were aware that their photographs would be shared with a researcher.

All of the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by me and stored on my password-protected computer, which only I have access to. The transcribed interviews were shared with the research participants to check for accuracy and to ensure that if a participant was

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<sup>10</sup> Indawo Yethu, meaning 'Our Place' in isiXhosa, is the fictionalized name I have ascribed to the women's development centre. It, like the names of the participants in the study, was changed in order to protect confidentiality.

uncomfortable with any part of the transcript, it would not be used in the research. I also sought the help of two scholars in the Department of African Languages at the University of Stellenbosch with the translation in some of the transcripts where the participant had chosen to respond in isiXhosa. These two faculty members assured their confidentiality and were paid for their time.

This research also included informal observations in my everyday life, as I was present in all three study sites as both a researcher and a tourist. In order to maintain transparency as well as ethical integrity, everyone that I met in the townships was informed that I was a graduate student researcher from Canada, there to study tourism. Much of what I learned about tourism and life in general in South Africa came about through informal conversations at weekly Reconciliation Lunches with township residents, Friday nights listening to live music at Amazink in the township where I lived, or conversations while eating dinner and watching the nightly news with my host family. I also spent a great deal of time trying to digest and understand what I had heard and seen over the course of my day with my friend Joes, a fellow student from the Netherlands who was also staying with my host family in Kayamandi. As such, my entire time in the townships was spent in learning and analysis. My host family and friends were invaluable to this research in terms of answering my questions and helping me to understand what I was learning.

Another aspect of my research and analysis was in the keeping of a travel blog, for which I also received research ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics. Through this blog, I was able to write about what I was learning, what I did not yet understand, and the mistakes that I felt I had made over the course of my day. The process of writing helped to clarify my understandings and I also felt the blog to be an important part of my process of research ethic, as it made public my attempts to learn and understand what I was being

told. Finally, the blog also provided a forum through which I was able to seek and receive feedback from people from around the world on the issues that I was grappling with. As I describe in the following section, my plans were often disrupted and I was compelled to check in with my own ethics in order to know how to move forward.

### **5.5.2 *Participant recruitment***

Recruitment of participants for this study took place over the course of my time in South Africa. Originally, my intention was to look to my contact person at the University of Stellenbosch, who had done previous research with the residents of Kayamandi, to help me reach out to potential study participants, however he left the country on sabbatical shortly after my arrival in Stellenbosch. He did introduce me to another PhD candidate, Elsa Vogts, who was able to connect me with several community members in Kayamandi, however another avenue to recruit township tourism stakeholders had to be devised. I therefore chose to participate in a number of tours myself and take those opportunities to engage with the tour guides and other hosts and invite them to participate in the research. Stellenbosch 360, the local tourism destination marketing board, did not have any information about local township tours, so I turned to Google. Entering the search terms “Kayamandi tours” and “Cape Town township tours,” I identified five tours in three townships that I joined in on over a period of several weeks.

I participated in my first tour in March 2016, where I met Thembi, the tour guide who lives in Langa Township. Thembi, in turn, introduced me to Phakamisa, Florence, and Luane, who all shared their experiences of tourism with me.



Meghan and Thembi, a tour guide and student in Langa. Photo credit: Phakamisa



Florence, who sells sheep's heads and hosts tourists in Langa. Photo credit: Phakamisa



Luane sells arts and crafts to the tourists outside of his apartment in Langa. Photo credit: Phakamisa

I then met the women of Indawo Yethu on a tour in Khayelitsha the following month, which was guided by Bongani, who also participated in this research. Six women from Indawo Yethu participated in the research and did so as a group.



Joes, a student from the Netherlands, and Nozi and Amahle from Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Anathi





Anathi, a program manager with Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Anathi



Piko from Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Piko





Andiswa, the director of Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Mpho



Mpho, centre, and another woman from Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Amahle



Bongani, the tour guide who collaborates with Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Bongani

I was also able to recruit Franky after having joined him on one of his bicycle tours in Khayelitsha. Ginger is the brother of a tour guide in Kayamandi who often accompanies his sister as support person. Lwazi has also worked occasionally as a tour guide in Kayamandi.



Ginger from Kayamandi. Photo credit: Ginger

Table 1. List of participants in the research.

Participant	Gender	Approx. age	Involvement in tourism
Thembi	Female	23	Thembi works part time as a tour guide in Langa and is one of two people in her nine-person household who has employment. She hopes to raise enough money to go to school and get a job at a call centre.
Phakimisa	Male	24	Phakimisa does not rely on income from tourism. He works as a freelance photojournalist and is involved in a number of advocacy, activist, and art initiatives in Langa and Cape Town.
Florence	Female	40	Florence sells sheeps' heads on the side of the road in Langa and is visited by several groups of tourists every day. She does not receive a salary or a stipend for hosting the tours, however some tourists will provide her with money, and her two children's school tuition is being paid for by European tourists.
Luane	Male	48	Luane was an early embracer of tours to Langa and has set up a stand where he sells small handicrafts and painting to the tourists who walk past his home.
Nozi	Female	45	Nozi is a member of Indawo Yethu, where she produces handicrafts to sell to the tourists who are brought to the women's arts and culture centre once or twice daily. She does not have other employment.
Amahle	Female	47	Amahle is a member of Indawo Yethu, where she produces handicrafts to sell to the tourists who are brought to the women's arts and culture centre once or twice daily. She does not have other employment.
Piko	Female	35	Piko is a member of Indawo Yethu, where she learned to bead the handicrafts that are sold to the tourists who visit the centre. She now has a number of clients who contract her for special projects and describes beading as her 'passion.'
Andiswa	Female	50	Andiswa is the director of Indawo Yethu. Her primary role involves overseeing all of the initiatives at the centre.
Mpho	Female	50	Mpho is a member of Indawo Yethu, where she produces handicrafts to sell to the tourists who are brought to the women's arts and culture centre once or twice daily. She does not have other employment.
Anathi	Female	40	Anathi is a program manager at Indawo Yethu. She described herself sitting at home alone without employment prospects prior to Indawo Yethu having been established through funding from tourists.
Bongani	Male	36	Bongani is a tour guide with Manyano, a not-for-profit tourism company based in Cape Town that funds a number of social initiatives, including Indawo Yethu. His tours take visitors to several of these enterprises throughout various townships.

Franky	Male	23	Franky is a former gang member and youth engagement worker in Khayelitsha. He independently offers bicycle tours throughout his neighbourhood. Franky took a number of photographs for this research, however due to a data transfer error none of his photographs were collected for this study.
Ginger	Male	30	Ginger is the brother of the one tour guide successfully working in Kayamandi. He is not employed, but is involved in a number of arts, culture, and historical initiatives in the township.
Lwazi	Male	53	Lwazi is a registered tour guide in Kayamandi, although he finds that he is only being offered four or five tours a year through the local tourism agency. He does not have other employment.
Kwame	Male	32	Kwame lives in Kayamandi and occasionally works as a server at Amazink. This is his only connection to the tourism industry. Kwame took a number of photographs and participated in the research with several of his friends at Thando's house.
Ernst	Male	57	Ernst is the only non-Xhosa participant in this research, although he does reside in Kayamandi. He is an Afrikaans lawyer and one of the primary investor/owners of Amazink. He did not contribute any photographs to this research, however he was included in this study as a resident of a township with a unique perspective of tourism. His wife (who did not participate in this research) hosts the weekly Reconciliation Lunches in their home.

I took up residence in Kayamandi in April 2016 and was able to recruit a number of people through the personal relationships that developed. I was approached a number of times by people offering to be interviewed for my research. Kwame and the group from Thando's house contributed to the research in this manner.



Kwame, Meghan, and Thando in Kayamandi. Photo credit: Kwame

These personal offers of support account for the discrepancy between the number of cameras handed out and the larger number of interviews that were undertaken. While this method of sampling strayed far from a “predetermined criterion of importance” (Patton, 2002, p. 238), I felt that it was important to actively listen to people’s experiences if they had a wish to share them, particularly as I came to learn that sharing one’s stories and feeling heard was important to residents of the townships that I worked in (as I discuss in more detail in the findings). I was also intentional in my decision to use an open-ended approach to recruitment due to my belief that I did not have enough knowledge of the culture to know which questions to ask; therefore, I may not automatically know which people would have the most pertinent information to share with me.

That being said, I chose to limit participation to people who were, or had at one time been, residents of a township. All of the participants were residents of black, as opposed to coloured townships, which do not play host to the same type of organized, formalized tours. All but one of the participants in the study were black and members of the Xhosa tribal group,

originally from the Eastern Cape. The final interview I undertook was with a white resident of the township where I was also staying. Ernst is an Afrikaans man who had been living in the township with his wife and three children since 1997. He was involved in some aspects of tourism in the township and had a unique perspective to share as one of the only white residents of a black township anywhere in South Africa.

The 22 participants in the study, 8 women and 14 men, were South African adults, aged between 23 and 60 years of age. All had had some experience with tourists, ranging from guiding tours, to hosting in their communal space, selling handicrafts, or having informal contacts with them in their township. In an effort to reduce as many barriers to participation as possible, I attempted to meet participants in whatever spaces were most amenable to them. These included the Indawo Yethu women's centre, their places of employment, the local arts and culture space, and their homes. Financial information was not collected about the participants. While this may have provided interesting comparative information, based on my own perceptions of this culture this was not a question that I felt comfortable asking, nor was other specific demographic information collected.

In addition, I had the privilege of being welcomed at a weekly Reconciliation Lunch hosted by a white township resident in her home (the wife of the man who was interviewed for this research). These lunches were open to anyone in the community and the only requirement was that each person around the table speak to their experience regarding the topic selected by our host each week. On my final week in the township, diners were asked to speak to their experiences related to tourism. This gave me a unique insight into not only people's experiences of tourists in the township, but also how they themselves think of and experience tourism in their own lives.

In order to ensure that the research was being done ethically in light of these unanticipated sources of information, I contacted the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo and received approval for an interview consent form (Appendix C) to be used in instances where participants were not recruited by me, nor were they being asked to take photographs, but were consenting to be interviewed and audio recorded. In the instance of the Reconciliation Lunch, our host explained to the diners that I was a graduate student from Canada who was interested in learning about experiences of tourism in the township. As this was a very informal conversation, and I did not have the opportunity to check for individual informed consent, nor did I ask any questions, I chose to treat this as an unexpected opportunity for participant observation. I did not take any notes at the lunch (although I did record my recollections later) and I did not make any effort to connect comments with individual participants nor collect any personal data from the diners. I participated in the conversation over the course of our lunch in exactly the same manner as the other attendees.

### ***5.5.2 Choice of locations***

Participants in this study were residents of three very different townships, all chosen because they regularly host groups of international tourists. Langa is considered the oldest township in Cape Town, having been established in 1927, and is home to approximately 50,000 primarily black and isiXhosa-speaking residents (Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre, n.d.). Langa's housing is a mix of the original hostels, built by the business owners who employed the men (and only men) who lived in them, the 'new' hostels, government-built RDP (reconstruction and development plan) housing, shacks, and middle-class private homes. Langa was also the locus for many of the violently repressed protests against the apartheid government beginning in the 1960s.

Khayelitsha (meaning ‘new home’ in isiXhosa) was established in 1983 and became home to many of the black families displaced by the destruction of communities like District 6 after they were declared ‘whites-only.’ Khayelitsha is one of the largest and fastest growing townships in South Africa, being home to over 400,000 residents, and also home to a new modern hospital, a library, several schools, police stations, and a central business district (Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre, n.d.). Approximately half its residents lived in shacks according to the 2011 census (down from two thirds in 2001) (Cronje, 2014) and the township is also home to a number of territorial gangs and violence is perceived as a major issue (Barolsky, 2014).

Kayamandi is the township of Stellenbosch, a city of 150,000 residents located in the heart of wine country 40 kilometers north-east of Cape Town (Frith, 2011; Stellenbosch 360, 2017). Stellenbosch is the city that I originally lived in in order to house myself at Stellenbosch University, and I eventually came to live with a family in Kayamandi. Kayamandi (‘sweet home’ in isiXhosa) is considerably smaller and more rural than the other two townships included in this study (population 25,000) and sees significantly fewer tours coming through, as most tourists to the area are primarily interested in the wine and gastrotourism options that the region is famous for (Stellenbosch 360, 2017). Unlike the other two townships, where tourism is big business, I was only aware of one tour guide who was able to support herself on tours through Kayamandi.

### ***5.5.3 Distribution of cameras and remuneration***

Before leaving Canada, I sent out a message to my personal network on Facebook asking people to donate any unwanted digital cameras they had. Thanks to the generosity of these friends, I was able to travel to South Africa with 12 cameras in my carry-on. In addition, a friend



in San Diego, who did not have a camera to give, instead sent me a cheque for USD \$200. This money was used to purchase the batteries, memory cards, card readers, and charging cables that were needed to make many of these cameras functional. Two of the cameras turned out to be broken beyond repair, and this combined with a larger than anticipated interest desire to participate, led me to acquire an additional 4 cameras once I arrived in South Africa. This donation was also used to purchase 100 rand (approximately CAD \$10.25) gift cards for all of the study participants. The decision to give people gift cards was approved by the Office of Research Ethics, although I waited until I arrived in South Africa to learn what would be an appropriate amount and gift type. In one instance a participant requested a hard-to-find book instead, so I arranged to purchase it for him.

#### **5.5.4 Photo collection**

Once identified, participants were given digital cameras and asked to take photos of what tourism *is* like in their community as well as what tourism *ought to be*. Photo-collection guidelines were left intentionally broad and participants were encouraged to photograph whatever they felt might be important for me to understand about tourism in the township. Time was taken with each individual participant to ensure that they understood how their camera worked and given a few basic digital photography tips. In the case of the women from Indawo Yethu, I conducted a more formal workshop with them in order to ensure that they also felt that they were gaining some skills development through their participation in the research.

Despite my efforts to be consistent in how I asked people to engage in the taking of photos, I found that many people approached the project differently. Thembi took no photos, despite having been given a camera and shown how to use it. Instead, she invited her friend

Phakamisa, a semi-professional photographer, to join us when I came to interview her, and the three of us went and spoke with other tourism stakeholders in the community while Phakamisa took photos. The women from Indawo Yethu made a day of it, and the six of them traveled throughout the township together taking photographs. Ernst and the group at Thando's agreed to participate in the research after I had completed my study recruitment, and thus after I had distributed all of the cameras to other participants. They therefore did not contribute any photographs, but rather participated in loosely structured interviews which mainly involved my asking them about their feelings and perceptions of the presence of tourists in the township.

I undertook one-on-one interviews with the five participants who were given cameras individually. The interviews ranged from one to five hours, depending on their availability and desire to share with me. These interviews began with opening the photo files on my laptop and asking the participant where they would like to start in telling me about the photographs they chose to take. I then used the photographs to ask probing questions related to what people were telling me about their experiences of tourism. I had a prepared list of interview questions that I wished to ask (Appendix D), however I chose to allow the photographs and what the participants wished to tell me about guide the interviews. All individual interviews were conducted in English and audio-recorded with permission. Logistically, it was not realistic for me to print out hard copies of the photographs before the interviews, however I did offer to have copies made of any photos they wished. Only one participant expressed a desire to have a number of prints made, and I was able to deliver those to him at a later date.

With the group from Indawo Yethu I conducted one group interview session with all six participants. During this session, the women were invited to choose two photographs they had taken and tell me about their significance in relation to their experiences of tourism. This session

was also audio-recorded with permission. Four of the participants chose to respond in English, and two chose to respond in isiXhosa, which was more comfortable for them. These responses were relayed to me in English by another participant in the group, and the audio was later translated and transcribed by two professors in the Department of Language Studies at the University of Stellenbosch. At the end of this initial session, I offered to return to speak about the photographs further. Our meeting had run long, and my sense was that the women were both eager to end our meeting and yet frustrated that they had not had the opportunity to share as fully as they would have liked. I returned to Indawo Yethu three additional times and all six participants were able to sit with me one-on-one (with the exception of the two who again chose to speak through a translator) and tell me about the remainder of the photographs they took.

In discussing the photographs, I invited the participants to start wherever they liked and explain to me why they chose to take those particular photographs. As each participant engaged with the process of taking photographs differently, each conversation unfolded differently according to the stories that the photographs told. I had prepared an interview guide but found that following it precisely did not allow me the flexibility to respond and probe what I was being told were priorities for the participants. Instead, I focused on ensuring that all of those questions were being asked at some point over the course of our conversations.

Lwazi and Bongani, both tour guides, took me on a typical ‘tour’ in photographs through their townships. Their photographs focused on the sites/sights that they would visit whilst on a tour and explained why these particular aspects of life in the township were included in the tours. I was curious to know how these locations were chosen to be singled out, how set routes were established, and how it was that these guides ‘knew’ what it was that the tourists wished to see while in the township.

Ginger walked through his community and interviewed his neighbours about their perceptions of tourism as he took photos. Ginger was very inspired by the potential of tourism to celebrate culture and history and improve livelihoods in the township, but was also frustrated with what he perceived as the politics, the racism, and the avarice that meant that very few people were actually profiting from tourism locally. Ginger and I split a platter of meat and a bottle of wine at the local arts and culture space, Amazink, and our conversation ranged from the aspirations of young children to one day work in tourism, to local violence, to the re-humanizing processes that tourism inscribes on local people by ‘being seen’ and interacting with the tourists. Ginger walked me home in the dark at the end of the evening, which I was apprehensive about because I had been cautioned against being out after dark, but Ginger assured me that this was ‘his’ township and that no harm would come to me while I was with him.

The women from Indawo Yethu took up the project as a group, all six of them moving together throughout their township in order to take photographs of their places of significance. Their photographs featured parks, butcheries, hair salons, furniture makers, a cow, fruit stands, and various community celebrations. We all sat together to look at one another’s photos, and the women’s conversations veered between raucous laughter and boisterously-shouted commands to one another to ‘shut up.’ After I had much of this background conversation translated from isiXhosa to English, I heard one of the women telling the others to be clear and behave because they were there to “help someone’s child.” Despite these occasional flashes of impatience with one another, and much like the photographs taken at Indawo Yethu, our talks together were boisterous, teasing, and filled with laughter.

As mentioned previously, Thembi, also a tour guide, was given a camera, but when I returned to interview her she had invited her friend Phakamisa to join us and had not taken any

photographs of her own. Together, the three of us walked to meet Florence and Luane, who both earn their livelihoods through tourism, and Phakimisa took photographs during our conversations. Florence and Luane spoke about how tourism had changed their lives, interspersed with their moving away to deal with potential clients, while Phakimisa, with occasional interjections from Thembi, spoke at length about his own questions and concerns related to the tourists' gaze and how he felt that members of his community were stereotyped by the tourists. I was a little blindsided at being taken around to meet Florence and Luane, and had not prepared myself to interview them, however was able to learn about some fascinating aspects of tourism in Langa through speaking with them.

Bongani and Franky took photographs of the tourists as they engaged in their tours, while the women at Indawo Yethu also took photos of the tourists who visited them at the women's centre. These photographs all show smiling, clearly posing tourists, however there is no indication that they were aware that these photos were being taken as part of an academic study. Where these photographs have been reproduced I have endeavoured to obscure the identities of these tourists.

I asked questions about the people in the photographs or the locations of the images and probed about their relations to tourism. At times, the conversations flowed very naturally about the impacts of tourism in the community, and at others it was difficult for me to know how to engage with the photographs that were being shared with me in a way that was productive. For instance, Lwazi shared this photograph of the local refrigerator repair shop, while Piko from Indawo Yethu focused on the man in the community who makes leather sandals and gun holsters:



Photo credit: Lwazi



Photo credit: Piko

In instances like these, it was challenging to know how to appropriately respond and ask questions that were going to be productive in increasing my understanding of tourism in the townships, when the images appear to have little or nothing to do with tourism at all. I chose to attempt to learn what it was that the participants wished to communicate with me in selecting these photos and made an intentional decision to not try to steer the conversation back towards more ‘on topic’ subjects. It was important to me to establish a rapport and trust in listening to people’s stories as they wished to share them, and I found that this facilitated more in-depth conversations later on that might not have been possible otherwise. Towards the ends of the interviews, when most or all photographs had been discussed, I found it possible to ask more probing questions including: How is tourism experienced differently here by women and men?; Does it ever happen that tourists exhibit negative behaviours or enter into spaces where they are not welcome?, and; How is tourism changing the relationships between white and black people in South Africa? While the photographs provided a platform for us to begin speaking and for me to learn more about the participants’ realities, the conversations that followed the sharing of the photographs were often the most fruitful in terms of learning about people’s experiences of tourism.

### **5.5.5 Additional interviews**

In addition to the interviews that were guided by the photographs, I also had several friends in the township where I was living approach me and asked to be interviewed about their experiences with tourism. One was the chef at the local arts and culture centre, who was also a certified tour guide. The other was a group of friends that I socialized with regularly who wanted to support the work that I was doing and share their perspectives. This group of six men met with me at Thandos's house on a Saturday afternoon. Both these sessions contributed little to the data included in my analysis, as they were not based in their photographs, nor in any particular experiences with tourists, but rather in a desire to support my work and be involved. I felt ethically and personally obligated to respect their desires to support my research and honour the stories they wished to share, even if they had little to do with the research questions I had set out to investigate.

My friend Kwame, who was part of the group at Thando's, also chose to take a series of photographs as he accompanied two other friends, one a resident of the township, the other a tourist from Germany, on an informal tour. Having previously participated in the conversation at Thando's, Kwame did not wish to be interviewed further, however his photographs have been included in my analysis.

### **5.5.6 Blogging**

In addition to collecting data with the study participants, I also chose to engage deliberately in a practice of blogging as both data collection and reflective practice (Muldoon, 2016). My objectives in creating a tourist/researcher blog were:

1. As a practice of critical self-reflexivity (Cunliffe, 2004; Pagis, 2009)

2. As a site of meditation and reflection, a practice of wellness for myself as tourist/researcher
3. As a site to trouble and question dominant discourses of 'Third World,' 'ethical,' 'reality,' and 'responsible' tourism in the Majority World and open up space for a larger discussion of what it means to be a traveler in the world.

In using the blogging space, I attempted to make visible my own uncertainties, ethical conundrums, and the mistakes that I made in my interactions in a new culture. I was particularly interested in exposing my own troubled encounters with race and sought feedback from others outside my own positionality as a white Canadian woman. The nature of the blog enabled me to 'speak' to people from outside my own personal networks and provided a venue for them to speak back in the form of comments. I reflect in greater detail about what I learned through the process of blogging in the findings section.

## 5.6 Researcher Power

Social research always involves unequal relationships of power between researchers and study participants (Feighery, 2006; Johnson, 2009). The Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith does not mince words when reflecting on the impacts of western researchers on Indigenous Peoples in New Zealand:

It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations (Smith, 1999, p. 1).

For Smith, western academic research will always be "inextricably linked to...colonialism" because of the ways in which researchers humiliated and de-humanized the people they encountered (1999, p. 1; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005). Fine (1994) cites the American activist and author Joyce A. Ladner, who wrote, "It has been argued that the relationship between the researcher and his subjects, by definition, resembles that of the oppressor and the oppressed,



because it is the oppressor who defines the problem, the nature of the research, and, to some extent, the quality of the interaction between him and his subjects” (Ladner, 1971, p. vii, as cited in Fine, 1994, p. 73). According to Fine (1994), social science’s adherence to Master Narratives necessitated the creation of Others, who are automatically inferior to the objective, rational superiority of the researcher. The impact of research undertaken to establish and maintain the hegemonic power of the colonial rulers, as in the travel journals studied by Mary Louise Pratt (1985), which depicted local people as “amenable to domination” (p. 139, as cited in Fine, 1994, p. 73), has been a deep-seated mistrust of research among Indigenous Peoples and no recognition of research as a potential tool for empowerment and self-determination (Smith, 2008, p. 116).

As a person entering the doubly Othered space of research and tourism in the Majority World, I strove to be reflexive and attentive to the risk that my research may present in re-Othering the people that I worked with. Swain (2004) advocates the use of reflexive practice in order that we may adopt “more equitable human conditions in the course of our research about tourism” (p. 102). One way to do this is to examine the “meanings” behind a certain perspective and to look for ways to re-write those meanings from different vantage points (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010, p. 40).

A critical challenge for tourism researchers is finding ways to make visible the perspectives of research participants without speaking for them (Denzin & Giardina, 2013). As Frow (1991) has said, “How can I come to terms with that which is Other without reducing it to the terms of my own understanding?” (p. 73, as cited in McRae, 2003, p. 236). Some radical feminists have been criticized for speaking for Others, however, as they have responded, how is it possible to work for social justice from a position of privilege *without* somehow speaking for Others (Aitchison, 2000)? The postcolonial feminist scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988)

has been adamant that it is not possible for researchers to *know* Others, nor will it be possible for them to correct the “material wrongs of colonialism” (p. 280; Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005). According to Spivak (1988) researchers need to listen to the multiple voices of the Other and stop trying to *give* them a voice from their own perspectives. Likewise, Freire (1970) said that only the oppressed will be able to overcome their oppression, and that oppressors, despite their best intentions, will only ever be oppressors. In attempting to represent and speak for the oppressed, oppressors are replicating imbalances of power and further entrenching oppression (Freire, 1970). The feminist scholar England (1994) asked the question in this manner:

In our rush to be more inclusive and conceptualizing difference and diversity, might we be guilty of appropriating the voices of ‘others’? How do we deal with this when planning and conducting our research? And can we incorporate the voice of ‘others’ without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination? (p. 81)

Fine (1994) challenges qualitative researchers to consciously explore the hyphen between Self and Other. She engages with the work of postcolonial feminist scholars including Ladner (1971), Giroux (1991), Pratt (1985), Haraway (1988), and Spivak (1988), among others, to explore how research in the social sciences has often served to re-marginalize and Other the subjects of research (Fine, 1994). Consciously unpacking implicit understandings of researcher objectivity, scientific validity, and the homogenization of the Other can allow us as researchers to explore the spaces that separate Self and Other and bring us closer to collaboratively create knowledge and speak with, as opposed to for, Others (Fine, 1994).

Aitchison (2000) refers to the work of the feminist scholars and activists Sue Wilkinson and Celia Kitzinger (1996) and their four strategies for how to practically ensure that we, as researchers, are working the hyphen. These are: “checking out with Others the validity of one’s representations with them; listening to Others’ accounts of ‘us’ as a way of exposing the

operation of Othering; listening to members of the powerful group to hear the ways in which they construct Others; and developing opportunities for dialogue between ‘us’ and Others” (p. 136).

While Fine (1994) and Aitchison (2000) acknowledge the work of hooks (1990) and Spivak (1988), both of whom argued against the appropriation of Others’ voices by well-intentioned white, western feminists, Fine (1994) argues that not engaging with issues of injustice or oppression “in the name of science is oxymoronic” (p. 76). While it will never be possible to completely understand and accurately reflect the experience of the Other (Trussell, 2010), through conscious self-reflexive practice researchers will be better able to co-construct stories of resistance and empowerment with research participants (Fine, 1994).

Whilst there is general agreement that thinking deliberately about the whys and hows of knowledge production in tourism and leisure studies is a positive development in our field of study, several researchers also remind us that it is not enough to proclaim one’s research as reflexive without giving thought to some of the potential negative impacts of partial or insincere reflexive practices. Ateljevic *et al.* (2005) cite Lancaster’s (1996) concerns about overly rigorous reflexive practices that may “caricature other cultures and other people as exotic backdrops for authorial self-discovery” (p. 130, as cited in Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005, p. 12). They also consider the work of Rose (1997) who critiqued feminist geographers who claim the ability to completely know and understand themselves, arguably a re-representation of the all-knowing ‘god-trick’, and thereby are in a position to know everything there is to know about themselves as well as the people they study (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005, p. 12).

While acknowledging the challenge in striving to not speak for Others while doing social research, Aitchison (2001) encourages researchers to adopt the Gramscian maxim – “pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will” – meaning always striving to most closely understand

[an]Other's perspective, while at once knowing this will never be possible (p. 141). Tribe's (2006) consideration of Said's (1994) questions, "...how does one speak the truth? What truth? For whom and where?" (p. 88, as cited in Tribe, 2006, p. 36) reminds us to be continually self-reflexive in our research as tourism scholars to ensure we are asking the best questions and actively seeking to see things from Others' perspectives, rather than reproducing our own (differently situated) understandings of what is being observed. In response to all of the concerns and cautions raised here, as well as my own profound discomfort with assigning a 'truth' to what I learned over the course of my time in South Africa, however it be couched in advisories pertaining to researcher positionality, I have attempted as much as possible to be transparent in my own interpretive process and the ways in which my subjectivities informed the ways in which I was able to represent what I learned about tourism in these three townships.

## **5.7 Researcher Reflections**

While I have striven to decentre my own voice in favour of the participants' perspectives through the reproduction of their photographs and verbatim interview fragments, undertaking research is always an interpretive process and I need to acknowledge that the photographs and narratives shared here were chosen by me because they spoke to me, and because they spoke to a question that I sought to have answered. I am also cognizant of the fact of who I am in my body, and what that raced, gendered, and Othered body potentially represented to the people who participated in this research. There is an undeniable power that is affiliated with being a white person in South Africa. White people represent wealth, education, freedom of movement, and the power to dominate. My white body gave me access to people and conversations because of this. That my body and my identity as a tourist also signified wealth may have compelled people to participate in the research who might not have done so otherwise, if they thought there was going

to be some benefit in it for them down the road. Ginger arrived at my house several days after our interview to ask for money for “ongoing research” in the community. One of the ladies at Indawo Yethu, I later found out once the interview had been translated, suggested that I had agreed to help them once I had returned to Canada, a promise I am certain I never made.

I am also aware that my participant recruitment method was problematic in that it impacted how I was able to relate to the participants. I had my initial contact with many participants while participating on a tour upon which they depended for their incomes. This initial power differential undoubtedly played a role in what participants felt they were able to tell me about their experiences of tourism. In one translated interview, one woman gave her response then turned to her friend and said, “Now translate for the tourist.” That I was immediately and irreversibly associated with the tourists meant that what was being shared with me was run through a particular filter. In fact, two of the participants whom I found to be most critical of tourism in speaking with me, Ginger and Phakimisa, were younger men who did not work in the tourism industry or rely on it for an income.

Age also played a factor in what I was able to know about hosts’ experiences of tourism in the townships. I made a number of attempts to connect with younger people who were politically engaged and critically-oriented, however the people that I was able to contact demonstrated very little interest in participating in this research. As a result, I realized at the end of my time in South Africa that very few of the study’s participants were younger, educated South Africans of the ‘born-free’ generation, whom in my personal experience I found to be more critical of tourism the townships and the continued presence of white people in South Africa in general. My own experience as a white Canadian had not prepared me to begin to understand the deep generational divide between black South Africans who had and had not lived

under apartheid, nor how significant racial barriers continue to be. One young man, in an evening at Amazink, shared with me the expression “If you’re white, you’ll never get it right.”

Despite this, I made a number of efforts to check my understandings as I progressed through the research. After each interview I would write my observations, questions, and general musings in my reflexive journal as part of my reflexive research methodology (Dupuis, 1999). I also blogged frequently in order to be transparent in my efforts to work through my understandings, as part of my analytic process, and as a creative writing practice (Olive, 2013; Richardson, 2000). As time went on and I became more deeply engaged with the blog, I found myself writing for that forum in my reflexive journal, at which point I began journaling solely for myself in audio-recordings in order to ensure that my own personal reflective process was not being documented with an audience in mind. Most of my reflecting had to do with race and how deep a divide there was between white, black, and coloured people in South Africa. I was making new friends in the township where I lived and I found that many of our interactions were informed by the fact that I was white. I was able to check these understandings with my friends, my host family, as well as the participants at the weekly Reconciliation Lunches. These interactions in my personal life, as well as feedback from readers of my blog, have informed the ways that I have analyzed the photographs and interview transcripts. I have often felt bogged down in not being able to get it ‘right,’ knowing how fundamentally my Otherness in the township, my relative prosperity, my mobility, and my education informed the ways in which the research participants and the friends I made interacted with me.

## **5.8 Analysis**

The interview, photographic, and observational data collected over the course of this study were analyzed using a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis. According to Foucault,

discourse is a particular way of thinking and knowing about the world (Foucault, 1972). It is words that make the world around us, but words are also constituted of the world. In other words, discourse is at once making and being made of the world of the everyday (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1980). Discourses are geographically and historically contextual and change over time, although particularly powerful or more deeply entrenched discourses may be more stable and difficult to dislodge. Discourses are powerful in that they tell us what we can and cannot know about the world around us: discourses have the power to make visible, but also to silence (Foucault, 1980).

Intertextuality is also significant to understanding discourse, as meanings and interpretations of images and texts will rely not only on one series of texts and images, but also on other sources of discursive information (Rose, 2001). Rose (2001) suggests that visuality is type of discourse as well, since “a specific visuality will make certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable” (p. 137). These images and texts come together to form ‘discursive formations’ wherein related parts of a discourse come together to form “systems of dispersion” (Foucault, 1972, p. 37; Gill, 1996; Rose, 2001). According to Foucault, discourses have the ability to discipline, which led to his reflections on power, and the interrelated nature of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980). For Foucault, power is invariably bound to knowledge: power creates knowledge, and knowledge in turn reinforces and provides legitimacy to power (Foucault, 1980).

Foucault was reluctant to ascribe a method to analysing discourse, and indeed rejected the processes intended to “look behind or underneath things and practices for other processes that would explain them” (Rose, 2001, p. 139). Instead, he preferred approaches that considered how power works in society. We are therefore left with little guidance on how to actually *do* discourse analysis, although some researchers since have provided some outlining of how to approach the

analysis (c.f. Potter & Wetherell, 1994; Potter, 1996; Rose, 2001). Still, Potter (1996) has described discourse analysis as a “craft skill,” and that the only way to learn it is to get out and do it. Rose (2001) differentiates between two types of discourse analysis: discourse analysis I and discourse analysis II. In discourse analysis I, the researcher is more interested in uncovering discourse through various texts and images and how they are productive. The second type, discourse analysis II, is more focused on institutions and issues of power and regimes of truth. At the centre of both, however, is language and how it is used to describe and define the world around us. As a method, discourse analysis pays attention to how images and texts are produced socially, and therefore a knowledge and understanding of context is critical (Rose, 2001). Rose (2001) shared a series of steps that are essential when undertaking discourse analysis, although she acknowledged that this remains more flexible than many other methods of analysis employed in the social sciences. These are:

1. Looking at your sources with fresh eyes
2. Immersing yourself in your sources
3. Identifying key themes in your sources
4. Examining the effects of truth
5. Paying attention to their complexity and contradictions
6. Looking for the invisible as well as the visible
7. Paying attention to details (Rose, 2001, p. 158)

She nevertheless draws attention to the fact that successful discourse analysis relies less on “rigorous procedures” and more on what Panofsky (1957) referred to as “common sense” (as cited in Rose, 2001, p. 149).

In attempting to engage with these steps, my foreignness in the townships both helped and hindered my ability to employ these strategies as Rose advises. Steps one through three came through a deep immersion in the communities, the texts, and the photographs that I was working with. I was also able to pay attention to the details, as recommended in step 7, as my newness



and unfamiliarity permitted me to have answered any number of questions that might have been unwelcome if asked by a local researcher (Adu-Ampong, 2017). Where I found myself more challenged in approaching my analysis was in honestly employing steps four through six. With so much of the social and cultural normativities obscured to/by my own worldview, my lack of familiarity with the historical context of the place, my inability to understand the perspectives of people living as a segregated Other, as well as the ways in which my own difference contributed to a very particular shaping of what was told to me, uncovering effects of truth and looking for the invisible proved to be a challenge. I have sought to be transparent about the ways in which this analysis emerged through my particular lens and cultural purview. Approaching those three recommendations of Rose's will form part of my research efforts going forward.

I undertook the analysis of the collected data over a series of discrete phases, although analysis also unfolded iteratively from the moment I landed in South Africa through to writing this thesis. Keeping Foucault and feminist postcolonial theory in mind as my guides, each phase of the analysis was undertaken with a lens towards discourses of power. This lens informed how I understood, processed, and themed the images and narratives that were shared with me. What follows is a description of how I approached the analysis of the data at each phase.

### ***5.8.1 Phase one***

I began analysis simultaneously with the collection of data. While these two processes are typically discrete parts of research, employing ongoing analysis throughout the data collection process can help guide the research going forward and lead to a better understanding of the subject (Hesse-Biber, 2007). Therefore, at the end of each interview, I would make notes of my feelings, questions, observations, and emerging connections in my reflexive journal. I actively

engaged with the photographs and my reflections on what I was learning over the course of my fieldwork through regular postings and conversations on my blog. I also began transcribing my interviews right away, and as I did so I made notes in the margins regarding my questions, particular words or phrases that stuck out for me, and photographs that I found especially compelling and their accompanying texts. This phase was deeply iterative, as I was continually moving back and forth between the texts and interviewing participants and engaging with new photographs.

During this phase, I also had the opportunity to present my very preliminary understandings of what was emerging from the data at the World Leisure Congress in Durban in June of 2016. As I was able to frame my presentation within the context of research-in-progress, I received invaluable feedback from some of the scholars who had attended my talk, which was highly influential for how I came to understand my data. I also sought out a great deal of feedback during this phase, and the conversations held with newly-made friends, fellow bloggers, and my host family (including the children!) were immensely valuable in terms of helping me put what I was learning in context.

### **5.8.2 *Phase two***

As I was conducting interviews up until the evening before my return flight home, Phase Two of my analysis began once I was back in Canada. Over a period of several months I sat with the transcripts and photographs, studying them many times over in order to familiarize myself with both their content and their complexity. I continued to read the data through the lens of power and began doing line-by-line and focused coding (Charmaz, 2006). I also continued memoing in order to record more detailed notes on my own reflections, observations, questions,

and feelings. This phase involved repeated trips back to visit my blog as well, as I reflected on my experiences and what each had taught me about my research. I tried to keep South Africa alive in my consciousness through ongoing contact with many of the people that I had met while there. Over time, my codes and notes became increasingly complex and detailed and I began to discern commonalities in themes across the photographs and texts from various interviews.

### **5.8.3 *Phase three***

The third phase of my analysis began when, working primarily with the transcripts, a series of preliminary themes began to emerge. These were: History, Race, Exploitation, Control, Transformation, and Location/Locality. I also identified a series of overarching considerations, which crossed multiple themes. These were: Historical, Political, Socio-cultural, Gender, Institutional, Economic, and Spatial. As I once again consciously engaged with the transcripts, I began to sort what I felt to be relevant fragments of text into each of the seven themes. While these themes were not ultimately how I chose to categorize my data, I found this phase to be extremely productive in terms of visually representing my data and gaining a better understanding of where I was finding commonalities in the textual data.

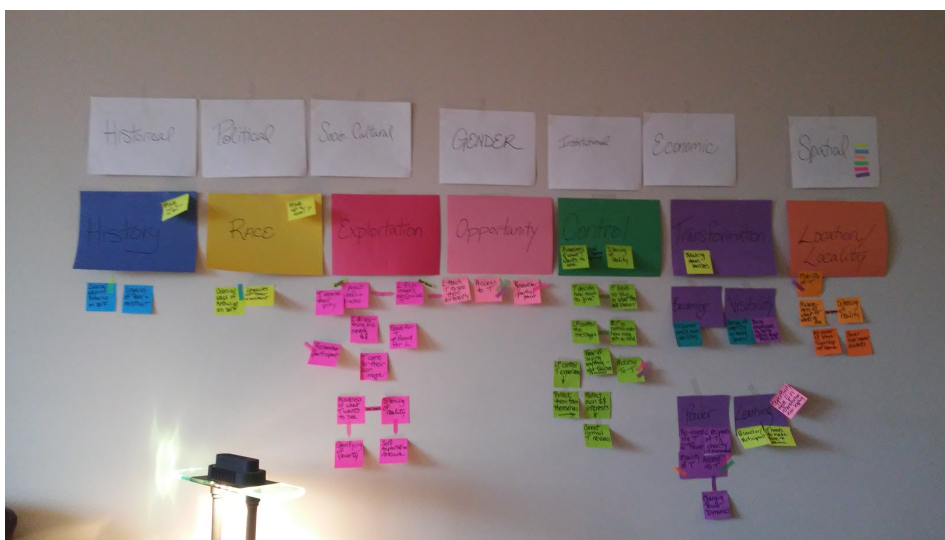


Photo credit: Meghan Muldoon

#### 5.8.4 Phase four

In Phase Four of my analysis I returned to the data that I had collected in terms of my reflexive journaling (both written and audio-recorded), participant observations, my blog, as well as the photographs. I reflected deeply on how all the material informed one another. I wrote a series of vignettes from my first-person perspective - which I ultimately chose not to include in this thesis - that illustrated for me some of the starkest power imbalances and power-laden encounters that I had experienced as a tourist with my township hosts. I presented at a series of international conferences and continued to welcome and incorporate feedback into my understandings of the data. I continued to document my thinking during this phase and sought advice for how to move forward from my advisors and friends. In particular, the return to the analysis of the photographs, the categorization of photographs into 'related' and 'not-related' to tourism was particularly insightful in terms of developing an understanding of what it was that the participants were attempting to tell me about their experiences. I began to see the ways in which these photographs were responding to my questions of *What does tourism look like in this community?* and *What should tourism look like?* At all times I strove to remain conscious of my

embodied position as tourist/researcher in terms of analyzing why the participants had chosen to share some things, and therefore not share others, with me, given who I am and what I represented to them. At the same time, I remained aware of my own positionality in terms of the experiences and biases that I was bringing to my understandings of the data. What emerged from this analysis were four distinct, yet vastly interconnected themes: Economic Power; Social Power; Everyday Lives Unseen, and; Embracing the Gaze.

Over the course of this phase my analysis departed from a more traditional thematic approach to analysis, and I began to engage more critically with the discourses that were shared with me in terms of dynamics of power, the purposive objectives of the discourse (i.e., what were the discourses trying to convince me is true?), systemically raced and gendered ways of knowing and engaging with the world, as well as (as much was possible) interrogating those things that were silenced and not told to me in my conversations with participants. This phase of the research also relied on intertextuality, and I drew from what I had learned in other realms of my life, both in South Africa and back home in Canada, in order to inform my understandings of the discourse. As an analysis of discourse is always contextual and situated within the subject positioning of the analyst – in this case a white, female scholar from Canada – I was not attempting to establish what was ‘true’ about experiences of tourism for residents of the township. Rather, I was seeking a deeper understanding of why they chose to share what they shared, and how those conversations were embedded within powerful cultural, social, historical, economical, and educational contexts.

### **5.8.5 Phase five**

Finally, I began to write! As I wrote through my process and findings, the themes and notions of power began to become more concrete and more visible to my understandings of the data. Feedback from my supervisor was also critical at this point, as she was able to identify for me areas that required greater elucidation and others where the connections were weak or irrelevant. Following Richardson (2000), I wrote my way into greater understanding.

### **5.8.6 Phase six**

Phase six remains a work in progress but will also contribute greatly to my (and other's) understandings of the results of this research. In collaboration with my brother, John-Paul Muldoon, who is a brilliant web designer, we created a website showcasing the photographs and their accompanying narratives shared by the six women at Indawo Yethu ([www.womenoftownshiptourism.com](http://www.womenoftownshiptourism.com)). The intention is for this website to be a living document, which the women will engage with, comment on, contribute more photographs to, and share with others wishing to learn about their work and their lives. This website is part of my ongoing efforts to seek participant feedback into the results of this research, as well as provide a platform where the women's stories may be shared beyond the realm of academia and beyond myself as knowledge producer.

While analysis and communication about the work of this project is ongoing, the following chapter describes the themes I identified over the course of this months-long process of analysis. This chapter also features a significant number of participant-produced photographs and how they were contextualized as they were shared with me for this research.

## **6.0 Findings: Gazing Towards a New Future for South Africa**

*“Power is continually and creatively constructed in fleeting contextual encounters.”*

*- Rose, 2001, p. 395*

In this chapter I share a selection of the photographs and narratives that were shared with me by the residents of the three townships included in this study. I consciously and unconsciously engaged in an iterative process of framing and re-framing how to present these findings from the moment of my first interview through to when I began writing about them. The findings of my research are presented in four discrete yet overlapping themes: Economic Power, Social Power, Everyday Lives Unseen, and Embracing the Gaze. I connect each of these themes to the overarching subject of power as well as feminist postcolonialism, paying particular attention to what I understood to be the legacies of the colonization of the mind (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967; wa Thiong’o, 1986) as was expressed to me by the black residents of post-apartheid South Africa, and how this socially constructed inequality is at once reaffirmed and rejected through encounters with (primarily) white tourists in the townships. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the hosts’ gaze in tourism and how it is used to reinforce, resist, and navigate the tourists’ gazes, how the gazing back and forth is changing understandings of race in the townships.

This chapter describes the findings that emerged from my analysis of narratives and photographs collected over the course of the 14 individual and two group interviews that were undertaken in the three townships of this study. The 14 participants who were given cameras shared a total of 1,359 photos. Some of these were taken as practice at Indawo Yethu during our training session:



Photo credit: Andiswa

Others were clearly personal photos taken at significant events, such as a high school graduation and a baby's first birthday party, which were not intended (I had presumed) to be included in this study. A dominant proportion of the photographs that were shared and discussed seemingly had little to nothing to do with tourism but were instead shots of people's everyday lives. Only a fraction of the photographs that were shared with me have been included in this chapter. In order that the participants' photographs be made available to those who have an interest in seeing them, a [Dropbox folder](#) has been created in which the additional photographs may be viewed, with a folder for each participants' photographs.

This chapter is centred around a discussion of the transformative power of tourism, which has been well-documented in previous studies (c.f. Lean, 2014; Picard & Robinson, 2012; Reisinger, 2013; Wearing & Lyons, 2008). Slum tourism, in particular, becomes marketed through formal and informal channels as an opportunity to learn about local people and the 'real' city and having an experience that you will never forget (c.f. Frenzel, 2016; Frenzel, Koens, & Steinbrink, 2012; Muldoon & Mair, 2016). Tourists and local people are transformed in different ways through their coming together in the township. These transformations can be understood as



related to economic and livelihoods transformations, transformations in understandings of the self, in one's relationships with Others, and in dynamics of power.

Tourists and hosts alike understand that tourism instigates changes in terms of flows of capital, cultural encounters, environmental impacts, and the construction of meaningful, if temporal, relationships (Cole, 2008). While learning about tourists' understandings of the changes that they help instigate is beyond the scope of this research, the township hosts that participated in this project spoke candidly about how tourism impacts their communities. We spoke at length about the changes that tourists bring to the townships, be it via the items that they quite literally bring with them in their suitcases, the positive social changes resulting from the increased interactions between white and black people, or the subtly corrosive changes resulting from unequal access to the benefits of tourism. Tourists bring significant change along with them, whether they know it or not. As Anathi from Indawo Yethu told me, "*When I look at the tourists I always think okay they can change our lives.*" This chapter considers some of the changes that tourists bring, and how these changes are embedded in shifting, and often subtle, relationships of power. This chapter also considers the postcolonial nature of the dynamics of power in the tourism encounter, how ongoing colonialisms of the mind inform how hosts understand their encounters with tourists, and the ways in which the postcolonialized gaze can be empowering to residents of South Africa's townships.

## **6.1 Economic Power: The Things that Tourists Bring**

For the research participants that I spoke with, access to tourists is valued for a number of reasons. One of these which was told to me again and again is that tourists *give* people things. Lots of things. People told stories of tourists donating groceries, books, school fees, shipping containers to house small businesses, sleeping mats for a crèche, zinc siding and a vacuum to

start a carwash business, and on and on and on. Tourists seemingly have an endless supply of generosity when they visit the townships:



Photo credit: Phakimisa

*...I was very lucky because that couple they are the ones, I don't know their face, I won't lie to you, as the tourists come here all the time I don't know them. But them what they did, they took my picture as they were asking me questions, they took my picture and seen the other guy in town, they say we want you to look for this lady because she's got two kids so we would like to take her kids to a better school. – Florence*

*Because maybe one of the people in that group of two people that you are walking with, one of them might really love to buy ten drums for a group, you know. Maybe one would really love to buy ten soccer balls for a little mini soccer team, one would love to buy a pair of shoes for a couple of kids. – Ginger*



Photo credit: Andiswa

*...people really would come with their books and, 'well I have this library of books that are not being used or being in boxes so can I bring them here?'... So we have people that are really championing that and it helps especially our young kids who are learning in schools where there are no libraries. - Bongani*

Participants also chose to take photographs of items that the tourists had purchased.

Through the analysis process, I discerned that these differentiated between photos of the things that tourists bought *for* the residents of the townships, in order to help them establish a business and improve their livelihoods for example, and the things that tourists bought *from* the local people, again clearly supporting their livelihoods through the purchase of knick-knacks and other handicrafts produced for the tourists:



Photo credit: Andiswa

*... So that man which is the tourist talked with them about what are their needs, what can they help to them. So they come up with an idea of getting some shops which sell second-hand vacuums somewhere somehow so they went there and got some tools there. And also buy some zinc to make the shelter so that they can put their cars under this roof. ...So that's why I took this picture. It for me it was so amazing and impressive I think. – Andiswa*



Photo credit: Ginger

*[The audio cut out in the final minutes of this interview, but Ginger said that this man, who works as a barber, was given the shipping container that houses his shop by a tourist]*



Piko, doing needle work at Indawo Yethu. Photo credit: Mpho

*Yes, so we are benefitting because they are buying our things. Yes...So no, we survive, yes...If they do not come, we can't survive... We're self-employed. Yes. We don't have a salary.*

The economic advantages that accrue from having access to tourists are significant in the parts of the townships where opportunities to improve one's situation in life may be comparatively limited. Indawo Yethu, which was created through a donation from an American tourist and receives ongoing programming funding from the tour company Manyano<sup>11</sup>, is more than a space where women can come together and make crafts to sell to the tourists. The women at Indawo Yethu also offer after-school programs for children, reading workshops, a community garden, free hot meals, and supports to people in the community living with HIV/AIDS:

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<sup>11</sup> Manyano, meaning 'unity' in isiXhosa, is the fictionalized name I have given to the not-for-profit tourism company that conducts township tours and funds many community development initiatives in several townships. My dad and I went on a tour with Manyano, and through this tour I made the acquaintances of Bongani and the women at Indawo Yethu.



Photo credit: Piko



Photo credit: Mpho

*Here I like this teacher gave the children skills to how to make these hands....And the children were excited to do the vase with mud, neh? - Mpho*





Photo credit: Andiswa

*Now, this child is packing the books according to the way that it is supposed to be like...What the tourists likes to bring the books it's because of the children...So, now what they are doing is taking the English books and read them, and translate them by themselves and help them where it's necessary...That is the use of the, that is the importance of the library that we have to have here. - Andiswa*

At Indawo Yethu, Anathi shared with the group how the establishment of this space had changed her life:



A member of Indawo Yethu poses as Anathi prior to her coming to work at the centre. Photo credit: Anathi

*Anathi: ... I was doing beadwork at home, I didn't have any job by that time and I was doing like [s]he is doing now in front of my house and now I'm here at Indawo Yethu because of the tourists.*

*Meghan: Okay.*

*Anathi: If it was not because of the tourist that built this building maybe I was not going to have a shelter now to come every day and do the beadwork and have this opportunity to have a job and so when we go to other photos then you can see she's sitting here now every day doing what she loves to do under the shelter that was built by the tourists.*

For Anathi, the tourists created an opportunity for her to get out of the house every day and have a job, and in fact she now occupies a leadership position at Indawo. For Piko, another lady from Indawo Yethu who spoke with me, her interactions with the tourists led her to discover her true calling:



Photo credit: Piko

*Piko: So here, the same tourist that comes to me and having his older model television. So, I did to put in to write them with the beads...My beads are my trade, everything is for me. Yes. They taught me to do something that is in my heart, so it gives me a feeling that I can make something that comes from me.*

These changes in the lives of the women of Indawo Yethu are being felt at the community and the personal levels: they have become influential women, women with the power to make



changes in their community, women with jobs, even if they are not receiving a formal income. The impacts that ripple out from the economic fact of creating a place and a purpose for women's work have the potential to change many people's outcomes in this part of the community.

Bongani, a tour guide with Manyano, the not-for-profit tourism agency mentioned previously, also took a number of photographs of community-based projects and educational and arts initiatives that are funded solely through the proceeds raised via tourism. Manyano advertises its social objectives widely and is also considerably more expensive than other tours in the area. In opting to tour with Manyano, tourists are making an intentional decision to have their tour dollars/rand go towards supporting initiatives such as these:



A kindergarten and daycare centre. Photo credit: Bongani



A community garden. Photo credit: Bongani



An employment creation initiative for youth. Photo credit: Bongani



Donated blankets to help seniors in need through the winter. Photo credit: Bongani

Bongani's narratives included a story of an older German couple who, following their experience with him on a tour, chose to invest their retirement savings in a multifunctional, multi-story community resource centre in the township. These tourists saw that their own economic position gave them the power to effect real change in the community they toured, perhaps in a way that would not have been possible in their home community or country:

*When they went, they are senior people, so when they went to Germany they said we want our savings, because we don't know what to do with them, and this is really where they will be needed. – Bongani*

I was also told about how some tourists intend to help the people that they met on their tour, by returning to the township and volunteering:



Photo credit: Lwazi

*... some of them they come back and then they start something, yeah to help the community... Yeah, when they see, like those people here, her daughter wants to come back to help here in South Africa. They want to find out how she can help here and there, because she's very concerned about the orphans and all that stuff...She wants to apply and then come and live here and help where she can help. – Lwazi*

Informally, many people I spoke with told me about how South Africans had ‘drunk the Kool-Aid’ when it came to tourism to the country. Following the shift to democracy in 1994, tourism became promoted by the central government as a “panacea of all ills” (Marschall, 2004, p. 96; Rogerson, 2004). Prior to 1994 ‘heritage’ in South Africa meant ‘white heritage’ (Rogerson, 2004, p. 250): the post-apartheid process of ‘nation-building’ has been inextricably linked with the establishment of monuments and heritage sites, the telling of the ‘other’ side of the story, and the poverty alleviation and economic empowerment that is attributed to the attraction of tourists (Marschall, 2004).

Despite many scholars questioning – with good reason – the macroeconomic effectiveness of tourism for development in lower income regions of the Majority World (c.f.

Frenzel & Koens, 2015; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011), according to this research, at the township level at least some people are clearly benefitting. However, and as Freire-Maderios (2013) found in her study with residents in the *favela* Rocinha, the “commercial relationships between residents and tourists are informal and sporadic, if existent; there is no distribution of profits – the capital generated is only marginally reinvested in the *favela*, and always by way of charity” (p. 181), yet despite this finding both the *favelados* Freire-Madeiras spoke with and the participants in this study appear to be overwhelmingly in favour of the presence of the tourists in their communities. While the “windfall” of money given by the tourists cannot be relied upon, the mere fact of their presence is taken as an indication of their goodwill and desire to help the community (Freire-Madeiras, 2013, p. 182-183).

### **6.1.1 Preventing ‘creating beggars’**

Everyone who spoke with me agreed that it was important that the tourists not give money to children, the fear being that this would encourage children to become beggars any time they saw white people, or that they would begin skipping school in order to trail the daily tours in the hopes of attracting a gift. Most also agreed that the tourists should refrain from giving sweets to children, although Thembi saw this as being preferable to their receiving cash:

*Luane: The only thing is that sometimes the kids get money from the tourists. So some of them don't want to go to school. They tell their parents they are not feeling well just to stay around and get money, but it is something small, it is not an issue here, yeah.*

*Thembi: And that's why we don't guarantee the people to give the kids the money, instead if you want to give something to a kid to can buy candies and give them.*

*Luane: Yes,*

*Meghan: So on all the tours you say to the tourists don't give to kids?*

*Thembi: No, if you want to give something you can give someone you see that is old he can help or just help the kids, or if you want to buy something for the kids in the street*

*buy the candies we give them we are taking pictures of them, yeah, because other kids they are very naughty, they can buy a cigarette they can smoke, because you know people they are bad influencing kids.*

In fact, Franky, an independent tour guide, former gang member, and youth development worker from Khayelitsha discouraged any gift-giving from the participants in his tours:

*Know who you're giving your money to...it helps you to be a better person and it helps black people not to always be, you know, begging, you know. Maybe if you find a way to, because yeah. That's why I say like I always dis-encourage. Is that the right word? – Franky*

Franky was aware of the racial dimension in not wanting township residents to be perceived as begging; in a society where black people remain economically marginalized. Encouraging a situation where white people are continually reinscribed as having the power to give to those who are asking, further entrenches racial inequalities.

### **6.1.2 Creating community divides**

Despite the very tangible, material, and long-term benefits of the gifts that tourists bring, these gifts may also create social instability and tension if they are perceived by others in the community to be a result of nepotism, comparative advantage, or luck. Just as those who benefit from tourists' generosity cannot necessarily rely on it, those who do not have no control over why their neighbours are recipients whilst they are not, which can sometimes lead to resentment or jealousy. While some are profiting a great deal from the money and gifts that the tourists are choosing to give them, others are invariably aware of this advantage and would like to find a way to benefit as well. One of the ladies at Indawo Yethu recounted the story of her neighbour who wished that the tourists would help support her livelihood as well:





Photo credit: Andiswa

*Okay, I took this photo, if I can look at it she is my neighbour, and she is selling...the inside of a sheep...this lady first of all is not working and she has this small shelter so that when it's raining or windy like this weather today then she can have shelter to do this business. And she believes okay the women can do on their own, not going out there [to] look for a job. And she thought okay the tourists can also help the women like Sbulele, that's her name, so that because sometimes our government cannot afford to help all of us all of the time, so maybe the tourists can come and see okay, I can help him, maybe I can build something beautiful or for the township but some of the tourists are not coming to the township exactly. - Andiswa*

According to Anathi, Sbulele, her neighbour, sees the tourists coming to Indawo Yethu and to established tourism hot spots like [Mzoli's](#)<sup>12</sup> and wonders if they cannot also come to her stall and eat the food that she prepares. Her inability to gain access to the tourists – to know how to reach them, how to bring them to her shack, or even how to create a product that will appeal to them – leaves her frustrated as she sees others profiting beyond her ability to do so.

In a much smaller township that sees far fewer tours on offer, one tour guide – called Azola here - is perceived by some as profiting from tourism far beyond anyone else in the community. She is employed by one of the only tourism agencies operating in the township and

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<sup>12</sup> A popular grilled meat and hangout restaurant in the Cape Town township of Gugulethu.

her name is the first on the list of the three guides registered at the local tourism board, meaning she is the first to be contacted should any private requests for tour guides be received. This dominance is frustrating to some others in the community who can see the profits being made as a result of her having access to the tourists, but feel powerless in their ability to change those circumstances:

*I still really don't understand because the other one they gave her more tours than others, because we are here...we can see that she is doing more tours than us. – Lwazi*

*...some people really feel a bit angry, I think, by not being involved, so people do want to be involved...Because we also want to play a role...because they see opportunities, but they can't catch the opportunities, or you know when an opportunity is right here in front of your face all of the time, and you don't get anything out of it, you know, it gets you, it makes you a bit frustrated. And I think that that is a job that should be done by people that run tourism here. - Ginger*

Because the economic advantage to having access to tourists is so great, those who are in a position to control that access can exert a great deal of power over others in the community. In this smaller township, Azola primarily works with two local artisans, whose shops she visits in the course of her walking tours:

*...the girl that does bead work, her name is Suzi, she lives down there...Um, Suzi makes a lot of money, you know, from tourism. I mean, in one day she made about 9000 rand. – Ginger*

Given that 9000 rand is over CAD \$900, I suspect that Ginger slightly exaggerated Suzi's take home that day<sup>13</sup>, but this statement does demonstrate both how much income can be earned through having access to tourists, as well as some public perception of how much money is at stake. These relationships that determine whether a guide will bring tours to some people's

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<sup>13</sup> According to a 2012 municipal report, grouped household mean income for residents of Kayamandi was 1031.11 rand per month (Municipality of Stellenbosch, 2012).



homes and not to others are informal and can change. A guide thus has an incredible amount of power in this particular circumstance, and those already profiting have significant incentive to remain on her good side. Without formal agreements or contracts in place, people who rely on the guides continuing to showcase their businesses for the tourists are vulnerable to exploitation:

*I was talking to Kwame and Kwame was saying, look Ginger, everyone has problems with tour guides, specifically tour guides. What they are doing now is despite that they are getting paid their own money, when people sell their product they want to get a portion of that money as well. They still want to get from the people that they bring people to, on top of the fact that they already get so much. - Ginger*

*People don't trust each other. When Kwame, Kwame told me that Azola takes some money from him every time he makes sales, you know, that is something that he, that is eating him up. – Ginger*

Thus, Azola's ability to control where the tourists visit, and therefore spend their money, allows her to demand a portion of all of Kwame's income from his sales, and he has little to no ability to refuse. Given that, as has been discussed previously, tourists also tend to donate to the people they encounter on the tours (including the European couple who have been paying Florence's children's school fees since 2012), losing access to tourists can have devastating economic consequences.

In her book, *Tourism and Poverty* (2011), Scheyvens warns against the tendency to homogenize 'local' communities and presume that economic development initiatives will empower all community members equally. This supports the findings of this research, in that some community members are able to exploit existing power differentials in order to gain and control access to tourists. Turner and Ash (1975) warned that "tourism has proved remarkably ineffective as a promoter of equality and as an ally of the oppressed" (p. 53). Existing power dynamics as well as unequal access to resources means that development will likely unfold

unequally, leading to increased disparities between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ in the community (Scheyvens, 2011). As shall be discussed in greater detail when we come to issues of visibility, unequal access to the benefits of tourism in the townships likely leads to deepened disparities rather than improved livelihoods for all. As with other schemes intended to create employment and poverty alleviation, tourism initiatives tend to favour those who are already at a level of comparative advantage (i.e. have the ability to speak English, are able to advocate for themselves, are physically healthy, etc.) (Scheyvens, 2011). Elites may often come to co-opt and dominate tourism initiatives within a community (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). As much of the profits gleaned through tourism to the townships are informal and unpredictable, official pathways of distributing the proceeds do not exist, meaning that a chosen few benefit while the majority, and the majority of those who arguably need it most, are unable to do so.

In the following section, I turn my attention to the power dynamics that occur in the social sphere. While there is considerable overlap between the social and economic realms of people’s lives, I found a great deal of what participants had to say about their experiences of tourism was steeped in social implications. While our interviews frequently opened with a discussion of how economically beneficial tourism is for the community, the social impacts emerged more slowly and provided a more nuanced perspective of tourism impacts in the townships.

## **6.2 Social Power**

Unlike early efforts in international development, which were primarily focused on economic growth (Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2011; Thomas, 2000), current approaches to poverty alleviation are equally focused on the social components of poverty. Amartya Sen (1999) introduced the concept of ‘development as freedom’ and stressed the

importance of agency, self-actualization, and the freedom to choose in moving people out of poverty. World Bank research has found that people living in poverty are more likely to cite issues related to voicelessness, powerlessness, and a lack of access to social networks as central to their definitions of poverty than income (Narayan *et al.*, 2000, p. 51; Scheyvens, 2011). According to Bebbington, “chronic poverty is a socio-political relationship rather than a condition of assetless-ness” (2007, p. 813, as cited in Scheyvens, 211, p. 21).

In South Africa, race and class have evolved along nearly parallel lines (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005, Maylam, 2001; Whitehead, 2013). The country’s past and present complicated relationship with race informs every aspect of people’s social interactions and understandings of one another. The following section describes what I understood as the social impacts and implications of people’s encounters with tourists in the townships.

### **6.2.1 *Controlling the narrative***

With the case of Sibulele and her cooking shack pictured above, the tourists are rarely in a position to know what they do not know in terms of what can be seen and experienced in the township. The power of the local tourism facilitators is expressed in economic terms, as mentioned in the relationships between Azola and the local artisans, however this power also has social implications. These guides and other actors determine how tourists are able to move about within the township, how the township is perceived by outsiders, as well as who can be seen by the tourists, leading to frustration among those community members who do not understand how to gain access to the tourists. A complex combination of factors, including an awareness of what it is that tourists wish to see, a desire to shield tourists from harm whilst in the township, and pre-existing relationships or arrangements between the guides and the ‘stops’ along the tours, mean

that many of the sights/sites along the tour exist along well-established pathways, and many of the photographs that participants chose to take were of these known tourism scenes:



Cooking sheeps' heads in Langa. Photo credit: Phakimisa



The tourist gift shop at Indawo Yethu, featuring gifts made by the members. Photo credit: Amahle



The crèche in Kayamandi. Photo credit: Ginger



Shacks and public toilets in Kayamandi. Photo credit: Lwazi



Traditional dancing to celebrate Freedom Day (April 27). Photo credit: Andiswa

Having the story of the township told and shared with outsiders is an important component of the tours. Because the history of the townships is largely oral, there was some concern among the people that I spoke with that the guides were just making some of the history up, and that the tourists would never be the wiser, thus establishing these stories told by the guides as the ‘truth’ of the township:

*There is also a feeling, you know, there is also a feeling that, um, that certain information, historical information about this township, there is no one information...terms of talking about the history of this place and what they say about the history of this place now, there needs to be one voice, we need to be able to say one thing. I cannot be saying this place was established in 2010 and you are saying this place was established in 2008. I cannot be saying that there is 60,000 people living here and you are saying that there is 35, to your own people. So now I tell those people going in and out with different kinds of information, you know, and all started there with the tour guides. – Ginger*

*Phakimisa: Yeah. So for me and like, and also I've heard some of the tour guides talk, they just gave like, I heard this one guy this one time who was like [false voice]: "In Langa we have eight primary school and eight high schools, and yeah and everything and..."*

*Thembi: Eight?!*

*Phakimisa: Eight! You see I was like it's not eight, but he was lying.*

What is ‘true’ about the township is also dependent on what the guide wishes to convey to the tourists. For Thembi, and her boss who founded the tour she guides, the priority is on showing improvement:

*For instance, the company, African Eagle, the one starting the township tours is Zondwa, it is the baby of him to start these tours. So he told us that as you are a tour guide you can start the tour, we are going to the things where people they can see that in a township there is a progress, because people that are staying in old hostels, you see them now they are in new hostels. – Thembi*

For Franky, the priority is on having the tourists reflect on the preconceived notions of poverty and misery that the tourists often arrive with:

*So at the end of the day you ask like why did you cry, you know? Did you cry because you felt sorry for them? Like so that people they leave the tour with a full understanding of like what is it that they were feeling. To have a clarity, like why were you feeling that way, you know, what is it? – Franky*

In each of the tours, the tourists will come away with a differing experience and a differing perception of what is ‘true’ about the township according to what their guides wished for them to understand.

In addition, certain histories and perspectives of the township can be retold according to politics or personal vendettas, wherein if the guide does not like you or your family, s/he may write your family’s contribution to the township’s history out of the narrative altogether:

*You know sometimes to being a guide and other people in the township it is something up to the politics. – Thembi*

*Ginger: ...the sad part is that, um, people here have a tendency of isolating certain people in telling the history of this place because they don't like them.*

*Meghan: They don't like them personally or they don't like their story?*

*Ginger: They don't like, they don't like them in their story. But if I have an issue with you or your family or whatever, when I talk about the history of this place and maybe your*



*family or you are a major part of it, I will isolate you and your people from my history story.*

This anecdote of Ginger's narrates how much power is in the hands of those who have access to outsiders, in that they are literally able to re-construct the history of their township and how it becomes re-told outside of the community according to their own personal likes and dislikes.

While dynamics of power are present in how the story of the township becomes told, there is also power in determining the spaces that tourists are able to enter while in the township. The tourists are able to control, to a small degree, where the tour takes them according to their own desires and expectations. When I attempted to question some of this according to my own expectations of personal boundaries, Thembi assured me that this was no problem:

*You are making the client happy, firstly, you don't make things for yourself...So if the client decides to go to my gran's house even if my gran is sick, I can take the client there, she is gonna see by herself.* – Thembi

Thembi leads in to my next point, which is that while guides will work to accommodate the tourists, even going so far as to ask the tourists beforehand what it is they wish to see, as Franky and Lwazi do, they also take steps in order to protect the tourists while they are in the Othered space. Certain parts of the townships are off limits due to safety concerns, and certain activities are proscribed. For instance, under no circumstances will Thembi allow the tourists to use the ATM in the township, nor will she allow elderly clients or those who are about to fly drink the *uqombothi*<sup>14</sup> in the *shebeen*<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Traditional Xhosa beer homemade from maize (corn).

<sup>15</sup> *Shebeen* is an Irish word referring to an illegal or informal establishment where alcoholic beverages are sold and consumed.





A guide and tourist in the local *shebeen*. Photo credit: Kwame

Lwazi is even less pliant when it comes to taking tourists to the *shebeen*, simply stating: “I don’t go there.” While the tourists may have a desire to partake in this particular ritual, the guides’ driving concern is that the tourists have a positive experience, and having an upset stomach on an international flight or being robbed at an ATM could lead to negative repercussions for the guides:

*I will let you know that, no Meghan this is no good, we can't go to this place. Maybe if you want to go maybe to the liquor store I will tell you no we can go to this one not to this one because we are having a problem. – Thembi*

*So, even the guides that were coming they didn't want their clients to buy in my shop, because they were telling me it's an open place and they don't want the tourists to remove their wallet where people are watching, it's not, the security is not wise, so I had a problem at the beginning. – Luane*

*Because we are scared that maybe with the machines maybe you can get a problem with your card, you're going to remember that you were using your card in a township, and then you're gonna put the blame on the tour guide, so we don't want anything that's going to come to us. We are protecting you, also protecting our jobs. – Thembi*

*Lwazi: You see, they're usually happy because I explain before every tour, yeah. And they can, they can feel that they are in safe hands because I don't take them in those places that I think it will be dangerous for them*

*Meghan: Right.*

*Lwazi: Like walking for, in, in between, by the shacks.*

*Meghan: Between the shacks, yeah.*

*Lwazi: Or in narrow road, so I don't, I don't like.*

*Meghan: Right.*

*Lwazi: But there are places that even the widest streets you can't take them, because these, uh these tsotsis<sup>16</sup> they always watch them. But fortunately some of them they know me, and that I live here, and I know them.*

The guides are also concerned with keeping the tourists out of earshot of the township residents who are less than pleased with their presence. While the people I spoke with assured me that this was no problem and that they could easily subdue these potentially negative encounters, the mere fact that it was brought up several times suggests to me that this is at least a not-infrequent occurrence when touring white foreigners around the townships:

*Meghan: ...do they tell the tourists to stop taking pictures of them? Like how do they manage that?*

*Lwazi: No. They, because as I mentioned because they know me some of them they respect me, you see. They don't just say anything, because I'm going to hear. I understand their language, so they can't. For the tourists it's difficult they can say whatever they, those remarks. But yeah, you can't tell all this, what they say, some of them want to know, what is he saying, no.*

*Meghan: [laughter] And you don't want them to know.*

*Lwazi: [laughter] No you can't tell them that, exactly what they are saying.*

*...because you don't want to be scared when a person is talking, is talking to a tourist, you know. You don't want to be like, ayeshe what is he going to say? - Ginger*

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<sup>16</sup> Tsotsi isiXhosa slang for a street tough, a thug.

These potentially negative encounters can result in the guides and others who rely on tourism to feel insecure in their livelihoods, because, in spite of their efforts, they have no control over the story that gets told by the tourists once they are gone. Tourists' re-creations of their experiences to their friends, on social media, and in reviewing the tours online can have a direct impact on the townships' residents' ability to continue to benefit from tourism:

*Because if now your tourists come and talk to me, and I'm one of the people that are frustrated with tourism, and I speak my mind to this tourist, and this tourist tells the other people she's with or he is with, then it spreads, you know, and then we realize that we don't have people from India coming here anymore, because the person that was here from India was told this and this and that and that. – Ginger*

Local people also expressed concern at the tourists' intentions in taking photographs of them. I was told repeatedly that people did not have the ability to tell tourists that they did not want to have their photograph taken, or that they were ashamed to have their homes photographed because they felt that the tourists were taking photos of their poverty. They were concerned that the tourists would construct their own narratives around the photographs once they had gone:

*But some were saying the photos, the images can be used as a tool to build or as a tool to destroy, in society. So maybe one would take pictures and use them to say negative stuff, and maybe not deliberately, by pushing them out and putting, presenting them the way they will might end up having negative effects. – Ginger*

*But there are those that are unhappy about being taken pictures, they are saying ah the people are taking the pictures and we are hungry here and we don't have food here and they are taking pictures. Some of them they try to hide... They don't like. - Lwazi*

*Yeah there are those they don't want them to come in their houses because they think that if you are taking a picture of mine you will make, you will put myself in Facebook and then it will be a disgrace for me, and maybe they don't want to be, to be seen how are other people living in bad situ, in bad places. - Andiswa*

Some people did not understand why the tourists would want the photos at all and many expressed concern that the tourists were making a profit off their images:

*Because they're like why, why, why would you not allow them to take pictures? The other ones are saying if we do allow them to take pictures, then they go and make money, what about, what if they go and make a catalogue? And get rich off this, you know. Some are saying what if they make that catalogue and it's presented to the rest of the world, bring the money back and plow it back here. – Ginger*

These concerns were echoed by the diners at the Reconciliation Lunch, many of whom shared that they had never participated in tourism themselves, had never traveled beyond the town centre a few kilometers away. They did not understand what the tourists would want to do with the photographs outside of making a profit from them.

One way in which the tourists have control of how the story of the township becomes told – and therefore ‘true’ – is in that the guides are aware of what it is that the tourists wish to see and frame their tours accordingly. What was told to me in several different ways was that the tourists do not have an interest in seeing the things that they are accustomed to seeing at home – they are interested in seeing shacks because this is something that is outside of their everyday experience:



Photo credit: Lwazi

*...because it's...different, I can say when they see the, some of the people they want to experience how the shack looks like. Some of them they've never been inside a shack, so they love to see how, how does it look like inside. – Lwazi*

*So that other people can see that the tourists they come for here to, some they don't know how we are living. Some they want to see our shacks, how the people look like in these shacks, how do the people live in these shacks. So that's where by they can see and help where they can do something with them. Yeah that's it. – Andiswa*

*So there's nothing new with a restaurant to them you know, there's nothing new with a fork and knife to them. That is not an experience, it's not a new experience to them, that is not going out and touring to them, they want to see something different, and the only place that is different is this one. – Ginger*

When asked whether the tourists wanted to view poverty, the participants assured me that it is not poverty that attracts the tourists to the townships; rather, it is the desire to experience something new, something other than one's everyday experience that is at the heart of the tours to the townships. Power flows through the tourism encounter in the ways in which tourists and guides, indeed all residents who are in contact with the tourists, negotiate for control over what is seen and how sights are consumed in the townships. The following section describes how social power flows to those who do have access to the tourists, over and above their neighbours.

### 6.2.2 *Becoming ‘people who make money’*

*“The ANC changes lives. It can change you from a hobo into someone very important. This ANC has taught those who are insulting it today to use a fork and knife, to taste red wine, to wear expensive suits.”*

*– Julian Malema, then leader of the African National Congress Youth League, as cited in Posel, 2010, p. 159*

The above quotation, from the now-leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party, is telling for a number of reasons. Firstly, Mr. Malema is equating success with behaviours associated with white culture (Fanon, 1967; Posel, 2010) – drinking red wine, wearing suits – further reinforcing what was discussed in the literature review regarding the insidiousness of the notion of white primacy. Of relevance to the ensuing discussion is Mr. Malema’s emphasis on the visible trappings of economic prosperity, establishing the ANC’s constituents as either hobos or the visibly wealthy. Prior to 1994, many barriers were put in place to ensure the continued economic impoverishment of the black population. Following democracy, policies of affirmative action, including the Black Economic Empowerment Act (2003), and the removal of racial barriers to economic activities have led to a rapid surge of economic prosperity amongst an admittedly small group of the emergent black middle class (Posel, 2010). Then-president Thabo Mbeki noted that the *nouveau riche* share a tendency towards conspicuous consumption, and lambasted the nation for having chosen wealth above other abiding social concerns:

It is perfectly obvious that many in our society, having absorbed the value system of the capitalist market, have come to the conclusion that for them, personal success and fulfilment meant personal enrichment at all costs, and the most theatrical and striking public display of that wealth (Mbeki, 2006, in Posel, 2010, p. 158).

Ginger was particularly incensed at the pretensions and affections of the *nouveau riche* in the township, whom he attributed as being involved in tourism. To Ginger, working in tourism – an economic avenue that was not open to him – meant becoming someone who made money, and people who make money place themselves above those who do not.

*Ginger: So, I think, and there's another culture there as well that exists among the people that work in tourism in Kayamandi, like they have this element of being...snobbish, is that a word?*

*Meghan: Yes.*

*Ginger: They are higher, they are a bit high class-ish than ordinary citizens, they don't mingle with ordinary citizens on a daily basis, they are not people's people.*

*Meghan: Really?*

*Ginger: They are not people's people. They are, they are...people that make money.*

Ginger is particularly incensed at how certain people's behaviours can be seen to change in the presence of money and outsiders:

*You know, they all sit at Roots<sup>17</sup>, you know, they will cross their legs at Roots, they will befriend certain people, because you can't befriend just anyone, you know. They are their own circle. So they are not in touch with the people of the community, and that is very dangerous. - Ginger*

*Ginger: ...I want to talk to you as if I am also like you, even my, my, the way I speak my English is like rolling like that [false voice] you know. I try so much to make you look at me as if I'm like you, when it's evidently clear that we're not the same.*

*Meghan: Sure.*

*Ginger: You know, I try so hard to be like you, I even want to do that things that you do so that you can look at me and see a person that is like you, you know, and I try so hard and I make sure that I hide anything about me that makes you look at me and see me as a different person. My story will not form part of any conversation of ours. I mean there are black people who don't even bring their white friends to their homes, that would never even, black people that don't even mention their parents if their parents are still alive,*

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<sup>17</sup> Roots is a local chef who operates the restaurant at Amazink, the arts and culture centre in the township that hosts local people as well as white South Africans and tourists, and thus is perceived as a bit more high class and expensive than some of the less formal eateries that operate in the township.

*because they are so ashamed of who they are and what they are from. People, this is things that are happening now, now, I'm not talking about things that were happening then, I'm talking about right now.*

This topic will be returned to in a great more detail in the discussion regarding the power of visibility, however it is significant here that the perceived superiority of whiteness can lead to some community members to use their access to white people – and the money they bring – in order to set themselves above their neighbours. Being seen as someone who walks and speaks with white people, perhaps even becoming friends with white people, lends a social power to the guides as they walk through the townships.

The notion of internalized colonialism – which Ginger hints at above and describes much more explicitly below – emerged repeatedly over the course of my analysis of the study data. This concept allowed me to begin to understand why some township residents value the presence of the tourists in the townships. If we are talking about how internalized colonialization impacts social structures of power and dynamics within the township, particularly among some of the older generation, there remains a deeply ingrained belief in the valuing of whiteness. It bears mentioning here that the younger black South Africans that I spoke with outside the confines of this research staunchly rejected any notion that in South African society white is valued over black. However, after centuries of white dominance and the cultural abasement of black Africans, these colonial effects linger. In terms of social power, these influences are present in how people who do have access to the predominantly white tourists will occasionally position themselves as superior to or more sophisticated than their neighbours. This is expressed in being better than, as ‘people who make money,’ but also in how one’s interactions with others in the community are altered.



South Africa's shift to democracy meant that it re-joined a global order already obsessed with consumption, and something that the white populace had embraced long before (Hyslop, 2005; Posel, 2010). Issues of consumerism and visible prosperity are implicated in issues of race. Having access to surplus income allows people to purchase items and experiences associated with white culture, as indicated by Mr. Malema above. Comaroff and Comaroff (1997), among others, have drawn attention to the "politicization of consumption" and how consumption can become integral to self-identity and social worth among formerly colonized people in sub-Saharan Africa (Posel, 2010, p. 162).

While those residents who do not have access to tourism may suffer disproportionately from its negative effects, participants in this research also spoke about the tangible positive impacts of interacting with tourists. For these participants, tourists bring an otherwise nonexistent opportunity to learn about the world beyond their experience.

### **6.2.3 *Learning through the Other***

Many participants spoke about the learning opportunities that present themselves to those who are able to interact with tourists. This could be learning about a new culture, a part of the world they were unfamiliar with, or learning a new skill like photography. For Phaskimisa, exploring notions of the gaze and Othering over the course of his own encounters with township tourism opened up a whole new avenue of potential study for him:

*...even with our children how they perceive them running to them with their hands out, so there's so many levels of interest that still needs to be unpacked, I think that now that you've mentioned that that there's something that you guys are wondering from an international level, and I could be a part of that, and make that project. – Phakamisa*

For a high school student who spoke with Ginger, her encounters with tourists have made her more curious about the outside world, as well as more outgoing with others:

*...she said how much that inspired her in her studies and it made her a person that can easily interact with people from different races 'cause she studies at a multi-racial school, which has made her able to now start telling others there, people from these countries came to my house and then started talking about what happened, and that made her more open to people from different races and different cultures. – Ginger*

The economic, educational, and societal changes that are perceived as having come about as a result of increased tourism to the townships have their effects in many aspects of life in the townships. While these impacts are a potentially predictable result of the coming together of tourists and residents of the Majority World, the specific historical context of South Africa has meant that these encounters between (primarily) white tourists and black residents of the townships takes on an additional, racially-loaded, meaning.

Luane, a man who makes his living selling handicrafts to the tourists that walk past his township home, explained to me that at the outset local people were leery of the white tourists who began to enter the township, given that there was no trust between white and black people in South Africa, but that as people grew to understand that the tourists were there to learn about their lives, they grew to accept them:

*At the beginning, people, especially this community around here<sup>18</sup>, they were a bit worried, you know? Bearing about the history of South Africa, yeah the apartheid regime and all that. So they're not open, quite open up, and they're not free with the people, but as time went by people started to change their attitude here. They realized that these are good people, they are coming from far away, just to come and learn about people here and their lives, and things started to change...So, things started to change, they started to feel some warmth towards the visitors, and they realized that they are not coming to laugh at them, and ask them questions and, yeah, these are people who are coming to learn about the people here. – Luane*

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<sup>18</sup> Luane lives a township that was the site of much violence during the struggle against apartheid.

The tours provide an opportunity for foreign visitors to see something completely different than they would expect to see at home; to have a totally new experience that would stay with them forever. For the participants in this study, the learning for the tourists is not in the viewing but in the interacting with other people, learning from one another's realities:

*You can have your meals you can have a daily experience of that life and you can always go to town whenever you want and come back and you have an experience that you will tell your grandchildren and grandchildren and grandchildren and you know, it's such a beautiful thing that you learned to live with a different culture, you know, and go and live with them and have daily interactions with them. That is an experience that cannot even be shown. – Ginger*

*...as you guys will be departing back to either homes or you will be experiencing South Africa furthermore, you will remember our hearts, as we will be remembering your hearts. So it's just a moment of joy and enjoyment where people are really dancing and being happy and celebrating humanity. - Bongani*

Ernst, an Afrikaaner who lives in a township with his family, has decidedly mixed feelings about the walking tours in the townships, however he too believes that they have the potential to create powerful learning experiences for tourists:

*But that is where tourism can be healthy for the tourist, if he is exposed in a way to things that make him a better human being when he goes back. Where he, where they, where you realize that life is not just about yourself and your comfort. But actually about other people and their comfort. – Ernst*

Ernst and Franky agree that one of the most important components of the tour, and one that happens only infrequently, is debriefing afterwards in order to create an intentional space for the tourists to reflect on their experiences:

*What I've seen about walking tours is that sometimes it is such an eye-opener that people get shell-shocked into reality, especially younger people, when they come with their families and the kids. I've seen it in American kids, they see the poverty and they're really like shell-shocked, it's really traumatic for them. And then, then you need a good tour*

*leader that could do a debriefing. I think that might be a bit lacking still...If you can traumatize people and then debrief them so that they go away with more gratitude, even just more gratitude, you've achieved something. 'Cause a grateful person is a person who makes the world better. – Ernst*

*I'm like what is it that you saw that spoke to you?...Like I will ask questions like do you think these kids are happy, you know, with how they are living, you know? And you get different responses and, because at the end of the day people should see like through their own eyes, you know, instead of just me like guiding them and say okay this is what I want you to see, you know, like what is it that you see from your own eyes? You know, like what does that interpret to? But yeah at the end of the day it's like saying you know it's not for them to come and see how pity people live or how poor people live but it's also learning that people are happy even if they don't have anything. – Franky*

The debriefings are an important part of what Franky hopes to accomplish in providing the tours because, as he says, the tours are not about only showing people's poor living conditions, but also how happy they are. Franky, Bongani, Thembi, Ginger, Ernst, and the ladies at Indawo Yethu are all aware that the tours have the potential to engage the tourists with local people and learn about their lives in a way that could change their lives forever.

That being said, a significant proportion of people's lives are not being made visible to the tourists, for a variety of reasons to be discussed shortly. As I worked my way through the analysis process, I began to see more and more clearly that all of the photos that were shared with me, and that I thought had little or nothing to do with tourism, were in fact people and places and events of importance to the participants. As discussed in greater detail in the following section, these photographs represent the parts of the township that the tourists do not see, perhaps in response to my initial question to them: what *should* tourism look like in the townships?

### **6.3 Everyday Lives Unseen**

I slowly came to discover that much of what participants chose to photograph and show me were the parts of the townships that the tourists chose *not* to see, the realities of life in the

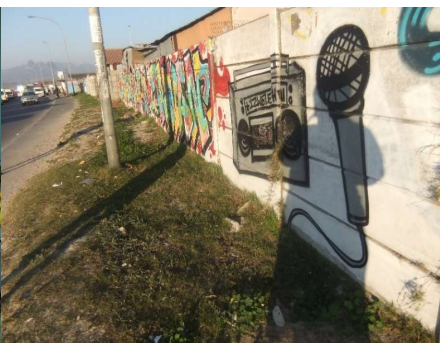
townships that did not form part of the imagery of the township as shack-orphanage-*shebeen*, as seen in so much of the imagery produced around these and other incarnations of slum tourism.

As I began to explore the photographs with the participants, having invited them to begin telling me about them wherever they liked, my heart fell as I felt that very, very few of the photographs taken spoke to the questions that I had posed: *What does tourism look like in your community?* and *What should tourism look like in your community?* Were my questions too vague or esoteric? Did the participants maybe have responses to these questions, but no real way of encapsulating those feelings with photographs? I felt as though I had failed: I was coming home empty-handed.

As time went on, however, in spending more time with the participants and developing a rapport, I came to understand that a great deal of the photographs that were shared with me were of their everyday lives. I believe that by choosing to photograph these scenes of normalcy, and share and explain them, the participants were answering the question of what they wished that tourism *should* be. They had already expressed an understanding that tourists are primarily interested in seeing shacks and how people live ‘differently,’ and I came to understand that they were more interested in having tourists (and by extension, me) want to see the things that they themselves value in their community.

Many of the photographs representing everyday parts of life that had nothing (I thought) to do with tourism. While some of the photographs, such as those taken at birthday parties and graduations, clearly represent important life events that anyone would wish to photograph, many of these photos were taken intentionally to share with me. They demonstrate entrepreneurship, self-sufficiency, physical beauty, and artistry, as well as some of the ongoing problems the communities face. Some were portraits of community members, identified as being invisible to

the tourists. Others show local businesses, parks, and artisans that are often ignored or overlooked as part of the tourists' narratives about the townships. Participants speculated that the tourists would not be interested in these things, as they are scenes which are already familiar to them from their lives at home. Another, less hopeful possibility, is that these 'positive' aspects of the community do not conform with the tourists' expectations of what they wished to see while on tour in the slum, as demonstrated in Rolfes, Steinbrink, and Uhl's (2009) study with township tourists. The sheer number of what I am characterizing as 'everyday lives' photographs demonstrate a thorough understanding of whereupon the tourists' gaze is cast and how the gaze privileges certain 'truths' about the township while negating these parts of life in the township that were clearly priorities to be shared with me.





All of the research participants took photographs of everyday scenes from the townships: children playing in the park, shopping for meat in the market, wall murals, businesses, graduation ceremonies, etc. These were the parts of life that the tourists are not curious about, that do not form a part of the tourist's gaze, and yet were clearly important to the people taking these photographs. Nozi, one of the women who is involved with Indawo Yethu, wanted to show that local people have power, that they are not merely victims, that they also have strength and initiative:

*Here, I am taking this to show the people are not working, they do not stay saying I'm not working. They do something. The others they go to ask and buy and go to sell it for other people. You see? The others they go like this one, go to market and put it there, you see, they make something nice. She's a shark this one. The shark is not a victim like this, she's a shark. – Nozi*

These are issues that are taken up in the discussion of the gaze in the next chapter, as they relate to how local people perceive themselves and their spaces, as well as to how they understand themselves and their spaces to be perceived by the tourists. This will also be taken up again in the next chapter when discussing the power of visibility in tourism encounters, and why visibility matters in this context. For now, what is important to understand about the visibility – or lack thereof – of township residents' everyday lives is reflected in their seeming inability to share these important and valued elements of their lives with a significant portion of the visitors to the townships.

## **6.4 Embracing the Gaze**

The ideas of Frantz Fanon, the postcolonial scholar who wrote so evocatively about the dehumanizing processes of colonialism, were invoked repeatedly over the course of this study, by the research participants and my friends, as well as by the authors that I have been reading.



The power of the white gaze to elevate or abase the colonized person seems absolute, although Fanon demonstrated that the colonized society was established in such a way as to never permit the colonized person to be equal to the colonizer. As a white researcher/tourist it makes me deeply uncomfortable to discuss notions of white primacy in South Africa, but apartheid's processes and policies of segregation and oppression are deeply implicated in how black residents of the townships value being made visible to outsiders. Nyamnjoh (2016) likens the psychological insidiousness of colonialized mindsets to a gangrenous and incurable wound:

When one has been configured and reconfigured by the violence of conversion (Viswanathan, 1998) – mind, body, and soul – it is not that easy for one to deactivate oneself from the violations and falsehoods to imagine and seek fantasy spaces and creative regeneration. The violence of conversion is like gangrene – it penetrates and humbles one's entire being, loosening screws and messing up one's anatomy, sense of self, and sense of being. It is an affliction I would hesitate to describe as curable, even in my most optimistic disposition (Nyamnjoh, 2016, p. 42).

Achille Mbembe (2001) identifies the ways Africans and Africa have been established as the absolute Other, through which the west establishes its self-image as normative (p. 2).

According to Mbembe,

...the African human experience constantly appears in the discourse of our time as an experience that can only be understood through a *negative interpretation*. Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes properly part of "human nature." Or, when it is, its things and attributes are generally of lesser value, little importance, and poor quality. It is this elementariness and primitiveness that makes Africa the word par excellence of all that is incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished, its history reduced to a series of setbacks of nature in its quest for humankind (2001, p. 1).

Nyamnjoh (2012, 2016) calls for a demythologisation of whiteness in order to properly critique that whiteness which threatens the identity, and possibly existence, of black people. He writes about the "white discursive practices circulated in the mainstream press that aim to enact, establish, entrench, and promote the dominant white ideology" in South Africa (2012, p. 70).

hooks (2003) cites Stuart Hall (n.d) in her discussion of the totalizing nature of white discursive normativities, who wrote: “The error is not to conceptualize this “presence” in terms of power, but to locate that power as wholly external to us – an extrinsic force, whose influence can be thrown off like the serpent sheds its skin” (hooks, 2003, p. 208). Declaring one’s self free of colonizing oppressors and re-writing a nation’s constitution does little to exorcize deeply internalized notions of racial inequalities. In the following sections, I will discuss the ways the tourist’s gaze is valued *because* it is white, something that was repeatedly expressed to me in a variety of ways. Despite this being a controversial and divisive notion, particularly amongst younger South Africans, the notion of internalized colonialism was a strong current that ran through much of what the study participants shared with me regarding their feelings about tourism in the black space of the townships.

#### **6.4.1 *Becoming visible***

Ginger speaks evocatively about why it matters to some local people to be seen by the tourists:

*Ginger: I think that the idea that a person that I see as a superior person or a person that is better than me, the idea that a person like that can come and walk in the same street as I live makes me, even if there's no money it does something for my self-esteem.*

*Meghan: Who is, who is the person that is better?*

*Ginger: Hm, a white person.*

*Meghan: Really? Why is that?*

*Ginger: Well white people are better than black people.*

*Meghan: Well...they're not. Like, is that the consensus?*

*Ginger: I know that. I know that.*

*Meghan: Okay, that kind of makes me want to cry a little bit.*

*Ginger: I know that. But the rest of the people don't look like, don't think like that. A person looks at you, you are white, they know that you have something that they don't have, you are much better than them. You know. Financially, you know, your life is more together than mine, you have had a better life, you grew up in a house, I've never seen a house, I've always grown up in a shack that always leaks every single day.*

*Meghan: Yeah.*

*Ginger: I, I'm, we have a single parent whereas white people have two parents, you know, I've never seen the inside of a car, whereas for a white person a car is something that is like nothing, you know. I've never had enough money to buy enough school uniforms to go to school.*

*Meghan: Right.*

*Ginger: I've walked to school bare feet most of the time with torn trousers whereas a white person has never seen something like that. So for that person to be able to come and walk in the street that I'm walking in and be able to hold my hand and be able to come into my place before even, you know, she even gives me money, that is, means so much for me.*

*Meghan: Really?*

*Ginger: You know, it means a lot.*

*Meghan: Why? What does it mean? I'm trying to understand this, 'cause you know I'm an outsider and I'm a white person so I...what does that mean?*

*Ginger: It means, it means...I'm a person too.*

The process of moving from a colonized to a post-colonized state usually involves the re-discovery of subjugated or erased histories (Marschall, 2004). In South Africa, sites of resistance and oppression have become celebrated sites of historical reckoning and nation-building (Marschall, 2004). Having fought a seemingly irrepressible enemy for decades, many black township residents knew little about the increasingly vocal international protests against the apartheid government. In every sphere of public life black people were made invisible, unable to vote, hold public office, or move freely about their own country without fear of imprisonment or death in police custody. Under apartheid, townships were 'no go' zones to outsiders (Nxumalo, 2003, as cited in Rogerson, 2004) and South African heritage meant 'white heritage' (Goudie *et*

al., 1999; Rogerson, 2004). Township tourism has created opportunities for black South Africans to recount their stories and feel that their experiences have meaning in the broader context of the national story (Marschall, 2004; Rogerson, 2004). While this valorization of tourism in previously ignored spaces of urban neglect resonates easily, it becomes more complicated and fraught when we consider how some township residents desire and discover self-worth in being the object of this tourist gaze *because* it is primarily a white gaze.

#### **6.4.2 Transformative relationships with one's self and one's space**

After having for decades been sites of oppression and invisibility, townships become reconceptualised via tourism as sites of cultural value and historical significance (Marschall, 2004; Rogerson, 2004; Steinbrink, 2015). Tourism is perceived by many of the people that I spoke with as being an opportunity to cast a spotlight on some of the assets of the community, which are understood as being in the history, the culture, and the warmth of the community:

*I think it's the people in the community themselves, you know. 'Cause there's such a lush history in this township, there's quite a lot, so much this township that people can tap into, you know...People in this area have, have an internalized and a rich and strong love for other human beings, you know...So there's that, you know, so, I mean if you have that you already have so much to work with, you know. – Ginger*

The tours are also perceived as creating positive feelings for the townships amongst the residents *because* they are valued by foreigners. For Ginger, having outsiders want to visit his home community forced him to re-examine his own feelings about the township and his relationship with the space:

*They go and I'm like guys I'm black I'm the one who is supposed to want to go there, what the hell is wrong with this picture? I want to go to armchair and go and listen to comedy and stuff but you want to go to a township which I stayed in and left to come and rent*

*here<sup>19</sup>, so it's like an embarrassment for me now, you know, because it makes me be like what the hell is wrong with you, you leave such a lovely place there and you come over here to pay this much rent? You know, so it also changes the perspectives of even the black people that are staying in the suburbs. It makes them want to come to the townships more. - Ginger*

Ginger and I spoke at length about the potentially problematic implications of black people coming to conceptualize their spaces as having value because the white people are doing so, and how in that sense they are continuing to establish white people as the determiners of what has value and meaning in South Africa. This will be discussed in greater detail below, and while Ginger agreed with this perspective, he did add this caveat:

*Ginger: But then what they don't know is that unconsciously they are really, they are really learning how to love themselves and their own people. They are, they are doing it because they are forced, or they are doing it because they are being told that you should do this. They are carrying on the hipness, you know, but they are not aware of the fact that they are doing the right thing even for themselves, it becomes therapy for them, doing that.*

*Meghan: Okay, so it's like an opportunity for them that they're not even aware of.*

*Ginger: For them to re-learn themselves.*

*Meghan: Yeah, I like that.*

*Ginger: Now I have to tell Meghan that we are from here, we come from this place, we grew up like this. By doing that I am re-learning, I am learning how to love myself again, I am learning to appreciate myself more. Now next week when Meghan is not here to walk, to want to go to Langa I drive myself alone to Langa now, because I've seen that, it's not so bad, you know. So again, so it becomes a re-conscientization of the other as well.*

*Meghan: Yeah.*

*Ginger: Again, it contributes to the process so now instead of you what you were before now you've changed, now you are visiting Langa and what does that do, now you are telling when you go back, you are telling when your friends go and ask you where you have been we've been calling you, say I was in Langa guys, shit guys I had a lot of fun, now you become the ambassador of your own township without even realizing it.*

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<sup>19</sup> Ginger is referring to Observatory, a somewhat bohemian, mixed-race suburban neighbourhood in Cape Town where he lived briefly.

In the valuing of the township space, in coming together in conversation, in sharing meals and stories, and in 'being seen,' Ginger felt that the presence of tourists in the township is also prompting some people to place value on their own Othered, constructed-as-invisible bodies. After a long description of the ways in which white and black people differ (which can be heard in its entirety [here](#)<sup>20</sup>), he attempts to help me to understand why some residents place value on having tourists come into the township:

*Ginger: So for that person to be able to come and walk in the street that I'm walking in and be able to hold my hand and be able to come into my place before even, you know, she even gives me money, that is, means so much for me.*

*Meghan: Really?*

*Ginger: You know, it means a lot.*

*Meghan: Why? What does it mean? I'm trying to understand this, 'cause you know I'm an outsider and I'm a white person so I...what does that mean?*

*Ginger: It means, it means...I'm a person too.*

*Meghan: Wow. That's really heavy.*

*Ginger: It means...people, people don't look at me the way I look at myself, it means...some people realize that I exist in this world.*

*Meghan: Okay. Just by coming to see where you live.*

*Ginger: People coming to see where I live, they, they, and they can talk to me.*

*Meghan: Yeah.*

*Ginger: Because I grew up not knowing how to talk to a white person. You know, that there, these people are actually even making an effort to recognize that I even am alive, you know...is, is a huge thing, you know. That, that now these kids that we have now know what a white person is because they can run to them.*

*Meghan: Yeah.*

*Ginger: Whereas I grew up not even being able to talk to a white person.*

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<sup>20</sup> Audio-recording shared with permission. The audio was paired with a short video shot to show the difference between 'town' and the township and created for a presentation I gave in Durban in 2016.

*Meghan: Sure.*

*Ginger: So it's a, it's that self-affirmation and confirmation of existence that comes with it as well.*

Ginger asserted that it is others in the community - and not he himself - who think in this way, however it was a theme that resonated with many of the people that I spoke with:

*Yeah, we learn a lot, and you know what I like about it, it's we feel so, me I feel so happy when they ask me how do we live, how do we feel when they come here, so you know, I told them that you know what, we are all one. So we are all human beings, so when I am seeing you, it's like I mean we all, we don't think the same. Some of them when they are seeing the tourists are coming around they are saying ah we are going to have money. It's not like that. - Florence*

*I say to them like even though you think this is about you, you know, but you don't even know about that kid, but you made that kid feel special at that time, you know, taking your time, playing you know with your expensive shoes, you know. Letting go and just, you know, being there. So it means a lot to them. - Franky*

Phakamisa, Ginger, and other black South African friends spoke about Frantz Fanon's work and the insidiousness of self-internalised colonialisms. White and black people alike in South Africa have experienced a form of 'brainwashing' – one that benefits one over the other, to be sure – that will not be erased in such a short passage of time as since the end of apartheid. To have been previously made invisible and less than – often for a period of decades in one's life – by the society within which you live, then to have white visitors come into your space, praise your work and your children, and express a desire to spend time with you, must be a powerful feeling indeed. One steeped in injustice and oppression, but nevertheless real and valued to those who experience it.

### **6.4.3 *Polishing the wounds of the past***

In the urban areas around Cape Town, the majority of black people continue to live in townships on the urban periphery and white neighbourhoods in the centre continue to be

characterized by large homes and high fences. White and black meet in the workplace, but rarely in the places where people live, although mixed-race middle-class neighbourhoods are becoming more common. Tourism, by bringing primarily white western tourists into the townships, is perceived as helping to break down some of these racial barriers. One of the great ironies of what I was able to learn about tourism to the townships is that the presence of white tourists is perceived as breaking down racialized barriers by bringing white and black people together, yet at the same time the presence of these tourists is valued and desired precisely *because* the tourists are mostly white.







The tours are perceived as bringing people together, allowing them to learn about one another and share in each other's stories. Tourism is also normalizing the presence of white people in the township, which was explained as a positive because black children today are growing up not being afraid to speak to white people. It is bringing together people who were previously forbidden to speak with one another:

*It's helping our country a lot. Because if there were not any international people coming, you know, even younger kids, like from that generation would still not know how to relate to white people. Because they don't see them, they only know that my mom works for the white person who is the boss. So that understanding or the mentality that you were given in the past that white people are superior, you know, you need to respect them, you need to, so it's kind of like fading out, now the society is seeing them like people, you know like they're like people like us, they can laugh at our jokes, they can sit down, they can eat what we eat, you know. - Franky*

*Not just social, it is also health component and of course it's also about trying to polish the wounds that were created by the apartheid system. These particular wounds of course retain from a separated country. And it was not common for white and black people to engage, you know. So they were really not talking, but amongst many things, what happens is we will come there to visit, to understand, to learn, and then in the meantime as we are understanding as well we are helping them to learn and understand as well. - Bongani*

*...it's helping us to close that gap between black and white. We're all human beings and there's no black there's no white, we can help each other in any way someone needs help, and I think to me it's helping to have tourists to come and work with us, share ideas all of that so I cannot think something else about the white people or whatever, so yes it's filling the gap for me. It's helping me. - Anathi*

*Yeah, you see this one, why I am taking. I am taking because we are lucky. The people who come from another places or another world they come to us and we are the friends of these people. They are not, no you are blacks, I am white. No, no, no, no they say hi how are you and then we make friends and that's why I like it here. Yeah. – Nozi*

The people that I spoke with expressed how significant it was for them, as well as for the younger generation of township residents, to have these opportunities to interact and learn from one another. And while it seems as though there are very few white South Africans participating in the tours, leading me to question how effective this form of tourism is in truly breaking down existing colour barriers within the nation, several participants shared that township residents would happily welcome white South Africans into their communities and that the country needed to be universally open to all its residents:

*It's not a big deal. Yeah. And it should not be a big deal, you know, we should live in a society whereby it's not a big deal. Like I wanna walk in Camps Bay<sup>21</sup> and not have a big deal that everybody's looking at me like who's this guy in our neighbourhood? Like we don't know him and what is his deal? I want to be like I can walk anywhere in my country, you know, you can walk anywhere in my township without me saying are you lost, you know?...So, yeah, by doing these tours I'm like pushing for that, like gap, you know, and hoping in the future that our fellow South Africans will take part and just. – Franky*

For Bongani and his social justice tours with Manyano, the power is in coming together and dispelling those notions of who the Other is. This is of particular significance for the older residents of the townships, who lived the majority of their lives under the apartheid regime, and now have to opportunity to interact and been seen by the tourists. The wounds inflicted during apartheid run deep, and the elders truly enjoy being able to interact and share their stories:

*Bongani: ...the opportunities now is to say is let's heal those wounds, let's help you enjoy life, let's help you engage with people that you were not, you were separated from,*

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<sup>21</sup> Camps Bay is an affluent, primarily white, beachfront suburb of Cape Town. See also: [Reverse township tour](#)

*meaning different colours. Let's speak, let's talk about who we are and who you are and let's learn from each other.*

*Meghan: Okay.*

*Bongani: And in the meantime let's enjoy and celebrate humanity, which is known as Ubuntu. Ubuntu in South Africa is I am because you are, you are because I am. So it's just that principle of coming together that really people are enjoying. So that's how we are trying to polish those wounds.*

While exposure to this form of tourism is perceived as helping to heal the wounds of the past in enabling black people to interact positively with white people, this is also a learning opportunity for the (primarily) white tourists who choose to visit the townships.

#### **6.4.4 Re-framing understandings of the Other**

While the tours present opportunities for local people to showcase their place in the history of South Africa, they are also occasions where people are able to share their own stories, and therefore themselves. The participants in this research spoke about how they felt the tourists perceived them, as well as how these occasions of coming together allowed them to teach the tourists about their lives, and perhaps dispel some of the notions about 'township residents' that the tourists carry with them.

The weekend prior to one of my visits to Langa, an R&B artist from the United Kingdom had come to the township to record his music video. Phakamisa and Thembi spoke to me at length about this experience because they felt that it exploited the needs of the people, disregarded their rights, and imposed preconceived notions of township life and its inhabitants. The artist in question was not yet well established, and Thembi and Phakimisa felt that he was attempting to create a sort of 'thuggishness' or toughness for his image by shooting his video in

the township. The young men in the township were encouraged to posture and pose in particular ‘tough guy’ stances, which Phakimisa photographed:



Photo credit: Phakimisa

*They had a certain image of the township, or whatever. It was kind of like a thing of the poverty porn... Well the way they, they were like made us walk and like [gestures with ‘tough guy’ arms] you know, you know that typical township. – Phakimisa.*

*So then it made me wanna like, so when these people take photographs of us, of these guys or whatever, what do they see? – Phakimisa*

Phakimisa, in particular, was very interested in unpacking some of these expectations and perceptions that tourists arrive and go away with, and the roles that local people have in upsetting some of those assumptions:

*I think for me it would be interesting to look at how it changes with them. And then it's me pointing at them, rather than them pointing at me, you know? And so in that way we can also look at the stereotypes they come with when they come here, you know, we have to help them and look at them and help, you know. I don't want to say that, but it's very interesting you know like when there's with the children, even with our children how they perceive them running to them with their hands out, so there's so many levels of interest that still needs to be unpacked – Phakimisa*

For Phaki, this invariably led to local people manipulating these assumptions to their own advantage. He observed that often he would catch people pulling a sad face or only showing the tourists the most dilapidated parts of the community:

*The minute they see a mlungu<sup>22</sup> you know, with the camera, they will give you a sad face, they will give you a happy face, so it means like how do you challenge, you know?...So it's like people they also know what tourists want, so it's easy to give that to them. You know like when you go to the old houses they will like to show you how many beds, it's true! But that's not the only true thing about themselves. – Phakimisa*

Showing only sadness and poverty both plays into the tourists' preconceived expectations about what they have come to see, but is also believed to improve local people's odds of receiving donations or gifts of support from the tourists. In this sense, this playing to the tourists' expectations is also a form of power and resistance, as it suggests at once an exploitation of tourists' biases as well as an inside joke shared amongst the residents of the township.

Thembi and Lwazi, both registered tour guides, spoke about how a central part of the tour is taking tourists to see impoverished living conditions. Both, in fact, take tourists into their own homes to show them the living conditions. Thembi lives with nine members of her family in a two-room unit in one of the 'new' hostels, which are a significant improvement over the 'old' hostels, also featured in the tour. Thembi expressed to me that the purpose of the tour is to show how things have improved in the township and that you can move to a better way of life with hard work. Despite this, she is clearly aware of the effect that the visits to both residences have on the tourists:

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<sup>22</sup> Mlungu is a vaguely disparaging term meaning 'white person,' of Xhosa and Zulu origins.



Photo of the inside of Thembi's apartment, taken while on tour. Photo credit: Meghan Muldoon, reproduced with permission.

*You see, sometimes I am asking if I can take you to the place where you're gonna feel uncomfortable, where you're gonna see people crowded, because most of you as the clients that are visiting our township they are crying when they are seeing people that don't have anything, people that don't have clothes, they are hungry, they are sick, they are crying. People they are crying in the old hostels, I was so sad even me, they are crying in my place, they are telling me "Thembi, you are a lot in this place, you are ten members, how can you do this and that and that?" I explain everything to them but they are still crying. – Thembi*

Despite numerous assurances that township tourism is about learning and sharing stories with the other, there remained an underlying awareness that the desire to see poverty was present in the tourists' motivations. Some expressed powerlessness in this encounter, as many people are not in a position to say no to the money that tourists may offer, and that there is a disconnect between what is good for local people and what is good for tourists. References to people being treated as though they are in a zoo, or 'poverty porn' came up frequently. Those who were

critical of the role of tourism in the townships felt that the practice exploited people's poverty without ever really giving back in any way:

*I personally feel that our poverty stricken people are treated like zoo animals, they just visit them in their cages but never set them free. – Ginger*

*People are people, we are not in the zoo...That's how people were feeling, and in some instances they still do, you know, there's still that element of tourism which focuses on poverty tourism. It's still in existence. – Bongani*

*But for me I think that they had a certain image of, of the township, or whatever...when we were all standing there they were picking people for certain sort of like a role, and then they would tell them how and everything ...so it was kind of like a thing of the poverty porn and everything, you know. - Phakimisa*

Tours, however, are also understood as being a gateway to the townships for foreigners who are wishing to develop more meaningful relationships and understandings of people in the townships. Participants spoke about the difference between the tourists who come and spend time and commit to learning about local culture and giving back to the community, as opposed to those who just come for a short period of time and take photos. They felt that people in their community were particularly vulnerable to these visitors because of their very real need for the money that is often promised by the tourists

Phakamisa differentiated between the UK artist who came and projected his 'thug' image of township residents with the actions of another, much more successful artist – Skrillex – who came and spent a number of weeks in Langa supporting musical programming for youth and helped one young man in particular become a student in a prestigious Cape Town music school (and also created a [music video](#) of this young man and other children dancing to one of his mixes



around Langa)<sup>23</sup>. For Phakamisa, it is the investment of time that is important, getting to know the community and its people:

*You know, these guys they were in such a hurry, so for me it didn't give me any reason to believe that these guys are in it for the better of the community, it's just snatch and go, you know, sort of drive through. – Phakamisa*

*And that's very important when it comes to integrity, because these guys who come and speak to these guys give them like a very honest...and they were just coming with their watered version of the truth so they could cater for their own needs, you know. – Phakamisa*

Phakamisa spoke at length of the importance of having integrity when visiting the township and in working with local people. As an educated and comparatively privileged young man in the township, Phaki was in a position to see how residents are often exploited and essentialized by outsiders, and he has expressed an interest in doing further research into the impact that this is having on people in his community.

To Phakimisa, the way for tourists to engage with local communities is to come and spend time, learn about the local people and the local culture. He differentiated between the tourists who were only there to see beauty or have an adventure and those who were truly invested in learning and bringing something better to the townships. In this way, they are able to re-frame not only their understandings of the townships, but their relationships to it.

The women from Indawo Yethu also felt that they had a role to play in teaching the tourists about their lives. Often, I found these perspectives couched in nuanced language regarding how they were teaching the tourists to re-frame their perspectives of them as women:

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<sup>23</sup> Just as an aside, there is a striking difference between that Skrillex video and the one whose production made Phakimisa so angry. You can watch that video [here](#).



*Meghan: But how, do the tourists benefit as well?*

*Piko: Yes, they see the womens who are very strong. A strong womens, yes.*

*Meghan: Okay, so they learn from you, from the work that you do?*

*Piko: Yes.*

*Andiswa: Yeah. She was interested to see what the women are doing at that time and then she found that she can do this maybe she can try to do this while they are busy doing other things so she wants to try what is they are doing like taking the beads into one string.*

*Meghan: Uh hm.*

*Andiswa: Yeah, so now to me it was interesting to me because as I see, she seed that these things that they are doing, the women are doing is interesting. So and then at the end of the day it gives something, it makes something that has been, can be sold by them.*

*Meghan: Right.*

*Andiswa: And you can get people come closer to the women, trying to know how they do this, how they do the beadwork. So for me it was interesting to see a tourist doing this. It's where we can benefit and also they benefit from us by knowing how to do this.*

Storytelling is an important part of Xhosa culture, in that there is value in seeing one's story carried on beyond one's own time and place. As often is the case, Ginger explains it best:

*Ginger: For us it's important. We, we grew, before the television and everything we were a people that grew through storytelling and word of mouth. Word of mouth is very important 'cause it's how traditions are held.*

*Meghan: Yes.*

*Ginger: You know, you tell that one, tell this folk tale, tell her a story, it's how stories of generations and generations are told and even our clans names are people, are the names of elders and the people that died and whatever, so we hold on to history through word of mouth. So word of mouth is very important, and being afforded the opportunity to present your culture and your history to you means that it carries on.*

*Meghan: Okay.*

*Ginger: By word of mouth. By me telling you who I am and where I came from and what I am about you having that information and relaying it to someone else keeps me alive, it, it keeps that history and that life of mine and my background alive.*

*Ginger: You know, whatever I pour into you, you will go and pour a bit elsewhere and pour a bit elsewhere, you know. I would like to have a bit of me in that vessel that is you.*

For Ginger, there is power in being able to relay your story, in having a part of yourself leave with the tourist and be carried out into the world. This connects back to the issue of power in having access to tourists. For some people in the community there is a distinct frustration in not having access to tourists, due to the fact that they are prevented from sharing their stories with the tourists, leading them to feel as though they are somehow ‘less than.’



Photo credit: Ginger

*Ginger: She feels that they should be invited*

*Meghan: Who are they?*

*Ginger: They, her and the people of her age, she is what 35 as well. 'Cause they also grew up here, they have a history and stories to tell. They want to...what's wrong with me...they feel like they also want to be, like what Faniswa is doing there. When she's hosting guests, you know, to have a meal, I mean she wants the people like Faniswa's who are hosting meals to invite them as locals to come and sit down and share their stories with the people, you know, the tourists. Just to come and sit and chat and try their experiences, you now, because she's not prepared to walk with tourists or do anything, she just wants to be able to sit, you know, and have that oral exchange.*

*Meghan: Does she have some ideas of how that would work out?*

*Ginger: She has really good ideas, she wants, she says initially I don't want to do anything for myself or by myself. I just want to, people to hear because there are so many stories that are happening here, so we feel that some of our stories are not told. So we just want to be in and just says what we want to say, you know. Because we also come from here, we also live here we just want to be involved.*

From my outsider perspective, I struggled (and still do) to understand why people would be so eager to share their stories with outsiders whom they had no knowledge of and no control over how their stories were re-told, particularly in light of the fact that (most of) these outsiders closely resemble the whites who oppressed, abased, and silenced black South Africans for such a long period of time. As a white Canadian, from within my own cultural purview I could not wrap my head around why a black township resident would be willing to share anything with these visitors (myself included!).

The participants demonstrated an awareness of how they are perceived by some tourists to the townships – as thugs, or as victims – however, often these encounters were conceptualized as opportunities to re-frame the tourists' perceptions of township residents, to develop a deeper understanding of the Other. While there was not always time to interact deeply over the course of the tour, these tours were often used as an introduction to the community before developing more meaningful relationships with people – as I myself did over the course of this research. Through these encounters, residents are able to share their stories, and in that sense continue to live beyond the township. There is power in that, particularly given the ghettoization of the townships under apartheid and the continued lack of mobility that characterizes the lives of many township residents.

In this chapter, I presented the results of my analysis of the interview transcripts, participant-elicited photographs, participant observations, and personal writings amassed over my five months in South Africa. While these are presented as discrete themes here, there is a great deal of overlap and interplay between these themes. The following chapter will consider this interrelatedness in the context of the gaze and the multiple ways this concept is enacted through the tourism encounter.

## 7.0 Discussion: The Gaze

*“To make oneself vulnerable to the seduction of difference, to seek an encounter with the Other, does not require that one relinquish forever one’s mainstream positionality.”*

*– bell hooks, 1992, p. 183*

The crux of this research is consistently drawn back to the notion of the gaze. Issues of power, mobility - and the lack thereof - are central in tourism and tourism research (Church & Coles, 2007). In returning to Foucault’s (and thus Bentham’s) notion of the panopticon introduced in the literature review, we are able to conceptualize how a regulating gaze, or at the least the belief in one, is operating at all times and dictating how the gazee performs (Aitchison, 2009; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Hollinshead, 1999; Maoz, 2005; Urry, 1990). As mentioned in that chapter, much of the earlier work on the gaze was devoted to the hierarchized tourist versus host binary, wherein the tourist was in possession of all of the power and the host was primarily conceptualized as the passive recipient of a dominating and objectifying gaze (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Maoz, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Nash, 1977). While I have no desire to dispute the fact that tourists are imbued with a great deal of power in the tourism encounter, subsequent research has also attended to the ways in which hosts gaze at the tourists, in addition to the ways in which they are able to manipulate the tourists’ gaze to their own advantage.

While tourism hosts in the Majority World will often find themselves vulnerable to the power of the gaze due to their financial marginalization, hosts are capable of resisting or even rebuffing the tourists’ gaze if they perceive that the costs of tourism will outweigh the benefits (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Maoz, 2005). Tourists may be particularly vulnerable to the gaze of the hosts, according to Cheong and Miller (2000), due to their heightened visibility in the tourism locale as well as their unfamiliarity and potential discomfort with local languages and social

norms. Tourists in these unfamiliar spaces may find themselves in a troubled liminal space, as Ernst identified in this present study that first-hand exposure to the poverty of the townships, even when that was what was sought, can be deeply unsettling (Hottola, 2004; Maoz, 2005). As was noted in the discussion of this study's findings, in these instances, where hosts are able to impose a regulating gaze, it is possible to determine not only that which is visible to the tourists, but also that which cannot be seen (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

Also important to note is the way in which the gaze has shifted from being conceptualized as primarily ocular to also include "mental perceptions" (Maoz, 2005, p. 222). The gaze has come to include the ways in which hosts and guests "view, grasp, conceptualize, understand, imagine, and construct each other" (Maoz, 2005, p. 222; Hollinshead, 1999). This gaze is based in a "particular social and intellectual regime" (Hollinshead & Kuon, 2013, p. 12) that relies on social, cultural, historical, and imaginative discourses to inform and construct what is 'known' via the gaze (Aitchison, 2009; Hollinshead, 1999). In the Majority World, the host gaze is composed via previous encounters with tourists, media representations, as well as colonial legacies that have 'fixed' the powerful, white Other (Canziani & Francioni, 2013, p. 19). In these postcolonized spaces, the host gaze may have developed a much more sophisticated and informed understanding of the tourist than the tourist has of the host due to their comparatively more extensive experience encountering the Other in its various forms, including as tourists (Maoz, 2005).

Given the complex historical, postcolonial, financial, cultural, and political factors that combine to construct the hosts' gaze in the context of tourism in the Majority World, I have striven to approach the concept of the gaze from a range of perspectives, while also maintaining a focus on the intersubjectivity of all of the components of the gaze. I looked to the concept of the

gaze in order to help me understand the power dynamics embedded in the experiences of tourism that were spoken about by the residents of the townships. This includes iterations of the gaze as racializing/classing, as gendering, as valuing, as colonizing, as resistant, and as reconciliatory. As previously stated, the purpose of this photovoice inquiry is to learn about how hosts gaze back at the tourists that spend time in their townships. I return to the four research questions which have guided this research:

1. What are the experiences of tourism for members of this community?
2. How do community members experience power in the tourism encounter?
3. How do community members understand tourists' *a priori* expectations of Majority World women and men?
4. How do community members navigate/reinforce/resist discourses of race and gender in tourism?

In this chapter I have turned to the various aspects that I identified as being constitutive of the hosts' gaze in township tourism in order to help answer these questions.

## **7.1 The Gaze as Racializing/Classing**

Social forces in South Africa continue to be dominated by the prevailing influence and awareness of race. From very early on in its history, racial relations in South Africa have aligned almost imperceptibly with class, with the whites at the top of the social order and the blacks at the bottom (Maylam, 2001). The racial divides in South Africa are expressed literally by a physical divide (i.e. the townships) but also through a myriad of social interactions and understandings, both explicit and implicit (c.f. Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Goldberg, 1998). In South Africa, 'white' "remains firmly in charge" (Nyamnjoh, 2016, p. 45) and "continues to exert a powerful sense of normativity" (West, 2009, p. 11, as cited in Nyamnjoh, 2016, p. 45): white continues to determine what is valued in terms of art, culture, and social decency, despite efforts at reconciliation and resistance (Nyamnjoh, 2016; van Beek & Schmidt, 2012). The

visible face of the national political structure has shifted from white to black, however the country's economy continues to be dominated by white interests, and an estimated 73.3% of agricultural land remains in the hands of white farmers (Crowley, 2017). The social flows of racial inequality continue to exert a powerful force, finding "expression within everyday relationships...[and] shaping the nature of ordinary encounters and exchanges" (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005, p. 3). In their study of social contact theory into whether interaction can reduce racial intolerance, Durrheim and Dixon (2005) found that while this may occur, both they and Gibson (2004) observed that "remarkably little meaningful interaction" with other racial groups is occurring in South Africa (p. 40). Instead, South Africans have replaced apartheid-era regulated segregation with a vast array of practices that in effect have led to a "new segregation" (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005, p. 40; Goldberg, 1998).

It is in the context of this 'new segregation' that we must consider the social impact of tourism in the townships. In the face of continued white primacy, social contact with the white tourists is valued and may be used to place one's self above one's neighbours. It may also inform the hosts' own conceptions of self (Marschall, 2004; van Beek & Schmidt, 2012). Further, contact with outsiders as represented by the tourists is valued because in Xhosa culture storytelling is significant, and there is power in the act of sharing one's story – and therefore an attendant lack of power in not having the opportunity to do so. In this section I begin to grapple with the complex ways in which conceptions of race inform all social interactions with Others in South Africa.

Theories of whiteness treat whiteness not as a biological fact but as a social construct. This is evidenced in the history of South Africa when the earliest Dutch settlers ascribed Otherness to the Indigenous Khoisan people as 'heathens' rather than 'blacks': social



stratification along racial lines only emerged some time later (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Focusing on whiteness, as an anti-racist strategy, moves away from efforts to grapple with inequalities towards the ways in which white becomes imbued with power, how white identities are formed within a racist structure, and the responsibilities white people share in examining and dismantling these constructs (Green, Sonn, & Matsebula, 2007, p. 390). Broadly, whiteness is defined as “the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage” (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 236, as cited in Green, Sonn, & Matsebula, 2007, p. 390). Considering whiteness effects in society, combined with notions of self-internalized colonialisms, can help us to begin to understand the ongoing supremacy of ‘white’ in South Africa today.

In tourism studies, notions equating tourists with mobility and locals as fixed in place are conceptualized as methods of re-ascribing characteristics of “‘modernity,’ ‘civility,’ and ‘whiteness’” to the tourists when contrasted with the racialized backdrop of the toured space (Sheller, 2004, p. 2). In Sheller’s study of tourism in the Caribbean, she found that tourism encounters “are all part of the power relations by which forms of gender and racial inequality are brought into being along with national boundaries of belonging and exclusion” (2004, p. 1). In the South African context, these literal and figurative boundaries of exclusion are extended to the sub-national level. Whitehead’s (2013) study examined so-called ‘commonsense’ racialized means of speaking about the Other in South African radio call-in shows, examining how “race-class intersections are displayed and mobilized in ordinary interactions” (p. 49). Racial exclusion continues to operate at the institutional levels but is also expressed at the level of everyday relationships, informing all interactions (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

In the context of tourism in the townships, the host gaze originates in an exclusively black space. The postcolonial aftermaths of white minority rule in South Africa – which will be recalled repeatedly over the course of this chapter – have meant that white is ‘better,’ as Ginger reminds us, in that deeply ingrained racial binary of black and white. In Kayamandi Township, the only white faces are those of the volunteers, the researchers from the university, the tourists, and the family that hosts the Reconciliation Lunches. All of these actors are operating from a place of relative privilege, and all come bearing something to give. The tourists are visible in this toured space, and they are visible *as white*.

In South Africa, race is a way of conceptualizing life in a way that is difficult to comprehend from a racially dominant position in a we-don’t-have-a-race-problem-here society (although I know that many people of colour in North America will have a better understanding of this experience). I have a sense that this is coming across as sarcastic or bitter, but it is not my intention. I am trying to make clear that I am coming from a place where race is largely conceptualized as invisible - even though I know that that is false, it is still the society that I come from. So many aspects of culture and society that I witnessed in South Africa were divided along racial lines. The issue of how race is a pivotal factor in determining how township residents conceptualize tourism will be considered in greater depth when we come to discuss the ways in which the gaze is valued and colonized.

## **7.2 The Gaze as Gendering**

The notion of tourism as a gendered practice is one that is comparatively new to critical tourism studies, but is one that has become increasingly influential and valued since Cynthia Enloe’s (1989) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bombs*. Tourism operates within societies that are gendered, therefore it stands to reason that patriarchal ways of knowing and engaging with the

Other would also exist within the tourism sphere (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Rao, 1995). Other studies have presented the tourist as masculinized, the very embodiment of adventure, daring, and pleasure seeking, while the host is associated with immobility, sexual availability, and domesticity, all characteristics stereotyped as feminine (Enloe, 1989; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). Developing an understanding of the ways in which interactions and knowledge systems are gendered is critical to beginning to deconstruct and dismantle the oppressive structures based in a deeply rooted patriarchal global dynamic (Enloe, 1989; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000). The feminization of the places and people that play host to tourists, particularly in the Majority World, further acts to justify global political and economic patterns of western domination and decision-making (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

In the case of township tourism, the host's gaze is feminized in that it subjugates itself to the desires and drives of the gaze of the tourist. The tourist's voice is the speaking voice, it is given the power to choose when and where to tour. The tourists are not always conscious of their position of relative power, and may believe that the tourism encounter is occurring in a space where all actors are on an equal footing and are comparably free in their ability to choose to participate. The tourists that operate from within their positions of relative privilege have difficulty in conceptualizing how Others are disempowered in the same encounter, as has also been observed in feminist studies. The host's voice is subaltern, and powerful only in its ability to occasionally resist, misdirect, or obscure reality from the tourist. Thus, Luane and Bongani spoke about how community members were unhappy when the tourists began coming to the townships, but they were not able to prohibit them. The tour guides have a measure of power in determining what the tourists are able and unable to know about the townships, and the residents may offer a veiled resistance in the form of petty comments spoken in isiXhosa, but are unable to

actively resist, should they wish to do so. While the host takes on the role of protecting the tourist from themselves and others while in the toured space, this is yet another feminized role, acting as the carer, but inconspicuously, as with Lwazi and Thembi surreptitiously preventing the tourists from performing certain acts, while rarely challenging or holding the tourist accountable for their behaviours, no matter how reckless or stupid. Florence also remarked on the comparative mobility of the tourist, saying, “*We are not angry to them, they can afford to be here to experience the life in the township, you see? Although us we can't afford to go there and see how they are that side*”. The township residents are constructed as less free, less mobile, and less able to make decisions to chart the course of their lives, something that Mohanty (2003) remarks upon in the feminist postcolonial literature.

Another way in which the host gaze is feminizing (and also racializing and classing and colonizing) is via the host’s perception that the tourist coming to visit the township is helping to break down racial barriers and ‘heal the wounds of the past.’ In this conceptualization, the white visitor is cast as the only one with the power to effect these changes in their mutual society. The tourist chooses when and where to visit, the host has no agency in helping to bring people together for the purpose of reconciliation. Further, these hosts have no mobility in this situation – they are stuck at home, as it were. This was explicitly illustrated by a small group of politically active born-frees who attempted a [reverse township tour](#) in a white suburb. In this research, only Phakimisa questioned the supposedly reconciliatory objectives of the tourists in visiting the townships. All the others that spoke to this issue remarked upon how the tourists were visiting out of the good of their hearts to heal the schism in the country. This again reinforces the tourists as the holders of the power while the township residents must passively sit at home and wait for them to bring change.

An additional parallel in the ways in which the host's gaze is a feminized gaze are the ways in which the host's gaze is furtive. During apartheid, blacks were not allowed to speak to whites. Ginger evokes this experience of the recent past when he recalls a mother chastising her child for approaching a white tourist:

*...and he was talking to this kid, so their parents ran to come and fetch the kid because they were saying to that kid oh no don't play, these people are important people, you know, don't talk to them, you know, don't touch them. You're going to get me into, I'm going to go to prison because of what you are doing.*

This event would be familiar to bell hooks, who spoke of the internalization of the forbidden gaze in her childhood memories:

I remember being punished as a child for staring, for those hard, intense direct looks children would give grown-ups, looks that were seen as confrontational, as gestures of resistance, challenges to authority. The 'gaze' has always been political in my life. Imagine the terror felt by the child who has come to understand that one's gaze can be dangerous...There is power in looking. Amazed the first time I read in history classes that white slave-owners (men, women, and children) punished enslaved black people for looking, I wondered how this traumatic relationship to the gaze had informed black parenting and black spectatorship. The politics of slavery, of racialized power relations, were such that the slaves were denied their right to gaze....Years later, reading Michel Foucault, I thought again about these connections, about the ways power as domination reproduces itself in different locations employing similar apparatuses, strategies, and mechanisms of control (hooks, 2003, p. 207-208).

hook's childhood gaze is racialized, feminized, and based in the violently oppressive economically-motivated system that was US slavery. As in the South African context, hook's gaze is rooted in a long-past institutionalized racial segregation which continues to inform how we are able to perform and interact with one another in society. In the tourism context, there is a fear of being caught at gazing, and therefore an accordant power in being one of the few who are able to walk and talk freely with the tourists. hook's gaze is also political, that despite the fact that it is based in patriarchal domination, her gaze has the power to open up possibility.

Tourism in the townships is also gendered because it exists within a gendered society. When asked specifically about gender and how tourism impacts men and women differently, the women at Indawo Yethu did not understand what I was asking – they had never given this issue any consideration. In this research there was a fairly even gender balance between the male and female guides that I spoke with, although my sense from personal observations is that guiding tends to be a more male-dominated profession. Despite the relative gender-parity, certain aspects of how guides interacted with me suggested an embeddedness within gender inequalities. As a participant, Thembi chose to invite her male friend Phakimisa to join us and he did most of the speaking and took all of the photographs. The other female tour guide that I was familiar with, Azola (whom I did not have an opportunity to speak with as part of this research), was heavily critiqued by Ginger for being ‘a person who makes money’ and for not more evenly allocating the profits she was making amongst others in the community. Ginger has a personal relationship with Azola – he refers to her as his sister and lives at her house – and he may have been irritated with her on the day that we spoke, but I also feel that he would have been less critical of her success and relative prosperity were she not a woman.

The women at Indawo Yethu are not critiqued for their relative success in their township because they have used their prosperity to reinforce their roles as cares and (grand)mothers in the community. The profits from hosting tourists are reinvested in a community garden, an after-school program for children, a soup kitchen, as well as a medical support program for people with HIV/AIDS. Further, the women have earned these profits through staying indoors and making handicrafts, unlike Azola who is out walking in the streets with the tourists. Most women are encountering the tourists through traditionally gendered roles such as crafting, preparing food, and caring for children, while it is mostly men who are taking the more active roles of

running tour operations and guiding. That being said, several of the women at Indawo Yethu, in speaking about their everyday lives, assured me that women are strong, they strive to make a living for themselves, and that by engaging with the tourists at the women's centre they are helping the tourists to see this side of women in the township.

While the gaze in tourism in gendering in a number of important ways, the gaze is also valuing in the ways in which it is desired and sought. That discussion is taken up in the following section.

### **7.3 The Gaze as Valuing**

In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) Frantz Fanon describes how it was that he came up under the white gaze – that of a child – whilst on a train, and how he thus came to perceive himself as though through the white gaze. Fanon explains how the white gaze ‘fixes’ the Other, essentializing him or her to a set of ‘known’ traits, effectively deindividualizing them (Fanon, 1967; Nielsen, 2011). In this sense, the white gaze functions much in the same way as Foucault's panopticon, placing the black person under constant surveillance and regulating how they are permitted to perform in society (Nielsen, 2011). In reflecting upon that encounter on the train, Fanon wrote:

...the movements, the attitudes, the glances of the Other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye. I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together again by another self. This ‘look’ from – so to speak – the place of the Other, fixes us, not only in its violence, hostility, and aggression, but in the ambivalence of its desire” (1967, p. 109)

Thus, in the racially stratified society, even its most innocent members, including children, become apparatuses in maintaining and reinforcing racialized discourses and institutions (Nielsen, 2011, p. 369). Only the white gaze has the power to ascribe meaning and identity,

according to Fanon, it is only its estimation that matters, even though the black body can only ever be relegated to a position of inferiority.

Despite Fanon's – and many others' since – descriptions of the white gaze as dehumanizing and essentializing, many of the participants in this research spoke of how they value the opportunity of coming up under the white gaze. For many, this was described in economic terms: one must be seen first in order to be a recipient of tourists' gifts. Bongani and the ladies at Indawo Yethu also valued the white gaze because it was serving to bring about reconciliation in the country and helping to heal the wounds of the past. From this perspective, the white gaze has an emancipatory objective, despite the fact that this white gaze is composed almost entirely of non-South Africans.

Ginger and Franky spoke about the white gaze as being valued in and of itself. Franky used the example of the little boy playing with the tourists and how meaningful it was for him to be seen by these white guests in their expensive shoes. Ginger, as ever, was the most explicit in his efforts to explain white and black dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa to this foreign *mlungu*. For Ginger, to come up under the tourists' gaze means that you exist, that your life as a black person has meaning in this world. This hearkens back to Fanon's notion that only the white gaze has the power to ascribe meaning and value to black bodies, even if it is only ever inferior.

Despite being assured many times by many different people that the white gaze is valued and desired in the township space, other narratives caused me to reflect on the ways in which the white gaze is also feared and mistrusted. Ginger shared with me the image of a woman who runs a *shebeen* – an illegal liquor establishment - in the township:





Photo credit: Ginger

He explained that she does not like to see the tourists walk past her shop because she is always worried that one of them will contact the police and have her livelihood taken from her. The unlikelihood of this ever occurring does not negate the real fear and sense of threat that she associates with coming under the white gaze.

I also had occasion to reflect upon the impact of the white gaze in my blog, [www.mistourist.com](http://www.mistourist.com), which I kept over the course of my time living in South Africa. After having spent my friend's birthday with him and other friends, drinking red wine and eating *braai*<sup>24</sup>, I wrote in my blog that my friend hugged me at the end of the day and said, "Thank you so much, you really made my day. You made me feel like I exist, like I am a real person" ([June 23, 2016](#)). I reflected on how ill this comment made me feel, that he would ascribe this kind of meaning to my being there for his birthday, where I had thought we had all just been hanging out as friends. In an earlier post ([June 7, 2016](#)), I wrote about how people in the community spoke to me about tourism when they learned that this is what I had come to study:

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<sup>24</sup> South African grilled meat.

I have now had 4 or 5 people tell me, unasked, that tourism is good for the townships because it improves racial relations. That it means so, so much to be *seen* by white people, to have an opportunity to interact with one another, especially for kids. There are two sides to this, according to my friends: one, that being acknowledged by white people means to a resident of the Townships that you exist, that you are also a person, and two, it provides an opportunity for black people in the Townships to see that white people are not monsters or deities, but that we are all just people who are equal.

I believe that both of these things are ‘true.’ I also believe that both of these things are at cross-purposes. How can the touristic encounter work towards establishing a common humanity, while at the same time affirming another’s humanity simply by deigning to acknowledge them??

These encounters resonate with what the research participants were telling me about how and why the tourist’s gaze was valued and desired. On another occasion I had an opportunity to attend a poetry slam at Amazink, which hosted a wide array of South Africans of all races, many of whom would be considered to be of the ‘born-free’ generation which gave me a different glimpse into how the white gaze can be perceived. In blogging about this experience afterwards ([May 8, 2016](#)), I was able to reflect on having witnessed some of the rage that I had wondered about not having seen up to that point:

...These conversations generally led to talking about how the students are angry, and I have touched on the student protests already in a previous post, but I don’t think I have adequately expressed how PISSED they are. I got a real taste of just how angry some of the students are last night.

The poets spoke about their anger at living in townships, about having been taught a history that glorifies their colonial oppressors, about being robbed of their culture and dignity, about the stupid wine farms. About seeing white people clutch a little more tightly at their bags and edge a little further away on the sidewalk when this particular young black man approaches. There were lots of fists clenched high in solidarity and protest. There was singing and cheering. I didn’t understand all of it, as a lot of the poetry was in Xhosa, but believe me when I say that I felt it. And I know that I barely grasped a fraction of what was going on due to my total lack of understanding of what it is to be South African.

At one point, a performer asked the other poet on the stage, “Do you hate all white people?” as part of the dialogue in their performance. Without missing a beat, someone in the front row shouted, “YES!” and the room erupted. There was laughter – the outburst didn’t feel hostile or threatening – but there were for sure a few “Damn straights!” in there as well.

I truly believe that the participants that I spoke with were being sincere when they told me again and again how much value and meaning they ascribed to being visited by the tourists. The tourist gaze is desired because it brings with it the hope of economic gain, it allows people to share their stories and be seen, and it brings with it a sense of power and privilege that some people desire to have cast upon them. At the same time, others in the community – those who are not reliant on tourism profits, among others – reject the notion of the value of the tourist gaze, again because it is primarily a white gaze. To these people that I encountered the white gaze continues to represent an unrepentant oppressor blocking equality and social justice for black people in South Africa.

In this section I discussed how the white/tourist gaze is at once both valued and desired as well as feared and resented. While few research participants other than Ginger were willing or able to speak with me – the white tourist – about their negative perceptions of the white/tourist gaze, my personal observations often bore out that being the recipient of that gaze is more complicated than the research participants might have me believe. In the following section, I discuss the role that colonialism has had in contributing to the complexity of the gaze.

#### **7.4 The Gaze as Colonizing**

If the white gaze is valued in the township space, it is due to the fact that the devaluation of local culture and knowledge is an oft-referenced side-effect or direct objective of colonial practice. Fanon spoke of it in *Black Faces White Masks* (1967) when he remembered how black people who had been to France returned to Martinique to sneer at and strive to distance themselves from expressions of blackness. According to wa Thiong'o (1986), the “culture bomb” is the most devastating weapon used by colonialism to instill despair and defeat the local

populace. He wrote that “[t]o control a people’s culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others” (wa Thiong’o, 1986, p.16). The ultimate aim of colonialism is the control of wealth and resources, but its most significant and long-standing impact was in the area of mental control, since “[e]conomic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control” (wa Thiong’o, 1986, p. 16).

It was mentioned in the previous section that the white/colonizing/tourist gaze is one that subjugates and essentializes black bodies in the colonized/postcolonized space. This essentializing gaze also becomes internalized, so that colonized peoples come to see themselves and their peers as though through the eyes of the colonizer (Fanon, 1967; wa Thiong’o, 1986). As Fanon wrote:

It is in white terms that one perceives one’s fellows. People will say of someone, for instance, that he is ‘very black’; there is nothing surprising, within a family, in hearing a mother remark that ‘X is the blackest of my children’ – it means that X is the least white [...] Let me point out once more that every Antillean expects all the others to perceive him in terms of the essence of the white man (1967, p. 63)

According to wa Thiong’o, this was accomplished via two pathways: the destruction of local culture, including its songs, dances, traditions, and languages, as well as with the preferment of the language and culture of the colonizer (1986, p. 16). It is this effect that Ginger references when he speaks of seeing his friends adopt affected accents and mannerisms when in the presence of white tourists, or in the ways that others in the community will assume behaviours associated with whites, such as drinking wine or sitting just so, when they begin to acquire some wealth. Ginger places the responsibility for the subjugation of black culture on the shoulders of himself and other black South Africans, who do not present themselves to the world with pride:

*...we also play a huge role in destroying our own image, you know. We present ourselves weakly...And no one wants to, no one is attracted to a weak thing, you know. I mean, vulnerable maybe yeah, but weak come on, you know. Who would be attracted to anything that is weak? So by doing that, by us, when I'm sitting in Obs [Observatory, a trendy suburb of Cape Town], or maybe not even just in Cape Town and I'm sitting in a cigar lounge in Cape Town, I'm, I'm smoking cigars there and people talk to me and ask me where I'm from I don't say I'm from Kayamandi, I say I'm from Cape Town. I'm from here in Cape Town, I was born and raised here in Cape Town. I make sure that I don't talk about my real history and my real life because I think, or I feel like it would make you think less of me. I want to talk to you as if I am also like you, even my, my, the way I speak my English is like rolling like that [fake voice] you know. I try so much to make you look at me as if I'm like you, when it's evidently clear that we're not the same.*

The tourist's gaze is valued and sought *because* the host's gaze is colonized. The host gaze is constructed and informed – in part - through its experiences with colonialism. The host's gaze is built through its encounters with the Other in which the Other is represented by the tourist, the white power structure, as well as in glorified representations of whiteness in the media and in advertising. This gaze becomes “based on extreme stereotypes and images” that are rooted in colonialism (Maoz, 2005, p. 229). The tourists become conflated with the all-powerful colonizers, who, never forgetting, were in power until 1994, and ruled South Africa with seemingly unbreakable force for close to 350 years. However, instead of facing the tourists that represent these colonial dominators with hatred and fear, the tourists are welcomed, perhaps due to the internalization of the colonized perspective of whites as deified, in addition to the other power-laden constructs discussed in this chapter, including class, race, and gender. This would certainly resonate with much of what I saw of youth resistance to celebrations of colonialization and ongoing white domination during my time in South Africa.

## **7.5 The Gaze as Resistant**

In section 7.3, I cite bell hooks and her reflections on the power that she sensed in being forbidden to gaze as a child. Her quotation continues as follows:

Since I knew as a child that the dominating power adults exercised over me and over my gaze was never so absolute that I did not dare to look, to sneak a peep, to state dangerously, I knew that the slaves had looked. That all attempts to repress our/black people's right to gaze had produced in us an overwhelming longing to look, a rebellious desire, an oppositional gaze. By courageously looking, we defiantly declared: "Not only will I stare. I want my look to change reality." Even in the worst circumstances of domination, the ability to manipulate one's gaze in the face of structures of domination that would contain it, it opens up the possibility of agency (hooks, 2003, p. 207-208).

hooks writes about the power of the gaze to resist, that it is "a site of resistance for colonized black people globally" (2003, p. 208) and that the gaze can be deployed strategically in order to confront one's oppressors. She makes reference to the work of Foucault on the fluidity of power, when he emphasized that in all power dynamics "there is necessarily the possibility of resistance" (hooks, 2003, p. 208). In the context of studies of tourism, the host's gaze is examined in terms of its potential to resist the determining and essentializing gaze of the tourist (Sheller, 2004). Urry's (1990) original conceptualization of the tourist gaze as all-powerful due to the host's economic subjugation to the will of the tourist failed to imagine the ways in which hosts are also able to gaze back at the tourists and reject the tourists' depiction of them (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz, 2005). In her study of Israeli tourists in India, Maoz found that hosts were able to resist the tourists' objectifications via strategies that included "gossip, obstruction, burlesquing, sulking, and insults" (2005, p. 224). While open resistance can be risky and is rare, "veiled resistance" was found to be much more common, including "low-key," "passive," or "mediated" resistance (Maoz, 2005, p. 232).

The great Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe, also identified storytelling as a form of resistance, writing: "Storytellers are a threat. They threaten all champions of control, they frighten usurpers of the right-to-freedom of the human spirit – in state or mosque, in party congress, in the university or wherever" (1988, p. 30). In the townships, sharing one's stories is

highly valued, and among the reasons that many residents wish to become the subject of the tourist's gaze. As Ginger and Bongani explained, sharing one's story and having that story travel beyond the boundaries of one's physical life is a way of existing in the world, regardless of how that story becomes retold. It is a way of becoming visible for people who have long been erased from their country's history, economy, and political life. Telling their stories is also a way to resist the narrative that has been 'true' about them in a country in which they continue to face daily racial oppression and marginalization in all spheres of society. In sharing their stories, they are able to re-write who they are in a very real sense and are thus able to resist the colonial forces that have constructed them as lesser-than.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) wrote passionately about the insidious nature of the colonization of the mind, referring to the denigration and replacement of colonized people's ways of knowing as a form of cultural genocide. It was the use of the colonizer's language that wa Thiong'o felt to be the most oppressive, as native cultural practices and values could then only be spoken about in the colonizer's language in negative undertones that become internalized and begin to inform the ways in which colonized peoples think of themselves (1986). In reflecting on the significance of language, he wrote: "The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 16). wa Thiong'o felt so strongly that to use the colonizer's language was to continue the "neo-colonial slavish and cringing spirit" (1986, p. 26) that he chose to cease writing in English in the 1980s and has since written exclusively in Gikuyu.

Language as resistance to the tourist's gaze was evident in tourism in the townships when the guides that I spoke with talked about how township residents who were not happy about the presence of tourists in the townships would speak about them negatively within earshot, but

exclusively in isiXhosa. Using their own language gave the power to passively resist the white/tourist gaze openly yet safely. The tourists were made foolish in the eyes of the witnesses, and likely were aware of this fact, but had no power to object, and were thus made less powerful in the eyes of the onlookers. This strategic use of language was also evident in the poetry slam that I attended. Despite the fact that many of the participants and audience members were white or coloured, and despite the fact the English has for generations been the language that allowed these groups to communicate with one another, a significant proportion of the black participants took the opportunity to speak or sing in isiXhosa. This was a visible means of speaking back to power and resisting the language of the colonizers and the tourists who were in the township for the show that night.

Despite the ability and desirability to use the gaze to resist the white tourists and the colonized understandings and assumptions that they carry with them, black residents of the townships are also able to use the gaze in a reconciliatory fashion, in order to begin the bridge some of the gaps that continue to divide white and black people in South Africa.

## **7.6 The Gaze as Reconciliatory**

*“What does it mean for a nation to come to terms with its past? Do nations have psyches the way individuals do? Can a nation’s past make its people ill as we know repressed memories sometimes make individuals ill? Conversely, can a nation or contending parts of it be reconciled to its past as individuals can, by replacing myths with fact and lies with truth? Can nations ‘come awake’ from the nightmare of their past, as Joyce believed an individual could?”*

- Michael Ignatieff, 1998, p. 168

South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996-2003), led by Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, toured the country collecting stories of abuse and violence in order to bring closure and cohesion to the newly redefined ‘rainbow nation.’ The opening of old



wounds and the decision of the commission to expose only individual – as opposed to systemic – violence, and to then frequently pardon the offender if he or she expressed regret, has drawn deep condemnation and cynicism among many of the nation’s born-frees (Villa-Vicencio & Verwoerd, 2000). The promises of equality and opportunity that have followed the born-frees their entire lives have not borne fruit, and many of the born-frees are angry.

Many among the older generation of black township residents, perhaps remembering all pain and hardship that accompanied their struggle for freedom, are more willing to seek reconciliation and peace. As I recorded in my blog during my period of data collection,

One incredible Mama that I met, who had been a social justice advocate at a time when her colleagues were being *assassinated*, told me that it takes too much energy and eats away at you to hold on to all that anger and resentment. Another incredible Mama told us about when people had to wear a large placard around their necks, known as ‘dompas’ (literally ‘dumb pass’), any time they wanted to leave the Township to go to town; this while she hosted my dad and I for lunch in her home and laughingly encouraged me to keep trying to learn to cook *chakalaka*<sup>25</sup> ([May 8, 2016](#)).

The desire for reconciliation was expressed by a number of the participants in this research. Franky spoke about his desire for it to be seen as normal for a white person to walk about in his township, just as he ought to be able to visit the white suburbs without drawing suspicion or questioning. Bongani took many photographs of the tourists dancing and laughing with the participants at the seniors’ centre, and how meaningful it was for the older generation to speak and share with visitors to their community:

*So we came from a dark process in our society. Now healing those wounds is about saying we are all human beings. The opportunities that you never had during that specific apartheid time that would include not going to school, not being employed in particular working job and not developing your own livelihood or your life, so the opportunities now is to say is let's heal those wounds, let's help you enjoy life, let's help you engage with people that you were not, you were separated from, meaning different colours. Let's speak, let's talk about who we are and who you are and let's learn from each other.*

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<sup>25</sup> A traditional South African spicy bean and tomato relish.

From the perspectives of the people that I spoke with for this research – with the exception of Phaskimisa, who was a little more skeptical about the motivations of the tourists in coming to the townships – the tourists are coming with good hearts, with a desire to share in their stories and help to create bridges and heal the wounds of the past. This overwhelming desire for reconciliation and unity strikes me as somewhat tragic when faced with the reality that very few tourists are white South Africans, and that I was often dissuaded in visiting the townships by many of the white South Africans I met. In my blog, I reflected on what my dear friend Elsa Vogts – a white South African also doing her PhD research in a township – told me about what her friends would think about what I was doing:

My Afrikaans friend told me that many of her friends would be shocked, *shocked* to hear that I am living in a Township, going to *shebeens*, and joining in for Sunday chill. Not that they would find it weird. I think we can all agree that I'm comfortable doing weird things. But that they would be incapable of understanding why I would ever choose to do such a thing ([June 7, 2016](#)).

That the tourists are choosing to come to the townships, regardless of their personal motivations in doing so, may be imbued with this powerful intention of reconciliation and healing is meaningful in and of itself. It may also be contributing to a generation of black children growing up accustomed to seeing white people as allies rather than oppressors, in and of itself a powerful harbinger of change in this nation.

In this chapter I have striven to bring some order to the swirling chaos of ideas in my head regarding what I learned about the gaze and its embeddedness within issues of race, class, gender, colonialism, and reconciliation. The linear nature of this chapter does little to represent the interconnectivities and interdependencies of these power-laden constructs in the tourism encounter the township, however it is important to recognize each of these as significant in their

own right. Before moving on to my concluding chapter, it is important for me to pause here to reflect a little more deeply on how my researcher subject positionality has informed the work as it has been presented here.

## 7.7 Researcher Subject Positionality

*“Whenever we talked to South Africa’s people about this inquiry into aspects of tourism development in South Africa, we always did so with some trepidation. We were and still are very aware that South Africans consider their country to be such a complex place that any attempt by people, even South Africans, to write something that gets close to the reality of South Africa, what is going on and what might be working or could work to bring about a desired future for South Africa, lays us and them open to the obvious charges of arrogance at worst and presumption at best.”*

- Allen & Brennan, 2004, p. 134

This thesis is not an effort to establish the ‘truth’ about tourism in the townships around Cape Town, South Africa. In fact, I have struggled extensively with writing anything at all, because to put pen to paper was to somehow ‘fix’ the truth of what I learned over the course of my research in South Africa. I am not South African. I am a white, female, feminist, highly educated Canadian. I was only in South Africa for five months, having never traveled there previously. It would be impossible for me to begin to express the complexity of social life in South Africa even after a period of many years, particularly given that I have attempted to learn something about the lived experiences of black residents of the townships, something arguably incomprehensible from the viewpoint of my comfortable life in Canada.

Two events schooled me hard in just how incomplete and fragmented my understanding of South Africa and South Africans is. The first occurred during a presentation of my very, very initial research findings at the World Leisure Congress in Durban in the summer of 2016. After I finished speaking about what participants had told me in terms of why they value tourism in the

townships, including what Ginger told me about the significance of ‘being seen’ by white people, two young black South Africans in the audience assured me – very assertively – that they do not think like that. It was at that moment – 7 days prior to my return to Canada – that I realized I had incorporated perspectives from very few participants of the ‘born-free’ generation (Phakimisa and Thembi were the exceptions). I therefore had not represented anywhere in my data the perspectives of the younger generation that was at that time actively protesting ongoing white dominance in South African society.

The second event occurred at the annual general meeting of the American Association of Geographers in Boston in April of 2017. In speaking with some South Africans that I had just met, I was astonished to learn that there are two distinct groups of white South Africans: the Afrikaaners and the British. I lived in South Africa for five months, however having spent nearly all my time with black South Africans I had had no idea that there were two groups of white people there.

These events remind me of just how partial, fragmented, and biased my understanding of South Africa truly is. The nature of my project meant that the participants in my research were primarily economically disadvantaged black South Africans who relied on tourism to the townships for their livelihoods. At the same moment that I was critiquing the exploitative nature of white tourism in the townships, my own white privilege was ensuring my access to speak with people. Apart from Ginger and Phakimisa, people who might be willing to speak against tourism in the township and the power imbalance that it represents chose not to speak with me. Their voices are not included in this conversation. Likewise, I am unable to parse the instances where what was told to me was the ‘truth’ as opposed to what participants thought that I might want to

hear, or an unwillingness to speak out against white tourists who *look exactly like me*, or a fear of having the tourists stop coming and supporting them if they were to speak out against them.

I have attempted in many ways to disrupt and challenge my own biases and assumptions in order to better understand what I was being told from the perspectives of residents of the townships. I spoke at length with friends – both white and black – in South Africa about my questions and misunderstandings. I kept extensive journals – both written and audio-recorded – in order to bring order to my thoughts. I blogged extensively and sought and received feedback and suggestions from readers from around the world. I lived with a black family in a township and spent most of my free time with the friends I made there. I have spoken at a number of conferences since completing my data collection and have been grateful for the many questions, comments, and conversations that have come out of my engaging with these challenging moral and academic questions.

I have struggled extensively with my ‘voice’ in speaking about issues of race as expressed to me by the black citizens of one of the most racially segregated societies in the world. I have felt deeply ashamed when I have attempted to speak about what people told me about valuing and desiring the white gaze. As a white person I can never really understand. In the following section I discuss the implications of this research and how what I have learned throughout this process will inform the work that intend to do going forward.

## **8.0 Conclusions and Areas for Future Research**

Based in my own experiences of, and tensions around, encountering poverty in what to me was a touristic space, the purpose of this research was to learn about how hosts gaze back at the tourists that spend time in their townships. Through the application of a feminist postcolonial lens, I sought to centre the perspectives of tourism hosts in spaces of poverty due to the fact that their voices are rarely included in scholarly conversations regarding tourism and poverty. In participating in a photovoice methodology, the women and men living in three townships around Cape Town, South Africa used the photographs that they had taken to illustrate the ways in which hosting tourists is conceptualized and imbued with meaning in the townships. At the end of the data collection process, I had conducted 14 individual and two group interviews, collected 1,359 photographs, and transcribed 240 pages of interview transcripts, in addition to having written many pages of participant observations, reflexive journaling, and blogging. Using a Foucauldian approach to critical discourse analysis, I worked to understand how relationships of power, embedded within the historical, cultural, political, economic, and social contexts of the townships, informed encounters in, and conceptualizations of, tourism. At the end of this process of analysis I emerged with four overarching themes: Economic Power; Social Power; Everyday Lives Unseen, and; Embracing the Gaze. Focusing on these themes, I employed a feminist postcolonial lens in order to further elucidate the findings of this study through the notion of the gaze, leading to six areas of discussion: the gaze as racializing/classing; the gaze as gendering; the gaze as valuing; the gaze as colonizing; the gaze as resistant, and; the gaze as reconciliatory. Through these themes and discussion points I sought to bring some order to the messy complexities of what I was able to learn about hosting tourists in the townships.

A number of theoretical perspectives could have been applied to this research that would have also helped me to conceptualize this subject differently. A tourism imaginaries (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2016; Salazar, 2012) perspective would have elucidated the ways in which we collectively imagine tourism's people and places into reality, through historical, social, and textual processes. A critical race theory (Bell, 2008; Williams, 1991; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995) approach would have compelled me to focus my attention on the legal and institutional structures that continue to operate in South Africa in ways that subjugate and oppress the black and coloured populations. An intersectionality lens (Crenshaw, 1989) would have allowed me to explore even more deeply the interconnectedness of race, gender, class, and disability in the lives of women living in the townships. All of these theoretical lenses would have been appropriate to this research and I hope to explore their potential in informing my work going forward.

My decision to take a feminist postcolonial theoretical lens to inform this research was based in my desire to “disrupt the dominance of western ways of thinking, knowing, and being to argue for the privileging of indigenous knowledge” (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 2). The growing number of texts related to the practice of tourism in urban slums throughout the Majority World provide us with a wide range of perspectives on the complexities of this form of poverty tourism (Basu, 2012; Diekmann & Hannam, 2012; Freire-Medeiros, 2012, 2013; Frenzel, 2012, 2016; Frezenl & Koens, 2015; Frenzel, Koens, & Steinbrink, 2012; Koens & Thomas, 2016; Manfred, 2010; Mekawy, 2012; Meschkank, 2012; Muldoon & Mair, 2016; Rogerson, 2004; Rolfes, 2010; Rolfes, Steinbrink, & Uhl, 2009; Steinbrink, 2015; Steinbrink, Frenzel, & Koens, 2012; Weiner, 2008). The notions of the tourist gaze and, increasingly, the host gaze have been applied to a plethora of tourism settings and locales as scholars continue to

shine a critical lens on the ways in which tourists and hosts construct one another in the tourism encounter. Where I sought to have this research stand apart was in striving to decentre the western tourist/researcher voice in order to hear what people living in spaces of poverty really felt about hosting tourists.

Notions of ambivalence as taken up in postcolonial theory, most notably by Homi Bhabha (1996), have also informed the work of this research. According to Bhabha, ambivalence is always present in colonial discourses due to the colonizer's desire to create a colonized person who mimics the values, dress, and speech of the colonizer; Fanon's (1967) black skin/white masks. Mimicry, however, is never far from mockery, and the fluctuation between these two ways in which the colonized person interacts with the colonizer is ultimately destabilizing to the latter's position of power. Ambivalence is also expressed in the flows between 'complicity' and 'resistance' for colonized persons, which are never present as one or the other, but always at some vacillating point along a continuum. Likewise, the ways in which the colonizers view the colonized person varies between exploitative and nurturing, and often both exist within the same space. This notion of ambivalence can be re-expressed in the arguably postcolonized experience of tourism in the townships, where the desire to tour, possibly, lies in both a revulsion and attraction to the township, where the tourists come as benevolent guests while at once objectifying voyeurs, and the hosts both welcome and comply with the wishes of the tourists while also using the encounter to humanize, and potentially, ridicule them.

This notion of ambivalence has helped me in my struggle to subdue the perspective with which I began this research, that of viewing the tours as merely exploitative and voyeuristic, and that tourism hosts living in poverty were victimized by the tourist's gaze, which they had no power to turn aside. I felt this so strongly that in one of my earliest interviews Ginger asked me



what my problem was with tourism in the township. I have stumbled and apologized all over myself when speaking at conferences and reflecting on what I was told about how some black people in South Africa believe that white people are better than they are. In attempting to disrupt my own western-informed ways of thinking, I have striven to comprehend the various historical, political, economic, geographic, and violent contexts within which the participants in this research experience tourism in the townships. In taking a critical discourse approach to the analysis of the data, I was able to question the ways in which tourism interactions in the townships are imbued with, and informed by, relationships of power embedded in complex interrelationships of race, gender, age, and mobility.

It is only ever imperfect – I cannot claim to know another’s reality, particularly a reality so far removed from my own. However, in asking the participants to guide our conversations, in repeatedly troubling my own assumptions and misunderstandings, and in presenting those colonized perspectives that are so deeply incompatible with my own values and hopes it is my belief that this work opens up tourism scholarship to a greater understanding of how tourism may be conceptualized and valued in postcolonial spaces.

As tourists, we often give little thought to how our tourism impacts the self-understandings and interpersonal dynamics of the people that we interact with. This research casts a powerful lens into the ways in which tourism has the power to change people’s lives: by improving one’s material prospects; by educating local people about the Other; by adding to a host’s sense of self because they are the subject of the tourist’s gaze; by crossing formerly impenetrable racialized boundaries. Tourism can also be an unintentional source of harm, in creating rifts between people in the host community and in re-inscribing the white Other as being the holder of all of the wealth, mobility, and power to effect change. In interrogating the concept

of the gaze, this research demonstrates the multiple ways in which the participants perceive the tourists, the pre-conceived notions that they believe constitute the tourists' gaze, and the multiple reasons why participants may cause to seek out and desire the gaze of the tourist.

Theoretically, through the use of a feminist postcolonial lens, this study has demonstrated the multiple ways in which tourism hosts in the townships both reproduce and resist the familiar tourist tropes of Majority World women and men in their ways of knowing what it is that the tourists wish to see, in posing in various ways in order to mimic tourists' expectations, but in also wanting to educate the tourists about the ways in which they are strong and work to create livelihoods for themselves. Rather than viewing resistance and reproduction as polarized binaries, this research demonstrates the ways in which these dynamic and interrelated ways of interacting with tourists at once serve to reproduce and diminish (post)colonized ways of knowing the Other. Moreover, these interactions of reproduction and resistance also serve as sources of empowerment for tourism hosts in the spaces of the townships.

The narratives that were told about people's encounters with tourists were thrilling to me, the photographs that were taken are beautiful and compelling, and each new perspective shed a light on the lived realities of the people who contributed to this study. This research process, however, was not without its hitches and bumps. The two disruptions that I mentioned in the previous chapter were deeply disquieting and caused me to question whether I had the right to be doing this research, or if it would ever produce anything of value given my deeply Othered perspective in the spaces of the townships. As I have reflected on these learnings over the course of my analysis and writing, I must acknowledge that this research does not go far enough in responding to the concerns of Spivak (1988), Chambers and Buzinde (2015), and Hollinshead (2013), among others, in that much of tourism research and 'knowledge' is produced by "the

cosmologies of the societies from which tourism scholars have traditionally hailed – what we might clumsily call ‘western’ ways of understanding the world” (Hollinshead, 2013, as cited in Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 3). This research was driven by my questions, my values, and my concerns about the objectifying and Othering nature of tourism in the Majority World. Where this work does go beyond more traditional forms of social research is in asking the participants to take the lead in guiding our conversations regarding tourism in the townships. In so doing I was able to hear about the issues and concepts that have come to be at the centre of this study and which I would have never have known to ask about had I chosen to undertake a more structured interview format.

A close reading of this work uncovers two disruptions which I have struggled with knowing how to resolve. The first is my use of the words ‘tourists’ and ‘hosts’ when discussing actors in the tourism encounter. These two terms are not the complimentary binaries generally accompanying one another in the tourism literature, those being tourists/toured or tourees and hosts/guests. Apart from the ‘tourists’ label, none of these feel particularly suitable to apply to the people involved in tourism in the townships. To call the people who live in the townships ‘toured’ or ‘tourees’ to me strips them of their agency and reduces them to the passive objects of the tourists’ gaze. However, to refer to ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’ implies a familiarity, a collegiality, and a free and welcoming participation in the tourism encounter that oversimplifies the complex roles and varying degrees of agency involved in tourism encounters in the townships. That being said, however, to me ‘hosts’ feel like a more active and egalitarian term which is why I have chosen to use it in reference to the township residents that interact with the tourists.

Of a more troubling nature, perhaps, is my decision to rely very heavily in this writing on quotations from one participant in particular (Ginger) and to male participants in general. It

troubles me deeply that in my analysis and choosing how to present my findings, in a study guided by feminist postcolonial theory, that I would so heavily rely on the words of men to inform my understandings. I have reflected on this and I believe that this has occurred due to several factors. I believe that a significant reason for this was that Ginger's (and to a lesser degree Phakimisa's) critical perspectives aligned with my own, and reinforced that which I wished to learn about the Othering and exploitative nature of tourism in the townships. None of the women that I spoke with were critical of the role of tourism in their lives. Where women's voices were significant in this research was in bringing about my understanding of the importance of 'Everyday Lives Unseen,' what I consider to be one of the most significant findings to come out of this work. This information, however, did not result in particularly compelling 'sound bites,' as did Ginger's comments about racialization and re-conscientization. Further, Ginger and Phakimisa did not rely on tourism for any part of their incomes, whereas all of the women that I spoke with earned their livelihoods through tourism and may have been less likely to be critical or say anything that might disrupt their narratives of an idealized tourism experience. There is a further thread to follow in terms of *why* the men in this research felt free to be critical in the presence of a white female tourist, but that is an avenue to be followed at a later time.

Methodologically, this research strategically employed the use of photovoice and unstructured interviews in order to respond to the hopeful tourism movement's call to "disturb and critique hegemonic socio-political practices, prepare reflexive, ethical tourism professionals and academics, and promote human dignity, human rights, and justice in tourism policy and practice" (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2012, p. 942). Letting go of the ways in which the interviews unfolded led to some moments of disquiet and anxiety as I was forced to wonder if I

was gathering any information of value in regard to my research questions. However, in choosing to trust the research participants and truly listen to what it was that they prioritized showing me about their relationships to tourism led to a much richer and complex understanding of how tourism is valued and enacted in the townships than would have ever been possible had I chosen to conduct more structured and traditional interviews. Through the use of an arts-based feminist methodology such as photovoice I strove to see the townships through the lenses of the participants. Further, given how deeply touristic practices are embedded in visual reproductions (Noy, 2014; Scarles, 2009), in producing images of tourism from the hosts' perspectives this research flipped tourism's relationship with the visual and forces the reader to see tourism from the Others' perspectives.

Tourism and academic research are both complicit in processes of homogenizing and flattening the Majority World Other. While I have striven to centre the perspectives of the township residents who chose to participate in this research, qualitative research is only ever imperfect and ultimately I chose whom to speak with, which experiences were highlighted, and which photographs were reproduced. The younger generation of black South Africans have very little voice in this work. Likewise, township residents who have little contact with tourists were only heard from second-hand. The relationships that I was able to build over the course of this project mean that future research will be much more collaborative and guided by the interests and values of both myself and South African co-researchers. For instance, Phakimisa is interested in undertaking a study of expressions of masculinity among black South Africans and how these are informed through experiences with colonialism and constructions of 'African' identities. I have also begun a collaborative study of a tourism enterprise in the township spearheaded by white

South African investors and how well-intended efforts at economic development often falter due to a limited understanding of the socio-cultural and economic realities of the host community.

In coming to greater understandings of hosts' experiences of tourism in spaces of urban poverty, such as the townships, future research should focus more closely on how residents construct and operationalize the emancipatory objectives of tourists to the townships. Further, research with a more explicit view towards exploring issues of race would be invaluable given the deeply racialized nature of South African society, an issue that I did not know how ill-prepared I was to begin to conceptualize. A deeper engagement with researcher reflexivity via blogging and other social media may also lead to a richer understanding of how social knowledge is produced and co-constructed over time.

At the outset of this research I sought to undertake a study that would lead to a better understanding of the ways in which tourism originating in the western world objectifies and exploits people living in poverty in the Majority World. What emerged instead was a much more complex and variegated view of how (post)colonialism, gendered ways of being, economic disparities, and the desire to interact with and learn about the Other lead to powerful, rich, and potentially empowering while at once re-inferiorising encounters via tourism. Prior to this study I would have advocated an end to a touristic practice that I conceptualized as purely exploitative, voyeuristic, and abusive of people with limited power in defining the encounter. Through this research, having learned more about the ways in which this is true, but also in how tourism is valued for its emancipatory and empowering potential, I have come to appreciate the transformative power of tourism in bringing people together to learn about one another. This research is significant in what it can teach us about how our tourism is conceptualized by

Majority World hosts in the postcolony and how we might strive to better understand the powerful socio-cultural implications of the tourism encounter from the Other side of the lens.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A – Participant recruitment letter



Hello, my name is Meghan Muldoon and I am a PhD student at the University of Waterloo in Canada working under the supervision of Dr. Heather Mair, also from the University of Waterloo. I would like to thank you for welcoming me into your community today. I am here in collaboration with Dr. Ernst van der Wal from Stellenbosch University. I am here today to explain the research that I plan to do here in your community, answer any questions that you may have, and invite anyone interested to participate in the research.

I am interested in learning about your experiences of hosting tourists in your community. I would like to learn about the good and the bad of hosting tourists, how local tourism decisions get made, and what it is like to be involved in local tours. Lots of research has been done about tourists themselves, why they choose to go where they go, and how their experiences impact them, but very little research has tried to understand how tourism impacts people who live in the places that tourists visit. I am hoping that this research will help others to understand what it is like to have foreign tourists coming into your community every day.

The research is a photovoice project, which involves asking participants to take photos in the community that represent what tourism *is like* in your community and what tourism *should be like* in your community. The first part of the project will be a 1-2 hour workshop for interested participants, which will involve a digital photography workshop, and discussion on how to take great photos with people's consent that do not have a negative impact. Each participant will be provided with a digital camera and asked to take photos in the community over a period of 2 weeks. After the photos are taken, each participant will be asked to sit down with me for about 45 minutes to explain the meaning behind the photos.

The most important part of this research to me is to make sure that it does not negatively impact your community or your community's incomes from tourism. This research should not interfere with tourism at all, and all interview responses will be kept completely confidential between the participant and the researcher. All participants will be advised of the importance of maintaining confidentiality to ensure that responses provided during the all-participants' meeting will also be treated with confidence.

As a thank you, each participant will be given a digital camera at the end of the research as a thank you for all of their hard work and support.

I would welcome any questions that you may have about this research and the involvement that I am asking of you.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and if you decide that you no longer wish to participate you are free to leave at any time. Participants are also free to refuse to respond to any of the questions asked during either the interview or the all-participants' meeting. I can be reached at [mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca) or at +27 (0)60 886 0979.

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo, Canada, Research Ethics Committee. It is being conducted in collaboration with Dr. Ernst van der Wal and Stellenbosch University. If you have any questions or concerns you can contact Ernst at +27 (0)72 673 1650. You may also contact Maureen Nummelin, Chief Ethics Office at the University of Waterloo, Canada's Office of Research Ethics, should you have any concerns about how this research is being conducted. She can be reached at +1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or at [mnummelin@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:mnummelin@uwaterloo.ca).

Thank you for taking the time to come and speak with me today. I look forward to working with all of you over the next several weeks. Please let me know if you have any questions or suggestions.

## Appendix B - Informed Consent Form



Date:

Project title: Photo-storying township tourism

Student investigator: Meghan Muldoon  
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada  
c: 060 886 0979, Email: [mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca)

University of Waterloo faculty supervisor: Dr. Heather Mair  
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada  
ph: +1-519-888-4567 ext. 35917, Email: [hmair@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:hmair@uwaterloo.ca)

Stellenbosch University supervisor: Dr. Ernst van der Wal  
Department of Visual Arts  
Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa  
ph: 021-808-2568, Email: [evdw@sun.ac.za](mailto:evdw@sun.ac.za)

### A: INVITATION

You are invited to participate in a study that involves research. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of people living in a township that hosts tours in the community.

### B: WHAT'S INVOLVED

As a participant, you will be asked to take photographs in the community of spaces that represent what tourism *is* like and what tourism *ought to be* like. You will be invited to participate in a ½ day workshop to learn digital photography skills and what is involved in taking community photographs. You will also be asked to participate in a 35-45 minute interview with the researcher as well as an all-participants meeting in which you will be invited to share and discuss the meanings attached to the photographs you took. Interviews and the all-participants' meeting will be audio-recorded with your permission.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

### C: POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND RISKS



Potential benefits of participation include helping to advance the state of understanding of the experience of playing host to international tourists. Potential risks can include offending the person in the photograph or owner of the place featured in the photograph by not obtaining verbal consent from these people. The workshop that will be held prior to collecting the photographs will discuss ways in which participants will be able to avoid these risks.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **D: CONFIDENTIALITY**

The information you provide will be kept confidential by the researchers. Your name will not appear in any report resulting from this study, nor will be the name of your community. However, with your permission, anonymous quotations will be used.

Photographs that can be used to determine a person's identity will not be featured in any public presentations of the research or publications without the express verbal consent of the person in the photograph. The researcher and the participants will work together to ensure that informed verbal consent is obtained before the sharing of any photographs.

Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. Opportunity for feedback will also be provide at the all-participants' meeting, where my initial analysis stemming from the interviews and the photos will be shared with all participants.

Data collected during this study, including your personal identifying information, will be encrypted and stored in a locked file cabinet in my office, and electronic files will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected computer as well as a secure cloud-based storage site. Audio files will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed.

Access to this data will be restricted to myself, research assistants, and academic advisors. All research assistants will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement. All data related to this study will be destroyed after a period of 10 years.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **E: VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you wish, you may decline to answer any questions or participate in any component of the study. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time and may do so without any penalty. If you decide to withdraw, the interview will be terminated. You will be asked if you would like the information that you have shared up to that point to be included in the analysis or if you would like the information to be destroyed. Participants will be given the cameras used in the study as a thank you gift once the photos have been collected and removed from the cameras.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **F: PUBLICATION OF RESULTS**

Results of this study may be published in professional journals and presented at conferences. Participants will also be asked at the all-participants' meeting if they would like to share the results of the research in other forums, such as art exhibitions. A summary of the results of this study will be shared with you once it is available (late 2016).

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **G: CONTACT INFORMATION AND ETHICS CLEARANCE**

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please get in touch with me at the contact information I have provided to you. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waterloo. If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Dr. Maureen Nummelin at the Office of Research at +001-519-888-4567 ext. 33300, Email: [maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca).

I agree to participate in this study described above. I have made this decision based on all of the information that has been provided to me, and I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions I have regarding my participation in this study and understand that I may ask questions in the future. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time.

Name of person obtaining consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C – Interview consent form



UNIVERSITY OF  
**WATERLOO**

Date:

Project title: Photo-storying township tourism

Student investigator: Meghan Muldoon  
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada  
c: 060 886 0979, Email: [mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:mmuldoon@uwaterloo.ca)

University of Waterloo faculty supervisor: Dr. Heather Mair  
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Canada  
ph: +1-519-888-4567 ext. 35917, Email: [hmair@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:hmair@uwaterloo.ca)

Stellenbosch University supervisor: Dr. Ernst van der Wal  
Department of Visual Arts  
Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa  
ph: 021-808-2568, Email: [evdw@sun.ac.za](mailto:evdw@sun.ac.za)

### **A: INVITATION**

You are invited to participate in a study that involves research. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of people living in a township that hosts tours in the community.

### **B: WHAT'S INVOLVED**

As a participant, you will be asked to answer questions regarding your experiences and perceptions of what tourism *is* like and what tourism *ought to be* like in your community. The interview should last no longer than 45-60 minutes. Interviews will be audio-recorded with your permission.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

### **C: POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND RISKS**

Potential benefits of participation include helping to advance the state of understanding of the experience of playing host to international tourists. There are no known risks to agreeing to interview as part of this study

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **D: CONFIDENTIALITY**

The information you provide will be kept confidential by the researchers. Your name will not appear in any report resulting from this study, nor will be the name of your community. However, with your permission, anonymous quotations will be used.

Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. I will also ask you for feedback following my initial analysis of all the data that has been collected for the study.

Data collected during this study, including your personal identifying information, such as your name, your employer, and your place of residence, will be encrypted and stored in a locked file cabinet in my office, and electronic files will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected computer as well as a secure cloud-based storage site. Personal identifying information will be stored separately from the study data. Audio files will be destroyed as soon as they are transcribed.

Access to this data will be restricted to myself, research assistants, and academic advisors. All research assistants will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement. All data related to this study will be destroyed after a period of 10 years.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **E: VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you wish, you may decline to answer any questions or participate in any component of the study. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time and may do so without any penalty. If you decide to withdraw, the interview will be terminated. You will be asked if you would like the information that you have shared up to that point to be included in the analysis or if you would like the information to be destroyed.

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **F: PUBLICATION OF RESULTS**

Results of this study may be published in professional journals and presented at conferences. A summary of the results of this study will be shared with you once it is available (late 2016).

Verbal consent obtained: ☐ Yes ☐ No

#### **G: CONTACT INFORMATION AND ETHICS CLEARANCE**

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please get in touch with me at the contact information I have provided to you. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waterloo. If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant,

please contact the Dr. Maureen Nummelin at the Office of Research at +001-519-888-4567 ext. 33300, Email: [maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:maureen.nummelin@uwaterloo.ca).

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I agree to participate in this study described above. I have made this decision based on all of the information that has been provided to me, and I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions I have regarding my participation in this study and understand that I may ask questions in the future. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time.

Name of person obtaining consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix D – Interview guide**

1. What is your involvement with the tourism in the community?
2. How did you come to be involved?
3. Please describe for me a typical encounter with the tourists
4. What is your favourite part of participating in the tours?
5. What is your least favourite part of participating in the tours?
6. Tell me about an encounter with the tours that stands out as a particularly good memory.
7. Tell me about an encounter with the tours that stands out as a particularly bad memory.
8. Would you like to see the tourists to continue coming to your community? Why/why not?
9. What is one aspect of the tours that you would like to see changed? Why?
10. Do you think the tours allow the tourists to learn about how people really live in your community? What do you think the tourists learn after having participated in one of the tours?
11. How do you perceive the tours as having changed life in your community?
12. Can you think of any real positive impacts that have been seen in the community as a result of tourism?
13. Can you think of any real negative impacts that have been seen in the community as a result of tourism?